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THE PROFESSION OF AUTHORSHIP: NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE AND HIS PUBLISHER, JAMES T. FIELDS

Rice University

Ph.D. 1985

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THE PROFESSION OF AUTHORSHIP:
NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE AND HIS PUBLISHER, JAMES T. FIELDS

by

Rosemary Mims Fisk

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Houston, Texas
June, 1988
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Rosemary Mims Fisk
1985
Abstract

The Profession of Authorship:
Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Publisher, James T. Fields

Rosemary Mims Fisk

The influence of James T. Fields upon Nathaniel Hawthorne's professional literary career has not been recognized. Before 1850, the year marking the beginning of Hawthorne's association with the firm of Ticknor & Fields, Hawthorne knew only the "buck-shot" approach to publishing. He had no publisher actively promoting his works in the marketplace or encouraging his creative genius. Moreover, he was uncomfortable participating in a profession that many regarded as "feminine."

Fields, by contrast, experienced success as a businessman, working his way up to a partnership in the firm by his acute knowledge of the reading public, and by his extensive network of contacts with authors, editors, critics, newspapermen, and fellow publishers. The correspondence between Hawthorne and Fields indicates how extensively Fields was involved in the manuscript preparation and final publication of The Scarlet Letter and The House of the Seven Gables, all the while working to bring out reissues of the author's previously-published works. As
Hawthorne's exclusive publisher, Fields effectively took over the author's finances, an arrangement which freed Hawthorne of monetary concerns but which brought with it ambiguities. The relationship between the two men became polarized along active and passive, masculine and feminine lines as Fields sought to keep Hawthorne at home writing. Hawthorne's vocational anxieties and his awareness of the marketplace affect the writing of *The House of the Seven Gables*, a work which reveals the same ambiguities that the author does personally. *The Blithedale Romance*, written while Fields was in Europe, again explores the polarity between active and passive masculine roles in society.

Not until Hawthorne accepted the prestigious appointment at Liverpool did he abandon his defensive tone regarding his personal and professional status. *Tanglewood Tales* and *The Marble Faun* accommodate the marketplace while making no apologies for the implied compromise of his art.

Hawthorne's inability to function well in the role of family provider caused financial hardships for his family in his final years and after his death. Ticknor & Fields's records indicate that Fields drove a hard bargain for royalty rates after the Civil War, but that Mrs. Hawthorne was unjustified in her complete bitterness towards the firm. Fields's patronage, as much as Hawthorne's artistic genius, brought the success which helped establish Hawthorne as one of America's first professional authors.
Acknowledgments

Many persons have made my study possible, and any attempts to thank them will be inadequate. Professor Ray M. Atchison of Samford University first gave me my love for Hawthorne, and Professors Buford Jones and Carl Anderson of Duke University helped guide that interest through a solid grounding in Hawthorne scholarship. Professor Jones first suggested to me the idea of exploring James T. Fields's influence on Hawthorne's professional career, a topic which proved much richer than I could have imagined. And with the help of my dissertation committee at Rice University, my manuscript is now, to use Fields's expression, successfully "launched." Dr. Susan Gillman made numerous interpretive suggestions regarding the developing relationship between author and publisher, while Professor Robert Fatten helped ensure that my study was based on a solid foundation of facts regarding the publishing environment of nineteenth-century America and England. Dr. Elizabeth Long offered her insights into Hawthorne's relation to the popular literature of the period, particularly to the writers of domestic fiction. The committee provided a perfect balance of knowledge and interests for a study which was to cross many boundaries: elements of publishing history, social and cultural history, literary criticism, and interpretive biography are all present, owing to the fact that every lead was worth pursuing to some committee member. A better assortment of advisers could not have been assembled.

My study would not have been feasible without the generous assistance of Drs. Thomas Woodson and Bill Ellis, editors of the Hawthorne letters at the Ohio State University Press, who supplied me with transcripts of letters between author and publisher, and always responded promptly to my numerous inquiries for additional facts. The transcripts enabled me to save valuable time in working with the original manuscripts and with photocopies of the original manuscripts.

I am also indebted to the following for access to Hawthorne and Fields manuscripts and for permission to quote passages: the Henry E. Huntington Library; the Houghton Library, Harvard University; Houghton Mifflin Co.; the Berg Collection and the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library; the Pierpont Morgan Library; Owen D. Young Library, St. Lawrence University; Clifton Waller Barrett Library, University of Virginia; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Columbia University; Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum; the Essex Institute; Yale University; Buffalo & Erie Co. Public Library; Wellesley College Library; the Arnold Whittridge Collection, NYC; the University of Illi-
nois Archives at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; and the Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center.

Last, my most grateful thanks go to my family: to my parents, who always made the education of their children one of their highest priorities; and to Jim, whose constant encouragement made him rival Fields in his ability to keep his writer producing.
For Jim,

with love
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Abbreviations

Berg  the Berg Collection, The New York Public Library.


HL  the Huntington Library

HT  the Hawthorne-Fields Letter Book, transcribed by various hands, the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

LB, d  Ticknor & Fields domestic Letter Book, the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

LB, f  Ticknor & Fields foreign Letter Book, Ibid.

PN  the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

TI  Caroline Ticknor, Hawthorne and His Publisher (1913; rpt. New York: Kennikat Press, 1969).


Introduction

On February 27, 1861, the year following the publication of his last novel, Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote emotionally to James T. Fields:

I care more for your good opinion than for that of a host of critics, and have excellent reason for so doing; inasmuch as my literary success, whatever it has been or may be, is the result of my connection with you. Somehow or other, you smote the rock of public sympathy on my behalf; and a stream gushed forth in sufficient quantity to quench my thirst, though not to drown me. I think no author can ever have had publishers that he valued so much as I do mine.

(HL)

If we accept Hawthorne's gratitude as sincere, we have to look to Fields, as Hawthorne clearly did, for clues to the author's literary success. We have to ask what direction Hawthorne's career would have taken without his connection with Fields. What benefits did Hawthorne gain from his connection with Fields? How much influence did the publisher have over the actual literary manuscripts? How did Fields smite "the rock of public sympathy" on the author's behalf? Such questions are ultimately more than historical or biographical: they affect the literature itself and therefore demand a place in any balanced assessment of Hawthorne's art.

Except for his appointments to the Boston and Salem Custom Houses and the Liverpool consulate, Hawthorne was a
professional author in a century which offered little security to the man of letters. He was professional in the sense that he looked upon the production of literary art as a vocation in itself, not as a trifling interest on the side for one pursuing a more financially remunerative vocation. When he began his literary career in the 1830s, America had few role models for him to follow: Cooper had managed to squeeze a living out of his prolific literary productions, but Irving had given up belles-lettres for history around 1825. England had the phenomenal success of Scott and Byron to encourage her young authors, but the popularity of English authors in the cheap reprints which dominated the American literary market actually discouraged native American authors from entering the profession. Publishers had no reason to pay an American author for an unproven work when, because of the absence of international copyright, they could simply reprint English works with no payment to the author. Moreover, the American author had no real sense of place in a nation being built on the sweat of "active" men. Somehow he had to gain entrance into the world of business and commerce. His imaginative literary creations had to become tangible commodities in the marketplace.

Hawthorne was not temperamentally suited for the world of business, a fact long recognized, if only implicitly, by Hawthorne scholars who discuss his literary art in a kind
of economic vacuum, as if Hawthorne the literary artist were not also Hawthorne the professional writer. Our scholarship has suffered from the lack of relevant historical data about the publication of his work. We anticipate the appearance within the year of the first volume of the Hawthorne letters as a part of the Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne by the Ohio State University Press, but we still lack much in the way of business contracts, either verbal or written, statistical information, sales records, and publishing facts in general. Such information is widely scattered in libraries, museums, and publishers' files, or has disappeared altogether. Until much of the evidence is brought to our knowledge, we cannot understand fully the vital reciprocity between writer and reader which encourages the writer to cater to public tastes. The publisher stands as a link between the two, informing the writer about what the public is buying, and often insisting that the writer's inspiration be tempered by an awareness of the marketplace.

Fields was a master at interpreting public taste. After 1850, the year beginning Hawthorne's connection with the firm of Ticknor & Fields, Fields was the market for Hawthorne. The letters between author and publisher reveal that Hawthorne trusted Fields's judgment of market conditions enough to allow the publisher to make decisions crucial to both his art and its reception by the public. No
friend or publisher before Fields had been able to win any measurable public sympathy for a Hawthorne contemptuous of popular tastes. The author needed continuous encouragement, both personal and professional, in order to keep his works appearing before the public and in order to maintain his role as professional author in a world of businessmen. Fields had a driving inner need to provide such encouragement, thereby providing a perfect complement to Hawthorne's habitual shyness. The focus of my study, therefore, is on the vital relationship between the two men and the way in which the relationship ultimately influenced Hawthorne as professional writer and literary artist. The basis of my study must necessarily be the correspondence, much of it unpublished, in which author and publisher discuss what will "go" with the public and what the author should produce next to follow the success of the latest work. The letters reveal a growing friendship, but also a growing passivity on the part of Hawthorne as the publisher takes over many practical concerns of the author's career. The Hawthorne letters will soon be available and therefore I frequently refer to them in passing. But because the Fields letters are still scattered and mostly unfamiliar to Hawthorne scholarship, I quote extensively from them wherever appropriate. My study also takes into account many previously-unpublished documents, such as business contracts and correspondence, related to Fields's efforts to market his
author's works.

Any balanced study of Hawthorne's works must take into account their publishing history, and for the major works, such a history revolves around Fields. Fields knew what readers wanted, and he encouraged Hawthorne to make his works palatable to the public without forcing the author to compromise his artistic integrity. A study of Fields's influence with the author is also a study of the role of the audience, an important emphasis of any publishing history. Hawthorne never fully turned his back on his audience. He always had a relationship with his readers, concerning himself with the marketplace more than has been hitherto recognized in the critical image of the reclusive artist. We cannot understand Hawthorne until we have examined his struggle to be both read and respected by the book-buying public.
Chapter One:
Hawthorne before Fields

In 1804, Nathaniel Hawthorne was born into a world that saw little place for the literary man. A new nation had to be built, and everyone had to carry his share of the work. The Hawthorne family participated actively in the commerce of the times, but when Nathaniel was only four years old, his father, a sea captain, died at sea of a fever, leaving the family dependent on relatives for survival. Nathaniel had few memories of his father. As he grew towards manhood, he retreated from the more manly tasks of the household, such as carpentry, gardening, and maintaining livestock, into the imaginative world of literature. He loved to read, and he loved good books.

His conviction that he was destined to become a literary man began early and grew steadily. Even before entering Bowdoin College in 1821, Hawthorne wrote his mother a letter which is among the most familiar to Hawthorne scholars, ironically familiar because he added in the postscript: "Do not show this letter." After listing the respectable professions and giving the drawbacks of each, he asked, "What do you think of my becoming an author, and relying for support upon my pen? Indeed, I think the illegibility of my handwriting very author-like. How proud you would feel to
see my works praised by the reviewers, as equal to the proudest productions of the scribbling sons of John Bull. But authors are always poor devils, and therefore Satan may take them.¹ Hawthorne makes his very serious leaning towards becoming a writer sound almost half-hearted, but the shame revealed in his postscript indicates that his ambivalence towards the profession involved more than financial considerations. America had few role models for him to follow; in fact, the profession of authorship hardly existed as such. Cooper was experiencing some success with his historical romances, but Irving depended on political appointments abroad for his primary income.

Hawthorne was not alone in his discouragement about choosing literature as a vocation; his classmate Longfellow met stern opposition when he approached his Congressman father on the same subject. The father responded kindly but firmly that the literary career his son desired must be very "pleasant" for the man who could afford it. "But there is not wealth & munificence enough in this country to afford . . . patronage to merely literary men."² The words "pleasant" and "merely" indicate the universal condescension of the man of action to the artist. Literature was only valuable as an idle pastime. Mr. Longfellow's response also assumes a relation between wealth and the production of literature, an assumption that literary creation was no vocation in itself. Wealth must be acquired in other ways
before literature could be pursued.

Longfellow soon secured a teaching position at Harvard, but Hawthorne returned home and continued dreaming about someday becoming a respected author. He began submitting short pieces to various magazines and gift-book annuals, but market conditions worked against his hopes of finding a respectable place in society as a writer of imaginative stories. Reprints of popular British works crowded out the few volumes of serious fiction by American authors, and what native works were being bought and read were, for the most part, the sentimental "domestic novels" written largely by women for women. Ann Douglas's study, The Feminization of American Culture, claims that domestic fiction dominated the American literary market from the 1840s through the 1880s. Literature increasingly became a form of leisure and self-education for those excluded from the harsh world of practical competition. At mid-century, the fashionable writer Nathaniel Willis observed, "It is the women who give or withhold a literary reputation." Hawthorne could hardly feel secure as a man in a field dominated by women.

Moreover, sentimentalized literature courted this new audience on the most superficial levels. In The Feminine Fifties, F. L. Pattee recognizes that the publishing houses of the mid-century took for granted that the feminine buyers of books, and the masculine buyers of books for the
ladies, were more concerned with the surface appearance of the books than with their contents. The book to be bought must please the eye. The enormously popular gift-book annuals sported gaudily floralized covers, and women writers took gaudily floralized pseudonyms—Fanny Forester, Fanny Fern, and Grace Greenwood. Therefore it is not surprising that when Hawthorne finally brought out a volume under his own name, his 1837 edition of *Twice-told Tales*, one reviewer remarked, "It is the production of 'Nathaniel Hawthorne'—whether a true or fictitious name, we know not—probably the latter" (quoted in CE, 9.512-13). The women's highly moralized poems and stories exalted the feelings over the intellect, and were praised for their success at evoking the maximum number of tears from the reader.

Women's periodicals easily outsold the distinguished religious journals structured by masculine tastes. *Godey's Lady's Book*, along with its imitators *Graham's* and *Peterson's*, led the way in the signing of articles, the use of copyright, and the cultivation of advertising on a large scale. Predictably, several of the prosperous periodicals managed by men began to imitate, with varying degrees of guilt and anxiety, the style of their feminine rivals.

The best-known sentimental male writers in ante-bellum America were the magazine writers—Washington Irving, Nathaniel Willis, Donald Mitchell ("Ike Marvel"), and George
Curtis. Although they courted feminine readership, they exhibited guilt over pursuing what society viewed as a feminine occupation. Hawthorne distinguished himself from these male sentimentalists by his bitter complaints about the low tastes of the feminine public. He recognized that his integrity as an artist was being threatened. The solution he adopted throughout the early 30s was a positive insistence on anonymity in his published tales and sketches.

In the ten or twelve years prior to 1837, Hawthorne planned to publish in book form three collections of short fiction—"Seven Tales of My Native Land," "Provincial Tales," and "The Story Teller." No publisher would take the risk for the volumes, and the collections had to be broken up and the stories published separately. By 1837 over forty of his tales and sketches had appeared anonymously or under a variety of signatures in newspapers, magazines, and gift-book annuals. Hawthorne was forced to compete with the women writers in their own arena. He had no desire to have his name linked with those of other contributors to the annuals and periodicals, but his anonymity could backfire. In 1837 one Massachusetts newspaper reprinted "The Shaker Bridal" and attributed it to Catherine Sedgwick, one of the most popular female contributors to the annuals (CR, 6). Many of Hawthorne's short pieces appeared in the most fashionable gift-book annual, Samuel Goodrich's The Token.
Literary historians have followed Hawthorne's friends in criticizing Goodrich for deliberately keeping Hawthorne anonymous so that he could use a number of works by the same author in one volume. But the correspondence between Hawthorne and his closest friend, Horatio Bridge, indicates that Hawthorne never challenged Goodrich's practice. At least The Token did pay something, if only a maximum of $1.00 per page, when Goodrich could come up with the money. Beginning with the publication of the 1836 Token, Hawthorne also had the satisfaction of seeing his works noticed in England when Henry Chorley of the London Athenaeum singled out all three of his contributions for praise.

In the 30s, Hawthorne was determined to make a living as a writer, even though he frequently complained of the futility of such a goal. By the early 40s, when he had a wife to consider, he began losing his optimism and looking for another means of support. He soon learned that the communal life of Brook Farm could not give him the freedom he needed to pursue writing, making him doubt that any vocation would be compatible with the demands of authorship. In a last effort to lead the life of professional author, he retreated with his bride Sophia into the Berkshires, where he hoped his expenses and responsibilities would not be too troublesome. The twenty tales and sketches published in 1843-44, his honeymoon period at the Old Manse, represent
his last burst of interest in short fiction. These stories are heavily burdened with allegorical intentions and an underscored morality, obvious concessions to the market. If the public did not like these efforts, then the author expected to find another vocation.

William Charvat warns scholars of nineteenth-century American literature that the role of the reader, the consumer, is too often neglected in criticism. "We see Hawthorne as a short-story writer whose tales are often blighted by bald explanations of obvious symbolism; but we do not see the magazine and gift book audience which demanded these awkward and extraneous clarifications." Melville was the first to discern that the gentle Hawthorne had a darkness and depth unnoticed by his readers. Like Shakespeare, Hawthorne was not only "almost utterly mistaken" by his readers, but he courted misunderstanding deliberately in order to protect himself. His dark stories have innocent titles—"Young Goodman Brown," "The May-Pole of Merry Mount," "A Select Party." Hawthorne may well have used his titles ironically to underscore the stories' complexity, but he also used them to woo readers.

Contemporary reviewers placed Hawthorne in the genteel Irvingesque school, in the company of the masculine sentimentalists, who shared a preference for the sketch as a literary form, a form ideally suited for magazine publication. The sketch also served as an ideal form for the
expression of Hawthorne's own ambivalence towards the production of literature itself. As Ann Douglas notes: "The sketch has few pretensions; it is humble, self-deprecatory. . . .[It] is by definition short; part of the convention behind it is the assumption that it was produced at a sitting, even carelessly, that the feeling or thinking was everything, the writing nothing."11 Because the sketch conveys a tone of apology and irresponsibility in its presumed lack of seriousness, it provides its author a defensive pose. Hawthorne could make light of his lack of success as an author, imply that he never intended to be taken seriously, and thereby counter any disapproval of himself as a man engaged in such a frivolous, even "feminine," occupation. Readers would be charmed rather than critical. Hawthorne may have smiled as reviewers compared his "quiet humor" and "dreamy charm" to that of the commercially successful Irving and Lamb, but the self-mocking narrative voice he employs in many of his sketches actually couched his resentment at being known throughout the early part of his career primarily as the author of "Sights from a Steepie" and "A Rill from the Town-Pump." The narrative voice also proved popular with readers. Hawthorne had converted a presumed weakness--his own "trifling" tendencies--into narrative strength. Through the years, he became increasingly skilled at employing a self-effacing pose, so that when he eventually wrote the introductory sketches to
his major romances, his narrative voice revealed the author's ease in assuming a self-deprecating position. Melville never achieved such skill in balancing the self-mocking with the serious tone; his narrative voice often conveys more bitterness than humor. Hawthorne learned to conceal his bitterness, but he never could bring himself to compromise with the market to the degree of Willis, Mitchell, and Curtis. He burned, or at least claimed to have burned, several manuscripts rather than submit what he considered inferior art to the public.

The allegorical and moral emphasis of the Old Manse stories is no indication that Hawthorne's artistic talents had diminished in the 40s. He continued to send quality work to John O'Sullivan's respectable Democratic Review. "The Artist of the Beautiful" and "Rappaccini's Daughter" match the best of his early fiction. Elsewhere, however, he was likely to tailor his story to the audience. Godey's Lady's Book received one of his more agreeable stories, "Drowne's Wooden Image." The preoccupation with feminine "influence" that Ann Douglas identifies in nineteenth-century domestic fiction is here in abundance, for the story is about a beautiful woman who inspires an artist to create his masterpiece. Hawthorne wrote the editor that his going rate was $25, and that Godey's might have the story at that price, "though I do not care to become a regular contributor at that rate." Hawthorne did not publish any other sto-
ries in this magazine. He continued compromising with the market throughout the decade. In 1849, his wife Sophia wrote to her mother: "I am glad you like 'The Great Stone Face.' Mr. Hawthorne says he is rather ashamed of the mechanical structure of the story, the moral being so plain and manifest. He seemed dissatisfied with it as a work of art. But some persons would prefer it precisely on account of its evident design."  

The fact that Hawthorne found his primary literary outlet in the periodical market indicates that many things were wrong with the publishers and publishing environment against which he was struggling. In 1844 the critic Edwin Percy Whipple wrote, "The least lucrative profession in the United States is that of authorship. Every prudent man avoids it as he does a pestilence. A writer who attempts to live on the manufacture of his imagination is continually coquetting with starvation."  

Writers watched the growth of commercial prosperity all around them, but found it almost impossible to share in it. Hawthorne understood his handicap as an American author. His tale "The Devil in Manuscript," published anonymously in 1835, is a fictional version of the aspiring young author Oberon's failure to find a publisher. Oberon approaches one who tells him frankly that "no American publisher will meddle with an American work,—seldom if by a known writer, and never if by a new one, —unless at the writer's risk" (CE, 11.173).
The primary reason for the prejudice against native works was the absence of international copyright laws, a deficiency which allowed American publishers to reprint popular English works with no royalty payments either to the author or original publisher. Incentive, therefore, was lacking for a publisher to risk his capital for an unproven American work. Improvements in transportation made such discrimination feasible. On the same day in 1838, the "Great Western" and the "Sirius," the first steamers to cross the Atlantic entirely by steam, arrived at New York. The closeness of communication brought about by steam made publishers scramble for the first copies of British works, which they then reprinted or announced as "in press" in order to gain what monopoly they could on the work's sales in America. Often their cheap reprints worked their way back to England and further competed with the expensive British editions. The book-manufacturing interests in America, including publishers and booksellers, understandably opposed any changes in the laws. The publisher Samuel Goodrich felt that Dickens's visit to America in 1842 to secure international copyright was abortive not because he was seen as self-interested, as the New York newspapers claimed, but because of American resentment at the British demands for "absolute justice": "We resemble our ancestors, and do not like to be bullied."\textsuperscript{15} The theoretical arguments centered around the concepts of "abstract rights"
and "common property"; the practical arguments centered around dollars and cents. Henry Carey, of the powerful Philadelphia publishing house of Carey & Lea, argued that an author's words are as much common property as are the flowers of a field. Moreover, he continued, Britain is a nation of producers, not consumers. Britain alone would benefit from international copyright because she could then market her expensive books in America. She would buy no more American works than before. Carey masked his self-interest with concern for the American consumer, who would no longer be able to afford the great literature to which he had grown accustomed.16

The American author had no one in this country to promote his cause vigorously. Hawthorne complained to his friend Bridge in 1844: "I continue to scribble tales, with good success so far as regards empty praise, some notes of which, pleasant enough to my ears, have come from across the Atlantic. But the pamphlet and piratical system has so broken up all regular literature that I am forced to write hard for small gains."17 Many literary critics and reviewers called for an American literature and praised those writers whose works reminded them of their one great writer, Washington Irving. The reviewers either ignored or did not recognize the fact that Irving was successful largely because he lived in England at the time of the publication of his works and was thus able to secure English
copyright. American publishers who were vocal in their demands for a native literature found themselves increasingly called upon in the 1840s to promote the cause of international copyright. Not surprisingly, the organization and support proved superficial. Henry Clay introduced a succession of bills before Congress, but never expected them to come to a vote. Authors and publishers tended to bark into literary journals rather than into the ears of Congress. The American Copyright Club formed in New York in 1843 had only a handful of members. In 1848 the lawyer John Jay approached Congress once again, this time adding a manufacturing clause that by including the interests of publishers and printers would, he hoped, assuage the influential publishers such as Harper & Bros. and Carey & Lea. Jay found Congress indifferent and the opposition of powerful interest groups too great for his bill to be considered seriously.18

Even more than the absence of international copyright, the depression of 1837-43 affected the American book trade. Prices for books and periodicals fell lower and lower, and American bank notes became almost worthless in England. Books which averaged $2.00 in the 1820s dropped to around fifty cents in the depression and did not stabilize again until the early 1850s.19 New England writers had additional troubles, for Boston was at a geographic disadvantage compared to New York and Philadelphia, which both have
major rivers flowing into their ports. Boston could compete in receiving the first sheets off an Atlantic steamer, but the other two cities could monopolize the book business out to the frontier. Not until the first railroad crossed the Allegheny Mountains in 1850 was Boston able to use rail transportation to overcome her natural disadvantage.\textsuperscript{20}

Hawthorne published his first nine books in Boston without success, then took two books to New York publishers and tried to persuade Emerson to do likewise. In a letter to Evert Duyckinck of Wiley and Putnam's in New York, Hawthorne defended his peer: "His [Emerson's] reputation is still, I think, provincial, and almost local partly owing to the defects of the New England system of publication."\textsuperscript{21} Hawthorne might well have been writing about himself. He had failed as a commercial success because he was unknown outside the Boston area. In shifting his attentions to New York, he explained to Sophia: "I intend to adhere to my former plan, of writing one or two mythological story books, to be published under O'Sullivan's auspices in New York—which is the only place where books can be published, with a chance of profit."\textsuperscript{22}

The Boston publishing environment epitomizes what was wrong with American publishing before mid-century. Both publishers and retail booksellers, often the same firm, were primarily localized. They made little attempt to promote their works outside of their small region. In the
1830s William Ticknor, of Ticknor & Co., predecessor to Ticknor & Fields, never regarded the publication of books as anything but an adjunct to his retail bookselling. Thus there was no targeting of special classes of readers, no concept of the advantages of binding an author to the firm by royalty payments, and no long-term advantage considered for either the author or publisher. Even the selection of works to be published was haphazard (TR, 66-68). Unproven authors with any contact with reality took for granted that their works would be published only at their own expense. Hawthorne had brought out Fanshawe in 1828 under this system and, not surprisingly, had seen few copies sold.

During the 1830s the representative for Hawthorne of the Boston publishing environment was Samuel Goodrich. In his capacity as editor of The Token, Goodrich first met Hawthorne in 1829. After rejecting the collection "Seven Tales of My Native Land" outright, Goodrich offered to help Hawthorne find a publisher for his "Provincial Tales": "I will use my influence to induce a publisher to take hold of the work, who will give it a fair chance of success. Had 'Fanshawe' been in the hands of more extensive dealers, I do believe it would have paid you a profit." It is doubtful that Goodrich ever approached any publishers with either this or the "Story-Teller" collection which the unknown author entrusted to him in 1834. Meanwhile, he made liberal use of the individual pieces for his gift-book
Hawthorne did concern himself with Goodrich's frequent failure to pay what little he had promised. Goodrich apparently put little stock in his contributors' satisfaction, for in his Recollections of a Life Time he remarks that "the relation of author and publisher is generally regarded as that of the cat and the dog, both greedy of the bone, and inherently jealous of each other." Goodrich had much company. Park Benjamin, editor of the New England Magazine, the American Monthly Magazine, and Youth's Keepsake to which Hawthorne contributed, also failed in his payments. Hawthorne had no publisher he could trust. In 1837 Horatio Bridge sent his characteristic sympathy and advice: "I should fear to trust him [Benjamin] or Goodrich, particularly the last. I believe them both selfish and unscrupulous. I coincide perfectly with you touching the disparity of profit between a writer's labor and a publisher's." Goodrich has received more criticism from Hawthorne scholars than Hawthorne's other publishers, probably because Hawthorne remained with him the longest of any before James T. Fields, and thus extended his maltreatment. But Goodrich was only following the practice of his day in rewarding his author very little. As editor and publisher of a gift-book annual, he was more concerned with the surface appearance than the contents of his product, and he could reprint pieces by British authors free of royalty
payments. Often editors who wanted to pay American authors simply could not. In 1843 Sophia wrote her mother that James Russell Lowell owed Hawthorne $20 for his contributions to *The Pioneer*. John O'Sullivan of the *Democratic Review* also owed an unspecified amount. Hawthorne became resigned to the whole system. To Bridge he wrote, "I find no difference in anybody, in this respect; all do wrong alike. [O'Sullivan] is just as certain to disappoint me in money matters as any pitiful little scoundrel among the booksellers. On my part, I am compelled to disappoint those who put faith in my engagements; and so it goes round. The Devil take such a system."

Hawthorne's early publishers failed him, however, not as much in their lack of payments as in their indifference to the author's vital need for encouragement. He wanted to feel reciprocal influences from the marketplace. His tales, he later claimed, were "his attempts, and very imperfectly successful ones, to open an intercourse with the world" (CE, 9.6). Instead he left his future admirers puzzling over his twelve long years of fabled seclusion. To the sympathetic Longfellow in 1837 he wrote that his literary efforts would have been better if written under "more favorable circumstances":

I have no external excitement—no consciousness that the public would like what I wrote, nor much hope, nor a very passionate desire that they should do so. Nevertheless, having nothing else to be ambitious of, I have felt considerably interested in literature; and if my writings had
made any decided impression, I should probably have been stimulated to greater exertions; but there has been no warmth of approbation, so that I have always written with benumbed fingers. (quoted in CR, 7).

Hawthorne wanted a more vital relationship with his audience than publication in gift-book annuals and scattered periodicals could provide. He needed to know that his works were being read. In the absence of such response from his audience, he had little to stimulate his creativity.

The result of this artistic isolation was a growing depression which alarmed his close friends. The faithful Bridge constantly advised him to cease publishing in magazines and annuals and to bring out his writings in the form of volumes only. "By this method he could free himself from the necessity of offering his productions piecemeal to editors—a process repulsive to his sensitive spirit." Bridge secretly approached Goodrich about such a volume, and this time Goodrich did secure a publisher. But his lack of conviction that Hawthorne might have popular appeal is evident in the fact that even as part owner of the American Stationer's Company, he failed to convince the company to publish the collection without first obtaining a guarantee from Bridge. On October 20, 1836, he wrote the secret benefactor: "I received your letter in regard to our friend Hawthorne. It will cost about $450 to print 1000 volumes in good style. I have seen a publisher, and he agrees to publish it if he can be guaranteed $250 as an ultimate resort
against loss. . . . The publication will be solely for the benefit of Hawthorne; he receiving ten per cent on the retail price—the usual terms." Twice-told Tales was published on March 6, 1837 at the retail price of $1.00 per copy, but within two months only 600 or 700 of the 1000 volume edition had been sold. Early in 1838 the American Stationers' Co. went bankrupt, and the balance of the edition was remaindered. Newly discovered evidence suggests that Hawthorne was paid nothing.

In his selection of the eighteen reprinted stories that made up the volume, Hawthorne clearly tried to anticipate the tastes of the reading public. He included many of the pleasant descriptive sketches from the gift-book annuals, and excluded his more profound and troubling stories, such as "My Kinsman Major Molineaux," "Young Goodman Brown," "The Wives of the Dead," and "Roger Malvin's Burial." He also edited out any offensive passages. He wanted the work to sell. Bridge ascribed the book's stagnant sales to the fact that the stories were indeed "Twice-told," not original. To an extent, Hawthorne himself undercut the sales by his reliance on too-recently published work.

A look at the actual 1837 edition offers more explanations. The publishers had no sense of their readership, for the volume which Hawthorne had edited mostly for the feminine market appeared in a dull brown binding. The four
pages of advertisements bound into the front list no fiction, only essays, orations, lectures, and such. One page is headed "VALUABLE SCHOOL BOOKS," with a sub-heading "FOR SABBATH SCHOOLS." Goodrich's tables of statistics in his Recollections reveal that from 1820-1856, the sales of schoolbooks grew the most dramatically of all American books, and were published and distributed within localized geographic regions. Even though the inserted advertisements for schoolbooks were aimed at women who taught Sunday School and supervised reading at home, the absence of fiction from the list indicates that the publishers made little effort to market a work of imaginative literature. Publishers left stacks of advertisement pages with their binders to be inserted into most of their books, and consequently they declined the opportunity to tailor any advertisements to the books in which the inserts appeared. The American Stationer's Company might use Hawthorne's book to help market its schoolbooks, but it failed to use its wide circulation of schoolbooks to promote Hawthorne's book in turn.

As a part of the schoolbook trade, children's books enjoyed measurable commercial success. Hawthorne had watched Goodrich grow rich with his Peter Parley's Universal History, and had gained experience, if not financial rewards, from his work on the series for Goodrich. After 1837 he began to view children's books as one form of lit-
erary drudgery available to him. In 1840–41 he produced three small books for children: *Grandfather's Chair*, *Famous Old People*, and *Liberty Tree*. He soon added a fourth, *Biographical Stories for Children*, which completed the *Grandfather's Chair* series. Elizabeth Peabody, sister to his future wife, published the series first, then arranged for its reprinting by Tappan and Dennet early in 1842 (TR, 126-27). No records of the business transactions seem to have survived, and we have no record of Hawthorne mentioning his income from the series. But Nina Baym, in *The Shape of Hawthorne's Career*, makes a case for the importance of this stage in Hawthorne's development as a professional author: "His deepest, and most sincere, literary feeling was the drive to be a successful author. If writing for children might accomplish that end, he could give himself wholly to such work. And again, Hawthorne's wish to characterize the author as a socially useful being might be satisfied in the production of children's literature." 34

The phrase "socially useful" aptly describes how Hawthorne's society defined a respectable vocation. Children's books might be "literature," but they also had utilitarian value in educating the young.

Aware of Longfellow's success with children's literature, Hawthorne approached the publisher James Munroe about editing a series to be called "Grandfather's Library." Nothing came of the plan, but on October 11, 1841 he signed
a contract for a two-volume edition of *Twice-told Tales* which would include twenty-one more tales than the 1837 edition. One questions Hawthorne's rationale in view of his previous failure. Munroe may have offered more encouragement than the diffident Goodrich ever did, and the lovesick author at Brook Farm may have been vulnerable to any proposals to ease his financial state. Hawthorne's letters to Sophia convey his panic over his inability to provide for her: "Other persons have bought large estates and built splendid mansions with such little books as I mean to write; so perhaps it is not unreasonable to hope that mine may enable me to build a little cottage. . . . Dearest, how much depends on these little books!"  

Hawthorne also may have recognized that Munroe had some knowledge of his market. The two-volume format was the preferred form for fiction in America until the early 1850s, and readers were accustomed to paying more for it. Hawthorne's new two-volume edition of *Twice-told Tales* retailed for $2.25 per set, a price that was probably too high for the depression market, but the gilded binding, with its heavily ornamented spine, was designed to compete with the successful domestic fiction.

But once again, sales were dismally disappointing. Of the 1000 copies published, 600 were still unsold a year later. The sales even failed to meet publication costs, and Munroe's promise to pay the author royalties of ten percent
on the retail price was a moot issue. Moreover, Hawthorne was dragged into the worst of the publishing muddle through the problem of the remainders. Should the copies be rebound and made a false issue? Two years later he exploded, "I wish the devil had the books—for I suppose he is a member of the 'Trade'." Munroe's reputation never had been solid, but Hawthorne knew better than to blame him for the leftover copies.

A year after the appearance of the 1841 *Twice-told Tales*, Hawthorne was still questioning: "Surely the book was puffed enough to meet with a sale. What the devil is the matter?" He was beginning to understand the intricate relations between publishers, editors, and reviewers in a system whereby certain works were "puffed", or promoted, and others virtually ignored. He was even accustomed to arranging some of his own puffs. The copy of his 1837 *Twice-told Tales* which he had sent to Longfellow had resulted in an almost embarrassingly laudatory article in the *North American Review*. And Park Benjamin's reviews of his early work were more intended to embarrass the competitor Goodrich than to praise Hawthorne. By 1843 Hawthorne had learned that there was not necessarily a connection between an author's real popularity and the greatness the reviewers ascribed to him. To Bridge he wrote that "nobody's scribblings seem to be more acceptable to the public than mine; and yet I shall find it a tough scratch
to gain a respectable support by my pen." But the puffery might be valuable in other ways. While seeking the office of Salem postmaster in 1845, Hawthorne heard from John O'Sullivan: "For the purpose of presenting you more advantageously, I have got Duyckinck to write an article about you in the April Democratic."

The Salem postmastership fell through, and Hawthorne continued publishing stories. He again experimented with the two-volume format, but this time in New York, where Wiley and Putnam published the collection **Mosses from an Old Manse** as part of a series edited by Evert Duyckinck in June 1846. Once again, Hawthorne had edited his stories, this time probably at Sophia's prompting, for a polite audience. "Monsieur du Miroir" suffered the most deletions: the narrator's drinking habits and lax religious views were cut. The publishers at least tried to accommodate different sized pocketbooks. The two-volume set in tan paper covers sold for $1.00, and the cloth-bound set for $1.25. Despite its affordable price, Hawthorne received very little for his efforts. The edition was a financial failure. His attention was soon diverted from this latest publishing flop, however, when he learned of his appointment to the Salem Custom House.

William Charvat's study, *The Profession of Authorship in America*, stresses the importance of a secondary occupation for nineteenth-century American authors. From 1800-
sixty to seventy-five percent of all male American writers who approached professionalism either held public office or tried to get it.\textsuperscript{41} Hawthorne actively sought government appointments even though he quickly learned that such responsibilities sapped all his creative energy. Public office gave him a respectable vocational identity, even a masculine identity, which authorship could not provide. As a writer, he not only participated in what society viewed as a feminine profession, he participated in an occupation which gave no security to one seeking to fill the traditionally masculine role of family provider. Writing simply did not bring in enough income to support a family. The winter before he took office he had been subjected to rumors, supposedly spread by the Rev. Charles Upham who had recently moved from Concord to Salem, about the Hawthornes' desperate financial circumstances. As much as he resented the rumors, he still had to borrow $100.00 from Bridge the next spring. Sophia's father did not help matters. A compulsive handyman, he frequently took over the manly tasks of the Hawthorne household: mending furniture and wallpaper, splitting wood, hanging the garden gate, etc. Hawthorne did not try to hide his exasperation about his father-in-law's visits. Mr. Peabody finally went too far when he ploughed the garden during Hawthorne's absence.\textsuperscript{42} If Hawthorne had been secure in his vocational identity, he would have welcomed the extra help. But he
clearly perceived, whether imagined or real, a parental disapproval of his commitment to a profession which was not "worthwhile" in the traditional sense. The mere writing of stories did not excuse him from performing his menial responsibilities as head of a household. If he had been pursuing a more "socially useful" profession such as medicine or business, by contrast, he likely would have felt more secure about the management of his household, and Mr. Peabody's presence would not have implied that the home needed a "man" around.

Hawthorne had to rejoice when he secured his position with the Custom House, because he needed another vocation, and because government appointments were among the least strenuous available. He settled comfortably into his new job in Salem and began to think about writing again, but this time with authorship as the secondary occupation. He wrote to Longfellow in the fall of 1847: "I should be happier if I could write--also, I should like to add something to my income, which, though tolerable, is a tight fit. If you can suggest any work of pure literary drudgery, I am the very man for it." Longfellow was in a good position to give advice. From 1843 to 1848 his paid contributions appeared only in Graham's, and it is likely that he was one of the first American authors to contract himself exclusively to one publisher.

In 1843 Hawthorne likewise had approached Rufus Gris-
wold, co-editor of Graham's: "I am advised that the publishers of Magazines consider it desirable to attach writers exclusively to their own establishments, and will pay at a higher rate for such a monopoly. If this be the case, I should make no difficulty in forsaking all other periodicals for a specified time—and so much the more readily, on account of the safety of your Magazine in a financial point of view."⁴⁵ Although Hawthorne did publish in Graham's, his proposal of loyalty was not successful. He had yet to achieve the stability which binding oneself to a particular publisher provides: the long-term association with an established business enterprise, the ability to compose carefully without immediate pressures to write for ready cash, the possibility of obtaining credit, and the stimulation of writing for a publisher who knows his market and can convey reader response to the author. Hawthorne had none of these advantages. Therefore, when he was terminated from his position at the Salem Custom House in 1849, he had no publisher, no vocational security, and no prospects.
Footnotes for Chapter One


5 Douglas, p. 275.

6 Ibid., pp. 284-89. Douglas's discussion of these four authors, entitled "Masculine Sentimentalism and the Problems of Dependency," in her chapter "The Periodical Press: Arena for Hostility," reveals that Hawthorne was not alone in his vocational identity anxieties. The male writers adopted a self-effacing pose to deflect paternal and societal disapproval away from their "idleness."


10 Charvat, The Profession of Authorship, pp. 275, 296.

11 Douglas, p. 286.


13 J. Hawthorne, Hawthorne and His Wife, 1.354.


19 Ibid., pp. 1-4.


23 For the sake of simplicity, I have referred to the publishing firm as "Ticknor & Co." for the years before 1849, and "Ticknor & Fields" for the years thereafter. The firm actually bore the following titles:

1832-34 Allen and Ticknor
1834-43 William D. Ticknor
1843-49 William D. Ticknor and Co.
1849-54 Ticknor, Reed and Fields
1854-64 Ticknor and Fields
1864-68 Ticknor and Fields (Howard M. Ticknor, Fields, and Osgood)
1868-71 Fields, Osgood and Co.
1871-78 James R. Osgood and Co.
1878-80 Houghton, Osgood and Co.
1880- Houghton, Mifflin and Co.

24 J. Hawthorne, *Hawthorne and His Wife*, l.132.

26 J. Hawthorne, *Hawthorne and His Wife*, 1.149.

27 Quoted in Mellow, pp. 220-27.

28 Bridge, p. 81.

29 Ibid., p. 79.


31 Mellow, p. 77.

32 Ibid., p. 82.


35 *Love Letters*, 2.32.

36 Mellow, p. 192-94.

37 Ibid., p. 194.

38 Bridge, p. 94.


40 Mellow, p. 276.


42 Mellow, pp. 259, 241.

43 Ibid., p. 283.


Chapter Two:

A New Publisher and The Scarlet Letter

The 1837 Twice-told Tales had been a commercial failure, but it had also earned Hawthorne a small circle of admirers. James T. Fields, a young clerk with the firm of William D. Ticknor at the time, remembered in his Yesterdays with Authors that he first saw Hawthorne when the author was about thirty-five, after he had published Twice-told Tales. Ten years later, now a junior partner in the firm of Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, Fields was still impressed enough to join in the struggle to keep the author from being removed from the Salem Custom House by the Whigs. By his own account, Fields "came to know Hawthorne very intimately after the Whigs displaced the Democratic romancer from office."¹ The story of the author-publisher relationship of Hawthorne and Fields indeed began when Hawthorne was experiencing a lifetime low.

The only account we have of Fields' first contact in his capacity of publisher with the luckless author surrounds the "discovery" of The Scarlet Letter manuscript and comes from Fields himself, and therefore may be more imaginatively than historically correct. A minor poet, Fields liked to think of himself as part of a brotherhood of authors, participating in the lives of those who produced
great literature. In his description of his role in bringing forth *The Scarlet Letter*, he assumes the persona of a literary creator, setting the scene and recounting the plot with drama. He writes that he found Hawthorne "alone in a chamber," "hovering near a stove," despondent over his future prospects. Fields tried to encourage him to publish something new, but Hawthorne merely replied, "Who would risk publishing a book for me, the most unpopular writer in America?" When Fields assured him that he would bring out "an edition of two thousand copies of anything you write," the author exclaimed like a true character of romance, "What madness! . . . your friendship for me gets the better of your judgment." Hawthorne denied having any new manuscript, but just then Fields took on the role of the clairvoyant: "immediately it occurred to me that hidden away somewhere in that article of furniture was a story or stories." Hawthorne again denied the fact, and Fields rose to leave. The remainder of the account has the plot rising to a climax as Fields descends the stairs, and Hawthorne hurries after him confessing that he does indeed have a manuscript. Fields then took the germ of *The Scarlet Letter* back to Boston, read it overnight, and returned to Salem to arrange for its publication the very next day.²

Fields's account of his own role in the surfacing of the *Scarlet Letter* manuscript may be a bit exaggerated. Mrs. Hawthorne, just before her death, emphasized that it
was her reaction to Hawthorne's reading of his manuscript that convinced him he had a good work. "The next day, the manuscript was delivered to Mr. Fields." In a little-known letter, she exploded upon hearing of Fields's account in the Atlantic Monthly: "But I have heard that he [Fields] has made the absurd boast that he was the sole cause of the Scarlet Letter being published!!!! for that he encouraged Mr. Hawthorne that it was a good book!! This is all entirely a mistake. It was Mr. Whipple, the clever critic, and really literary man of careful culture, who came to Salem with Mr. Fields, and told him what a splendid work it was -- and then Mr. Fields begged to be the Publisher of it." Fields apparently declined to mention that Whipple was with him. Whipple's forgotten account is perhaps the most reliable of all. In his "Recollections of James T. Fields" published in the Atlantic Monthly in 1881, he remembers, "It was therefore well that two young men [Fields and himself], who were enthusiastic admirers of his genius, and whose minds were specially stirred by its latest expression, should break in upon his solitude that summer afternoon, and rouse him from his despondency. Mrs. Hawthorne ... joined us heartily in the attempt to make the great romancer feel that he had produced a work which would not only make a deep and immediate impression on the public mind, but live as long as American literature existed." So Fields was not alone in encouraging Hawthorne to place his new work
before the public.

Regardless of how inaccurate Fields's dramatic story may be, it still has value in its demonstration of ambiguities characteristic of the nineteenth-century publishing scene, an environment which lacked real differentiation of roles. Publishers were frequently authors; authors often published their own work; editors and reviewers could also be authors and publishers. Fields, the publisher-poet, saw his role in bringing the manuscript to light as more than a business venture: it was the work of a literary brother, even of a generous patron. He had come to Boston from Portsmouth, New Hampshire at fourteen years of age to work in the Old Corner bookstore, the retail bookselling branch of the publishing house which eventually would bear his name. He had no college education, but he read voraciously, paid careful attention to which segments of the public bought which books, and surrounded himself with the company of those who shared his love for great literature. Although he enjoyed imitating the heroic couplets of Pope, he soon recognized that he would more readily make a name for himself as a publisher rather than author. His knowledge of eighteenth-century writers, many of whom depended upon patrons for support, may have served to spark his interest in being a kind of literary patron as well as publisher to authors who would otherwise fail to produce. But whatever his motivation, he had a driving psychological need to be
vitaly connected to literature.

Fields may have been overly enthusiastic in taking the credit for the discovery of *The Scarlet Letter* manuscript, but this same enthusiasm for his role as the benefactor of authors was a key to his success as a publisher. In 1846 he had persuaded Longfellow, already a popular writer, to use Ticknor & Co. as sole publisher of his volumes. Longfellow added to the firm's prestige and reputation as patron of poets, and with the publication of *Evangeline* in August of 1847, he added to their earnings as well (TR, 108). But Longfellow could afford to purchase his own stereotype plates, enabling him to carry the financial risk in exchange for a higher royalty rate. And with earnings from both writing and teaching averaging over $3,500 a year, he clearly was not a candidate for the generous patronage which Fields wanted to give a worthy author.

Before *The Scarlet Letter*, Hawthorne's only business dealing with Fields had been a small contribution to *The Boston Book* in May of 1849, for which he was paid $25. The year before, Hawthorne, in his capacity as corresponding secretary of the Salem Lyceum, had sent Fields a formal letter inviting him to deliver a poem before the group. Because Hawthorne had failed in his attempt to follow Longfellow's example and secure the sole patronage of *Graham's Magazine* in the periodical market, he would not have been optimistic about his chances with Ticknor & Fields either.
Hawthorne must have watched in amazement as Evangeline, a work published in Boston, flooded a national market. He himself had given Longfellow the idea for the poem, and the poem's success was demonstrating the tremendous potential in the marketplace for serious works of art with popular appeal.

What Hawthorne likely had not recognized was that a new era of publishing had begun about 1848-1850, when he was secluded in the Salem Custom House. In addition to the extension of railroads into the interior, a development which ended Boston's cultural isolation, many competitive reprinters went bankrupt, and retail book prices rose to a higher level. Respectable publishers made agreements not to interfere with each other's reprint arrangements, fixing of discounts, etc. Both Ticknor and Fields believed in the value of these "gentlemen's agreements," mostly because such agreements helped maintain good relations with other publishing houses. The gregarious Fields even took great pains to cultivate not just professional but personal friendships with fellow publishers and editors. To Henry Baird, a new partner of Carey & Lea, he wrote,

God prosper you in your new beginnings. With regard to future plans between us in business we will talk over the matter when we meet which I am glad to hear is to be so soon. I think we shall be able to connect houses in such a way as will be mutually advantageous. Cushman & wife are here & happy. Harry, let us take wives & be happy likewise. It seems to be the only way to get along in this 'wale of tears' as Mr. Weller calls it.  

(Nov 15, 1849, PN)
Fields also used his personal charm to secure the good favor of influential editors and critics. His friendship with Rufus Griswold began about 1841 and was sufficiently close for Griswold to invite Fields to be his best man at his third wedding, in 1852. Their correspondence often included invitations for long visits and big dinners. While Hawthorne was still using a scatter-shot approach to place his name before the public, Fields was building up an impressive network of literary connections which would benefit his authors. Not surprisingly, the publisher's friendship with editors and critics often influenced their professional obligations. In 1843 Griswold wrote Fields, "Did you see what a puff I gave Tennyson [then being published by Ticknor] in the Sat Eve Post? . . . You must send a copy to that paper and one to me, which shall be duly acknowledged. I puff your books, you know, without any regard to their quality."

Fields's success at immersing himself so completely in the literary society of his times was due, in part, to his dual role as publisher-poet. Upon the publication of his Poems in 1849, he sent complimentary copies to dozens of his intimate friends, and delighted in their warm response. Samuel Goodrich wrote:

The world owes you a debt, which I hope the world will pay -- for you have proved that a thrifty man of business, of good digestion, regular habits, & pure private life, may be a true poet. Henceforward, I am ready to maintain that it is not necessary, in order to [obtain] inti-
macy with the reader, to be a rake, wear loop-
locks, have the dyspepsia, or live in a garret.
(Apr 9, 1849, HL)

In addition to personal praise showered on himself, Fields
expected his many friends to praise the volume to oth-
knowing that they would expect favors in return. He sent
Bayard Taylor of the New York Tribune an early copy of
Longfellow's Kavanaugh, explaining:

I hope you will notice it yourself in the
Tribune as I know it is a book after yr. own
heart. I shall not look for the article till Wed-
nesda y or Thursday. Don't let any other Editors
know you have got it in advance nor show the book
anywhere. I shall answer yr. kind letter soon.
Many thanks for yr. kindness touching my little
book [Fields' Poems].

In the postscript he added, "The moral of the story lies at
the bottom of page 168. This is important in a notice in
the Tribune" (May 7, 1849, HL). In other words, because
Taylor apparently gave Fields's book a kind notice, Fields
sent him the first copy of a work by his most popular
author, then in turn expected another favorable review.

We are just beginning to uncover the extensive system
which Fields built up for placing his firm's authors before
the public in a favorable manner. The bulk of the publish-
er's correspondence surviving today is in the Huntington
Library and offers a rare insight into the shared assump-
tions of publishers, authors, and editors concerning promo-
tion of works. The correspondence between Fields and Taylor
held there is especially interesting for its evidence of
the extent to which the nineteenth century lacked clear
differentiation in the publishing environment. Publishing has always been entangled deeply with relations of personalities, but for Fields and Taylor in nineteenth-century America, even the traditional roles of publisher, author, and editor kept merging and shifting.

Upon receiving Taylor's newly-published Poems from Putnam, Fields, the poet-publisher, wrote the poet-editor:

You have a capital reputation now in poetry, and must be careful of yr. muse. A good beginning is everything. I stand at a desk where I can gauge a man's depth in the public -- reading -- estimation & I know no youngster who stands dearer than J. B. T. . . . I am dreadfully busy just now but look for my printed praises in some of our Boston papers before the week is out. I am determined Whipple shall do you up honors and that you shall ride in a shiny coach made from the profits of Boston copies sold in our diggins.

(Dec 26, 1848, HL)

Fields had obviously applied his publisher's influence in Taylor's behalf, a fact which he proudly emphasized to his friend. Fields liked to think, and correctly so, that he could judge the public's literary taste, and he liked to trumpet his ability to use another friend, the popular critic Whipple, to raise an author in the public's estimation. The danger of taking Fields's enthusiasm too seriously is that he implies that Whipple's criticism is merely an extension of his publishing/retail bookselling house. Yet there is no evidence that Whipple was ever paid for the publicity he gave Ticknor and Fields's authors; like Fields he had a genuine enthusiasm for literary talent. Whipple's critical reputation in the 1840s earned him the kind of
contacts that publishers valued, and Fields saw to it that the influential critic met, and remained in permanent social relations with, as many of Ticknor & Fields's authors as possible. It is not surprising that these friends were the subject of most of Whipple's unsigned reviews in *Graham's* between 1849 and 1853.\textsuperscript{12}

In another dual role, the role of publisher-critic, Fields often wrote his own reviews, accompanied by a personal letter to the editor in which he implied that he was merely saving the editor the trouble of having to write his own. To Taylor he wrote, "If you do not care to use this article for the Tribune, it may serve your tired brain some purpose elsewhere. No one need know that I wrote it if you please. Did you get the other gossip of mine [in the Transcript] touching the literary men of N. Y.? Was my mention of you agreeable or otherwise?" (Apr 10, 1849, HL).

Fields was not intentionally corrupting the system; he was simply using an already slipshod system to his own advantage. Book reviewing in the newspapers was completely haphazard because there were no literary editors or signed reviews. Reviews were usually short notices, laudatory if the publisher advertised or had influence, libelous if someone on the staff disliked the author or publisher. Reviews often quoted extensively from the new books: the more quotations, the better the book, the reviews implied. Publishers had to win the favor of this segment of the book
trade. Magazines were unlikely to be influenced by advertising since few printed any. The publishers therefore sent complimentary copies of the works to be reviewed, and expected that the most expensive books would be given the most attention. Publishers also arranged for the author's friends to write or place reviews in local newspapers where they had influence. Whipple was not alone in writing about his friends. Hawthorne reviewed Longfellow and Melville in the Salem Advertiser.\textsuperscript{13} Even the respectable North American Review, in which Longfellow had praised both editions of Twice-told Tales, was not immune. In 1853 Fields wrote to the new editor, the Rev. A. P. Peabody:

Be assured I will do all in my power to aid the success of the N. A. Review under your Editorship. . . . I will call about you so far as I have any influence among able writers, all my own friends in the literary way. Will remember your suggestion touching special critics for special books.

(Dec 2, 1853, PN)

Fields clearly regarded the publicity that periodicals could provide as of prime importance. William Charvat even asserts that Fields's real usefulness to his publishing firm lay not in his literary tastes or encouragement of authors, but in his relations with men, not then well known, who had access to the book columns of newspapers and magazines—his old friend E. P. Whipple, as well as Epes Sargent, Park Benjamin, H. T. Tuckerman, and Rufus Griswold.\textsuperscript{14} In other words, Fields, the publisher-poet-patron-critic, was primarily valuable to the firm for his
ability to forge friendships with and secure loyalty from all the right people.

Before 1850 Hawthorne had no such sphere of personal and professional influence working for him. Poe had written in 1847 that Hawthorne was "the example, par excellence, in this country, of the privately-admired and publicly-unappreciated man of genius."15 Although Hawthorne's reviews were favorable, even enthusiastic, they failed to capture the attention of the common reading public. Fields never catered overtly to the public demand for cheap, sentimental fiction; rather, he concentrated on publishing fine literature and promoting it so extensively that the public would have to take notice. Hawthorne's early publishers, Samuel Goodrich, James Munroe, and Wiley and Putnam, had cared little for any relations with the author beyond the necessary business transactions.

Hawthorne's politically-motivated dismissal from the Custom House earned him more publicity in the marketplace than his writings ever had. His name began to be recognized everywhere newspapers were read, as both admirers and strangers took up his cause. An editorial in The New York Evening Post, edited by William Cullen Bryant, is representative of the newspaper criticism: "If General Taylor was pledged to any principle of policy, he was pledged against removal from office for opinion's sake. A more flagrant violation of that pledge cannot be imagined, than is
exhibited in the removal of Mr. Hawthorne." Because of Fields's close ties with the newspapers, he knew that Hawthorne's name was becoming well known, and that any new work by the author would benefit from this name recognition. Fields also might have heard from Longfellow that Hawthorne intended to take revenge on his political enemies in print. Knowing that it would be easy to market the new work, and convinced of its intrinsic merit, he readily convinced Hawthorne to let him have the romance, and the vital author-publisher relationship which both men needed and wanted began.

Hawthorne had never before worked with a publisher who had promotional skills even approaching the enthusiasm and expertise of Fields. Although Fields knew that Hawthorne's manuscript was not yet in a form to be marketed, he could not miss the opportunity to begin advertising it. As early as December 29, 1849, over a month before Hawthorne had even finished writing his tale, notices of a "new volume" by Hawthorne began appearing in the influential New York Literary World. Its editor, E. A. Duyckinck, was a long-time admirer of Hawthorne and was eager to cooperate.

Because Hawthorne burned the original manuscript, we cannot determine what changes he may have made after Fields promised to publish it. We do know that he planned to use it as part of a group of tales which would be collected together in a single volume. On January 15, 1850, he sent
the manuscript to Fields, minus the last three chapters, explaining that "The Scarlet Letter" would make up about 200 pages of the 400 or so page work. In the postscript he added:

If my wife approves—whom I have made the umpire in the matter—I shall call the book Old-Time Legends; together with sketches, experimental and ideal. I believe we must consider the book christened as above. Of course, it will be called simply "Old-Time Legends," and the rest of the title will be printed in small capitals. I wish I could have brought a definition of the whole book within the compass of a single phrase, but it is impossible. If you think it essentially a bad title, I will make further trials.

(Jan 15, 1850, HT)

Hawthorne was clearly opting for a "safe" title and format for his story about adultery. His wife, as representative of feminine tastes, should approve of the Irvingesque collection of historical legends. The author's serious proverbs into the consequences of sin—his study of guilt and isolation—would be diluted by its inclusion therein and thus made palatable for the general reading public, which Hawthorne knew consisted mostly of ladies.

Fields had other ideas, however. After receiving the near-finished manuscript, he apparently decided that it should be elaborated and published as a separate work. The public could stand more intensity in a serious work of fiction than Hawthorne could believe from his previous experiences. But Hawthorne still had reservations about the practical wisdom of publishing the work by itself, for on January 20 he again wrote:
if the book is made up entirely of 'The Scarlet Letter', it will be too somber. I found it impos-
sible to relieve the shadows of the story with so
much light as I would gladly have thrown in.
Keeping so close to its point as the tale does,
and diversified no otherwise than by turning dif-
ferent sides of the same dark idea to the read-
er's eye, it will weary very many people, and
disgust some. Is it safe, then, to stake the fate
of the book entirely on this one chance? A hunter
loads his gun with a bullet and several buck-
shot; and, following his sagacious example, it
was my purpose to conjoin the one long story with
half a dozen shorter ones; so that, failing to
kill the public outright with my biggest and
heaviest lump of lead, I might have other chances
with the smaller bits, individually and in the
aggregate. However, I am willing to leave these
considerations to your separate judgment, and
should not be sorry to have you decide for the
separate publication.

(Jan 29, 1850, HT)

Because his previous collections of tales had been
commercial failures, Hawthorne saw no chance that the read-
ning public would accept his "dark idea" by itself. His
expressed intention "to kill the public outright" reveals
that he was still responding ironically to his audience,
just as he had responded in so many sketches by having his
narrative voice make light of the public's indifference to
his writings. Such irony was foreign to Fields: the public
would accept the new work, provided Hawthorne allow him to
bring it into a form which the publisher knew would be
attractive to readers.

Hawthorne's willingness to concede to his publisher's
judgment, and Fields's combined business and authorial
function as publisher, caused Fields to be involved with
the manuscript itself more than has been hitherto recog-
nized. He wanted to make decisions crucial to literature, not just to its format and publication, an ambition which was clearly confusing to an author who had always simply turned over his manuscripts to publishers expecting nothing in return before publication day except proof sheets. Fields not only opposed Hawthorne's plan to make his tale part of a collection, he proposed an alternative. All the tale needed for accompaniment in a volume was a light sketch introducing it. New evidence suggests that it was Fields who recommended the autobiographical introduction which Hawthorne entitled "The Custom-House." Hawthorne did not know how to react to the editorial interference. As eager as he was for revenge on his political enemies, and as excellent an outlet for his bitterness as the sketch offered, he had reservations about this addition. In an undated draft of his January 20 letter to Fields, he scribbled confusedly:

As regards the book, I have been thinking and considering--I was rather afraid that it appears sagacious absurd and impertinent to have some doubts, of the introduction to the book, which you recommend. I have found it impossible to relieve the shadows of the story with so much light as I would gladly stake the fate of the book entirely on the public. However, I am willing to leave these considerations to your judgment, and should not be sorry to have you decide for the separate publication. 18

The letter which he actually sent Fields reads more coherently, "I am truly glad that you like the introduction; for I was rather afraid that it might appear absurd and impert-
inent to be talking about myself, when nobody, that I know of, has requested any information on that subject." Because Hawthorne included "The Custom-House" in the manuscript he sent Fields on January 15, explaining that it "is introductory to the volume," Fields must have encouraged him to write it back in December, weeks before the issue of separate publication of the tale was decided upon. Certainly, statements in the sketch itself belong to the earlier plan of the volume.

Hawthorne's statement of his insecurity over talking about himself in the sketch is curious for one who included a long preface in his Mosses volumes in 1846 and who was accustomed to this type of "intimate journalism" in his most popular sketches. "The Custom-House" even begins with an apologetic tone as Hawthorne seeks to distinguish himself from the Ike Marvel (Reveries of a Bachelor) school of sentimentalism: "It is a little remarkable, that—though disinclined to talk overmuch of myself and my affairs at the fireside, and to my personal friends,—an autobiographical impulse should twice have taken possession of me, in addressing the public." He continues, "But—as thoughts are frozen and utterance benumbed, unless the speaker stand in some true relation with his audience—it may be pardonable to imagine that a friend . . . is listening to our talk" (CE, 1.3-4). While avowing a certain distance between himself, the "inmost ME," and the public, he proceeds to
woo the reader into sympathy with his art. The sketch has all the devices calculated for popularity: quiet humor, the author speaking directly to his reader, accuracy of detail, personal observations and impressions, a curiosity about the past. Hawthorne not only seems comfortable with the sketch form, he is a master of it. But unlike the apologetic tones of the masculine sentimentalists who were merely striking a defensive pose, Hawthorne's apologies reveal a very real anguish about his self-identity as a serious artist. He might not be able to "relieve the shadows of the story" with any light, but he could write an introduction to lighten the volume and to please Fields. Even so, his obvious compromise with the marketplace, represented for him in the person of his publisher, was painful.

William Charvat observes that one of the symptoms of friction between the American writer and his public is his tendency to write about writing. Because most readers of fiction do not wish to work too hard when they read, the author has to find a balance between his desire to express himself, and his desire to be bought and read and taken seriously. Like Melville, Hawthorne was in a state of creative tension with a reading public whose limitations he had at last defined. Charvat further notes that, for these authors, any "high art" must be erected on a broad base of "middling" art—the art of the "middling" ladies' journals which praised the personal tone, humor (the pun, journalis-
tic skill), and vivid description and action. Melville imposed his personal quest for meaning on the journalistic narrative of a whaling voyage; Hawthorne was never able to interweave the personal and the public modes as successfully, although he tried to write both ways in his later romances. The solution Hawthorne adopted instead, beginning with The Scarlet Letter, was to construct his tale, and then write a preface to instruct the public how to read it. "The Custom-House" might have been Fields's promotional brainstorm, but Hawthorne could use the sketch to attract readers to his serious art, thus protecting his artistic integrity while submitting to his publisher's control. He explained the sketch's function to Fields: "'The Custom House' is merely introductory—an entrance-hall to the magnificent edifice which I throw open to my guests. It would be funny, if, seeing the further passages so dark and dismal, they should all choose to stop there!" (Jan 20, 1850)

The sketch might have been painful for Hawthorne to write because he was not only admitting his plight as a writer of romances for a skeptical public, he was also exposing his failure to hold a masculine vocation. The Salem Custom House promised such a vocation, but he found that in depending upon the republic for his livelihood, he began to lose "the capability of self-support." "I endeavoured to calculate how much longer I could stay in the Custom-House, and yet go forth a man" (CE, 1.38, 39-40). He
faced the same old dilemma: as a writer, his masculinity was threatened whether he catered to the domestic public and was successful, or whether he ignored the public and failed to sell. As a government employee, he had begun to lose his self-respect, but his dismissal was like murder to a man with thoughts of suicide. Once again he had to accept help from friends. The lawyer George Hillard collected $500 and presented it to him just after Fields had accepted *The Scarlet Letter* for publication. Hawthorne was touched, but his response indicates his despondency over failing in a nation of opportunity: "It is something else besides pride that teaches me that ill-success is really and justly a matter of shame. I am ashamed of it, and I ought to be. The fault of a failure is attributable—in a great degree, at least—to the man who fails." But he will use the money as "an incitement to his utmost exertions, so that he may not need their help again."20

Hillard's generosity and Fields's encouragement provided the impetus for Hawthorne to finish his tale. Even while writing the last three chapters, he turned his attention to the whole business of producing a book. Fields was eager to get his find before the public in time for the spring book season, and he put his compositors to setting type before Hawthorne was through writing. The question of format was resolved first. Hawthorne had written on January 15 that, based on the size of the page in *Mosses*, he could
supply "400 and probably more" pages for the new volume. He was conscious of space limitations, for in "The Custom-House" he mentions that "it is time to quit this sketch" (CE, 1.19). He was still wearing the "two-volume strait jacket" of the past three decades, even though by 1850 competition to make cheaper books had undermined this expensive practice, and fictional form had returned to its original freedom. Fields brought Hawthorne back into the marketplace by insisting that "The Scarlet Letter" be published by itself. Hawthorne was then free to let his work be structured by the force of the idea, not by the force of the format. On January 15, he had estimated his work at 200 pages, but it grew to 267 pages in the first edition, not counting the 54 pages of "The Custom-House" sketch.

The next problem was finding the right title. On January 8, Hawthorne wrote Ticknor & Fields: "I will send the copy early next week.... I cannot think of a name for the book, and fear it must go to press without one. It has already cost me more perplexity than any fifty pages of the volume" (The Pierpont Morgan Library). Again on January 15: "I have not yet struck out a title, but may possibly hit on one before I close the package. If not, there need be no running title of the book over each page, but only of the individual articles." Five days later he had decided: "it appears to me that the only proper title for the book would be 'The Scarlet Letter'; for 'The Custom House' is merely
introductory. . . . If 'The Scarlet Letter' is to be the title, would it not be well to print it on the title-page in red ink? I am quite sure about the good taste of so doing; but it would certainly be piquant and appropriate—and, I think, attractive to the great gull whom we are endeavoring to circumvent" (Jan 20, 1850, HT). Hawthorne apparently had narrowed down his choices to two. Because Fields's letters to Hawthorne during this time are lost or destroyed, we can only suspect that it was Fields who suggested the title "The Custom-House" to capitalize on Hawthorne's current notoriety in the press. Hawthorne responded by choosing "The Scarlet Letter" for essentially the same reason, that it would be attractive "to the great gull," especially if printed in red ink. In the letter to Fields, he again refers to the reading public ironically, as a great body of the easily-duped who can be lured by red ink, much as they could be "killed" with the scattered shot of his proposed collection of legends. His letters to Fields consistently reveal this self-deprecating and almost hostile attitude regarding his favor with the public; indeed, he very rarely refers to the public in a straightforward manner. His letters clearly suggest that the self-mocking narrative voice which he employed in his sketches was not merely a literary pose, but a pose with which he himself felt the most comfortable in defending his status as an author.
Hawthorne knew that Ticknor & Fields's literary works were not geared to a broad audience. Longfellow had been attracted to the tasteful appearance of the firm's selections, because before 1846, his works had been published in either expensive, handsome editions or else in cheap editions targeted for the public. Ticknor & Fields tried to find the middle ground for both price and taste.\(^\text{22}\) The format which became their trademark was a chocolate-brown cloth cover, blind-stamped to resemble leather, with gilded letters on the spine. The firm also accepted special orders for fine bindings in calf, half calf, and morocco. Occasionally they marketed paper editions of popular works. The Ticknor & Fields books rarely tried to compete with the gaudily gilded format of popular domestic fiction, and they used only high quality paper. Hawthorne knew that his title printed in red ink would be piquant to a public unaccustomed to such deviations in the little brown books.

Still, he had no high hopes that his book would achieve widespread popularity. Women writers dominated the fiction market, and they generally had one or two simple themes: the concept that submission to God's will brings its own happiness, and that virtuous deportment creates a happy home and a better social status.\(^\text{23}\) Hester Prynne had no chance here. Hawthorne had to rely on Fields to help him package Hester's story in a form compatible with current literary tastes. Of course, the bulk of the romance was
already written when he became connected with Fields, but he accepted the publisher's suggestion for a light introductory sketch which would both attract attention and ground the romance in reality, and he allowed his, and possibly Fields's knowledge of the market to govern his writing of the conclusion.

Two foremost scholars of nineteenth-century popular fiction, Henry Nash Smith and Fred Lewis Pattee, miss the very real ambivalence of Hawthorne (and Melville) towards their audience, when they use them as mere springboards for their discussions of popular domestic fiction. Both place Hawthorne flatly against mainstream literary currents. Smith: "Popular fiction was designed to sooth the sensibilities of its readers by fulfilling expectations and expressing only received ideas, and to provide channels for the unimpeded discharge of strong but crude feelings. Hawthorne at his best is ironic and skeptical; his symbolic method does not lend itself to dogmatic assertion or uncomplicated emotion." Pattee: "On a cold thin soil of his own creating he produced a stone-crop as apart from the warm currents of actual life as a Utopian dream . . . . His characters are weird and unnatural, and their story [The Scarlet Letter] is as lacking in warm human naturalness as a treatise on finance." Hawthorne himself would have agreed with Smith and Pattee. On February 4, he wrote his friend Bridge that his
romance would soon be out, but that he did not expect it to be a success with the public:

Some portions of the book are powerfully written; but my writings do not, nor ever will, appeal to the broadest class of sympathies, and therefore will not obtain a very wide popularity.

Even before his final chapters were written, Hawthorne was aware that he had probed deeper into his characters than most readers were willing to follow. Chillingworth had become little more than the personification of jealousy and revenge, but Hester and Dimmesdale had become more psychologically complex with each chapter.

Hawthorne knew that he had to use the Conclusion to bring his story into line with reader expectations. He decided to resist the temptation to satisfy the reader's suspense about exactly what was on the minister's breast, because such an external fact would have detracted most readers from his whole purpose. But he clearly felt that some compromise with his audience was necessary. In "The Custom-House" he had given a precise, detailed account of his discovery of the letter A, even including the measurements of the actual letter in order to thwart reader's suspicions that his romance was merely "make-believe" fiction. In the Conclusion, he again maintains his story's historical validity: "The authority which we have chiefly followed—a manuscript of old date, drawn up from the verbal testimony of individuals, some of whom had known Hester Prynne, while others had heard the tale from contemporary
witnesses—fully confirms the view taken in the foregoing pages" (CE, 1.260). And while he is bowing to reader pressure, he might as well impose a pat moral: "Among many morals which press upon us from the poor minister's miserable experience, we put only this into a sentence:--'Be true! Be true! Be true! Show freely to the world, if not your worst, yet some trait whereby the worst may be inferred!'" (CE, 1.260).

We must also question whether Hester's final prophecy of a new feminine truth is not Hawthorne's response to marketplace preoccupation with "the new woman." With the rise of the middle class in commercial America, men were so busy with money-making, politics, and other practical affairs that women took over the arts, social deportment, and domestic standards. Women might not participate in the economy or politics of the new nation, but their influence could make the quality of life better for everyone. Hester's world never recognized the value of such influence. Looking into the future, Hester sees that "The angel and apostle of the coming revelation must be a woman, indeed, but lofty, pure, and beautiful; and wise, moreover, not through dusky grief, but the ethereal medium of joy; and showing how sacred love should make us happy, by the truest test of a life successful to such an end!" (CE, 1.263). Hawthorne's feminine readers might recognize themselves in the prophecy, and perhaps overlook the absence of conven-
tional, sentimental womanhood in the book.

Hawthorne's ambivalent relationship to the public clearly caused artistic problems for the author. He knew that his tale defied reader's expectations, but he still worked to bring it as close to the mainstream as he dared. He assisted his readers both into and out of the story with familiar devices, thereby softening the harsh complexities within. He never wanted to remove himself or his characters from "the warm currents of actual life." After struggling to bring the tale into a form which would give it the best chance of being acceptable to the public, he trusted Fields to make certain that the public noticed the book.

On March 16, The Scarlet Letter appeared in the customary Ticknor & Fields brown binding, with a retail price of seventy-five cents. Fields had taken Hawthorne's suggestion: the title appeared on the title page in red ink. Like most volumes, pages of advertisements listing the publisher's selections were bound into the back. Publishers rarely included the inserted pages systematically—often the binder would use stacks of old advertisement sheets or simply forget about them altogether—so that not every volume of a given edition would necessarily have the same pages of advertisements. A copy of the first edition Scarlet Letter in the Huntington Library, however, bears four pages of "A LIST OF BOOKS" dated March 1, 1850, which tells us much about Ticknor & Fields's market at the time Hawthorne first
approached it. The first page lists volumes of Longfellow's poems; the second his prose works, followed by a general category of poetry. Under the heading of "Miscellaneous" for pages three and four, we find that the first three listings are: "ALDERBROOK; A Collection of Fanny Forester's Village Sketches, Poems, etc. In two volumes" priced at $1.75; "GREENWOOD LEAVES. A Collection of Grace Greenwood's Stories and Letters. In one volume" priced at $1.25; and "NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. The Scarlet Letter. A Romance." Almost half of the selections are for women: "HEROINES OF THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE"; "ANGEL-VOICES; or Words of Counsel for Overcoming the World"; "MRS. PUTNAM'S RECEIPT BOOK; and Young Housekeeper's Assistant"; "LIGHTS AND SHA-DOWS OF DOMESTIC LIFE."

Ticknor & Fields was clearly addressing the feminine market. The firm's editions of Alderbrook and Greenwood Leaves, also in the Huntington Library, sport elaborate bindings with gilded foliage on the covers and spine. Hawthorne's book was inexpensive compared to these decorative, illustrated editions, but retailed for the same price as editions of fellow American authors Longfellow and Whittier. The reprints of British authors ranged in price from fifty cents to two dollars. Fields never tried to market what he considered his serious literature in the meretricious formats of feminine fiction, but his broad range of publishing interests effectively opened the feminine market
for his authors, if they chose to take notice.

The *Scarlet Letter* got off to a good start. The first edition of 2,500 copies sold so rapidly that a second edition of 2,500 copies appeared on April 22. Apparently Fields was scarcely as confident about the book's chances of success as he had first appeared to Hawthorne; he waited until a third edition of 1,000 copies was needed in September before he ordered the book cast into stereotype plates. The cost of the plates, $223.39, would have equaled about 12.4% of the total retail price of the first edition, an amount too substantial to risk for any unproven work (CB, 150, 170). American publishers, especially those who paid native authors royalties of fifteen percent on the retail price, often worked with too small a profit margin to enable them to risk the expense of the plates also, even though this initial expense would have saved printing costs for subsequent editions.

But Fields did give Hawthorne a vote of confidence by paying him royalties of fifteen percent. Subtracting the dozens of complimentary copies which went to friends, editors, and critics, Hawthorne's percentage amounted to $663.75 (CB, 150, 161, 170). Fifteen percent was not unusual for established authors, but many received only ten percent. Fields once explained to his friend Bayard Taylor about the royalties on a volume of poetry: "In regard to terms we (that is the firm) allow the author 10 pr. cent on
the retail price of all copies sold. This is a sad percentage, but averaging as we are obliged to do what we publish, it is not our best business by any means" (Apr 24, 1851, HL). Poetry usually commanded a smaller percentage than prose, except in the case of Longfellow, who could afford to purchase his own stereotype plates and thus dictate his own terms. Longfellow received royalties of as much as twenty percent from Ticknor & Fields, but the plates for his two-volume collection of poetry in 1850, for example, cost him $625.00, an investment Hawthorne could not afford.

Hawthorne's attack on his political enemies and the publicity over his dismissal helped get his book off to a good start. Strategic newspapers and journals, notably The Boston Transcript and Duyckinck's Literary World, ran eye-catching advertisements announcing the new work. Fields had also developed the publicity method of offering periodicals excerpts of forthcoming books. In 1849 he had arranged for Longfellow to send a chapter of Kavanagh to the Literary World, and now he sent the same journal the one passage in "The Custom-House" which he knew would most delight the public. On March 5, he sent Duyckinck "the sheets as far as printed" and suggested that he publish the description of the "Old Inspector": "It will raise a roar of laughter thro' N. Engd." Because the letter he enclosed to Duyckinck is so characteristic of his skill in dealing with editors, I have included it in full in Appendix A. The
letter reveals flattery, good humor, and implied trust in the editor's loyalty. Fields had apparently discussed this promotional method with Hawthorne, because on March 7 Hawthorne expressed some reservations:

Touching the advance-sheets for the Literary World, I think it would be well to give them; but I hesitate about that particular passage. I shall catch it pretty smartly from my ill-willers, here in Salem, on the score of this old Inspector; and though I care little for that, yet it may be as well not to bring his character out in the alto relievo of a preliminary extract. How would it do to take the character of General Miller?

(Mar 7, 1850, PN)

Fields admirably conveyed Hawthorne's misgivings to Duyckinck on March 8—a letter also included in Appendix A—but the passage was published anyway on March 16 as "A Custom House Inspector, from Nathaniel Hawthorne's new Romance."

Duyckinck's own favorable review appeared on March 30. Not surprisingly, he praises Hawthorne's introduction as "one of those pleasant personal descriptions which are the most charming of his compositions," and reminds readers of the earlier stories, "Little Annie's Ramble" and "Sights from a Steeple." The review then identifies Hawthorne's more gloomy side, but does not find it a fault. Duyckinck also remembers to mention the moral. And, as if to answer Fields's letter of March 8, he adds, "There is a fine, natural portrait of General Miller, the collector; equal in its way to the Old Inspector, the self-sufficing gourmand lately presented in our journal" (CR, 155-57). Back in Bos-
ton, the *North American Review* had never achieved a circulation of over a few thousand, and its audience was essentially the same New England literary elite to which Fields catered. The journal and the publishing firm maintained such close ties that we cannot always assume objectivity on the part of the journal's reviewers. Nevertheless, Hawthorne was grateful for their praise also. The sentimental author Anne Abbot's unsigned review appeared in the journal in July, preferring Hawthorne's introductory sketch, "this naughty chapter," for its stimulation of the reader's attention. Although Abbot objects to Hawthorne's "revolting subject," she is vocal in her appreciation for the author's genius (CR, 164-67). E. P. Whipple's unsigned review in *Graham's Magazine* states simply, "As everybody will read the Scarlet Letter, it would be impertinent to give a synopsis of the plot." Whipple underscores both the humor in the introductory sketch and the definite "moral purpose of the book." But he also suggests that Hawthorne's next romance will be "equal to The Scarlet Letter in pathos and power, but more relieved by touches of that beautiful and peculiar humor, so serene and so searching, in which he excels almost all living writers" (CR, 160-62). Whipple wanted Hawthorne closer to the literary mainstream.

The *Scarlet Letter* also attracted attention in England, as Fields had predicted when he sent advance sheets to the London publisher Richard Bentley, with whom he had a
half-profits agreement. In the accompanying letter Fields presents the new book as a kind of historical fiction:

We send through the kindness of our friend Capt. Harrison a parcel containing the sheets as far as printed of Hawthorne's Scarlet Letter—a book of remarkable spirit & interest. We do not know as it w'd be advisable to include the Introductory Chapter called the Custom House, but of this you can best decide. "The Scarlet Letter" is a strong life like fiction of every day scenes in the colonies and gives a better impression of the early days of Massachusetts than any other work ever pub'd. N. Hawthorne's "Twice Told Tales" have been reprinted in England we believe. He ranks here with Irving and Cooper.

(Feb 28, 1850. LB, f, 1.432)

Irving and Cooper were, of course, the most popular American authors in Britain, and their popularity was tied to their quaint sketches and vivid descriptions of the American past. On March 18, Fields sent the remainder of the sheets, but Bentley, the leading reprinter of American works in England, refused to publish it because two other London publishers were already pirating the work (LB, f, 1.448).

James Barnes, in his study of the nineteenth-century struggle for international copyright, points to the fate of The Scarlet Letter as typical of British publishers' handling of an American work. Hawthorne was unsuccessful at first in securing a London publisher and a British copyright because he was scarcely known. After The Scarlet Letter proved popular in America, publishers took notice. Two London importers, Delf and Chapman, advertised the American edition; Routledge, J. Walker, and Bohn repub-
lished the book under their own imprint, and reprints were issued in Edinburgh as well as Dublin.30 Hawthorne never received any royalties on the book's British sales. Routledge pirated31 the work for his Railway Library, and Bohn added it to his Cheap Series.32 By contrast, the honorable Bentley paid Melville for the right to reprint his books, although he lost up to £170 on each title following the successful Typee and Omoo.33 But Bentley was fighting a losing battle in his efforts to avoid literary piracy and still make a profit. Routledge had made Cooper's The Pilot the first volume in his Railway Library in 1848, paying the author nothing, and aiming at a middle-class market.34 Bohn soon competed directly with him. The two publishers took advantage of the opportunity offered by the growth of the rail system in England, and were largely responsible for the fact that from mid-century onward, English readers witnessed the growth of a whole class of cheap books known as "railway literature," so called because much of the book and magazine trade of England was conducted at railway terminals. Hawthorne's name came to be recognized at these terminals as his books were reprinted for sale there again and again. He had yet to appear in the expensive three-volume format of England's established authors, but he was gaining a public there.

Even with the sudden relative success of The Scarlet Letter, both in the authorized American and the unauthor-
ized English editions, Fields recognized that his insecure author needed constant encouragement. On March 29, the publisher wrote:

I have just returned from the South & hasten to apprise you of the great success of The Scarlet Letter. We have disposed of all the Editions of Twenty five hundred copies and shall put another Edition of two Thousand to press at once. . . . You are on the top wave and it is well to fan the breeze. Some of the papers growl but all say the same good thing of the stirring Romance. The Introduction has stirred up some Whig bile, but the medicine following so close at its heels no harm will ensue.

(Mar 29, 1850, Berg)

Fields's idea of how best "to fan the breeze" was to have Hawthorne bring out as soon as possible another work which could ride the wave of the previous book's success. Here, finally, was the stimulus which the author had long needed in order to keep producing. Fields spoke for the public, and he had assured Hawthorne that The Scarlet Letter was a success. Hawthorne had no reason to doubt the publisher's sincerity, for Fields had sales records, contact with editors and reviewers, and a keen awareness of the public taste to substantiate his claims. For Hawthorne, the years of writing "with benumbed fingers" were over. Although he rarely wrote during the summer, he began talking not only of another romance but also of a children's book. Fields's loyal support and the sizeable royalty payments for The Scarlet Letter had given him hope that he might yet make a living as an author. School books and children's books were less risky and often more profitable
than novels, but they also demanded less of one's artistic genius. Fields would not allow Hawthorne to become a mere hack-writer again. He was willing to publish anything the author might write, but he was more interested in the new romance. On August 20, he sent encouragement in his characteristically pragmatic manner:

I drop you a line to ask when you intend to let us begin printing the new story. I ask now because I wish to lay the keel firmly for publishing. You are aware how much depends upon getting ready in season and I intend this fall to sell a good many thousand for you of whatever you choose to give the public. Will it not be well to announce pretty soon the new book? I am going South on Business in a few days & will thank you to drop me a line on receipt of this that I may know how to talk as I go among the Booksellers in New York.

(Aug 20, 1850, Berg)

Fields was ready to begin promoting the new story, whether Hawthorne had begun writing it or not.
Footnotes for Chapter Two


4 Sophia Hawthorne to Richard Manning, Feb 12, 1871. The Hawthorne-Mann Collection, the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.


6 Charvat, "Longfellow's Income from his Writings," p. 20.

7 Ticknor & Fields to Hawthorne, May 24, 1849. The body of the letter is in Fields's hand. LB, d, 1.

8 Hawthorne to Fields, Nov 4, 1848. the Ulysses Sumner Milburn Collection of Hawthorniana, Owen D. Young Library, St. Lawrence University.


10 Griswold, *Passages from the Correspondence*, pp. 151, 218-220.


12 Ibid., pp. 84-85.

13 Ibid., pp. 79-81.

14 Ibid., p. 78.


Hawthorne to Fields, undated draft of Jan. 20, 1850 letter. MS, Collection of Norman Holmes Pearson, Yale Univ.

Charvat, Profession of Authorship, p. 273, 240-44.

Quoted in Mellow, p. 311.

Charvat, Literary Publishing in America, p. 83.

Ibid., p. 72.


Quoted in Bridge, Personal Recollections of Hawthorne, pp. 110-11.


Charvat, "Longfellow's Income from his Writings," pp. 18-19.

Charvat, "Fields and the Beginnings of Book Promotion," p. 86.


The term "piracy" is imprecise given the absence of international copyright laws. English publishers who reprinted American works, and vice versa, without compensation to the author were not breaking the law: they were simply taking advantage of the lack of copyright protection in order to reprint foreign works as cheaply as possible. Authors usually distinguished between their "authorized" publishers, who paid for advance sheets, and their unauthorized publishers, who paid nothing. Throughout my study, I will use the term "pirate" as Hawthorne himself did in an 1857 letter to an undetermined addressee:
"Messrs. Chapman & Hall, of London, were the Publishers of 'The Blithedale Romance,' and the only legal publishers I ever had in England. The rest of my works have been, in the common phrase, 'pirated,' but my English friends are quite welcome to them" (Quoted in C. E. Frazer Clark, Jr. "Hawthorne and the Pirates," in Proof, ed. Joseph Katz, Vol. 1 (Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1971): 92).


35 The second edition actually consisted of 2,500 copies (CB, 161).
Chapter Three:

A New Market and The House of the Seven Gables

During the summer of 1850, Hawthorne moved with his family to the town of Lenox, in the Berkshires of western Massachusetts. Fields urged him not to neglect his writing, but Hawthorne confessed that "the summer is not my natural season for work; and I often find myself gazing at Monument Mountain, broad before my eyes, instead of at the infernal sheet of paper under my hand" (Aug 23, 1850, Columbia Univ.). The dreamy author did make "some little progress" on the new romance, but not enough to satisfy Fields's eagerness to publish another work which could capitalize on the success of The Scarlet Letter and further strengthen Hawthorne's reputation. The publisher had to concentrate instead on bringing out new editions of old works. Sometime during the summer, he obtained the copyright to the Grandfather's Chair series and Biographical Stories from Tappan and Dennet, and to the 1842 Twice-told Tales from Munroe and Co., who still had unsold copies on the shelves.

The prospect of reissuing the old works was not entirely satisfactory to Hawthorne, however. The works had been commercial failures, their slow sales constant reminders of the public's indifference to his writings. But he was willing to give Fields a chance with them, especially
with the children's books. Throughout his career, beginning as early as 1836 while doing hack-work for Goodrich on the *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*, Hawthorne had felt that he would have to support himself, in part at least, as a writer for children. Children's books were an available form of literary "drudgery," he once remarked to Longfellow,¹ but he soon doubted even their lucrative potential when his Grandfather's Chair series failed to yield any profits. Perhaps now Fields could help the series find its market. The continued growth of public schools had broadened the demand for schoolbooks, creating a new market which Ticknor & Fields scrambled to address. Fields took all the works from Hawthorne's Grandfather's Chair series and combined them with *Biographical Stories* into one volume entitled *True Stories from History and Biography*. The publisher customarily had authors revise a book that came to the firm after another publisher had handled it, but with this edition Hawthorne seems to have concerned himself only with the correction of the text and not with its stylistic improvement. He rewrote the preface to *Grandfather's Chair* slightly in order to accomodate the other three stories, then corrected the most obvious misprints and misspellings of the earlier editions (CE, 6.315-36).

The first edition of *True Stories* was published later in the year and consisted of 2,000 copies priced at
seventy-five cents each. In 1851 a second edition of 2,500 copies was called for, and the sheets of 200 unbound copies were even imported to England by the firm of Sampson Low to be bound and published under their imprint, with their own title page inserted (CE, 6.329-30). The 200 copies sent to England were included in the American royalties of $330, calculated at ten percent of the retail price of copies sold (CB, 170, 184-85).

Hawthorne had little time to give to his new volume because of the demands of his new romance. Even so, this re-entry into the field of children's literature could not have been made without mixed feelings on his part. Once again, he was being forced to compete with women writers in a genre widely regarded as their proper sphere. Women wrote children's books because the more masculine concerns, such as politics, were not suitable subjects for lady writers. Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale, the co-editor of Godey's Lady's Book for over thirty years, argued that women were to avoid direct criticism of the status quo.\(^2\) Thus many turned to children's literature as a field in which they could be financially successful and appear ladylike. Hawthorne needed to secure his status as a writer of serious fiction before he could be completely at ease in the predominantly feminine company of writers of children's books.

Hawthorne continued laboring on the work which really interested him, his romance, but Fields soon approached him
with his other acquisition, the 1842 *Twice-told Tales*. As with *True Stories*, Hawthorne had no intention of drastically revising the text itself, but he did have one suggestion for Fields:

> as it seems to be the fashion now-a-days for authors to write prefaces to their new editions, I will write a very pretty one—biographical and bibliographical; perhaps half-a dozen pages long, perhaps rather more. You need not wait for it before printing the book. . . . I don't like to turn aside from my new volume [The House of the Seven Gables], just now to write anything else.

(Oct 1, 1850, HT)

Hawthorne did not want to miss the opportunity to address his audience that a preface provides. Fields assured him two days later: "We will go ahead with the 'Twice Told Tales' and not bore you with proofs unless you desire it. The book will be set up by hands competent. The preface may be left till the last" (Oct 3, Berg). Not until January of 1851 did Hawthorne turn his attention to the preface.

Fields interposed himself between Hawthorne and the works which needed revising because he recognized that the author needed no more distractions. The publisher also began to mediate between Hawthorne and editors wanting short pieces by the popular author of *The Scarlet Letter*. Hawthorne needed time to write, and Fields was in constant contact with the editors anyway. Hawthorne himself may have initiated Fields into the role of mediator, for late in the summer he had requested his help:

> Griswold has written to me about an article for a Souvenir which he is going to edit. . . .
If you are going to New York, perhaps you will take charge of the accompanying packet for him. It is a story which I happened to have by me ["The Snow-Image"], intended for another purpose. He offers to pay for it . . . so you shall be my attorney to receive whatever may be forthcoming.

(Aug 23, 1850, Columbia Univ.)

When Griswold delayed payment, Fields took up Hawthorne's cause. For several months his letters to Griswold ask if Hawthorne has yet been paid for his article. The subject was eventually dropped, whether because Griswold finally sent payment or Fields simply grew tired of petitioning him, we cannot determine. Word soon spread that Fields was essentially Hawthorne's "manager" now. Another editor approached the publisher directly, who in turn presented the proposal to Hawthorne:

Graham [of Graham's Magazine] has written to me to ask if I can get a story about the length of The Snow Image from you for his mag'e. You know my views in such cases, but before writing him I thought best to ask you if you had such an article on hand and if so if I may write him you will send it to him for $100. Graham is good pay & what he says, he does. I think it is useless to write for Mags. unless the pay is too tempting to resist. Perhaps I can make him fork over $150. for you. At any rate I will try if you say so.

(Nov 9, 1850, Berg)

Hawthorne responded quickly: "I think I would write an article for Graham for $100. I am pretty certain that I would for $150" (Nov 29, 1850, Pearson collection, Yale Univ.). A week later Fields relayed Graham's offer:

Graham writes to me to say if you will send him a brief article, anything you please, by Christmas, (as he wants it for a particular no. of his magazine) he will pay you One Hundred Dollars. Now if you have anything on hand, short . .
send it to me and I will see that the $100 is
duly paid on publication of the article.
(Dec 6, 1850, Berg)

The offer at first had seemed too attractive for Hawthorne
to turn down, but he was slowly realizing that his years of
offering his work piecemeal to editors were over. The new
romance demanded all his creative energy. Therefore, he
informed Fields:

I can't, without more personal botheration
and disgust than I choose to incur for $100 (so
long as there are any shots in the locker) write
a story for Graham at this time. . . . My desire
and prayer is, to get through with the business
already in hand--after which, it will be time
enough to think of other things.
(Dec 9, 1850, HT)

Hawthorne wanted to be able to measure out his liter-
ary production without having to attend to distracting pro-
posals from all sides. With Fields as his "attorney," he
could retire from the business intercourse with publishers
and editors which had always been painful for him. Fields
could take up the talk about payments and such and leave
Hawthorne to his writing. The arrangement was well suited
to the temperaments of each man.

The fact that Hawthorne declined an offer of $100 for
a single story might indicate his passivity in earning a
living for his family, but more probably it indicates his
growing sense that Fields intended to take care of him, to
be his protector, in a sense. A hundred dollars was not
mere pocket change in 1850. The best paid skilled laborers
in the building trades in the early part of the decade
earned only $10 a week; compositors on newspapers around $9-$15 per week. And these were among the most desirable jobs in a nation where massive immigration kept wages low.  

Hawthorne therefore declined the equivalent of a skilled laborer's salary for two-and-a-half months in declining the $100. The amount would also have gone far in meeting household expenses. In 1851 Horace Greeley's New York Tribune published a sample minimum budget for a worker's family of five (See Appendix B), concluding that a salary of $10.37 per week was necessary to meet the most basic expenses.

Another possible reason for Hawthorne's failure to seize the offer of $100 is that only three days before he decided to decline it, Fields proposed a line of credit with the firm for the author's personal use. Fields wanted to relieve Hawthorne of all financial worries so that his writing could continue uninterrupted. He wrote Hawthorne: "I forgot to say to you in my last that whenever you want any money call upon us. There is always to your credit a supply ready to your order. Don't fight shy of our money box when the lid is always ready to fly open at yr. call" (Dec 5, 1850, Berg). Throughout the rest of Hawthorne's life, the firm effectively acted as his banker.

The arrangement was advantageous for an author who was always short of ready cash, and it protected him from the instability of the banking industry, which before 1860 was notoriously irresponsible. Bank notes fluctuated in value,
the banks' investments were often unsecured, and depositors frequently lost everything. Hawthorne had no guarantees in placing his future in the hands of a publishing firm, either, but Ticknor & Fields had a better track record than most. A credit line with them also helped Hawthorne feel more a part of the increasing prosperity of commercial America because he was now tied to a business enterprise in an intimate way.

Fields was even willing to arrange the details on Hawthorne's terms. On January 12, 1851 Hawthorne wrote:

I drew on you, a week or two since, for thirty dollars, through Dr. Peabody. I mean to draw, in a day or two, for a hundred dollars, in favor of Hon. Benj. F. Browne, of Salem;—and I want a hundred more, myself. How can it be remitted here? I don't like to trust the mail; as our letters have occasionally failed to reach us. A certificate of deposit in one of the Boston Banks, or some such thing, might easily be cashed at the Stockbridge Bank. At any rate, I should like to have the money in some shape or other.

Hawthorne was still paying back loans from the chaotic period between his dismissal from the Salem Custom House and the publication of The Scarlet Letter. Fields replied promptly:

Enclosed please find what is good for $100 on being presented at the Housatonic Bank at Stockbridge. Your draft in favor of Mr. Browne will be paid when made and presented to us, as will any order for monies over yr. signature at any time you choose to draw upon us . . . . [P.S.] Draw for any sum you want, more or less and it will be duly paid.

(Jan 14, 1851, Berg)

Hawthorne was in no position to refuse Fields's gener-
osity, even though the proposal amounted to a virtual take-over of his finances. Fields simply wanted to promote loyalty to the firm and relieve his authors of the financial difficulties which hindered their writing. But, ironically, the system which enabled many authors to be truly professional also forced male authors into a kind of passivity in their role as family provider. Hawthorne was acutely conscious of this fact, but he was helpless to do anything about it. He was nearing the conclusion of his romance when he realized that he was now completely dependent on his publishers for support. The suppressed anger over perceived threats to his masculine identity which had strengthened his prefaces in the past through the self-mocking voice of an emasculated but likeable narrator now had another outlet in his fictional representative of the worst traits of capitalist America—Judge Pyncheon. Hawthorne's powerful lashing of the dead Judge is unequalled anywhere in his writings; he never treats the Puritan judges or townspeople so harshly. He taunts the Judge's punctuality, prosperity, patriotism—in short, his respectability. The Judge, with "his real estate in town and country, his railroad, bank, and insurance shares, his United States stock, his wealth" (CE, 2.270) had effectively castrated his artistic brother. Pyncheon's treatment of Clifford, in fact, presumably excuses Hawthorne's total attack. Clearly, Hawthorne had to purge his anger at a society that respected its Judge
Pyncheons before he could proceed to his book's contrived happy conclusion.

The new romance was demanding more from Hawthorne than any work he had ever written. Critics such as Whipple had expressed dissatisfaction with the gloom of The Scarlet Letter, and Hawthorne intended to yield to critical pressure by bringing the new work more into the sunlight of the present. He reassured Fields that the gloom of the past would not be its dominant tone: "the story, horrible to say, is a little less than two hundred years long; though all but thirty or forty pages of it refer to the present time" (Oct 1, 1850, HT). The story presented Hawthorne with the problem of intermingling past and present, sunshine and shadow, successfully. The romance form allowed Hawthorne a certain control over his literary medium, but the control was tenuous, as he explained to Fields:

I write diligently, but not so rapidly as I hoped. I find the book requires more care and thought than the "Scarlet Letter";—also, I have to wait oftener for a mood. The Scarlet Letter being all in one tone, I had only to get my pitch, and could then go on interminably. Many passages of this book ought to be finished with the minuteness of a Dutch picture, in order to give them their proper effect. Sometimes, when tired of it, it strikes me that the whole is an absurdity, from beginning to end; but the fact is, in writing a romance, a man is always—or always ought to be—careering on the utmost verge of a precipitous absurdity, and the skill lies in coming as close as possible, without actually tumbling over.

(Nov 3, 1850, HT)

Hawthorne was finding that his romance involved the same
balancing act between reality and "absurdity" that he experienced in his personal life. As an artist in society, he had to intermingle his perception of himself as a serious artist with the public's image of him as a frivolous writer of stories. In the art of the romance, he had to intermingle his serious probings into human nature with the literary conventions which the public demanded.

His major problem in writing the new romance was this combining of disparate materials, a problem affecting both his craftsmanship and his confidence in the acceptability of the book. He was struggling to blend the different types of writing he had set side by side in previous volumes. In The Scarlet Letter, he had guided the reader to the gloomy past by way of the Custom House of the present. In the new romance, he remains in the Custom House, as it were, and allows the past to permeate its fixtures. The old Pyncheon house itself symbolizes the burden of the past, but Hawthorne could not confine his story to its dark interior and still please his critics. The house also must exist in the sunlight and admit conventional characters into its rooms.

The House of the Seven Gables has long been recognized as the most light-filled of Hawthorne's novels, despite its gloom. Critics attribute this to Phoebe Pyncheon, Hawthorne's most obvious concession to the market. Hyatt Waggoner, however, is among critics who see Phoebe as Hawthorne's tribute to his wife; her character represents Hawthorne's.
thorne at his most playful and frivolous. The author's love letters do refer frequently to Sophia as his Phoebe, but they also indicate that he enjoyed pretending that he and his beloved were characters in a sentimental drama. Phoebe cannot be taken as representing Hawthorne's "minute fidelity" to reality; she is too unbelievable and, as one critic notes, that is precisely Hawthorne's point: "Her type does not exist in nature but did exist ad nauseam in the popular literature of the nineteenth century, literature which expressed through its sunny ingenues the sentimental ideals of domestic bliss." 

The character of Phoebe allowed Hawthorne to appeal to the feminine market while attacking its conventions. Phoebe was a convention, and Hawthorne was only interested in her as such. Her sunny smile and pleasant disposition transform everyone she meets; even Judge Pyncheon tries to steal a kiss from the lovely maiden. She exudes virtue, never detecting moral ambiguities or experiencing the consequences of sin, and thus never perceiving the implications of what it means to be of Pyncheon descent. If the public demanded a simplistic heroine, Hawthorne could certainly give them one. In portraying Phoebe, the critic Judith Gustafson observes in her witty article, "Parody in The House of the Seven Gables," that Hawthorne took a clue from Uncle Venner's advice to Hepzibah on salesmanship: "Put on a bright face for your customers, and smile pleasantly as you
hand them what they ask for! A stale article, if you dip it in a good, warm, sunny smile will go off better than a fresh one you've scowled upon" (CE, 6.66). Gustafson adds, "As a literary type Phoebe is certainly a stale article, but knowing his public's taste for stale material, Hawthorne packages his ingenue in a 'good, warm, sunny smile' and sets her on a conspicuous shelf." Throughout the work he gives repeated and monotonous catalogs of Phoebe's virtues, and thus uses his cliched characterization to mock the cliche.8

Hawthorne expected most readers to view his new work as a kind of blend of the gothic romance and the sentimental domestic novel. All of the stock devices were there: the gloomy mansion, the mysterious portrait, a lost document, a family skeleton, a family curse, a lunatic, a villain, a mysterious lover, and a virtuous maiden. But the more astute readers, whose respect Hawthorne really valued, would see the underlying parody. He reverses reader expectations of stock characters. The fat Judge Pyncheon as the villain is often totally ridiculous; Clifford is a harmless but likeable lunatic; Holgrave is a radical reformer turned domestic doormat. Most notably, Hepzibah, the Old Maid, is an ironic choice for one of the novel's female protagonists. Hawthorne makes certain the reader catches the irony:

How can we elevate our history of retribution for the sin of long ago, when, as one of our most prominent figures, we are compelled to introduce— not a young and lovely woman, nor even the
stately remains, of beauty, storm-shattered by
affliction—but a gaunt, sallow, rusty-jointed
maiden, in a long-waisted silk gown, and with the
strange horror of a turban on her head!

(CE, 2.41)

Phoebe and Hepzibah are the principal "heroines" of the
work: Phoebe fulfills readers' expectations; Hepzibah
reverses them. The two form Hawthorne's parodic commentary
on the heroines of popular fiction.

If Hawthorne had intended only humor, however, he
would have had no fears that the book would be widely
accepted. But he had to write for himself also. As an artist,
he was intrigued by the alienated Clifford too much to
leave him merely as a passive madman. Hawthorne, too, was
emerging from years of forced isolation from a society
indifferent to his art. His early tales and sketches had
been his "attempt to open an intercourse with the world,"
just as Clifford wants to throw himself from his balcony
into the procession of life beneath. Clifford is the emas-
culated artist whom Hawthorne feared he had become, or at
least might have become, before Fields brought his works
into the marketplace. One biographer maintains that Hawk-
thorne was "exorcising the spirit of an overly refined and
ineffectual man—the exceedingly sensitive and not very
forceful Clifford Pyncheon—a character that in certain
negative respects bore a resemblance to its author." Holgrave,
by contrast, is a kind of archetypal artist who
can pierce through to the central meaning in the other
character's lives. He may have been inspired by the portrait painter Cephas G. Thompson, who had requested to paint Hawthorne's portrait just after the publication of The Scarlet Letter. Hawthorne attended several sittings before the portrait was complete, noting in his journal: "I like this painter; he seems to reverence his art, and to aim at truth in it" (CE, 8.497-98). Holgrave shares this gift of being able to penetrate through to the "truth" of his subject in his daguerrotypes. Hawthorne often refers to Holgrave as "the artist," but he allows Holgrave to give up his art at the end of the story. The characters of Clifford and Holgrave polarize Hawthorne's own fears about the artist functioning in society: neither the emasculated artist nor the completely serious, intense one can survive for long.

Hawthorne's deep uncertainty over his intermingling of various disparate modes is also reflected in his uncertainty over what title to give the book. Four months before the work was finished, he began discussing his choices with Fields:

I am beginning to puzzle myself about a title for the book. The scene of it is one of those old projecting-storied houses familiar to my eye in Salem. . . . I think of such titles as—"The House of the Seven Gables"--there being that number of gable-ends to the old shanty--or "The Seven-Gabled House"--or simply "The Seven Gables." Tell me how these strike you. It appears to me that the latter is rather the best; and has the great advantage that it would puzzle the devil to tell what it means.

(Oct 1, 1850, HT)
Once again, Hawthorne wanted Fields's advice on a title that would be "piquant to the great gull." Fields quickly replied, "Touching the new book's title I go for The House of the Seven Gables rather than for the other names. The Seven Gables is a more fluent one but it does not express so much. Perhaps after all it is the better one" (Oct 3, Berg). But a month later Hawthorne was still musing:

"The Old Pyncheon House; a Romance." "The Old Pyncheon Family; or the House of the Seven Gables; a Romance." Choose between them. I have rather a distaste to a double title; otherwise I think I should prefer the second. Is it any matter under which title it is announced? If a better should occur hereafter, we can substitute. Of these two, on the whole, I judge the first to be the better.

(Nov 3, 1850, HT)

He also added: "Will you ask Whipple's advice as to those two titles?" Hawthorne's new suggestions indicate that he was having trouble keeping his story in the sunlight of the present. The words "Old" and "Romance" are more indicative of the shadowy tone the story had taken as Hawthorne followed the workings of Maule's curse through the present household. But he still did not want to put too much gloom into the story for Whipple's taste. Once again, Fields assured him: "We all think the best title to be The House of the Seven Gables. This is admirable and Whipple joins with me in this opinion. So does Longfellow" (Nov 9, Berg).

Two months later Hawthorne was still unsure:

I don't like the title very much. What do you think of 'Maule's Well'? and we might add 'or
the House of the Seven Gables.' This well has not a very strong connection with the story, though quite sufficient, in my opinion, to justify the title, which, in itself, and for the glibness with which it rolls out of the mouth, is preferable to the other.

(Jan 12, 1851, Berg)

Possibly, Hawthorne felt that the title which Fields preferred sounded too bland; it would fail to attract the merely curious readers who had noticed The Scarlet Letter. Hawthorne recognized that the house of the story was even more the central symbol for his story about the sins of the fathers than was Maule's well, just as the title "The Scarlet Letter" had expressed the central symbol of that story better than the alternative title, "The Custom House," but he was willing to sacrifice the artistically preferable title in favor of one attractive to the public. Whatever the reasons for the author's vacillations, Fields appeared to be out of patience with him: "I am glad we shall soon have your Mss. of 'The House of the Seven Gables' by which title it must be forever known. Your other is not as good, and this is fine. Everybody says so. Holmes, Longfellow, Sumner, Whipple, Hillard et al" (Jan 14, 1851, Berg). Fields could not begin aggressively promoting the new romance by name with Hawthorne so passively equivocal.

As the story neared its end, Hawthorne continued to worry that he was failing to intermingle the past and the present, the dark and the light, the private and the public, effectively. He wrote Fields that the book "has
undoubtedly one disadvantage, in being brought so close to the present time; whereby its romantic improbabilities become more glaring" (Jan 27, 1851, Quoted in TU, 228). The curse from which Hepzibah and Clifford flee fades into improbability when they board a modern train filled with novel-reading passengers. But Hawthorne had to sacrifice probability in order to bring the work back into a more acceptable form. He confessed to Fields that the story "darkens damnable towards the close, but I shall try hard to pour some setting sunshine over it" (Nov 29, 1850, Pearson Collection, Yale Univ.). He admitted that the conclusion would be contrived. Within the logic of the story Holgrave should applaud the destruction of the old Pyncheon house as symbolic of the burdensome past; instead, under Phoebe's feminine influence, he proposes to build another house, this time out of stone, "thus giving that impression of permanence, which I consider essential to the happiness of any one moment" (CE, 6.314–5). He gives up his original ideas in order to be "happy as the day is long" with the conventional Phoebe. Hepzibah, Clifford, and Uncle Venner also retire to a mythical country house to live happily ever after, and even the ghost of Alice Pyncheon floats upward as an angel playing upon her harpsichord. A townsman passing by the old house voices Hawthorne's resignation to the whole contrivance: "If you choose to call it luck, it is all very well; but if we are to take it as the will of
Providence, why, I can't exactly fathom it!" (CE, 6.318).

Nina Baym suggests that Hawthorne manipulated the rhetoric of the last chapter to give the impression of a happy ending because he wished to hide his own temperamental pessimism. He wanted to write happy books, and his own inner censor was stronger than reader pressure. But Hawthorne's inner censor never called for artistic integrity in an economic vacuum. When he censors his own work it is usually because of his basic insecurity as a professional author; a work that fails to sell is further evidence that the author is ineffectual. Hawthorne wanted to hide his temperamental pessimism mostly because he had learned that it did not make for a popular work.

His wife, as representative of feminine tastes, probably was the most important censor. He depended upon her to judge the finished manuscript, as he explained to Fields:

My House of the Seven Gables is, so to speak, finished; only I am hammering away a little on the roof, and doing up a few odd jobs that were left incomplete. Then I must read it to my wife;--and after going over it in that way, I shall know better what to think of it.

(Jan 12, 1851, Berg)

The publisher recognized the importance of cultivating Mrs. Hawthorne's good will, for in the same letter Hawthorne mentions, "My wife desires to thank Messrs Ticknor, Reed, & Fields, for the beautiful copy of Evangeline which they sent her." Soon Hawthorne could write Fields that the new manuscript had passed the supreme test: it had "met with
extraordinary success from that portion of the public to whose judgement it has been submitted;--viz, from my wife" (Jan 27, 1851). Because Hawthorne intended to read Sophia the manuscript even before it was finished, he had her opinion in mind while writing the conclusion. And although the ending violated his own artistic sense of unity and harmony, he still accomplished his purpose. Mrs. Hawthorne loved it. She immediately wrote her mother: "Mr. Hawthorne read me the close, last evening. There is unspeakable grace and beauty in the conclusion, throwing back upon the stern tragedy of the commencement an ethereal light, and a dear home-loveliness and satisfaction." She also praised "the sweet wall-flower scent of Phoebe's character." Mrs. Hawthorne was typical of the book-buying public, so Hawthorne and Fields believed, and therefore Fields encouraged the author to yield to her judgment:

Please say to yr. wife the judgement of the Lenox Public (herself) will be conclusive in all future matters for publication. Her judgement will be endorsed fully by yr. publishers from this time forward. If she could look in upon my expanded visage, (I have fattened 20 pounds since last summer!) she would perceive a smile of satisfaction somewhat broader than Berkshire valley. (Jan 30, 1851, Berg)

In the same letter, Fields also underscored his own preference for "the humor of the book" and for "the closing scenes" which are "full of pathos and beauty."

Fields applauded Mrs. Hawthorne's preference for virtue rewarded and encouraged Hawthorne's attempts at putting
more humor into his writing because such elements were what the reading public wanted. He knew that a fellow publishing firm, Putnam's in New York, was having phenomenal success with a work which would prove to be the first best-seller in the history of American fiction.12 Susan Warner's The Wide, Wide World came out in December of 1850 and sold by the thousands. Its plot was simple: the heroine, the pious Ellen Montgomery, rises in society by her unquestioning conformity to authority.13 If Ellen's good fortune could attract so many readers, Fields could hardly allow Hawthorne to keep Phoebe from her happy home.

Before Hawthorne could complete his work by writing a preface, Fields again intervened. Twice-told Tales was almost ready for publication and also needed a preface. On January 11, Fields reminded him:

Dont forget that we shall soon (say in a week) want yr. proposed Introduction to the new Ed. of the 'Twice Told Tales'. The 2d. vol. is nearly printed & our printer will begin the 1st just as soon as you are ready to give us the article.

(Jan 11, 1851, Berg)

Hawthorne had let Fields determine the format; he concentrated instead on his message to his readers. "The Custom-House" sketch had been extremely popular, as Fields had predicted, but Hawthorne wanted this new preface to be more than a means of attracting public attention. His forthcoming romance was calculated to bring his reputation more into line with the literary mainstream, a strategy which
had failed with the original *Twice-told Tales* editions. The preface to the new Ticknor & Fields edition of *Twice-told Tales*, however, might win a certain amount of sympathy by the author's honest admission of the tales' failure in establishing his reputation. Thus, in writing the preface, he goes beyond the whimsical journalism of his earlier sketches to discuss soberly his relation to his audience.

He begins by claiming that he was "for a good many years, the obscurest man of letters in America," and that his sketches probably deserved to be ignored. "The circulation of the two volumes was chiefly confined to New England; nor was it until long after this period, if it ever yet be the case, that the Author could regard himself as addressing the American Public, or, indeed, any Public at all." And there were problems not only with the limited market, he confessed, but with the sketches themselves. They are too sentimental and allegorical. But even if they are not profound, Hawthorne must point out, they are not intended to be so. "They have none of the abstruseness of idea, or obscurity of expression, which mark the written communication of a solitary mind with itself. . . . It is, in fact, the style of a man of society." The sketches are "his attempts, and very imperfectly successful ones, to open an intercourse with the world." The real problem for Hawthorne was that the sketches created a passive professional image for their author: "This kindly feeling . . .
extended to the Author, who, on the internal evidence of his sketches, came to be regarded as a mild, shy, gentle, melancholic, exceedingly sensitive, and not very forcible man, hiding his blushes under an assumed name, the quaintness of which was supposed, somehow or other, to symbolize his personal and literary traits." In other words, the author of such tales must be effeminate.

Hawthorne's ironic response both disowns and courts such an image: "He is by no means certain, that some of his subsequent productions have not been influenced and modified by a natural desire to fill up so amiable an outline, and to act in consonance with the character assigned to him; nor, even now, could he forfeit it without a few tears of tender sensibility." Hawthorne had spent the last few months learning to use the language of the feminine market against itself, learning to control his use of sentimental language and conventions by distancing himself from his material. The task had been difficult. The House of the Seven Gables had been unlike his earlier tales where he could employ a self-parodic narrator in the preface, leaving his serious writing for the tales themselves. In the new romance he had had to interweave the self-parodic narrator into the work itself, draw characters according to the specifications of the superficial demands of popular fiction, and construct an openly-contrived happy ending. The artistic compromises involved could be devastating for
a serious writer, as Melville was to discover with his *Pierre*. But Hawthorne had learned to step away from his material and at least appear amused; Melville made his compromise appear so complete that his readers were confused when the bitterness of the serious writer finally did interject itself.

Hawthorne's works promised to be successful, however, for the author had made some effort to tailor them to the public's taste, and his publisher had made every effort to promote them effectively. Behaving as if he already had achieved the distinction, Fields worked hard to be Hawthorne's exclusive publisher. Because any advertising on behalf of one work would also benefit future works, Fields promoted *Twice-told Tales* as whole-heartedly as he would any new romance. The Cephas Thompson portrait of Hawthorne had proven strikingly attractive, and Fields saw possibilities for its use in the new edition. In January he mentioned to Hawthorne that he was "trying to find a good engraver to copy the Thompson portrait. Have you any objections? (Jan 11, 1851, Berg). Three days later Fields mentioned that he had engaged "an English engraver lately arrived in New York [T. Phillibrown]" (Jan 14, Berg). Fields clearly had no reservations about venturing the expense of engraved portraits for the new edition: he was promoting Hawthorne the author, not just Hawthorne's individual works.
Soon Fields again demonstrated his desire to be Hawthorne's exclusive publisher. Sometime in January he learned of the existence of another book by Hawthorne which had attracted the notice of Samuel Goodrich in the early 1830s. Goodrich apparently had written to Duyckinck, who then informed Fields about it. Hawthorne was willing to compromise with the marketplace in some areas, but he wanted no part in the reissue of Fanshawe, his youthful attempt in the genre of gothic romance. He responded coolly to Fields's questionings:

You make an enquiry about some supposed former publication of mine. I cannot be sworn to make correct answers as to all the literary or other follies of my nonage; and I earnestly recommend you not to brush away the dust that may have settled over them. Whatever might do me credit, you may be pretty sure that I should be ready enough to bring forward. Anything else, it is our mutual interest to conceal; and so far from assisting your researches in that direction, I especially enjoin it on you not to read any unacknowledged page, which you may suppose to be mine.

(Jan 12, 1851, Berg)

Fields respected Hawthorne's wishes, but did not let the rebuff dampen his all-out promotion of the author: "I regret you do not give me any clue to the Bk referred to in a former letter as pub'd. by Marsh & Capen. I wish to read all you have written, but do not press the matter" (Jan 14, 1851, Berg). While he was on the subject, however, he did want to mention one more matter—his chances for obtaining the 1846 Mosses from an Old Manse from Wiley and Putnam. He pressed:
I wish we had on our list of Publications The Mosses to complete the series of all yr. writings. How much longer will Putnam's contract hold? I hope we shall have that Book when the five years are out as we intend to push yr. books a-la-Steam Engine, and do better for you than any other house.

Fields explained to Hawthorne that he merely wanted "to read all you have written," but the fact was that he only lacked Fanshawe and Mosses from an Old Manse to be Hawthorne's exclusive publisher. The consolidation of all the author's books under the Ticknor & Fields imprint would benefit both author and publisher as the firm gained the necessary incentive to "push" the books "a-la-Steam Engine," as Fields promised. Of course the firm would then do better for Hawthorne "than any other house": the publisher of only one or two books by an author would not bother to promote so extensively. Hawthorne knew in 1851 that this move could make the difference in an author's career, but he had yet to witness the dramatic contrast between the direction his own career would take with Ticknor & Fields as his exclusive publisher, and the direction Melville's would take under a variety of publishers.

Melville brought out books with Wiley & Putnam, Harper's, and Dix & Edwards, with the result that he frequently lacked the guidance and security he needed, especially in the years when his annual income from writing only averaged just over two hundred dollars.  

Hawthorne had little time early in 1851 to ponder pos-
sible long-term benefits of his association with Ticknor & Fields. After completing the preface to *Twice-told Tales*, he turned his attention to the preface to *The House of the Seven Gables*. Fields had been pestering him about the preface and early chapters for months so that the printers could begin work on the first part of the book. But Hawthorne simply would not hand over any early sheets to Fields. With *The Scarlet Letter* manuscript he had made the mistake of turning over all but the last three chapters, making it impossible to alter his introduction to suit the story. The preface he finally wrote for *The House of the Seven Gables* hints at his dissatisfaction with the earlier work. After giving the reader his moral, he explains,

> When romances do really teach anything, or produce any effective operation, it is usually through a far more subtle process than the ostensible one. The Author has considered it hardly worth his while, therefore, relentlessly to impale the story with its moral, as with an iron rod—or rather, as by sticking a pin through a butterfly—thus at once depriving it of life, and causing it to stiffen in an ungainly and unnatural attitude.

*(CE, 2.2)*

Perhaps he felt that he had impaled *The Scarlet Letter* with the intrusive moral of the conclusion. Hawthorne never felt comfortable with this stock literary convention. He once wrote Bridge that "the only sensible ends of literature are, first, the pleasurable toil of writing; second, the gratification of one's family and friends; and, lastly, the solid cash."16 He makes no mention of pointing a moral or
improving society.

The Preface also defined his genre. Hawthorne's letters to Fields reveal that from the beginning, he knew that the new work would be a romance. But he apparently felt that the genre he had chosen needed defending, because back in November he had written of his precarious balancing act between reality and absurdity. In "The Custom-House" sketch he had also described his work as a mingling of the Actual and the Imaginary, but reviewers still singled out the Actual, or the novelistic portions, for praise. In the new preface, therefore, Hawthorne toned down the emphasis on the Imaginary: "[The author] will be wise, no doubt . . . to mingle the Marvellous rather as a slight, delicate, and evanescent flavor, than as any portion of the actual substance of the dish offered to the Public."

Richard Fogle is one of the few critics who see Hawthorne's prefaces as attempts to woo readers. But Fogle maintains that Hawthorne's theory of the romance comes directly from the Coleridgean romantic credo, that Hawthorne "attempts to define the Romance as perspicuously as possible, in the hope of gaining from his readers the wise and genial judgment, the sympathetic appraisal, that knowledge of his purposes should reasonably grant." Hawthorne's emphasis on "the truth of the human heart," however, sounds much more like the language of the domestic novel than it does of the credo of Coleridge. Women writers
were already making the distinction between the heart and the intellect. Grace Aguilar's *Home Influence: A Tale for Mothers and Daughters* was published in the United States and England in 1847, and the rapid British sales of thirty editions were soon matched in this country. Her introductory statement asserts that her "aim has been to assist in the education of the HEART, believing that of infinitely greater importance than the mere instruction of the MIND." Hawthorne could encourage women readers to wade through the gloom of his story by promising that he would reveal truths of the human heart.

He did not release the manuscript to Fields until January 27, 1851, the date of the Preface. Because Hawthorne was now living in Lenox, the tedious proof-reading had to be done through the mail, which would delay publication. Hawthorne wrote to Fields that he wanted to be involved in this aspect of publication:

> I deem it indispensable that the proof-sheets should be sent me for correction. It will cause some delay, no doubt, but probably not much more than if I lived at Salem. At all events, I don't see how it can be helped. My autography is sometimes villainously blind; and it is odd enough that wherever the printers do mistake a word, it is just the very jewel of a word, worth all the rest of the Dictionary.

(Jan 27, 1851)

Fields replied three days later: "We shall begin to stereotype immediately & shall wait until we get considerable matter in type before we begin to send you proofs" (Jan 30, Berg). *The House of the Seven Gables* was the first work of
Hawthorne's to be stereotyped in the first edition. Fields had begun announcing the "new romance" back in October, and advance orders had assured him of large sales. He wrote again:

In a few days I shall send the first proofs. The arrangement which will secure the most rapid returns will be to mail each package & ask you to send back by return of mail. When we begin to send, a package will come every day to Lenox & it will be well if you have a communication with the P.O. daily.

(Feb 3, 1851, Berg)

Sophia wrote her mother the next week that Hawthorne was following Fields's system: he remained at the post office so that he could correct the proofs and put them directly back into the mail.²⁰ By the end of the month Hawthorne was complaining to Fields:

Good-by. I must now trudge two miles to the village, through rain and mud, knee-deep, after that accursed proof-sheet. The book reads very well in the proofs; but I don't believe it will take like the former one. The preliminary chapter was what gave the Scarlet Letter its vogue.²¹

In proofing the book, Hawthorne again had doubts over its prospects with the reading public. Nevertheless, he involved himself wholeheartedly in the marketing process. After requesting presentation copies for the usual friends and literary acquaintances--Pierce, Bridge, Emerson, W. E. Channing, Longfellow, Hillard, Sumner, Holmes, Lowell, and Grace Greenwood--he suggested to Fields:

I presume you won't put the portrait into the House of the Seven Gables; it appears to me an improper accompaniment to a new work. Nevertheless, if it be ready, I should be glad to have
each of these presentation copies accompanied by a copy of the engraving, put loosely between the leaves.

(Feb 22, 1851)

The engraved portrait had been made for the new edition of Twice-told Tales, and Hawthorne apparently felt strongly that it belonged only in a reissued work. He also may have felt self-conscious about the fact that the portrait, in a sense, represented the whole-scale marketing of his authorial image, even of himself, to a public whose approval he had yet to experience unequivocally. As much as he wanted to be a successful author, he could not overcome the temperamental shyness and insecurity which made him reluctant to go public. The portrait would be an appropriate accompaniment only for a reissued work which could not expect large sales. Hawthorne also may have felt that astute readers of The House of the Seven Gables would study his own portrait just as Phoebe and Holgrave study the daguerrotype of Clifford, in hopes of discerning some deep truth there.

Fields was reluctant to give in to Hawthorne's insecurities, however, because the portrait was important in his marketing of Hawthorne the author. Although he probably never intended to include the portrait in the first edition of The House of the Seven Gables because of the expense involved, he did want permission to circulate it widely. But he admirably left the decision with Hawthorne:

I am applied to daily by Editors of Magazines & papers who wish to copy yr. portrait in wood and publish in their cols. Now I hold that a
man's face thus set down is generally a disgrace to the family & I do not reply to any of these gentlemen until I first hear from you. I have seen so many good faces utterly spoiled by the wood Engravers that I wait yr. reply before I give consent or refusal. You can of course say if it is or is not yr. request that they should let you alone.

(Mar 3, 1851, Berg)

Hawthorne responded that he had no objection "to being diffused over the whole habitable globe" in wood engravings, but he added with characteristic irony: "If a man's face is to be cut in wood, he cannot reasonably expect to look like anything but a block-head" (Mar 6, 1851, HT). The artistic roughness of wood engravings could give occasion to his self-deprecatory humor; a formal portrait could not. Fields quickly assured Hawthorne that the circulated copies of the portrait would be to their advantage:

Touching the "wood cut," on the whole I have come to the conclusion that the Editors of papers and periodicals will do us both a service by their attempts at a portrait and what good words they will say to accompany their picture.

(Mar 12, 1851, Berg)

The publisher was delighted that so many editors were eager to help in his all-out promotion of the author.

The new edition of Twice-told Tales appeared on March 8, 1851, in a two-volume set for $1.50. Of the 2,000 copies issued, Hawthorne received ten percent royalties on all but the one hundred which went to friends and publishers' contacts (CB, 179). Reviewers were so impressed by the Preface and engraved portrait that many declined to mention anything else in their notices of the book. Harper's New
Monthly Magazine only summarized the Preface (CR, 230), while the Literary World reprinted it in full. Fields wrote Hawthorne of the book's successful launching: "The Twice Told Tales goes finely. A thousand copies slipped off in a few weeks as easily as we could wish. The periodicals and newspapers have stolen your new preface, and it is making a tour round the country" (Mar 26, 1851, Berg).

A review in the Christian Examiner attributed the volume's attraction to its format: "[The Twice-told Tales] display the same mental characteristics that he has shown in his later works; and in the present elegant edition, which is enriched with an original Preface and a finely engraved head of the author, they can hardly fail for finding many new admirers" (CR, 194). Whipple's unsigned review in Graham's even centers around the engraved portrait, the face of which, Whipple claims, epitomizes those qualities found in Hawthorne's art (CR, 231). Whipple does not elaborate, but the qualities he consistently admired in Hawthorne's art—the author's gentleness, humor, pathos, and thoughtful genius—all seem to be reflected in the Thompson portrait.

The new edition of 2,000 copies of Twice-told Tales sold steadily but undramatically. The firm's Cost Books do not record a charge for stereotyping until December 1852, when they printed another edition of only 500 copies (CB, 234). But even if this particular work failed to make a
reasonable profit, the firm still profited indirectly by being one book closer to becoming Hawthorne's exclusive publisher. And the positive reviews further strengthened Hawthorne's reputation as one of America's top authors.

The *House of the Seven Gables* soon followed. Because Fields had felt that the demand for the new romance would be great, he delayed publication until he had enough copies stockpiled to meet orders. In January he had written Hawthorne that it would be "a great thing to get out the vcl. before March as at that time I shall go to the South & intend to sell a great many copies among the Booksellers" (Jan 22, Berg). In March he again wrote, "When the *House of the Seven Gables* is out, say by the 25th or 30th of this month, I judge that the demand will be very great. We do not wish to publish till we can have in the store 3 or 4 thousand copies all bound. I anticipate a great rush for the new Romance" (Mar 12). Fields knew that the New York Trade Sale was approaching, and that he could sell hundreds of copies there alone. He also needed three or four thousand copies for the Old Corner. Informing Hawthorne of the reasons for the publication delay, he explained: "It is good policy to have enough to start with, and a bad one to be quickly out of a new and popular book" (Mar 26, Berg). Because of the large advance sales, when *The House of the Seven Gables* was finally published on April 9, the first and second editions were released on the same day, and a
third edition was in the process of being printed (CB, 189).

In the meantime, Fields worked to secure a share of both the English and the German markets. He told Hawthorne:

The early sheets of the "House" have gone to England, and if the party to whom we sent them consults his own interests he will print at once. I am in treaty with an agent of a Leipsic house that issues American books and if I can make any arrangement with the Publisher, you shall have the benefit of it.

(Mar 26)

Fields had sent the early sheets of The Scarlet Letter to Richard Bentley in London, but they arrived too late to beat the unauthorized editions. The Ticknor & Fields foreign letterbooks deposited at the Houghton Library, Harvard University, contain no copy of Fields's subsequent attempt with The House of the Seven Gables manuscript. Therefore, it is unclear to which English publisher he offered the early sheets. The new romance was quickly appropriated by Routledge for his Railway Library, and Bohn for his Cheap Series. Fields did identify the German publisher, however:

I have sent to Leipsic a copy of all yr. works, and hope the publisher, Tauchnitz, will consider it for his interest to pay you a handsome sum for the privilege of printing. At any rate I have taken measures to secure you an interest in the project if it goes into operation.

(Apr 8, 1851, Berg)

Bernhard Tauchnitz was soon in contact with Fields over the matter (See Fields to Hawthorne, Sept. 30, 1851, Appendix
A), but for whatever reasons, Tauchnitz did not issue an edition of Hawthorne until 1852, when he included The Scarlet Letter as volume 226 of the Tauchnitz Collection of British Authors. He reprinted no more of Hawthorne's works until The Marble Faun, the sheets of which he purchased from the English publishers Smith, Elder, not Hawthorne. England and Germany shared a copyright agreement; America and Germany did not. Nevertheless, although he was not required by law to do so, Tauchnitz honorably sent Hawthorne a check for $120 for the use of The Scarlet Letter, but not until 1864, when the payment was long overdue.

The House of the Seven Gables never became part of the Tauchnitz Collection. Instead it appeared in America in April 1851 in Ticknor & Fields's characteristic chocolate brown, blind-stamped cloth binding. Slightly more expensive than The Scarlet Letter, it sold for $1.00. Hawthorne received royalties of fifteen percent, or fifteen cents per copy, up from the eleven and one-quarter cents per copy on sales of The Scarlet Letter (CB, 188). A first edition at the Huntington Library has four pages of advertisements dated March 1851 bound into the back. The method of listing works for sale indicates the direction the firm was headed in its promotional practices. Rather than long lists of individual works under the headings of "Poetry" or "Miscellaneous," the new advertisements grouped works under the headings "Henry W. Longfellow's Writings," "Nathaniel Haw-
thorne's Writings," etc. Fields wanted to secure the loyalty of authors to his firm in a mutually advantageous arrangement whereby he could promote the entire body of their work. He wanted to "manage" his top authors in the way contemporary celebrities are "managed" by their promoters, taking the responsibility upon himself to keep his authors before the public in a favorable manner.

For months Fields had been working hard to make certain that Hawthorne's new romance received enough critical attention in strategic newspapers and magazines. The Literary World regularly ran an advertisement for Ticknor, Reed, and Fields entitled "List of Books in Preparation," which commanded attention by spanning two columns and using large print and extra spacing. For six months this advertisement listed Hawthorne's forthcoming romance, only three of those months calling it by name because of Hawthorne's hesitancy in deciding upon a title. But six months was still a long time for a publishing firm to pay for advertising a forthcoming work. A publisher with less interest in the author's future would not have ventured this expense. Ticknor & Fields believed in the long-term advantages of immediate advertising costs, and therefore were one of the better clients of the top journals and newspapers. Fields expected his advertisements to be given preference, for he once had to write Duyckinck:

We did not intend "to complain," exactly, in writing about our advertisement. We referred par-
particularly to the advt. of Nov. 1, wh., we do not like near as well as the one for Octo. 25th. Let us have the new one, "across columns", if it does not cost more, in a good place--We leave that to your judgement.

Hawthorne's name had been in the press almost continually since the publication of The Scarlet Letter. On January 27 he had written Fields:

Somebody has written to console me on an attack in the Church Review, in reference to the Introduction to the Scarlet Letter, and the work itself. If really good, I should be glad to see it; but unless particularly so, I do not care about it. I think it essential to my success as an author, to have some bitter enemies.

The review in question was, of course, the conservative Arthur Cleveland Coxe's "The Writings of Hawthorne" that appeared in January 1851, and accused The Scarlet Letter of being "delicately immoral" and even sacrilegious (CR, 179-84). Fields knew how to counter such criticism. He immediately assured Hawthorne:

I have read the remarks of somebody in the Church Review and do not consider them worth the paltry sum I shd. pay for the no. to send you. The article is void of common sense and includes no principle whatever in its flood of noodleism. A very fine paper* [at end of letter: *on all yr. writings] from the pen of Rev'd Mr. Mayo will appear in July in one of the Quarterlies which will be quite worthy [of] yr. perusal.

(Jan 30, 1851)

J. Donald Crowley notes that after 1850 Hawthorne criticism began focusing on biographical details and using the Prefaces as autobiographical statements (CR, 205). Fields orchestrated this shift; he intended to promote Hawthorne. If he could tell Hawthorne in January about a
"very fine paper" which would appear in July, then he was obviously working behind the scenes with the reviewers. The Unitarian clergyman Amory Dwight Mayo's article "The Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne" appeared as promised in the July Universalist Quarterly, and countered Coxe's criticism by arguing that Hawthorne was a religious author (CR, 219-25). Mayo stresses Hawthorne's "general moral tone" and concludes that the final impression of Hawthorne's two romances "is not poetical so decidedly as religious." He also prefers The House of the Seven Gables to The Scarlet Letter because the former is "nearer actual life": "Phoebe is the only New England girl we ever met in a book, and Pearl is a newcomer into the world of poetry. We yet hope to witness greater evidences of our author's power in this direction."

Fields also continued his practice of sending Duyckinck an excerpt from the book in advance of publication. On March 29 the Literary World covered its entire front page and part of the second with an article entitled "The Founder of the 'House of the Seven Gables': A Passage from Hawthorne's Forthcoming Romance." The passage, from the first chapter, begins with the author's boyhood curiosity about the old Pyncheon house and continues through the mysterious death of Colonel Pyncheon. Fields clearly wanted readers to know that the story was grounded in the present, but he included enough of the chapter to pique their curi-
osity about the curse from the past. On April 5 the firm ran another advertisement, this time in cooperation with G. P. Putnam's. Both firms list *The House of the Seven Gables* under the heading "To Be Ready in a Few Days," and include under "Works by the same author" both *The Scarlet Letter* and *Mosses from an Old Manse*. Then follows, still as part of the advertisement, an excerpt from the Newark *Adviser* about the author himself: "Hawthorne is a man of quaint fancy, of remarkable powers of description, and holds a quiet but humorous pen, sometimes tinctured with shy sarcasm." Fields wanted to promote Hawthorne's humor, not his deep probings into human nature.

The dependable Whipple followed Fields's lead in stressing the lighter side of Hawthorne's genius. His review, appearing in *Graham's* in May, places *The House of the Seven Gables* squarely in the literary mainstream and yet claims that Hawthorne is an "original genius." He praises the combination of humor and pathos, the "rapid alterations of smiles and tears," and predicts the book's "immediate popularity." Whipple implies that the romance will appeal to the feminine market when he singles out Phoebe for praise: "The character of Phoebe makes the sunshine of the book. . . . and poor Uncle Venner's praise of her touches the real secret of her fascination. . . . 'I'm free to say that I never knew a human creature do her work so much like one of God's angels as this child Phoebe
does'!' If Whipple recognized that Hawthorne created Phoebe as a literary convention to mock the convention, his review gives no indication. Moreover, Whipple believes that the character of Clifford "lures the author too much into metaphysical analysis and didactic disquisition." But the account of Judge Pyncheon's death is "a masterpiece of fantastic description." As if to echo Fields's promptings of the author, Whipple concludes, "We hope to have the pleasure of reviewing a new romance by Hawthorne twice a year at least."

Another presentation copy resulted in a favorable review. On April 7 Hawthorne asked Fields to "send a copy, with my regards, to H. T. Tuckerman?" (Pearson Collection, Yale Univ.). Tuckerman, a poet and popular critic, was an acquaintance of Hawthorne's who had moved from Boston to New York in 1845. In June his review, entitled simply "Nathaniel Hawthorne," appeared in the Southern Literary Messenger (CR, 210-18). Fields sent it to Hawthorne immediately. The review reveals Tuckerman as a sympathizer with Hawthorne's art, not one trying to nudge the author towards art with more popular appeal. He praises Hawthorne as a "psychological writer," but explains that "he must, therefore, be met in a sympathetic relation." Tuckerman surveys the body of Hawthorne's work, and points out that The Scarlet Letter "seems to have introduced Hawthorne to the whole range of American readers." He then focuses on the
new romance, in which "occasional touches of humor . . . relieve the grave undertone of the narrative." In commenting upon Phoebe he first quotes a passage which places her among the heroines of domestic fiction:

Phoebe's presence made a home about her,—that very sphere which the outcast, the prisoner, the potentate, the wretch beneath mankind, the wretch aside from it, or the wretch above it, instinctively pines after—a home.

But like Hawthorne and unlike Whipple, Tuckerman declines to dismiss Phoebe conventionally as sunshine or a typical New England girl; instead he recognizes that she is "the ideal of genuine, efficient, yet loving female character," just as the other characters are types (CR, 210-18). Tuckerman's review was a welcomed psychological boost to an author whose works were consistently being oversimplified for the sake of superficial market tastes. Hawthorne responded gratefully,

[The article] gave me, I must confess, the pleasantest sensation I have ever experienced, from any cause connected with literature; not so much for the sake of the praise as because I felt that you saw into my books and understood what I meant. I cannot thank you enough for it.

(CR, 210)

Duyckinck's expected review appeared in the April 26 Literary World and spanned over two pages. He discusses the darker "spiritualities of the piece," then remarks that sunshine "casts its rays into the old building" with the presence of "gentle Phoebe." Instead of emphasizing the humor in the work, Duyckinck prefers to give long excerpts
of powerful, descriptive scenes. The first is Hepzibah's mental anxiety over accepting her first earned copper, followed by the lengthy passage of Judge Pyncheon's death and Hawthorne's taunting. This "lashing of the old man" reminds Duyckinck of Dickens's treatment of scoundrels. The book's conclusion will meet readers' expectations: "The daguerreotypist . . . marries Phoebe, of course, and the parties have left . . . for the summer realm of a country summer retreat." But Duyckinck warns that the romance is more demanding than cheap, popular fiction:

You must be in the proper mood and time and place to read Hawthorne, if you would understand him. We think any one would be wrong to make the attempt on a rail-car, or on board a steamboat. It is not a shilling novel that you are purchasing when you buy the House of the Seven Gables, but a book.

(CR, 192-94)

Rufus Griswold also contributed a long essay, entitled "Nathaniel Hawthorne," to his International Magazine for the May 1 issue. Griswold had published four Hawthorne pieces in his 1847 Prose Writers of America, and had included "The Snow-Image" in both a magazine and a miscellany just recently. In his essay he discusses not only Hawthorne himself but also the author's entire career. He quotes extensively from the prefaces about the author's failure to win sympathy from the reading public, then concludes that Hawthorne's works must be taken in the "proper point of view" (CR, 205-10). Griswold was happy to help promote Hawthorne the author. He wanted to maintain good
relations with one of his popular contributors, but he also
needed to repay Fields for helping secure many contribu-
tions to his anthologies and periodicals. Fields was Gris-
wold's most important connection with New England writers.

In fact, both Hawthorne and Fields were amassing
extensive connections in the literary world. The firm's
Cost Books reveal that while 100 review copies were inclu-
ded in the first edition The Scarlet Letter, 190 were
included in the first edition The House of the Seven Gables
(CB, 156, 188). Many went to new literary acquaintances,
but many also went to an expanding national market. Rail-
roads had opened up an important market in the Northwest
beginning in 1842 when railway lines connected Boston with
Buffalo, and again in 1848 when a railway line opened up
between Sandusky and Cincinnati. The firm still had to ship
by water between Buffalo and Sandusky (the Fall River
Line), but the new railway gave Boston its first adequate
connection with the Northwest. In the North the major dis-
tributing centers soon became Cincinnati, Columbus, Cleve-
land, Toledo, Indianapolis, Chicago, Milwaukee, and, just
beyond the borders, Louisville and St. Louis.27 The firm's
total sales in the area soon increased dramatically, from
$660.68 in 1849 to $2098.29 in 1850 and $2530.18 in 1851.28
Because the firm's domestic Letter Book which contained
correspondence from 1850 has not survived, we cannot deter-
mine how actively The Scarlet Letter and Hawthorne's
reissued works were promoted in the new territory. But the Letter Book from 1851 reveals that many copies of *The House of the Seven Gables* were shipped to Cincinnati upon publication.

In 1851 Ticknor & Fields was dealing extensively with booksellers in Cincinnati. Two dealers there ordered seventy-five and ninety copies each of *The House of the Seven Gables* in early April.²⁹ And the firm wrote to W. H. Moore & Co. on April 15: "We send 75 cops. of Hawthorne's new novel, supposing you will want that no. at least. We do not designate our Cincinn. Edl.[Editorial] cops.[copies]" (LB, d, 2.5). Ticknor & Fields frequently sent unsolicited copies of a new work which they believed would be popular. And they apparently left the number of complimentary editorial copies to the bookseller's discretion. A letter to a New Orleans bookseller later in the year regarding a Longfellow work suggests that Ticknor & Fields also provided newspaper notices: "We sent you by mail some notices of 'The Golden Legend' that you may see how the work is appreciated here. Enclosed in box are cops. for Editors--please send us the notices" (LB, d, 2.375). Of course, the editors had the firm's full permission to use the enclosed notices.

The Letter Book also contains many letters from Ticknor and Fields to various booksellers apologizing that they are unable to send copies of *The House of the Seven Gables* any faster because the demand is so great. One letter
explains, "We feel obliged to supply the quantity sold at the N[ew]. Y[ork]. T[rade]. Sales first" (LB, d, 2.25). In spite of active promotion and the early rush of orders, however, the sales remained comparable to the sales of The Scarlet Letter. In the first year following publication the firm printed only 6,710 copies of The House of the Seven Gables, compared to 6,000 copies of The Scarlet Letter printed the first year. Fields always spoke favorably of the sales to Hawthorne, however, assuring him in one letter:

In July we shall forward you an a/c sales. You are sure of seeing to yr. credit there copyright on five thousand House of the Seven Gables, that number having been sold we think already. Your other works also show handsomely in this a/c. They are all selling finely. In England also they begin to go, and we have rec'd orders for second lots from our agent there. This is better than being reprinted, as you get yr. copyright on the copies sold in London. Whatever money you want pray draw for always.

(May 24, 1851, Berg)

Fields had detailed records to back up his encouragement: by the end of the year, The House of the Seven Gables had yielded Hawthorne about $978.00 in copyright royalties; True Stories about $330; Twice-told Tales another $285.00 (CB, passim). A year of writing had brought in approximately $1603.00, an amount slightly greater than Longfellow earned as professor at Harvard. Longfellow, moreover, as one of America's most successful professional writers, only earned an average of $2,000 per year from his writings alone in the years between 1843 and 1852.30 With rea-
sonably frugal household management, Hawthorne could now support his family comfortably on his income. He had yet to receive any payments from England, but Fields was negotiating constantly with English publishers and would soon meet with success. As an American publisher who frequently reprinted English works, Fields had more bargaining power with the English than did any isolated author negotiating for himself. Hawthorne could expect to benefit eventually from Fields's many reciprocal agreements with his English counterparts.

During the year following the appearance of The Scarlet Letter, Hawthorne had become more intimately associated with Fields than with any publisher before him. Fields had provided him a future with the publishing house and had rid him of virtually all distractions to his writing: tedious revisions of old editions, scattered proposals for short pieces by other editors and publishers, and financial worries associated with the shortage of ready cash. Fields had given him the luxury of being a truly professional writer. As the relationship between the two men had evolved, the roles of passive author and aggressive publisher had become more defined as each role played off against the other. The polarity between their "feminine" and "masculine" responsibilities also had become prominent, a fact inevitable given the temperaments of each man. Fields was completely at ease in his role; Hawthorne much less so in his. Despite his
increasing professional security, Hawthorne was acutely self-conscious about his enforced passivity, a self-consciousness which manifested itself in the works of this period. He had been uncomfortable about reissuing his children's books and had practically isolated himself from their publication. The preface which he had added to the reissued *Twice-told Tales* had been humorously but overtly defensive. *The House of the Seven Gables* had revealed the same ambiguities that the author did personally. Nevertheless, by all outward appearances, the author was emerging as one of America's most respected and established authors.

Fields was too busy working for the promising public Hawthorne to concern himself greatly with the anxieties of the private Hawthorne. Because of the steady but undramatic sales of each of the author's works, the publisher wanted to flood the market with as many of Hawthorne's books as possible. The cumulative effect would create a solid reputation for an author unable to produce a single best-seller. Hawthorne needed more works to follow up the interest generated by *The House of the Seven Gables*. Fields was full of ideas as he proposed to Hawthorne "a volume of Tales for the fall," "a Book of Stories for children for next season," even "A Fairy Story Bk.," explaining that "To 'keep the pot a boiling' has always been the endeavor of all true Yankees" (See Fields to Hawthorne, Mar 12, 1851, Appendix A).
Hawthorne responded that he had already begun planning such books: a collection of the remaining tales and a story book for children. The latter would be made up of classical myths, which he would carefully adapt to current literary conventions, aiming "at substituting a tone in some degree Gothic or romantic, or any such tone as may best please myself" and putting in "a moral wherever practicable." (May 23, 1851). Fields was delighted with the plan, immediately voicing his preference for Hawthorne's first suggestion for a title, "A Wonder Book for Girls and Boys." The book was "sure to succeed," but, Fields warned, "the quicker you give us the Mss. the better as everything is gained by being in the market in season" (May 24).

Hawthorne had seen lucrative prospects for a book of classical myths for children ever since his proposed collaboration with Longfellow in the late 1830s, and now he could turn to such an undemanding project as a rest from the long months of writing The House of the Seven Gables. The last romance, moreover, had earned him the admiration of many potential buyers of children's books—the feminine readership. He mentioned to his sister Louisa that he kept receiving "adoring" letters about the work from young ladies (JH, 1.395). For once, therefore, he needed little of Fields's encouragement in order to proceed with his writing. The only thing hindering him was the summer heat, which always seemed to stifle his creative energy. In June
he promised Fields: "I hope to send you some of the Wonder Book in a fortnight or thereabouts. It grieves me infinitely to be compelled to write a book, at this season; but I shall put it through." 31

By July 15 the children's book was finished, and Hawthorne was eager to see it in print. But Fields's wife had died of consumption the day before, and the publisher himself became seriously ill for several weeks. Nevertheless, by mid-August Fields was able to send the author a lengthy letter, full of his characteristic encouragement (See letter of Aug. 14, 1851, Appendix A). The letter assures Hawthorne that his "Wonder Book" is in the illustrator's hands, then relays extensive praise of The House of the Seven Gables that Fields had received from Miss Mitford, an aging English author whom he had met during his England tour in 1847, and with whom he corresponded regularly until her death. Miss Mitford was also a personal friend of Henry Chorley of the London Athenaeum, the English critic who had noticed Hawthorne's work as early as 1831 in his reviews of The Token. Chorley religiously reviewed Hawthorne's volumes through the years, and had recently praised The House of the Seven Gables. Hawthorne was especially proud of Chorley's attention. Now he also had the benefit of Fields's cultivation of English literary friendships to help extend his ties to the English market.

By September A Wonder Book was in the hands of the
printer, but Hawthorne was growing increasingly restless in the Berkshires. Just as he had been able to confess his despondent moods to his close friend Horatio Bridge in the past, he now felt comfortable confessing to Fields that he was "sick to death of Berkshire," and that "for the first time since I was a boy, I have felt languid and dispirited, during almost my whole residence here" (Sept 13, HT). Fields's hard work was partly responsible for Hawthorne having the leisure to feel "languid and dispirited." Arrangements with the stereotypers, printers, and binders had to be made for The Wonder Book, in addition to the search for Hawthorne's tales in old magazines and annuals for the second book. Fields soon wrote that he had "got together all the Token articles for the new vol. of Tales together with 'A Bells Biography' (Knick'r) & the 'Old News' & 'Devils Mss' from the N.E. Mag'e" (Sept 22, Berg). Fields was also busy with preparations for a trip to Europe, as he informed Hawthorne: "God willing when the next steamer leaves Boston Harbor on the 15th of Oct. I shall be on deck and en route for Italy where I shall remain all winter. This is sudden but I shall go to it manfully [emphasis Fields's]" (Sept 30, Berg). The publisher could not have recognized the irony of his choice of adverbs. Hawthorne was being left helplessly (or "languidly", to use his own word) at home while the publisher forged manfully into a new arena of the business world.
Fields had to leave Boston before *A Wonder Book* was in print, but he left Ticknor only routine matters to take care of regarding its publication. The firm's Cost Books show that by October 2 the work had been stereotyped, and the firm had been billed for the paper, printing, and binding. The author's royalties were fifteen percent of the retail price of seventy five cents on the 2,967 copies to be sold. Another one hundred copies were reserved for the standard presentation and review volumes (CB, 201). On November 8 the book was published, but was dated 1852 as was the custom for books published so late in the year. Reviewers praised it unequivocally. An unsigned review in *Graham's*, probably by Whipple, indicates that Hawthorne succeeded in his intentions of writing a cheerful book: "The spirit of the book is so essentially sunny and happy, that it creates a jubilee in the brain as we read" (CR, 233). By December the firm ordered another 1600 copies printed (CB, 206). Fields had successfully brought the book out in time for the Christmas shopping season.

*The Snow-Image, and Other Twice-told Tales* also made it in time for the Christmas season, but just barely. Hawthorne included the pieces he had intended as part of his "Old-Time Legends; together with Sketches, Experimental and Ideal," which became instead *The Scarlet Letter*. His sister Louisa contributed what magazine sheets she could find, and Fields borrowed old copies of *The Token* from Goodrich for
the stories there. Even Ticknor helped locate three stories after Fields left for Europe. On November 1 Hawthorne had written the Preface, in the form of a dedicatory letter to Bridge. Their long friendship provided Hawthorne an easy framework for his usual humorous but ironic regard for his literary career: with Bridge's encouragement he became a "fiction-monger" and overcame the neglect of "the respectable fraternity of book-sellers, for their blindness to my wonderful merit." Hawthorne concludes with the promise that "the public need not dread my again trespassing on its kindness, with any more of these musty and mouse-nibbled leaves of old periodicals, transformed, by the magic arts of my friendly publishers, into a new book." Ticknor and Fields would indeed be magicians if they could transform these neglected stories into a volume attractive to the book-buying public.

The Snow-Image was printed on December 11 and published during the month, but was dated 1852. Of the 2,425 copies printed, Hawthorne received ten percent, his usual percentage for reissued works, on the 2,300 copies sold at seventy five cents per copy (CB, 210). If Hawthorne had sounded unenthusiastic about the collection in his Preface, the book reviewers were even more so. Most ignored it altogether. Duyckinck and Whipple gave it their customary puffs, but the book lacked novelty. Twice-told Tales had been even less of a novelty— it was essentially a reissue
of a previously-published collection—but it had received widespread attention. But with that work Fields had been at hand to make certain that the book was noticed in all the right newspapers and journals. With The Snow-Image, he was in Europe, but no less active promoting his firm's new works in the overseas market.

Dealing with the English publishers in person, Fields was able to secure promise of payment for advance sheets of Hawthorne's latest two works, which he offered together. Henry Bohn, in a surprising shift from past practice, agreed to pay £40 in order to gain a time advantage over fellow reprinters of American works. On November 18 Ticknor wrote to Bohn:

We sent you by the Steamer of the 12th from this Port, a complete copy of "The Wonder Book. By Hawthorne," in sheets for mail. We also send you by Steamer from New York... a copy of the "Snow Image by Hawthorne" as far as page 208.—and in a small case, care of Baring Bros. & Co.—by same conveyance, we send a duplicate of The Snow Image—also a complete copy of The Wonder Book—& The Electrotype from the 7 Wood Cuts of the latter book.—all which have been sent in accordance with your instructions to our Mr. Fields—and for which you are charged £40.0-0-0.

(LB, f, 2.242)

Hawthorne should have received most of this money, but we have no record of his being paid. He himself remarked that the payment for The Blithedale Romance the following year was the first he ever received for a work published abroad. 33

Back at home, Ticknor also grouped the two new works
together for certain booksellers. To one dealer in Providence he agreed to give a one-third discount "b/c of increased quantities" on fifty copies each of the following: "Wonder Book," "Golden Legend," "Rec. My Childhood," "The Snow Image," and "Greenwood Leaves 2d. Series" (LB, d, 2.350). With the exception of The Snow-Image, the other books were obviously suited for the feminine and juvenile market. Booksellers were not fooled for long, however. The Snow-Image sold sluggishly, and a second edition of only 1000 copies was not called for until December of 1852 (CB, 234).

Hawthorne's receipts from Ticknor & Fields for 1851 totalled $1,430, an increase over the $1,200 he had earned each year at the Salem Custom House. The receipts would have been much less without Fields encouraging him to produce, and yet Hawthorne had not been forced into a career of literary drudgery in order to support his family as a professional author. He was even in a position to decline a lucrative proposal from Griswold for serial publication which would have enabled him to sell his work twice, once to the magazines and again in volume form. In rejecting the proposal he explained to Griswold:

I doubt whether my romances would succeed in the serial mode of publication; lacking, as they certainly do, the variety of interest and character which seem to have made the success of other works, so published. The reader would inevitably be tired to death of the one prominent idea, if presented to him under different aspects for a twelve-month together. The effect of such a
story, it appears, to me, depends on its being read continuously.

Hawthorne saw the same strength in his romances that Edgar Allan Poe had seen in *Twice-told Tales*: a unity of effect that could only be achieved by the work being read at one sitting. Furthermore, works to be serialized needed intriguing plots and predetermined divisions.

Hawthorne was not being characteristically modest in his response to Griswold; he simply knew that he was not yet willing to compromise so fully with the marketplace. He still wanted his romances to be shaped by the force of the idea, not by the force of the format. The previous year had showed him that he could achieve measurable financial success by balancing an awareness of public taste with his own seriousness as a literary artist. America could support one of her own leading authors. And with Fields working in England, perhaps another market could begin supporting the American author, too.
Footnotes for Chapter Three


Ann D. Wood, "The 'Scribbling Women' and Fanny Fern: Why Women Wrote," American Quarterly, 23 (Spring 1971): 7. Nina Baym, among others, has also addressed the question of why so many nineteenth-century women wrote. Baym argues that the talented women writers did not produce literature of the first rank because they saw themselves not as "artists" but as professional writers who were obligated to satisfy their audience. Their writings actually represent a pragmatic feminism (See Baym, Woman's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and about Women in America, 1820-1870, Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1978, pp. 16-18). Baym would argue that Mrs. Sarah Joseph Hale did not understand the intentions of the women writers, particularly the writers of novels, of criticizing the status quo through the creation of heroines who had to make their own way in a hostile and indifferent world.

3 Griswold, Passages from the Correspondence, pp. 268-69.


8 Ibid., p. 299.

9 Mellow, p. 353.

10 Baym, The Shape of Hawthorne's Career, p. 171.

11 J. Hawthorne, Hawthorne and His Wife, 1.383.

12 Pattee, p. 55.

13 H. Nash Smith, pp. 51-55.
14 "Introduction to Fanshawe, CE, 3.311.


16 Bridge, p. 125.


20 J. Hawthorne, Hawthorne and His Wife, 1.383.


23 Clark, Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Descriptive Bibliography, p. 155.

24 Tauchnitz to Hawthorne; Jan 9, 1864, the autograph file, the Houghton Library, Harvard Univ.

25 [Firm] to Duyckinck, Nov 10, 1851. LB, d, 2.351.

26 D.A.B.


28 Ibid., p. 595.

29 Ibid., p. 603.

30 Charvat, "Longfellow's Income from his Writings," p. 20.

31 June 5, 1851. MS, James Fraser Gluck Collection, Rare Book Room, Buffalo & Erie Co. Public Library.


33 Clark, "Hawthorne and the Pirates," p. 92.
34 Griswold, p. 280.
Chapter Four:

Fields in Europe and The Blithedale Romance

During the summer of 1851 Hawthorne began planning another romance. A third child, Rose, had been born in May, and the income from his writings was proving just sufficient for his growing family. He also wanted to buy a house. Financial need provided the necessary impetus for his creative powers, as he explained to Bridge in July:

I don't know what I shall write next. Should it be a romance, I mean to put an extra touch of the devil into it, for I doubt whether the public will stand two quiet books in succession without my losing ground. As long as people will buy, I shall keep at work, and I find that my facility for labor increases with the demand for it.

(BR, 127)

The "two quiet books" were, presumably, A Wonder Book and The Snow-Image, which he and Fields were busy producing. Two days after writing Bridge, Hawthorne decided to "take the Community for a subject" and include some of his experiences at Brook Farm. But the work on the other two books, followed by a move to West Newton in November, delayed his beginning the new work until early December, two months after Fields had left for Europe. No correspondence between the two during the writing of The Blithedale Romance has survived, and Hawthorne's complaints about his publisher's absence suggest that Fields had essentially no influence on the manuscript itself.
Hawthorne missed Fields's personal encouragement and professional advice. The firm's remaining partners, Ticknor and Reed, failed to assume Fields's active role as sympathizer with authors. Fields, in fact, was the only publisher in his firm who also considered himself an author. Therefore when his trip extended to several months, Hawthorne finally complained,

"What a truant you are from the 'Corner'! I find Ticknor a very good fellow; but he by no means supplies your place—he is at bottom a bookseller, whereas that is only your accidental quality, while your native and essential characteristics assimilate you with my own wretched brotherhood. He is a devilish lucky fellow, to have you for his junior partner—a man in whom the publisher and author meet, and in whom both classes can understand each other. As to your Mr Reed, he is a blank, so far as I am concerned; I do not even know him by sight, among your gray-headed or beardless clerks and shop-boys."

(June 17, 1852, HL)

Hawthorne saw Fields's strength as a publisher in his ability to balance various roles, an observation perhaps prompted by his own sensitivity to the need for more "balance" in his own life. By the end of this period of Fields's absence, in fact, Hawthorne will also be a man in whom the politician and author meet.

As much as Hawthorne credited Fields with being the inspiration for the publishing firm's success, Fields's biographer, however, warns that it would be an error to assume that Fields was the firm of Ticknor & Fields. Ticknor was not temperamentally suited for the social activi-
ties of the publishing world; instead he chose to deal with the financial aspects of the firm, assuming the mundane duties of calculating costs, taxes, and wages. But he remained firmly in touch with all of the firm's concerns, just the same. Fields was clearly the more visible partner, and he did nothing to discourage the idea that he was the prime director. His contemporaries tended to view him as the man in charge. "I saw Ticknor yesterday," wrote Lowell to Longfellow, "and the impression he gave was that of a man very shrewd in business after it is once in train but very inert of judgment. I rather think Fields is captain when at home." Even though Hawthorne and Ticknor were close friends, their professional relationship was basically financial. Ticknor could send the author his royalty checks and an occasional case of wine or box of cigars, but he could not provide the creative stimulus which Hawthorne demanded.

Neither could the woman writer "Grace Greenwood," or Sara J. Lippincott, who visited the Hawthornes in December of 1851, when Hawthorne was just beginning his new romance. A friend of Lizzie Peabody's and one of Ticknor & Fields's authors, Greenwood had regularly sent Hawthorne complimentary copies of her new works, and he had responded in kind. Still, he could hardly tolerate her visit. When Lizzie subsequently asked him to review one of Greenwood's books, he suggested that she write the review herself: "I doubt
whether anybody else esteems her quite worth the trouble." He also noted that Sophia disapproved of her on "moral rather than literary" grounds. 3 Sophia objected not to her writings, but to her assumption of the role of writer. Grace violated Sophia's belief that women should not challenge men in the marketplace.

The marketplace in which Grace Greenwood was criticized for competing was, paradoxically, the same marketplace in which Hawthorne also felt disapproval about competing. Women writers might be censured for entering into the vocation of authorship, but their participation there also underscored the male writer's sense that he was the one out of place, that he was competing in a "feminine" profession. Hawthorne's insecurity eventually resulted in an unprovoked explosion. He had received complimentary copies of the latest books by Mrs. Camilla Crosland, an English miscellaneous writer whom Ticknor & Fields published. While acknowledging the books, he wearily wrote Fields a letter which exposed his intense, even violent, condemnation of women in his profession:

As a less awkward mode of doing the business, I have preferred rather to acknowledge Mrs Crosland's books, in a note to yourself, than to her. You will find it enclosed; and if it meet your approbation, please to forward it. I really don't know that I have said any more than truth, in a good-humored mood, will warrant; but, nevertheless, I can very well conceive of a person's tossing the books aside as tedious twaddle. My favorable opinion of the book has evaporated, in the process of writing it down. All women, as authors, are feeble and tiresome. I wish they
were forbidden to write, on pain of having their faces deeply scarified with an oyster-shell.
(Dec 11, 1852, HL)

Like his wife's censure of Greenwood, Hawthorne's disapproval here involves much more than disgust for feminine fiction itself. Fields would read Hawthorne's suggestion for punishing women writers as just another example of the author's moody but harmless banter, but Hawthorne still intended to make his point. Women writers succeeded in shaming themselves publicly, so the only appropriate remedy was a more cruel form of public shame, a physically scarred face. Moreover, the punishment would effectively drive them out of the writing profession, leaving it for men only.

Mrs. Crosland little realized that she had triggered the release of Hawthorne's deep vocational anxieties with her innocuous books on English life.

Hawthorne had yet to write a book with enough broad popular appeal to command sales of more than a few thousand copies. Perhaps a romance set wholly in contemporary America would interest more readers. Since he himself had participated in the Brook Farm enterprise, to take the utopian society as his subject would give the romance the grounding in actuality which the genre often lacked. A first-person narrator would also be appropriate for such a work. In his earlier volumes, moreover, his narrative voice had given his prefaces their vogue. But he also had to be careful to dissociate his characters from actual persons, and thus the
narrator Coverdale is not Hawthorne, per se, but a "Minor Poet." Like Clifford, Coverdale is the ineffectual artist whom Hawthorne feared he might have become.

Hawthorne also wished to capitalize on the current interest in mesmerism and spiritualism. His first sentence mentions the "wonderful exhibition of the Veiled Lady," a character inspired by reports from many of his literary friends who had witnessed the marvels of the Fox sisters, the "knockers," who came to New York in May of 1850 and made the front pages of the newspapers. Rufus Griswold hosted a private seance with the young sisters, and among those present were N. P. Willis, Fenimore Cooper, William Cullen Bryant, Henry Tuckerman, and George Ripley, the past proprietor of Brook Farm and current literary editor of the New York Tribune. Spiritualism became one of the hottest conversation topics of the day.4

Hawthorne also wished to delve into the current topic of women's rights. He borrowed the name of Zenobia from the eponymous heroine of William Ware's popular 1836 historical romance. The historical Zenobia, a third-century queen of Palmyra, was noted for her feminism in leading her armies against the Romans. Hawthorne's Zenobia is a writer instead. Far from having her face scarred with an oyster-shell, Zenobia is the most voluptuously beautiful character in Hawthorne's fiction. But it is precisely her beauty, her femininity, which she denies as she bruises herself
"against the narrow limitations of her sex" (CE, 3.2). Zenobia's counterpart, the ephemeral Priscilla, is little more than a sickly version of Hawthorne's popular Phoebe. Priscilla is the extreme of femininity, a non-entity who needs masculine protection for survival. Throughout the course of the work it becomes evident that Hawthorne condemns both extremes of womanhood, although he allows the submissive Priscilla to prevail over Zenobia in the end.  

Hawthorne also set up male counterparts with his characters Coverdale and Hollingsworth, playing with the same theme of his earlier romance, where Clifford and Judge Pyncheon served to contrast the isolated artist with the successful man-of-the-world. But with Coverdale, who, unlike Clifford, cannot blame persecution for his isolation, Hawthorne deeply questions the ultimate value of artistic insight. An artist who studies his subject must necessarily distance himself from that subject. And Coverdale studies people. Society rarely understands or appreciates the artists living among it, but Hawthorne questions whether the artist, the cold observer, even deserves its sympathy. His own uncertainty over his role as author of romances in commercial America makes his Coverdale an ambivalent character. Hawthorne cannot make up his mind whether Coverdale is sympathetic or despicable. Either way, he is ineffectual. The virile Hollingsworth, by contrast, has a masculine magnetism which gives him power over Zenobia and Pris-
cilla, while the cerebral Coverdale remains on the periphery unnoticed. But, like Judge Pyncheon, Hollingsworth abuses his power. His humanitarian passion to reform criminals degenerates into monomania, with the result that he becomes as ineffectual as Clifford. The dialectic between Hollingsworth and Coverdale is not simply of two men in love with the same woman; it is of active and passive masculine roles in society.

In writing The Blithedale Romance, Hawthorne went back to his notebooks of ten years earlier to supply descriptions of life at Brook Farm. Some passages he transferred almost verbatim. Coverdale's sojourn in town (Chapters 17-22) comes largely from notebook descriptions of Boston. The scene where Zenobia's body is recovered from the river follows closely his notebook entry for July 9, 1845, when he was awakened by Ellery Channing to join the search for the body of a drowned girl (TU, 238). Hawthorne drew from his notebooks in writing "Ethan Brand" in the late 1840s, but neither of his two previous romances had been tied so closely to actual experience. Contemporary opinion was pushing him away from the fanciful elements of his fiction, and was causing him to strain his conception of the romance to its limits.

Once again, he uses his preface to instruct his readers how to approach the romance. In drawing upon his reminiscences of Brook Farm, he only wants to give "a more life-
like tint" to his "fancy-sketch." He wishes merely "to establish a theatre, a little removed from the highway of ordinary travel, where the creatures of his brain may play their phantasmagorical antics, without exposing them to too close a comparison with the actual events of real lives."

But Hawthorne realized that his romance was already too close to actuality for his characters to escape being exposed as "paint and pasteboard." The fault, he claimed, lay with the lack of proper atmosphere for the romancer in America. American readers will not grant the romancer "a license with regard to every-day Probability." He needed better readers and more adequate conventional liberties. Without either, he had to doubt both the adequacy of his form and the validity of his own imaginative process.

Fields was still in England when Hawthorne finished his manuscript and preface on May 1, 1852. The next day Hawthorne sent the manuscript to Whipple, along with a letter reminding him of his promise to look it over. Hawthorne could not promise to amend any defects that Whipple might spy, but he did want help in choosing a title: "I have put 'Hollingsworth,' on the title-page, but that is not irrevocable; although, I think, the best that has occurred to me—as presenting the original figure about which the rest of the book clustered itself." He lists other possible titles, including "The Blithedale Romance—that would do, in lack of a better." Hawthorne's preference for the title is
curious in view of the work itself. Hollingsworth is not intriguing as a character; Zenobia is. The humanitarian reformer allows Hawthorne to speak to one of the popular issues of the day, and he becomes the pivotal character when both Zenobia and Priscilla fall in love with him, but he never holds the author's interest. Zenobia is the very essence of the romance, with her mysterious relation to Westervelt and Priscilla, and her complex psychological conflicts. Quite simply, Hawthorne could not name his book after her because there was already a \textit{Zenobia} on the market. He always had trouble deciding on a title, and he was happy to concede to Whipple's better judgment. He also knew that Fields would agree with Whipple's decision. On May 3 he wrote Fields:

\begin{quote}
Here I am where you ought to be—-at the old 'Corner'. Are you never coming home? Boston is not itself without you;--so Hudson observed to me this morning; and I heartily concurred.

I have just finished my romance; but feel discouraged from not having you to read it, and assure me that it is well done. Meanwhile, I have handed it over to Whipple, and stand ready to burn it or print it, just as he may decide.'
\end{quote}

The original manuscript, today in the Pierpont Morgan Library, bears pencil corrections which are possibly Whipple's, although no bibliographer has confirmed the fact. The title "Hollingsworth" has been deleted on the title page, and "The Blithedale Romance" substituted. Fredson Bowers, the textual editor of the Centenary Edition of \textit{The Blithedale Romance}, conjectures that Whipple sent the
manuscript back to Hawthorne with his corrections, and Hawthorne then sent it on to Ticknor, but with one important addition, the final chapter. An entry for April 13 in Hawthorne's *American Notebooks* reads, "Wrote the last page (199th manuscript) of the Blithedale Romance, April 30th, 1852. Wrote Preface, May 1st. Afterwards modified the conclusion, and lengthened to 201 pages" (CE, 8.314). The case is undemonstrable, but the possibility exists that Whipple suggested the need for a different ending from Coverdale's reflections at Zenobia's grave, or perhaps Hawthorne grew dissatisfied with the conclusion while the manuscript was in Whipple's hands (CE, 3.li-lii).

Whipple clearly would not have felt the original ending genial enough for the public's taste. Hawthorne's harsh view of radical social reform culminated in Hollingsworth's personal misery and Zenobia's meaningless death. Even the final sentence—"It is because the spirit is inestimable, that the lifeless body is so little valued"—fails to lift the gloom of Coverdale's reflections. The artist sees only the weeds growing "out of Zenobia's heart." Even if Whipple did suggest another ending, Hawthorne is likely to have anticipated the advice and begun writing another almost immediately. He could have Coverdale safely retreat into a self-effacing pose, a pose that had proven popular for the author, and thereby guide the reader out of the metaphysical darkness. In the final chapter, then, Coverdale makes
light of his own interest as a character, and his lack of purpose. And, true to the romance form which Hawthorne inherits, Coverdale stakes everything on a surprise ending. He reveals the secret that has guided his behavior at Blithedale and in the years that followed: "I--I myself--was in love--with--Priscilla!" The confession makes no sense in the context of the work except as a capitulation to readers' pressure for sentiment and surprise. It only underscores Coverdale as an absurd, ineffectual old bachelor.

Whipple was genuinely delighted with the new romance. He praised it to Fields, who then wrote Hawthorne:

> Yours of May 3d I found with a host of letters awaiting my arrival, and a hearty welcome it rec'd.--I am glad you have got the new Romance off yr. hands and into Whipples [sic]. He writes me a most glowing account of its beauties and I feel he is right. Don't burn it, I pray you. . . . [P.S.] "Sollingsworth" will not go for a title. Something better must be found. Try again.
> (May 21, 1852, Berg)

Fields had no way of knowing that Hawthorne had already accepted Whipple's suggestion of "The Blithedale Romance" for a title.

Meanwhile, Fields was busy negotiating to sell the English copyright to the work. He had been in touch with his firm about the book's prospects for some months, for on March 9, 1852, the firm had written its London agents, Delf and Trubner:

> Hawthorne has a new book nearly done. It will make a vol. about the size of the Scarlet
Letter. Bogue & Routledge have both made proposals for any new work from him.—but have not offered enough.—He will sell the copy of the new book for £100—& furnish the sheets as issued from the press. Will you see Bogue (first) and then Routledge or Bohn. His reputation now ought to command even a higher price than this but he is willing to do this with this vol. . . . We shall write to Mr. Bogue but to no one else.

(LB, f, 2.289–90)

The firm wrote to Bogue on the same day:

N. Hawthorne has a new Romance nearly done. --It will make a vol. size of Scarlet Letter. He has had several offers from your side of the water, for anything new from him.—He wishes, of course, to do the best he can,—but is not quite satisfied with any offer yet made. He is willing to sell the copy of the new work, furnishing early sheets so that the work may be published in London [the] same time as published here, for £100. He is very popular everywhere—& this is not too much.—We give you the first offer & have requested Mr. Delf to call on you.

(LB, f, 2.291)

Hawthorne had just bought a home in Concord for $1500, and was badly in need of funds for remodeling. He had never received any compensation for the English publication of his works, but with Fields dealing with the English publishers in person, something advantageous might be arranged. The firm's London agents were unable to secure a higher offer than the original £50. In his May 3 letter to Fields, therefore, Hawthorne pushed his cause:

It strikes me those London publishers are even greater skinflints than their American brethren. Ticknor tells me that Bogue and Routledge will neither of them advance on their original offers (£50.) which I do not feel at all inclined to accept. I had rather make an arrangement to share in the proceeds. Cannot you agree with Bentley to that effect?—or to any other effect? If you can get from any other publishers
even as much as Routledge and Bogue offer, do not let these last have it. They ought to be more liberal, in consideration of having fleeced me heretofore.

Hawthorne knew that his works were widely circulated in England, but he did not understand how completely the circulating library system dominated English book sales. English publishers could sell the bulk of an edition to the circulating library for a reasonable profit, and thus they had little incentive to lower their retail prices to accommodate the mass public. In the 1850s the system gradually began shifting towards free trade, but not enough to benefit Hawthorne. His books reached the English public because they were published mostly in paperback in cheap, unauthorized editions.

Fields was learning of the inequities of the English system through his friendships with numerous authors, and in his May 21 letter advised Hawthorne against dealing with the publishers of cheap reprints or with Richard Bentley on the half-profits system. Besides, he reported dramatically, he had already secured a tentative promise from Chapman and Hall to buy the advance sheets for "two hundred pounds" (See letter of May 21, 1852, Appendix A). Fields had probably heard favorable reports of Chapman and Hall's treatment of authors, since the firm had a history of fairness in its dealings. Even back in 1843 when Dickens worked to establish the "Society for the Protection of Literature" to promote international copyright, Chapman and Hall were among
the first members. 9 The Society only lasted a short while, and the rights of a foreign author to English royalties remained vague. The court case of Bentley vs. Foster in 1839 granted copyright if a work was published in Britain prior to or simultaneous with its appearance abroad. 10 But the ruling was constantly challenged and ignored. Therefore Fields negotiated for a flat sum in exchange for the copyright and the advance sheets; he had no practical means of securing copyright on any residual sales.

The prospect of £200, or about $1000, was staggering to Hawthorne. The amount would cover two-thirds of the cost of his new home. On June 8 he wrote Ticknor: "I rec'd a note from Fields, informing me of his hopes of getting £200 for the romance. I don't believe he will." 11 Hawthorne had not yet heard of Fields's success. Fields's ecstatic letter of June 3 was on the way, and is so characteristic of its author that it is worth quoting in full:

Nine cheers! I have sold The Blithedale Romance for Two Hundred Pounds to Chapman & Hall, the men who print for Bulwer, Dickens, and others of a similar note. The book must appear here some days before it is issued in Am's in order to secure the copyright. It w'd. have been a total loss to have given it to Bentley for half profits as he invariably prints small Ed's. & shares nothing. His ends are served in this way as the Libraries take of his 3 vol Bks. about 750 cops, and that no. is all he prints at first. Consequently no body can buy his Bks. and the author gets nothing.--I am about a good deal among the literary people of London and I always lend a greedy ear to your praises. Lord Mahon is one of yr. warmest admirers and takes every opportunity to say so in his circle of friends. I do not tell you this because he is a Lord but because he is a
sharp critic and a scholar himself. I wish you could have heard Camilla Toulmin the authoress last evening at Blackheath Park sound h'r musical trumpet in your praise. By heaven said she he is worth all the English and Am'n. Romancers put together, and her opinion is valuable because she is the Editoress of a very popular journal in London and will say what she thinks of you in type as well as at the table.--I have breakfasted with old Samuel Rogers and met at that good man's board some of the most influential of Englands [sic] great men, and your name was always the signal for a panegyric.--Barry Cornwall who is now spending a week at Norwich says in a note just laid on my table "Remember me to Hawthorne who I am glad to hear has rec'd. my letter and that it was acceptable to him. To say the truth I began to fear it had not reached him."--Do write him a letter for he is one of the best men in England, & loves you warmly for what you have written. His wife also is a lover of the same stamp.--I have not thanked you for yr. letter of the 3d. I will do so more at length when yr. next comes. Let it be soon and long. Remember me kindly to Mrs. Hawthorne.--By the steamer just in from Am'a. arrived the first 80 or 90 pages of the new Bk, but as I promised to hurry to Chapman with the first gun from the "Corner," I was obliged to send them off before I could read more than the Preface and look once through the sheets. I saw little, but that little made me feel a glow of delight for I knew at once your best manner. "It is all right." No.1 is your number.

(Berg)

Fields's biographer claims that of all Fields's triumphs in using his connections with London publishers to secure good terms for American authors, his greatest was persuading Chapman to pay £200 for The Blithedale Romance (TR, 145). Fields did not mind taking the credit for his success, but he wanted Hawthorne to share in the celebration as much as possible. His letter reads like that of one excited schoolboy to another. Hawthorne missed his publisher's aggressive
enthusiasm and wanted him back home. On June 17 he responded to Fields's good news:

You have succeeded admirably in regard to the Blithedale Romance, and have got just £150. more than I expected to receive. It will come in good time, too; for my drafts have been pretty heavy of late, in consequence of buying an estate!!! and fitting up my house.

(HL)

Fields did not make it home until September, but he did preside over the launching of the romance in England in early July. The Chapman and Hall edition appeared in two volumes and sold for a guinea. A look at an actual first edition copy reveals that the publishers took pains to stretch the intended one-volume format into two volumes, using large print and margins of almost two inches at the bottom of each page, and beginning new chapters at mid-page. The circulating libraries preferred multi-volume works because they could lend out each volume to a different subscriber, and have two or three people reading the work at one time. Chapman and Hall also provided the bookseller W. H. Smith with a number of "Yellow Backs," specially formatted editions which bore the publisher's imprint but were sold by Smith in his chain of bookstalls. The Smith Yellow Back of The Blithedale Romance was presumably the first mass-marketed work by Hawthorne to appear in England under copyright privileges paid for by the publisher. Hawthorne received no royalties from these books; Chapman and Hall, not Hawthorne, held the copyright.
But the sales of his previous works at bookstalls such as Smith's was the factor that had enabled Fields to negotiate a high price from Chapman and Hall for the new romance.

Fields was also in a position to record the reaction of the London literary set to the new book. He frequently dined out three times a day, and declined invitations almost as often as he accepted. Therefore he could report to Hawthorne:

The Romance is now fairly launched into the world of London and I think, so far as I can judge, your old admirers are satisfied to take the stranger in and give it a warm place by the side of its elder brothers. Henry Chorley of the Ath'm. one of yr. oldest and most enthusiastic friends, says "The Blithedale" is quite up to the mark in his estimation and he shall tell the outsiders to look out for a fine book. . . . Barry Cornwall told me to day at Breakfast that his wife was intending to see the Bk. so pray dont forget to send a representation copy at once by Ticknor. The English Ed. costs a guinea and this is a round sum you know.

(July 7, 1852, Berg)

Fields also reported that he was delaying his return home while he enjoyed British hospitality a bit longer, but the truth was that he already had an idea of "establishing a branch house in London & becoming the resident partner in England." The English had accepted him socially, and he had more than enough business concerns to justify his staying there. Ticknor, however, was growing increasingly impatient to have his partner back home helping with the more routine business.

Hawthorne also needed Fields back home to promote his
new book. The work had to be a success, because the Hawthornes wanted money badly. On July 13, the day before publication, the author confessed to Ticknor: "I am reduced to a penniless condition; and Mrs. Hawthorne, I believe, has thirteen cents in ready money. Please to send a small supply—say twenty-five dollars—as speedily as possible" (TI, 34).

The Ticknor & Fields edition of *The Blithedale Romance* had been ready to appear for some weeks, but according to the contract with Chapman and Hall, the firm had to make certain that the work was published in England first. The firm's Cost Books list an edition of 5090 copies as early as June 1. Because Ticknor was not one to cultivate relations with editors, only ninety copies were reserved for complimentary use, less than half the number reserved in *The House of the Seven Gables* first edition. The price was also dropped to seventy-five cents, the price of *The Scarlet Letter*. Hawthorne earned fifteen percent royalties on five thousand copies, or $562.50, and a second edition of 2,350 copies in late July brought in another $264.37. A third edition of 536 copies was not called for until 1855 (CB, 218, 222, 330). Therefore, even though the first-year sales were comparable to the initial sales of *The House of the Seven Gables*, Hawthorne earned less because of the decrease in retail price. In fact, he earned more from Fields's arrangement with Chapman and Hall than from the
royalties on the book's first-year sales in America.

The slow sales were not the fault of the firm's transactions with retail booksellers, however. Ticknor followed Fields's practice of making each bookseller believe he was being given preferential treatment. To J. C. Morgan, city not given, the firm wrote, "We have sent 50 copies Blithedale Romance (in advance of publication here) supposing you can readily sell that no." (LB, d, 3.67). To J. I. Waters in Baltimore the firm sent thirty copies of the new book, with the proposition: "If you will order 20 cops. more, making 50 cops. we will make 30% on the whole" (LB, d, 3.85). Twenty percent, with an additional five percent for cash, was the usual discount for Ticknor & Fields books.

The fault of the slow sales was actually a reflection of the book's lukewarm reception by the critics. The Blithedale Romance never got the widespread attention of the previous two romances, receiving mostly kind but shallow reviews in the usual journals and magazines. An unsigned review in the Literary World wished Hawthorne had treated "this experiment at social life . . . in a more matter-of-fact way" (CR, 249). A similar notice in the Christian Examiner stated indignantly that "a novelist has no right to tamper with actual verities" (CR, 251). One reviewer, in the Southern Quarterly Review, even suggested that "Instead of Zenobia committing suicide, an action equally shocking and unnecessary, he should have converted
her, by marriage—the best remedy for such a case—from the error of her ways, and left her, a mother, with good prospects of a numerous progeny" (CR, 258). As Hawthorne was aware, his readers did not know how to read a romance.

The notable exceptions were, not surprisingly, Chorley and Whipple. In Fields, Chorley had met someone with whom to share his enthusiasm for the American romancer, and the two spent many sociable hours together. Chorley also appreciated Fields's patronage of his intimate friend Robert Browning, whom Fields published in 1850, before the poet was popular even in England. In the July 10 Athenaeum, Chorley gives Hawthorne his highest praise yet: "Mr. Hawthorne's third tale, in our judgment, puts the seal on the reputation of its author as the highest, deepest, and finest imaginative writer whom America has yet produced" (CR, 245). Whipple's lengthy review in the September Graham's characteristically surveys the author's literary career before focusing on the new work. He stresses that Hawthorne must be approached on his own terms, for the romance is "a real organism of the mind, with the strict unity of one of Nature's own creations" (CR, 256). The review attempts to guide its readers to a genuine appreciation of Hawthorne's genius; it does not attempt to point out flaws. Neither Chorley nor Whipple recognized that the book would prove to be the least popular of Hawthorne's romances.

Hawthorne had little time to ponder the reasons for
his book's lack of widespread popularity. The pressure to write was on him again, but this time not from Fields, but from an old classmate, Franklin Pierce. "I meant to have written another Wonder Book, this Summer," Hawthorne explained to Fields, "but another task has unexpectedly intervened. General Pierce, of New Hampshire, the democratic nominee for the Presidency, was a college-friend of mine, and we have been intimate through life. He wishes me to write his biography, and I have consented to do so—somewhat reluctantly, however—for Pierce has now reached that altitude when a man, careful of his personal dignity, will begin to think of cutting his acquaintance. But I seek nothing from him, and therefore need not be ashamed to tell the truth of an old friend" (June 17, 1852, HL). The truth was that Hawthorne once again was beginning to doubt his ability to provide for his family solely by means of his fiction-writing. His collections of tales were hardly selling. Moreover, the author of the campaign biography of a winning presidential candidate customarily was rewarded with one of the more desirable political appointments. Hawthorne would have honored Pierce's request out of loyalty to his old friend anyway, but he also had to think about his prospects for personal gain. He accepted Pierce's proposal in mid-June, and by mid-August was through with the writing, which was no more than hack-work.

On August 31 the firm issued 4,762 copies of the thin,
black volume bearing "Hawthorne's Life of Pierce" on its spine. By October 4 another 8,190 copies had been printed, but the Cost Books list no retail price and only $300 in copyright fees. Almost 10,000 copies were bound in cloth, and over 3,000 in paper (CB, 224-25). The retail price probably varied from region to region, because the firm abandoned its systematic method of book distribution in order to circulate the biography as widely and rapidly as possible. Hawthorne sanctioned this all-out push. He even exhorted Ticknor to "blaze away a little harder" in his advertising. "Go it strong, at any rate. We are politicians now; and you must not expect to conduct yourself like a gentlemanly publisher." 15 Hawthorne clearly had begun taking on Fields's aggressiveness in the publisher's absence. The active world of politics offered a contrast to the often secluded world of authorship, and Hawthorne was eager to strike a balance between the two.

Although Ticknor and Fields were both Whigs, the firm promoted the biography of the Democratic candidate as a means of circulating Hawthorne's name in traditionally non-literary circles. Ticknor bore the responsibility of the preliminary advertising until Fields returned from England in early September. Dozens of letters sent to retail book-sellers enclosed advertisements for local newspapers and promised unusually large discounts. A letter sent two weeks before publication illustrates the firm's aggressive promo-
tion: "We shall make a liberal discount anticipating our immense sale." Hawthorne, ever since his college days, has been Pierce's "intimate friend," and not "a page is printed till it has been seen & sanctioned by him. It will contain much of his private journal & Hawthorne has put the whole in good shape. We shall be able, in two or three days, to write more definitely, as to price & c. In the meantime, circulate the general fact. Get orders" (LB, d, 3.130). A few days later the firm enclosed an advertisement to a New York bookseller and directed him to insert it "in the Evening Post--copies--10 times--& if you please call attention to the fact that Hawthorne has nearly ready a Life of General Pierce. It is done in Hawthorne's best style & if generally congratulated will do good service for Gen. P.--Be good enough to send copy of paper containing adv't." (LB, d, 3.151).

By the time Fields returned, the firm was already shipping the volumes all over the country. The partners stepped up the letter-writing. To a bookseller in Brunswick, Maine, where Hawthorne and Pierce had been college classmates, the firm offered a forty percent discount for cash. "A large number ought to be sold in Maine.--It will do the Genl. good service wherever it goes.--Cannot you dispose of 1000 copies?" (LB, d, 3.205). A letter in Fields's handwriting to H. W. Derby and Co. of Cincinnati asked, "Will you do us the favor to insert on the best
terms you can make for us the enclosed advertisement in one of yr. most influential Democratic Papers. Let it appear every other day during the month of October if you please, well displayed as to type" (LB, d, 3.228). Similar letters were sent as far away as Charleston and New Orleans.

On October 2, Hawthorne wrote Ticknor that Mr. Augustus Schell, the chairman of the Democratic Committee, had inquired about printing a special edition of the biography for gratuitous circulation in New York City. "For my own part, I should be in favor of granting the largest liberty, and shall willingly accede to the most liberal terms you may be inclined to offer him. I don't believe it would essentially injure the circulation to let him print five thousand in a cheap style, gratis." He was more interested in helping his friend win the election than in earning royalty payments for himself. But he had not yet heard that the firm had already made Mr. Schell an offer of 5,000 copies in paper covers, with or without portrait or stitched covers, at a discount of sixty-two and one-half percent (LB, d, 3.226).

Despite the firm's all-out promotion, however, the biography failed to sell in the western market. Chicago and Milwaukee only took about twenty-five copies each. Even in Ohio, which the firm had especially targeted, people voted for Pierce but did not buy his Life. Hawthorne did get a response from Iowa which he thought capital enough to act
up. On October 26 he wrote Fields:

A gentleman in Iowa writes to me, and tells me that he will esteem it a "very marked and distinguished favor," if I will grant him three things—first, to send him a copy of the Life of Pierce; secondly, to accompany the same with all my other works;—and thirdly, to place him on the list of my regular correspondents! It is a pity he should not obtain some small percentage of all these modest requests. Will you, therefore, be kind enough to send a paper copy of the Life of Pierce, by mail, to W. Smith Lee, Esq./ Keokuk,/ Iowa./ prepay the postage, and charge it to me?
(Oct 26, 1852, the Houghton Library)

Hawthorne may have willingly supplied a gratuitous copy to the Iowan, but he unwillingly supplied another work for the English pirates. The English publisher Routledge had been so impressed by the sales of his cheap edition of The Scarlet Letter in the last two years that he ventured to reprint 2,000 copies of the Pierce biography also.18 Hawthorne's reputation in England was now strong enough that he could expect any new works to be reprinted there, no matter how little accommodated to the English bookbuyers' interests.

Back at home, neither The Blithedale Romance nor The Life of Franklin Pierce was successful enough to allow Hawthorne to meet his household expenses. Once Fields had time to read the romance for himself and discuss it with readers other than Chorley and Whipple, he realized that the book was essentially a commercial flop. It may have drawn on popular topics, but it had no popular appeal. By contrast, Mrs. Stowe's new book, Uncle Tom's Cabin, drew on
the slavery issue and was selling by the thousands. He wrote candidly to Miss Mitford back in England: "The excellent Hawthorne . . . is at work on another Romance and from all I can gather from this silent genius it will be in the Scarlet Letter vein. I hope he will give us no more Blithe- dales. The writer of Uncle Tom's Cabin is getting to be a millionaire" (Oct 24, 1852, HL). The romance Fields mentioned is not identified, but Hawthorne was possibly exploring the "Agatha" story offered by Melville. Fields might have mentioned the romance as being "in the Scarlet Letter vein" because the Agatha story dealt with marital unfaithfulness.19 Nothing came of it, anyway. With the election of Pierce in November, Hawthorne's attentions focused on the possibility of a political appointment. He may have referred facetiously to himself and Ticknor as "politicians" when he urged Ticknor to "blaze away a little harder" in his advertising, but the truth was that for him the Pierce biography represented an excellent means of actively seeking a government position.

He increasingly began to be mentioned as the most likely candidate for the consulship of Liverpool, the most lucrative post in the foreign service. In December he began discussing the idea of a foreign assignment with friends. A letter to Fields even implies that he felt assured of such a position, and was only questioning whether he would be able to help Richard Henry Stoddard, a young poet who had
visited him at the Wayside in order to collect notes for a biographical sketch and whom Fields had engaged to publish notices of Hawthorne and others in the New York Albion: "Do you hear anything about Stoddard? I heartily wish I could take him abroad with me, but am apprehensive that he has not the 'requisites for such a position... I am not yet quite certain whether I shall be allowed a secretary, unless at my own expense. Do you know anything about this?" (Dec 11, 1852, HL). Hawthorne eventually helped Stoddard win an appointment to the Boston Custom House (TU, 259).

On February 1, 1853, Pierce arranged to interview Hawthorne in Boston, and probably discussed the consulship at Liverpool then. The nomination was finally carried out and confirmed by the Senate on March 26, but because Pierce had agreed to let the incumbent remain in office until the end of July, Hawthorne gained a few needed months of preparation (TU, 258). He was pestered from all sides for his supposed influence with Pierce in the awarding of political offices, and he did actually undertake a few causes. In addition to helping Stoddard, Hawthorne sought a South American post for a literary friend of Whipple's, Charles Wilkins Webber, who in 1846 had favorably reviewed Mosses from an Old Manse and later solicited a contribution for the American Whig Review. Hawthorne urged Whipple to secure letters from literary men which he would pass on to the President (TU, 259). He also took up the cause of an old
friend from the Salem Custom House, Zachariah Burchmore, using Fields as an intermediary. He enclosed an important letter to Burchmore in a short note to Fields, with the directions: "Will you be good enough to put the enclosed in an envelope, and direct it to Zachariah Burchmore, Esq. Salem, and send it to the Post office? I do not mail it here, because the Salem politicians are very watchful of my correspondence with this fellow" (May 31, 1853, Collection of R. Spaulding, Providence, RI). Against tremendous odds, Hawthorne saw Burchmore reinstated at the Salem Custom House. Clearly the "languid and dispirited" author no longer, Hawthorne was enthusiastically promoting his friends in much the same way as Fields promoted him, taking full advantage of his literary and political connections.

Before Pierce approached him about writing his biography the previous summer, Hawthorne had planned to write a second Wonder Book. Constant interruptions throughout the summer and fall made him set the project aside, but on March 9, 1853, it was finally completed. The introduction to Tanglewood Tales explains that the volume contains six new tales which Eustace Bright, the narrator of the first volume, has brought back from college to read to the children who listened to his other stories. The volume was enjoyable for Hawthorne to write, and when finished he remarked to Stoddard, "I never did anything else so well as those old baby-stories."20 The remark suggests, perhaps,
that Hawthorne now viewed his role as author as more acceptable, once he began to participate in the masculine world of politics.

Ticknor & Fields delayed the book's publication while they arranged to sell the English copyright. On May 16, the firm wrote Chapman and Hall:

We have a new Juvenile Book by Nathaniel Hawthorne called 'Tanglewood Tales' in press. It is similar in style to 'The Wonder Book' which Bohn published. We offer it to you, as we shall all Hawthornes [sic] new works, first. The price for copyright & early sheets is 50f. The Book will contain 7 engravings from original designs, casts of which we will supply for £14. Let us hear from you by return steamer... P. S.---about 300 pages.

(quoted in CE, 7.384)

Hawthorne gave the firm credit for a major achievement when Chapman and Hall accepted the book on the proposed terms. But because the Hawthornes were booked to sail in July, Hawthorne would miss the work's publication in America. As early as June, Fields knew that the American edition would have to wait until September in order to mail advance sheets and protect Chapman and Hall from piracy. On June 7, he presented the autograph manuscript to Henry Baird with the instructions: "I send you with this MS. of Hawthorne's Tanglewood Tales a book we shall not publish till September, so you will please keep it from the public gaze till after the work has appeared" (The Pierpont Morgan Library).

On July 6, Fields went to the docks to see off the Hawthornes and Ticknor, who was joining them for a short
stay in England. *Tanglewood Tales* was stockpiled awaiting publication. Three thousand copies printed in late April, along with a second edition of 800 copies in September, would pay Hawthorne royalties of fifteen percent on the retail price of eighty-eight cents, for a total of $472.50 (CB, 247-48, 258-59). Hawthorne still had business to take care of relating to the book once he was settled into his position in Liverpool. On August 19, he directed Fields to send presentation copies to Grace Greenwood, David Roberts in Salem, and Horatio Woodman.21

On September 16, Hawthorne wrote Fields again, this time expressing an eager desire to explore his ancestral tree:

I wish you would call on Mr. Savage, the antiquarian, (if you know him) and ask whether he can inform me what part of England the original William Hawthorne came from. He came over, I think, in 1634. Mr. Savage is writing a genealogical account of the early settlers, and no doubt has already got as far as the above name. . . . Of all things, I should like to find a grave-stone in one of these old church-yards, with my own name upon it; although, for myself, I should wish to be buried in America. The graves are too devilish damp here.

(Sept 16, 1853, HL)

Hawthorne's attitude towards his ancestors had clearly changed since the years of ambivalence and hostility revealed in "The Custom-House" introduction to *The Scarlet Letter*. No longer concerned with what he imagined to be his ancestors' authoritative disapproval of their "idle" descendant, Hawthorne was eager to explore his personal past.
He had overtly entered politics, and was now not only positive about his role as children's author, he was also unqualifiedly willing to acknowledge his own past.

In a sense, Hawthorne was now a mirror image of Fields, interplaying the roles of author-politician opposite Fields's roles of publisher-poet. Both were literary men and businessmen. Hawthorne became comfortable with his professional identity only when he felt he was balancing his artistic creativity with an active participation in the business world, and he was therefore especially conscious of Fields's skill in balancing his dual roles. From England he soon wrote the publisher-poet:

> I thank you for your admirable lines on the "Great Romancer." See what it is to have a poet for a publisher! It will be long enough before Ticknor pays me a compliment in verse.
> 
> (Oct 16, 1853, Gardner Museum, Boston)

Fields's laudatory poem has not been located, and it is likely that Hawthorne burned it along with much of his correspondence during his years abroad.

Hawthorne expected his sojourn to last only five years: four in England in his official capacity, and another in Italy touring with his family. He also expected to see Fields the following year. Both men felt that Hawthorne had done the right thing in accepting the position; the generous pay would free him from all financial worries, so that in five years he could return to his writing unhindered by worldly cares. In the fall of 1853, neither had
any way of knowing that it would be years before they saw each other again, and that Hawthorne's stay would be extended to seven long years.
Footnotes for Chapter Four

1 Cited in Turner, p. 236.


3 Quoted in Mellow, p. 640.

4 Pattee, pp. 239-49.


6 Quoted in CE, 3.11.

7 May 3, 1852, the Nathaniel Hawthorne Collection (#6249-a), Clifton Waller Barrett Library, Univ. of Virginia.


9 Barnes, pp. 128-29.

10 Ibid., p. 153.


12 Clark, "Hawthorne and the Pirates," p. 110.

13 Quoted in Tryon, p. 152.

14 Fields, Yesterdays, p 330.

15 Quoted in Turner, p. 249.

16 Letters of Hawthorne to Ticknor, 1.5.

17 Tryon, "Ticknor and Fields' Publication in the Old Northwest," p. 607.

18 Barnes, p. 155.

19 Stewart, pp. 134-35.
20 Quoted in Turner, p. 262.

21 MS, Wellesley College Library.
Chapter Five:
The England Years

When Hawthorne sailed for England in 1853, he was forty-nine years old. During the three-and-a-half years he had been with Ticknor & Fields, he produced seven new books and two new editions, or about one title every five months. Even so, he had been unable to repay his debt to George Hillard and friends from his jobless period late in 1849. Writing brought in subsistence income only. The new position as consul in Liverpool would give his family financial security for the first time ever, and would presumably keep them comfortable for years to come. Hawthorne's yearly salary is difficult to determine because it was based on a fee system rather than on a fixed dollar amount, but statements from both Hawthorne and his wife place it in the $10,000 to $12,000 range. In 1854 when Congress approved a bill substituting fixed salaries for the existing fee system for foreign service officers, Hawthorne's salary was set at $7,500, which he noted would cut his salary by one-fourth. He also would have to pay the salaries of his assistants and cover other office expenses out of his own reduced income. Although another £200, or approximately $1,000, a year came in from the unfilled vice-consulship at Manchester, he protested that he would have nothing left over to
help Americans in trouble (TU, 272-73). Moreover, he still had expenses back in America. Sophia's aging father occupied the Wayside, and Ticknor & Fields was authorized to pay for repairs and improvements on the estate. Hawthorne also authorized the firm to pay his sister Elizabeth up to $200 per year (TU, 263).

During the author's years in England, Ticknor was the partner who handled Hawthorne's banking for the firm. Hawthorne informed him each time he deposited a sum to the firm's credit with the London bankers, the Baring Brothers. Hawthorne expected Ticknor to keep him informed of the growth of his savings, and to invest the money wisely. Frequently, however, the author and publisher clashed over Hawthorne's imprudent generosity in extending loans to Americans in trouble. Hawthorne wanted Ticknor's advice on investment matters, but he rarely allowed his publisher's stern warnings to check his benevolent impulses.

Most of Hawthorne's correspondence with his publishers during the years in England, therefore, is with Ticknor rather than Fields. He had no pressing reason to write Fields often. He also failed to preserve the bulk of the correspondence addressed to him. Most likely he burned it, as he so frequently destroyed letters during his lifetime, in order to limit the amount of his burdensome baggage. But fortunately, his letters to Fields often seem to respond point by point to Fields's latest letter to him, so that
the concerns of the lost letters can be partially construed.

Neither Ticknor nor Fields let Hawthorne forget that he was still a professional author, and that they expected him to continue his writing and to stay active in the publication of new editions of his existing works. He was no sooner settled into the post at Liverpool than Ticknor wrote of plans to republish *True Stories*, and solicited the author's help with possible revisions. Hawthorne had little time to concern himself with such matters, and responded, "I don't remember any corrections to be made, and would rather spare myself the trouble and weariness of looking through the book. Let it go as it is" (WT, 1:21). Ticknor conceded and ordered 500 copies printed for a third edition (CB, 280).

Hawthorne's first weeks in office convinced him that "there were worse lives than that of an author—-at least, when he is so fortunate in his publishers as I am" (quoted in TI, 133). The seamen, officers, and American itinerants who filled his office acquainted him with a human misery he had never confronted in his years as a poor but fairly secluded author in America. Many who sought help from him were desperate. Hawthorne had only recently escaped the necessity of being dependent on outside aid himself, and now that his situation was reversed, he made a vulnerable target for anyone in trouble. Daily problems made the job
emotionally draining, but still, it was exactly what Hawthorne needed. He finally held a position of genuine authority, a position which commanded respect and needed no defense. From all appearances, he was providing for his family handsomely.

But it was clear from the beginning that his period of high literary productivity was over as long as he held the office, because he took his responsibilities too seriously to have any energy left for writing. Just four months after his arrival in England, he began bemoaning, whether in earnest or for Ticknor's benefit, his abrupt vocational shift. He wrote Ticknor that he had just deposited £300 with Baring Brothers to the firm's credit. "If it had been £3000, I would kick the office to the devil, and come home again. I am sick of it, and long for my hillside; and what I thought I never should long for—my pen! When once a man is thoroughly imbued with ink, he can never wash out the stain" (quoted in TI 116). Hawthorne was again making it clear that he only wanted to work for the government long enough to enable him to retire comfortably to his writing. He must have been encouraged; the £300 which he deposited at the bank after less than three months in office was roughly equivalent to the amount he usually earned in a full year as a writer.

By January of 1854, Hawthorne had settled comfortably into his new position, paid off his old loan from Hillard
and friends, and begun missing the companionship of his friendly publisher back home. The receipt of two new Ticknor & Fields volumes prompted him to write Fields:

I wish your epistolary propensities were rather stronger than they seem to be. All your letters to me, since I left America, might be squeezed into one page of note-paper. However, I quite sympathize with you in hating to write... I thank you for Grace's "Haps and Mishaps"—(miserable stuff—nothing genuine in the volume—I don't care a button for it)—and more especially for Mrs. Mowatt's Autobiography, which seems to me an admirable book. Of all things I delight in autobiographies; and I hardly ever read one that interested me so much.

(Jan 20, 1854, HL)

Mrs. Mowatt was one of the rare exceptions to Hawthorne's universal condemnation of woman authors. Her Autobiography of an Actress provides a study of character, understandably entertaining to a fellow author whose artistic efforts almost always resulted in scrutiny of the individual character. Fields also saw merit in the unproven work; he had the first edition stereotyped and offered Mrs. Mowatt a copyright of fifteen percent of the retail price. Hawthorne's opinion of Grace Greenwood, however, was obviously unchanged. Earlier in the month he had written Ticknor: "I am getting sick of Grace. Her 'Little Pilgrim' is a humbug, and she herself is—but there is no need of telling you. I wish her well, and mean to write an article for her, by and by. But ink-stained women are, without a single exception, detestable" (WT, 1.26-27). Hawthorne had no patience for what he perceived to be a lack of seriousness,
or mere pretensions to seriousness, of writers such as Greenwood.

In February he voiced another reason for his objection to feminine writers. He had just received a copy of *Passion Flowers* by Julia Ward Howe, and observed to Ticknor:

> Those are admirable poems of Mrs. Howe's, but the devil must be in the woman to publish them. It seems to me to let out a whole history of domestic unhappiness. What a strange propensity it is in these scribbling women to make a show of their hearts, as well as their heads, upon your counter, for anybody to pry into that chooses! . . . What does her husband think of it?

(quoted in TI, 119)

The scribbling women were guilty of the unpardonable sin: they violated, in effect, the sanctity of the human heart. And unlike Hawthorne's Ethan Brand, Roger Chillingworth, or Miles Coverdale, they never suffered for their intrusion. Hawthorne believed that the artist must maintain a certain reserve. Because his prefaces were frequently more popular than the stories which followed, he was conscious that he might be perceived as exploiting his own person for the sake of reader interest. Therefore, in the preface to *The Snow-Image*, for example, he felt the need for a disclaimer: "with whatever appearance of confidential intimacy, I have been especially careful to make no disclosures respecting myself which the most indifferent observer might not have been acquainted with, and which I was not perfectly willing that my worst enemy should know" (CE, 11.3). Mrs. Howe displayed no such reserve, and Hawthorne believed that "she
ought to have been soundly whipt for publishing them [Passion Flowers]" (WT, 1.50).

Of course, an underlying source for Hawthorne's indignation was the tremendous discrepancy between his own and the successful women writers' financial rewards. In 1853 Fern Leaves from Fanny's Portfolio sold 70,000 copies. That same year G. P. Putnam wrote Hawthorne that the royalties on Mosses from an Old Manse were $144.09, and that "the last two semi-annual accounts were passed over by our book-keeper simply because the amount was small." Putnam informed Hawthorne of the sales of Fanny Fern's book and also of Susan Warner's The Wide, Wide World, which was in its fourteenth edition in 1852, after just two years of publication.² By comparison, neither the Putnam's nor the Ticknor & Fields volumes of Hawthorne were even noticed. After initial sales of six or seven thousand copies each of The Scarlet Letter and The House of the Seven Gables, only a thousand to fifteen hundred copies were needed to meet the demand in the following two to three years. A one-thousand copy edition of The Snow-Image printed in 1852 lasted until 1857. In all fairness, the sales were adequate and even impressive by the standards of Hawthorne's literary peers. Works such as Melville's Moby Dick, Thoreau's Walden, Holmes's Poems, Hillard's Six Months in Italy, and Lowell's Biglow Papers barely sold well enough to cover costs. But with the exception of Melville, these authors
did not attempt to earn a living by writing. Thoreau was a surveyor, Holmes a physician, and Hillard and Lowell both lawyers. Only Longfellow, Hawthorne's closest friend among New England writers, saw his works achieve sales comparable to the popular books of Fanny Fern and Susan Warner. Hawthorne's loyal friendship frequently clouded his better judgment concerning Longfellow's artistic merit; indeed he never questioned whether his friend was compromising his artistic integrity by writing poems which school children loved to recite. Thus Longfellow's success only served to underscore Hawthorne's own sense that he was simply not reaching his potential market.

Hawthorne knew that despite Longfellow's demonstrated commercial success, he himself would never grow rich by writing. The Liverpool consulship provided the best opportunity yet to bring his family into the growing prosperity which many enjoyed all around them. The author's isolated-artist persona had now receded as part of Hawthorne's self-image. He delighted in watching his savings grow, and in considering his new prestige. By February of 1854, he proudly joked with Ticknor: "Redding has published a list of the monied men of Massachusetts. I consider myself one of them, since you tell me I have $3000 safely invested. Send me the pamphlet; for I ought to be acquainted with the names of my brethren" (quoted in TI, 119). The following month he again reported:
With my last deposit, this makes £680 since the first of January. Invest—invest—invest! I am in a hurry to be rich enough to get away from this dismal and forlorn hole. If I can once see $20,000 in a pile, I shan't care much for being turned out of office; and yet I ought to be a little richer than that. It won't be quite so easy for us to live on a thousand dollars, or less, as it used to be. I am getting spoilt, you see.

(WT, 1.31-32)

Back at home, while Ticknor was handling Hawthorne's finances and looking after the Wayside, Fields had finally succeeded in making the firm Hawthorne's exclusive publisher. For three years he had pressed George Putnam for the plates to the 1846 Mosses from an Old Manse, but not until March of 1854 did Putnam run into financial difficulties and decide to sell. At the Bangs Bros. Trade Sale in New York, Fields purchased as a group the plates to Mosses, Journal of an African Cruiser (which Hawthorne had edited for Horatio Bridge in 1845), and Lowell's A Fable for Critics (LB, d, 4.371). The plates enabled him to pursue more aggressively his role as Hawthorne's patron. Now his name would be associated with Hawthorne's even more so than before. In addition to personal gratification, the role of exclusive publisher had practical advantages which Fields could not miss. He would have more control over the shaping of Hawthorne's literary career and public image, and more control over other publishers' access to his writer. Moreover, with Hawthorne in England attending the right dinners and making the right contacts, the potential value of his
foreign copyrights was much greater than before. As his exclusive publisher, Fields now had more leverage for negotiating with foreign publishers.

The arrangement also had advantages for Hawthorne. He needed the constancy of the author-publisher relationship which he had already developed with Fields in order to discuss topics crucial to the direction of his career. With publishers before Fields, Hawthorne had not had access to important decisions related to publication, but with Fields he was assured that the future was a matter of joint concern. The fortunes of Ticknor & Fields became his own, and thus he was tied to a commercial venture in a very intimate way. The arrangement thereby helped relieve many of his vocational anxieties about being a professional writer in a businessman's world. Although he condemned the Judge Pynchones, Hawthorne still measured his own success in terms of material respectability, not in terms of being the premier intellect of his age.

We do not have Fields's undoubtedly ebullient letter informing Hawthorne of his success at obtaining the plates to Mosses and asking for revisions of the text, but we do have the author's lengthy response of April 13:

I am very glad that the "Mosses" have come into the hands of our firm; and I return the copy sent me, after a careful revision. When I wrote those dreamy sketches, I little thought that I should ever prepare an edition for the press amidst the bustling life of a Liverpool consul. Upon my honor, I am not quite sure that I entirely comprehend my own meaning in some of
these blasted allegories; but I remember that I always had a meaning—or, at least, thought I had. I am a good deal changed since those times; and to tell you the truth, my past self is not very much to my taste, as I see myself in this book. Yet certainly there is more in it than the public generally gave me credit for, at the time it was written. But I don't think myself worthy of very much more credit than I got. It has been a very disagreeable task to read the book.

(Apr 13, 1854, HL)

The "past self" to which he referred with distaste was, of course, the isolated artist who retreated into allegories rather than submerge himself into real life. The present self, by contrast, was happy to be involved in decisions related to publication of the new edition by "our firm" and to comply with Fields's request for revisions, although Hawthorne made it clear that his literary tastes were much altered since the tales were first written. Beginning with The House of the Seven Gables, he had begun to abandon the allegorical mode in favor of closer ties to real life. The shift earned him more critical acclaim and more readers, who in turn never failed to let him know when he slipped back into his allegorical tendencies. And Hawthorne rarely disagreed with them. He simply could not control his fascination with the central idea behind the creation of his main characters. Clifford, the emasculated artist, had lured the author into "too much metaphysical analysis"; Hollingsworth was merely a monomaniacal reformer; Priscilla was the ethereal, submissive female, existing to underscore Zenobia's independent spirit. Thus, his characters who most
resemble real people are usually peripheral to his main plots, such as Uncle Venner in *The House of the Seven Gables* and Silas Foster in *The Blithedale Romance*. Hawthorne had trouble re-reading his early stories in *Mosses* partly because they point to the artistic problems of his later work.

The remainder of Hawthorne's letter is friendly chatter, except for a request on behalf of William Allingham, a young poet who had been published by Routledge and had left a custom's post in Ireland in order to pursue literature in London. Hawthorne understandably wished to help the idealistic but impractical young poet, and he thought that perhaps Ticknor & Fields might publish him in America. The firm did publish Allingham, but not until 1861, when they published the first American edition of his *Poems*.

Hawthorne also indicated that he expected Fields's arrival in England soon. Fields had kept up a steady stream of letters to his English friends ever since his trip two years earlier, and Hawthorne found himself continually asked by the English about his publisher's plans to return. Fields had planned to sail in May, 1854, but was delayed until June. On the big day, he was given a splendid send-off, complete with a poem published in the *Transcript* in his honor, but was no sooner out of Boston harbor than he contracted a violent fever and was put ashore at Halifax (TR, 207-08). The entire trip had to be indefinitely post-
poned.

Meanwhile, the faithful Ticknor had taken over his partner's duties regarding the publication of Mosses. As was customary with reissues, the 1846 edition of two thin volumes needed to be revised. The Ticknor & Fields edition would also be in two volumes, but the publishers wanted more copy. On June 7, the same day Fields set sail, Hawthorne offered Ticknor a few suggestions, not knowing whether Fields had already embarked or not:

There are other detached passages of mine scattered through Park Benjamin's volumes of that magazine [New England Magazine]; and Fields would readily recognize them. Let him do as he pleases about inserting any or all of them;—only being careful to put in nothing that he does not feel absolutely certain about. The beginning, and the conclusion, of the "Itinerant Storyteller" are there, at an interval of some months, and are written quite up to the usual level of my scribblings. If I had the magazine at hand I could patch up an article in five minutes; and Fields can do it just as well, and without any trouble at all. If he should already have sailed, Whipple will doubtless do it. Do not put the patched-up article at the end of the volume, but somewhere about the middle, where it will not attract so much notice.

(quoted in TI, 126-28)

The detailed instructions offer a glimpse at Hawthorne as editor. He understood the necessity for filler material, but reminded his publisher to use it as inconspicuously as possible. Hawthorne apparently took for granted that Ticknor was no editor; if Fields could not "patch up an article," then Ticknor should contact Whipple. Fields was back in Boston a few days after Hawthorne's letter arrived, so
Ticknor could turn the matter back over to him. Fields carried out Hawthorne's suggestions and prepared an edition of 1,000 copies for publication in September. The two-volume set sold for $1.50, and Hawthorne received ten percent on the sale of 900 copies, or $135.00 total (CB, 292-93). The title page bore the words, "NEW EDITION, carefully Revised by the Author," which was more true for Mosses than for many new editions making the same claim.

Like most reissued works, the new edition received little critical attention. An unsigned review in Graham's Magazine sounds curiously like Whipple, or at least someone who had close ties to the publishing firm. The reviewer praises individual tales, then discusses the work's format:

The publishers have issued the volumes in a shape which makes them agree with their uniform edition of Hawthorne's other works—'The Twice Told Tales,' 'The Snow Image,' 'The Scarlet Letter,' 'The House of the Seven Gables,' and 'The Blithedale Romance,' eight volumes in all. We need not say that every American who has the least appreciation of literary art, and who desires to own all the great and original efforts of the American mind in the sphere of romance, should possess a complete edition of Hawthorne.  

(CR, 305)

During the summer of 1854, the firm had little time to devote to promoting the new edition. The partnership of Ticknor, Reed, & Fields was undergoing a complete reorganization. Reed wanted to pursue other interests, so Ticknor bought his share in the business, then financed half to Fields. Ticknor was still very much the senior partner because he owned four-fifths of the capital, but the move
effectively doubled Fields's income (TR, 209). Fields now worked harder than ever to make the firm one of the greatest publishing houses in America. By 1854 forty percent of the firm's offerings were in fiction, poetry, and essays. In addition, 25 percent was high-quality juvenile literature, such as Hawthorne's Tanglewood Tales and A Wonder Book, and another 20 percent was biography devoted to literary figures. Fully 75 percent of Ticknor & Fields's publications were connected with fine writing (TR, 226-27). The years of relying on medical books and schoolbooks for primary income were gone; the new concentration on literature demanded much more personal involvement by the publisher. Any immediate plans for Fields to attempt the Atlantic voyage again soon had to be shelved.

In England, Hawthorne could not conceal his disappointment at Fields's failure to make the trip. He kept expecting him with the arrival of each steamer, but by the end of July was resigned to the fact that Fields would not be coming. He wrote Ticknor repeatedly of his disappointment, once adding, "Does he expect immunity from seasickness next year? Or are we to have a railway across? ... I see Americans enough, Heaven knows—but nobody that I care about seeing" (quoted in TI, 131). Yet Hawthorne was just as busy as Fields. By October he had to answer Ticknor's request for another book bluntly: "There is no prospect of that so long as I continue in office" (quoted in TI, 135).
He had no time or inclination to withdraw into fiction while he was so immersed in worldly concerns. Once again, he was failing to achieve that elusive "balance" between his dual roles, the roles of author and businessman-politician, but his letters are free of the helpless anxiety and depression which characterized his earlier years, when his professional image was imbalanced in the opposite direction.

Fields was not pressuring him to produce, either. Stranded in Boston during the long summer, Fields had fallen in love with Annie Adams, the daughter of a prominent Boston physician and first cousin to Eliza Willard, Fields's wife of four years earlier. Although Annie was only twenty years old, seventeen years younger than her admirer, she had a natural grace which complemented Fields perfectly. The two were married on November 15, 1854. As the publisher's biographer claims, "it was a marriage which was to have great professional consequences for Fields" (TR, 211). The couple eventually purchased a home at 37 Charles Street, in the fashionable Beacon Hill neighborhood, and began giving small parties for the literary figures who crowded the Old Corner. As the publishing house grew, the Fieldses stepped up their entertaining. An invitation to their home soon meant a sort of entrance into a valued "society," a reflection of the prestige which the firm of Ticknor & Fields now commanded. The editor Nathan-
iel P. Willis once voiced the connection which was developing between the firm's business and social dealings. He wrote Fields that "The principal value I should get [by being published by you] will be the pleasure of being one of your 'Moxon'-ian troop . . . Now Scribner would take [this book] . . . on terms fair enough--but, to confess an undemocratic feeling,--the 'society' is better at your Corner. I would rather come out under your imprint, from the company I should keep" (quoted in TR, 226). Clearly, Fields's marriage into a blue-blood Boston family gave him, the lad from Portsmouth with no college education, further entrance into the "high-brow" culture which he had sought through his patronage of literary men. Annie, the perfect hostess, knew how to channel her husband's gift for entertaining into the proper forms.

The many social gatherings at the Charles Street residence also enhanced Fields's reputation as a patron of literary men. His banquets frequently featured such delicacies as oysters and roast goose, luxuries which created a feeling of well-being for the diners and suggested that the firm was equally generous in compensating literary talent. The banquets also served to introduce authors to editors and critics. One such banquet honored George William Curtis, editor of Harper's "Easy Chair" and influential with New York newspapers, and included Longfellow, Holmes, Hillard, Whipple, and several lesser-known authors (TR, 224).
Living in England, Hawthorne missed being included personally in Fields's expanded promotional activities. In fact, Hawthorne's letters indicate that Fields was too busy to keep in touch very often by mail, a noticeable change for a publisher who had previously seemed to need his author as much as his author needed him. Hawthorne even had to ask Ticknor for particulars about Fields's marriage. He tried to make light of the neglect, but he was clearly feeling rebuffed when he inquired further:

I saw in a newspaper that Fields had lately published a volume of poems for private circulation among his friends. I don't want to press my friendship on any man; but I really thought I was one of them— one of the b-boys—and ought to have received the poems.

(quoted in TI, 138)

Early in 1854 Fields had begun distributing a 500-copy edition of his Poems to his friends. The title was never listed on the firm's list of publications (CB, 274-75). We assume that Hawthorne eventually received a copy, if only because Ticknor would have nudged Fields about it. Regardless, Hawthorne soon received a remembrance from Fields in the publisher's own grand manner; across the Atlantic came a slice of wedding cake (TI, 142).

Meanwhile, the summer and fall brought business as usual at the consulate. In December Hawthorne reluctantly instructed Ticknor to pay a draft for £30 to cover a Captain Gibson's passage to America. Hawthorne hoped to recover the money, but admitted that he "always had a pre-
sentiment that I might be left in the lurch." He also mentioned that he had decided to buy some real estate in New York: "not that I want it, but because I must either buy the property, or lend $3000 to O'Sullivan, who never would be able to pay me" (quoted in TI, 136-37). John O'Sullivan had published Hawthorne in his Democratic Review in the 1840s, and was a personal friend as well. Ticknor must have written Hawthorne promptly in alarm, because in January of 1855 Hawthorne further defended his instructions: "as to your advice not to lend any more money, I acknowledge it to be good, and shall follow it so far as I can and ought. But when the friend of half my lifetime asks me to assist him, and when I have perfect confidence in his honor, what is to be done?" (WT, 1.73). Hawthorne also explained that his official position caused him to have to risk money for cases such as Captain Gibson and a Mr. Rogers, who would have ended up in a Liverpool workhouse without the consul's assistance. Hawthorne then surveys his finances and concludes:

Reckoning O'Sullivan's three thousand dollars, I shall have bagged about $15,000; and I shall estimate the Concord place and my copyrights together at $5000 more;—so that you see I have the twenty thousand, after all! I shall spend a year on the Continent, and then decide whether to go back to the Wayside, or to stay abroad and write books.

(WT, 1.75)

Hawthorne had stated from the beginning of his term in Liverpool that he planned to accumulate at least $20,000 in
savings, and he wanted Ticknor to know that, despite his bad loans, he was nearing his goal.

The remainder of his letter contains Hawthorne's well-known outburst against scribbling women, an outburst which was triggered not so much by a contempt for women writers themselves or their fiction, as many Hawthorne scholars have assumed, but by his own financial pressures. A look at the entire letter reveals that his savings were growing slowly; his loans were not always being repaid; and his friends were begging for money. He could not afford to leave his position just now and depend, once again, on his writing for income. He preferred to remain in the Liverpool consulate for his full term and allow "the germ of a new Romance" to ripen slowly:

Besides, America is now wholly given over to a d- ---d mob of scribbling women, and I should have no chance of success while the public taste is occupied with their trash—and should be ashamed of myself if I did succeed. What is the mystery of these innumerable editions of the Lamplighter, and other books neither better nor worse?—worse they could not be, and better they need not be, when they sell by the 100,000

(WT, 1.75)

The book Hawthorne singled out, Maria Susanna Cummins's The Lamplighter, was a moralistic romance which relied on contrived sentimentality and a formulaic plot of virtue rewarded. It sold 40,000 copies in eight weeks. Hawthorne's anger was directed not only at women writers, but at a public which demanded nothing better.

What Hawthorne curiously failed to mention was that
England was also "given over" to reprints of America's scribbling women. The Lamplighter was reprinted by several English publishers in editions ranging from Sampson Low's "Copyright Editions of American Authors" to Routledge's "Cheap Series." Also, back in 1850, Routledge alone sold 80,000 copies of Susan Warner's The Wide, Wide World. But it was Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin that experienced the greatest short-term sale of any book published in nineteenth-century England. Within a year, the work sold somewhere in the neighborhood of one-and-a-half million copies in all kinds of editions, illustrated and unillustrated, expensive and cheap, bound and serialized, thereby demonstrating the enormous potential of the marketplace for inexpensive books with popular appeal. Hawthorne's letters fail to mention Mrs. Stowe, but he could not help but be aware of the sensation her work was causing with English readers.

Soon after his outburst, Hawthorne received a favorable account of his financial affairs from Ticknor and softened his attitude somewhat. After thanking the publisher in a letter of February 2, 1855 for his kind management, he noted that he hoped to supplement his income by writing. "I wish I could make a book calculated for schools. Can't you think of any?" (quoted in TI, 142-43). He knew that the growth of public schools was giving schoolbooks an increasingly large percentage of the book
market, and he wanted to write a book which would sell more than a few thousand copies. Also, the sales of feminine novels demonstrated the potential of the book-buying public. Hawthorne's letter continues,

In my last, I recollect, I bestowed some vituperation on female authors. I have since been reading "Ruth Hall"; and I must say I enjoyed it a good deal. The woman writes as if the Devil was in her; and that is the only condition under which a woman ever writes anything worth reading. Generally women write like emasculated men, and are only to be distinguished from male authors by greater feebleness and folly; but when they throw off the restraints of decency, and come before the public stark naked, as it were, then their books are sure to possess character and value. Can you tell me anything about this Fanny Fern? If you meet her, I wish you would let her know how much I admire her.

"Fanny Fern," or Sara Payton Willis, shocked her scribbling sisters with her caustic, partly autobiographical account of the fictional Ruth Hall's struggle to earn a living through writing. Fanny/Ruth refused to hide behind the conventional feminine facade of frivolity; she needed money desperately and intended to pursue her career as aggressively as necessary. She particularly attacked the cruelty of her brother, Nathaniel Willis of the popular Home Journal (and the poet who sought the "society" of Ticknor & Fields's authors), in trying to prevent her from publishing. Willis was one of the "masculine sentimentalists" with whom Hawthorne competed back in the 1830s for recognition in the gift-book annuals. Hawthorne had little respect for his cultivated absorption into the feminine
market, but he admired "Fanny Fern," not for her denunciation of her brother, but because he could identify with her struggles. And yet his appreciation involved more than sympathy; he admired her attitude concerning what art should be. Ann Douglas Wood concludes that Hawthorne admired Fanny Fern because "she was indeed true to what she saw as her own experience. Her heroine competes with men and refuses to feel guilty about it." Fern wrote because she needed the money, and, unlike her feminine peers or her brother, she was completely honest about that fact, and about the "unfeminine" qualities of bitterness, anger, and ambition which poverty produced in her.\(^5\) As with Mrs. Mowatt's autobiography, Hawthorne singled out the autobiographical Ruth Hall for praise because of its artistic sincerity and seriousness of intent. Fern appeared before the public "stark naked, as it were" because she refused to clothe her feelings in an affected passivity. Hawthorne had no patience for women writers who competed with men in the marketplace, and then refused to admit that they were competing.

Even with his acknowledged admiration for Fern and Mowatt, Hawthorne still believed that the profession of authorship was no place for women. No wife of his would degrade herself so. He frequently bragged about Sophia's literary talents, but he had no intention of allowing her to publish, and there is no evidence that she ever dis-
agreed with him. Writing Ticknor about his accumulating travel notes, he mentioned, "Mrs. Hawthorne excels me as a writer of travels. Her descriptions are the most perfect pictures that ever were put on paper; it is a pity they cannot be published, but neither she nor I would like to see her name on your list of female authors" (quoted in TI, 196-97). The reasoning behind his objections appeared in a letter to Sophia while she was in Lisbon in the winter of 1855-56:

My dearest, I cannot enough thank God, that, with a higher and deeper intellect than any other woman, thou hast never--forgive me the base idea!--never prostituted thyself to the public, as that woman [Grace Greenwood] has, and as a thousand others do. It does seem to deprive women of all delicacy; it has pretty much such an effect on them as it would to walk abroad through the streets, physically stark naked. Women are too good for authorship, and that is the reason it spoils them so.

The language here seems contradictory to his earlier opinion that women are only worth reading when "they throw off the restraints of decency" and write more like men. But even so, such women prostitute themselves to the public, and he was unrelenting in his objections to Sophia's joining their ranks. After Fields had taken over the editorship of the Atlantic Monthly in 1859, Hawthorne responded kindly but firmly to Fields's request for contributions from Sophia:

You are quite right in wanting Mrs. Hawthorne for contributress; and perhaps I may yet starve her into compliance. I have never read anything so good as some of her narrative an.
descriptive epistles to her friends; but I doubt whether she would find sufficient inspiration in writing directly for the public.
(Nov 28, 1859, HT)

Both Hawthorne and his wife cherished the Victorian belief that women belonged in the home. Sophia would have to be starving, like Ruth Hall, to even think of writing for money.

Hawthorne never wanted to have to write for money again either. Almost every letter to Ticknor mentions the growth of his savings. By June of 1855, he reported that he was "approaching pretty closely towards the $20,000," which has always been his "minimum": "But I shall be glad when I have done making money; for it is apt to draw a man's thoughts from better things" (WT, 1.95). The Hawthornes spent much of the summer traveling around England and enjoying their relative prosperity. Hawthorne had no intention of beginning a new romance soon, but he did record many of his impressions of English life and scenery in his journals. He could draw from them in future romances, just as he had drawn from old journals in writing The Blithedale Romance. On August 1 he wrote Ticknor: "I think my Journals (which are getting to be voluminous) would already enable me to give you a book that would compare well enough with Grace's 'Haps & Mishaps.' But I don't mean to publish any such book" (WT, 1.100-01). Grace's book, of course, had drawn Hawthorne's contempt, and he could not bring himself to place an equally casual work before the public.
Hawthorne did not have any new book to offer Ticknor & Fields, but he wanted the firm to consider the poems of Richard Allingham, of whom he already had written the previous year. On August 17 he sent copies of the poems to Ticknor: "I wish you would have them distributed to people tinctured with poetry and such nonsense,—to editors of magazines or newspapers,—and to anybody who will take the trouble to notice them. Will not Fields give them a puff in the 'Transcript'?—it used to be his organ in my literary days. Do ask Whipple to take them into his gracious consideration" (WT, 1.146-47). Hawthorne believed that although Allingham demonstrated artistic merit, the young poet still needed the promotional skills of Ticknor & Fields in order to establish a reputation in America.

In September the Hawthornes were in London for a brief vacation before Sophia and the girls sailed to Lisbon for the winter. A letter from Fields prompted Hawthorne to take the time to respond with his first letter to the junior partner in months:

I have got pretty well acquainted with London, but have introduced myself to nobody except Mr. W. C. Bennett, whose assistance, to say the truth, I needed in order to identify me at the bank of England—having spent all the money I brought with me. This was only yesterday. He sent out to inquire for Bennoch, but did not find him. Bennett gave me a new poem of his own, called "Verdict," somewhat in the style of Lowell's "Fable for Critics," but wretchedly flat. He is a good fellow, and a good watch-maker—as I know by having bought two of his manufacture. Why is not he a better poet? His watches keep time but his verses do not keep time. Yet some of his battle—
odes are certainly spirited, and far better than that broken-kneed gallop of Tennyson's Balaclava.
(Sept 13, 1855, HT)

The gregarious Fields, who had made many literary friends on his trips to England, wanted Hawthorne to take advantage of these existing contacts even while the author was pursuing another vocation temporarily. The contact with William Bennett proved useful at the London bank, although why Hawthorne could not use some form of official identification instead is unclear. Bennett also provided the springboard for one of Hawthorne's rare comments concerning poetry. Hawthorne compares his rhythm advantageously to the "broken-kneed gallop" of Tennyson's "The Charge of the Heavy Brigade at Balaclava." His opinion of Tennyson's popular poem is curious for one who admired Longfellow, but with the former Hawthorne's judgment was not clouded by friendship. Tennyson was one of Fields's prized poets, however. He had proven loyal to his American publishers Ticknor & Fields since 1840, when the firm took up the controversial young poet and paid him royalties based on the number of copies sold in America.

Francis Bennoch, whom Bennett could not locate on this occasion, was one of the wealthiest businessmen in England, a generous patron of the arts and of literary men, and somewhat of a poet himself. He had entertained Fields royally a few years before, and wanted to do the same for Hawthorne. Hawthorne did accept many of his invitations, but
he had no desire to keep up the hectic social pace Fields had established with the English.

The winter in Portugal proved beneficial to Sophia's health, and she and her daughters were given various royal courtesies by the King of Portugal himself. Hawthorne ordered a splendidly-bound set of his own works to give as a present to the King, and was delighted when it arrived from Boston in March of 1856. He thanked Ticknor: "The books are beautifully bound; and I have a greater respect for my own works than ever before—seeing them so finely dressed" (quoted in TI, 163). Although a note of mockery is perhaps evident here, Hawthorne enjoyed ordering specially-bound volumes of his works as gifts for friends. His preferred binding was "dark calf, antique style" (quoted in TI, 154). And because he was a book-collector himself, he could appreciate books for the aesthetic appeal of their appearance almost as much as for their content.

Back in America, Fields was giving his books a face-lift. He kept the well-known chocolate brown covers and quality paper, but he wanted a newer look also. He had heard his English friend Leigh Hunt praise the pocket editions of poetry which Routledge began issuing in London in 1853, and he now approached the Cambridge printer Henry O. Houghton, owner of the Riverside Press, about producing a small handy format for his own volumes. Houghton designed a sample two-volume set of Tennyson, printed in easy-to-read
type on thin but good paper, and the Blue and Gold editions were created (TR 228-29). The books never bore the words "Blue and Gold" on their title page, but their blue binding with gold stamping caused the publishers to advertise them by this name, by which they became popularly known.

Within two years the firm offered Blue and Gold editions of the complete poems of Tennyson, Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, Gerald Massey, and Leigh Hunt. The prose works of Longfellow and Mrs. Anna Jameson were also included. The unpublished Cost Books reveal that Hawthorne was not included until a few months after his death in 1864, when the firm combined Twice-told Tales and The Snow-Image into a two-volume set under the title of the first work (CB, 4.112). The Cost Book entry cited shows that the total cost of electrotyping, correction, government tax, and boxes on the Blue and Gold Twice-told Tales was $1,040.85, an initial expense not easily recovered when combined with the routine printing, binding, and copyright expenses of $1,528.72. The sales of 1,350 copies at $3.00 each, minus the standard 25% discount for the retail bookseller, amounted to $3037.50, leaving the publisher only $467.93. Even that small profit barely covered storage costs and general overhead. A second printing the following year was the last appearance of Hawthorne in the Blue and Gold editions. A work needed more than one reprinting in order to justify the publisher's initial costs. Tennyson and Long-
fellow went into numerous reprints, consistently remaining
the most popular authors in the series.

In choosing Twice-told Tales and The Snow-Image for
reissue in a new format, Ticknor & Fields took the two
works of Hawthorne which had sold the least well in the
previous decade, probably because they were merely collect-
ions of, for the most part, previously published tales.
While his major romances and children's books had sold
slowly but steadily, these two volumes had sold hardly at
all. A look at the firm's domestic Letter Books from 1855-59
reveals that many extensive lists of books shipped to
retail booksellers did not even include Hawthorne. Longfel-
low was the most popular author.

The firm had reason to try new marketing approaches.
One innovation was to market certain volumes as textbooks.
Because Ticknor & Fields was the exclusive publisher of
most of the best of America's native writers, they held a
potential monopoly on literary textbooks. The plan was to
ship the regular trade editions either in unbound sheets to
be bound locally and cheaply, or in special bindings in
boards or sheepskin. The most extensive shipment was in
1856, when H. W. Derby and Co. of Cincinnati purchased
nearly 10,000 volumes. Ticknor & Fields had written during
the negotiations: "We do not intend to let price stand in
the way of purchase. We are prepared to be very liberal."
The agreement was that the shipment would include some cop-
ies in sheepskin and the remainder in folded sheets. Derby
to arrange for the binding himself. The invoices of all but
four of the twenty-five cases shipped survived, providing
an interesting sample of what went to school children:

183 volumes of Hawthorne, Longfellow, and
Whittier
50 copies of Longfellow's two-volume Poems
559 copies of Hillard's two-volume Six Months
in Italy
96 copies Saxe's Poems
914 copies Holme's Poems
1,400 copies Hawthorne's True Stories
1,458 copies Mrs. Lippincott's  [Grace Greenwood]
Merrie England
1,539 copies Mrs. Crosland's Memorable Women
2,085 copies of Mayne Reid's juveniles'

The firm's Cost Books record a special printing of 1,500
copies each of Greenwood's Recollections of My Childhood
and My Pets, and Hawthorne's Wonder Book and True Stories,
which were undoubtedly intended for the schoolbook market
because no expenses for binding or copyright are listed
(CB, 280). We have no evidence that Hawthorne was aware
that his books were being cheaply printed with no compensa-
tion to himself, but he would not have objected to this
means of being introduced into a new and potentially lucra-
tive market. As with the Life of Pierce, the firm had to
sacrifice quality and assured profits to promote a wide
circulation.

Not a single letter of 1856 from Hawthorne to Fields
has survived, but we do know that Fields wrote him at least
once because Hawthorne mentions him in a letter to Ticknor
on April 11:
Fields writes me that, in case of a war between America and England, he is going to fight for the latter. I hope he will live to be tarred and feathered, and that I may live to pour the first ladleful of tar on the top of his head, and to clap the first handful of feathers on the same spot. He is a traitor, and his English friends know it; for they all speak of him as one of themselves.

(quoted in TI, 164-65)

Hawthorne's good-natured onslaught is typical of the manner in which he continually smoothed over evidence of growing tensions between England and America. For one holding a political appointment, in fact, he remained remarkably aloof from political tensions.

The Liverpool consulship had tensions enough of its own. The job provided no privacy, and Hawthorne would have had to be cold-hearted to demand it. One case in the winter of 1856 especially attracted his notice. An American woman, Delia Bacon, had fallen on hard times in England, but would not leave until she found a publisher for her lifetime work on Shakespeare. Her theory was that Francis Bacon and others actually wrote the plays attributed to Shakespeare. Hawthorne would not be won over to her views, but he still felt that she deserved to be published. Despite his feelings about women authors in general, Miss Bacon epitomized the seriousness of intent which Hawthorne admired in an artist. He recalled their only visit in his sketch "Recollections of a Gifted Woman," which he published upon his return to America. He describes being ushered into her parlor, where he "expected (the more shame for me, having no
longer no other ground of such expectation than that she was a literary woman) to see a very homely, uncouth, elderly personage, and was quite agreeably disappointed by her aspect" (CE, 5.105). Miss Bacon was strikingly tall and, Hawthorne supposed, had once been "exceedingly attractive." Although he soon recognized that her mind was somewhat unbalanced, he agreed to ask his friend Francis Bennoch about possible publishing arrangements.

Bennoch eventually found a publisher to undertake the project. T. Parker and Son agreed to bring out an edition of 1,000 copies, but only if Hawthorne would furnish a preface and pay the cost. Hawthorne would not back out of his promise to help, so using Bennoch as the go-between, he sent Miss Bacon the money she needed, disguised as an advance from the publisher. He then informed Ticknor that he was sending him unbound advance sheets for five hundred copies, with Ticknor, Fields, & Co. on the title-page, for the American market. "You must excuse the liberty," he wrote, "as there is no time to consult you beforehand; and you may be assured that it is not a work which you will have reason to be ashamed of. Parker, I suppose, will sell the volume at 10/6 or 12/. You must put it at such [a] price as will best suit our market" (quoted in TI, 183).

Under the title, "The Shakespeare Problem Solved," the book was printed by the end of January 1857. Hawthorne thought he was through with the matter, until Miss Bacon
wrote that she had taken a pair of scissors and cut out every word of his preface which she felt cast a cloud of skepticism over the work. The letter revealed her growing insanity, and to make matters worse, the Parkers withdrew their agreement to publish the book. Bennoch finally found Grombridge and Son to continue the project, and Hawthorne ended up contributing a total of £25 for advertising and £238 for printing, not including the binding (TU, 283-85).

"A fool and his money are soon parted," he wrote Ticknor, "However, I do not repent me what I have done" (quoted in TI, 193). He had wasted the equivalent of over $1300 on the project, an amount which could have supported his family for almost a year back in America.

Miss Bacon's book finally appeared before the public in March of 1857, with a new title page that read "Delia Bacon. The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded (With a Preface by Nathaniel Hawthorne Author of 'The Scarlet Letter,' Etc )." Miss Bacon had deleted several paragraphs of Hawthorne's preface, and had added an introduction of 110 pages to the existing 582 pages at the last moment. On March 27 Hawthorne wrote Fields in despair:

Before this, you will have received Miss Bacon's Book, which I sent by the last New York steamer. I had no idea it would turn out so big a volume; but she clapt in the introduction after the remainder was in print. Miss Bacon is a very queer lady, and difficult to manage. Bennoch has more success or skill at her helm than I have, and he prevailed on her to alter the title of the book for a more modest one. As for myself, she broke off all correspondence with me, in great
wrath, several months ago; and she now accuses me of pusillanimity in not avowing full faith in her theory—so that, so far as her good-will is concerned, I have not gained much by taking the responsibility of her book upon my shoulders. It is a heavy weight to bear, in more senses than one.

(March 27, 1857, HT)

Hawthorne anticipated his publisher's disapproval of the large volume soon to be forced upon the public. Such a cumbersome format practically guaranteed failure. In his "Recollections of a Gifted Woman," Hawthorne analyzes the connection between a book's format and its success. Miss Bacon was "wholly unfit to prepare her own work for publication, because, among many other reasons, she was too thoroughly in earnest to know what to leave out. Every leaf and line was sacred... A practiced book-maker, with entire control of her materials, would have shaped out a duodecimo volume full of eloquent and ingenious dissertation. ... There was a great amount of rubbish, which any competent editor would have shovelled out of the way. But Miss Bacon thrust the whole bulk of inspiration and nonsense into the press in a lump, and there tumbled out a ponderous octavo volume, which fell with a dead thump at the feet of the public, and has never been picked up" (CE, 5.114-15). In other words, Miss Bacon suffered because she did not have a Fields to insist on packaging her work in a form acceptable to the public. Inspiration alone did not guarantee success. Miss Bacon's book sold few copies in both England and America and was demolished by the handful
of critics who even bothered to notice it.

Hawthorne had long been aware of the influence of a book's format upon the audience it attempted to reach. A large volume, more appropriate for libraries than for the individual buyer, would likely be passed over by readers who wanted a book which they could read in bed or tuck into a pocket or purse and carry aboard a train. And the demand for smaller volumes increased as society became more mobile. Long before Fields entered into his Blue and Gold editions, Hawthorne had had a brainstorm about marketing the Bible in a format comparable to the one which people preferred for their other books. In 1851, after noticing that Ticknor & Fields was advertising a handsome edition of the New Testament, he wrote Fields:

Did not I suggest to you, last summer, the publication of the Bible, in ten or twelve 12 mo. volumes? I think it would have great success; and, at least (but, as a bookseller, I suppose this is the very smallest of your cares) it would result in the salvation of a great many souls, who will never find their way to Heaven, if left to learn it from the inconvenient editions of the Scriptures, now in use. It is very singular that this form of publishing the Bible, in a single bulky or closely-printed volume, should be so long continued. It was first adopted I suppose as being the universal mode of publication at the time when the Bible was translated.

(Jan 27, 1851. See Chapter 3, Note #14)

Fields's response was more practical than spiritual:

Yr. plan of publication for a new Ed. of the Bible in sundry vols. would do well for a rich concern able and willing to lose a vast sum of money in the Cause of human salvation. We have the will but not the lucre. However some day we may attempt it, but I doubt if we should be far-
ther into the project than Job or Lamentations, before a failure would ensue and you would be minus yr. copyright monies!

(Jan 30, 1851, Berg)

Ironically, six years later Hawthorne was himself responsible for Miss Bacon's oversized volume filling the publisher's stockrooms. In the letter of March 27 in which he apologizes for her book, he also demonstrates a kindness and sensitivity towards two other persons, a kindness which suggests itself as the real reason he persevered with Miss Bacon. He apparently felt that Fields would share his concern when he wrote:

Do you know Mr. & Mrs. S. C. Hall? When I last saw them, they expressed a purpose of visiting the States, during the present season. If they should do so, I hope you will do everything in your power to make their visit pleasant; for they are good people, and have been exceedingly kind to innumerable Americans, myself among the number. I am afraid they expect a considerably warmer reception than they are likely to meet with—something in the Thackeray style, for instance—and are therefore doomed to disappointment and mortification. Still, something might be done in their behalf, by dint of newspaper paragraphs, and other judicious humbuggery.

The Thackeray reception to which Hawthorne referred was a lecture tour which Fields sponsored in Boston between Christmas and New Year's of 1852. Each night the lecture hall was packed with an enthusiastic audience as Thackeray discoursed on the English Humorists. The event was so popular that one evening Fields was approached by a shabby man announcing himself as the proprietor of the Mammoth Rat and proposing an exchange of celebrities (TR, 153). In discuss-
ing Mr. and Mrs. Hall, an important and well-liked couple in British society, Hawthorne named the Thackeray reception in order to impress upon Fields the couple's extreme expectations which were surely doomed to disappointment. Hawthorne simply could not witness disappointment, whether in Delia Bacon or the Halls. His placement of the Halls's case in Fields's hands implies not only his publisher's presumed willingness to help, but also his easy access to the columns of important newspapers.

Hawthorne's sympathetic treatment of these parties becomes more remarkable in view of the fact that he was in his fourth and final year as consul at Liverpool. His many kindnesses of the past three years frequently had gone unreplied, and consequently he had suffered disillusionments and financial set-backs. His generous character, however, was basically unaltered, and he was willing to extend himself again and again, no matter how often he wrote the wary Ticknor to the contrary. His salary had allowed him to be somewhat impractical, arousing his fears that he would have difficulty adjusting to a return to America. Moreover, the spacious three-story home which the Hawthornes rented in Liverpool had spoiled them. Hawthorne's letter to Fields on September 9 foreshadows the family's future financial troubles:

My wife and children and myself are familiar with all kinds of lodgement and modes of living; but we have forgotten what home is—at least, the children have, poor things; and I doubt whether
they will ever feel inclined to live long in one place. The worst of it is, I have outgrown my house in Concord, and feel no inclination to return to it.

(Sept 9, 1857, HT)

The Wayside, which still exists in Concord, is a spacious two-story home, larger than Emerson's home and comparable to Longfellow's Craigie House. If Hawthorne could not be comfortable in such a house, then he would need to build one much grander than any New England author presently occupied. Fields could hardly have taken Hawthorne's comments seriously.

When Hawthorne wrote Fields in September, he was several days past the deadline of August 31 he had given as his effective resignation date. But he still was waiting for his replacement. Meanwhile, he planned to take the family to Paris, and he alone would travel back and forth to Liverpool as necessary. He hoped to reach Rome in December to begin the long-planned year of residence there. The letter continues:

I made up a huge package, the other day, consisting of seven closely-written volumes of Journal, kept by me since my arrival in England, and filled with sketches of places, and men and manners, many of which would doubtless be very delightful to the public. I think I shall seal them up, with directions in my will to have them opened and published a century hence; and your firm shall have the refusal of them then.

Hawthorne never intended to publish out of financial desperation again. But he miscalculated the expense of a year in Italy. And in 1857, few expected that America's growing
tensions over slavery and state's rights would result in a Civil War and inflation unlike anything the young nation had ever seen. The volumes of journals which he sealed up in 1857 could not remain sealed for long.
Footnotes for Chapter Five

1 CB, 271. Mrs. Mowatt apparently knew little about protecting her own interests in the publishing business, but Fields refused to take advantage of her confusion. Just before publication she wrote him that "we never came to any business understanding . . . The friend whom I consulted tells me I must require twenty per cent on the wholesale price." Fields replied kindly, "You have forgotten our talk about the terms of publication. I offered the same as we paid Hillard, & Hawthorne & Holmes, & our first class authors, viz. 15 per ct. on the retail price of the book. The terms your friend proposes are not so good . . . But we will do as you wish! Oh no!—We will be magnanimous & hold to our first offer of 15 per ct. on the retail price" (quoted in CB, 271). Fields then went on to demonstrate that twenty percent of the wholesale price of sixty-seven cents was less than fifteen percent of the retail price of $1.25.


6 Quoted in Raymona E. Hull, "'Scribbling' Females and Serious Males: Hawthorne's Comments from Abroad on Some American Authors," The Nathaniel Hawthorne Journal 1975, p. 53.

7 Tryon, "Ticknor and Fields' Publications in the Old Northwest, 1840-1860," pp. 605-06.
Chapter Six:

The Marble Faun and the English Copyright

The Hawthorne entourage finally crossed the Channel on January 5, 1858. With the family was Ada Shepard, an American girl who would tutor the children in exchange for having all her expenses paid. By the end of the month they were settled in Rome, in a flat of ten rooms in the Palazzo Larazani, on the Via Porta Pinciana (TU, 320). The rooms were difficult to heat, and the family members took turns coming down with various ailments.

In February Hawthorne recovered from influenza and began sightseeing and writing in his notebook again. The Roman ruins fascinated him. Each relic symbolized the burden of the past, and his imagination worked to reconstruct the history of each site of centuries of human glory and misery. He filled his notebooks with sketches of Roman scenes—the Coliseum, the great cathedrals, galleries of art, and even the community of American artists living in Rome. On April 22 he visited the sculpture galleries of the Capitol, where he saw the Faun of Praxiteles for the first time. He recorded "a peculiar charm in it; a sylvan beauty and homeliness, friendly and wild at once." The race of fauns seemed to him "the most delightful of all that antiquity imagined," a direct contrast to the many gloomy
archeological reminders of a past age. The idea occurred to Hawthorne that "a story with all sorts of fun and pathos in it might be contrived on the idea of their species having become intermingled with the human race; a family with the faun blood in them, having prolonged itself from the classic era till our own days" (quoted in CE, 4.xxi). Of course, "fun and pathos," or humor and sentiment, were the qualities which made a literary work appealing to a wide range of readers. Dickens's novels had both, and sold by the thousands. Hawthorne's planned story would be more fanciful than anything in Dickens; the faun could exist only in the shadowy realm of romance.

Italy, with its mixture of modern life amid the unreality of an intrusive past, seemed the perfect setting for a new romance. Hawthorne's interest in the country, in fact, was partly a reflection of his absorption with the idea of "intermingling," whether involving past and present, authorship and business, masculine and feminine, or romance and reality. And for once, he was not being pressured to produce. His publishers were back in America, and although they hoped for a new work upon the author's return, Hawthorne still had a full year to allow his romance to take shape slowly. His previous romances had always been written in about five months. Now he could busy himself with collecting background material before beginning the manuscript itself.
In late May the Hawthornes traveled to Florence for the summer, where the American sculptor Hiram Powers found them living quarters in the Casa del Bello, across the street from his own residence and studio. Powers expected the family to take rooms on the less expensive second floor, but Hawthorne instead chose the first, which had a terrace and a garden, explaining that he wanted to make his family comfortable in their wandering life, "for just this summer," before going back to "hard and dusty New England" (quoted in TU, 326-27). On August 1, they moved just outside of Florence for two months to escape the threat of malaria and the oppressive heat. On September 3, he wrote Fields about his new setting in the Villa Montauto:

I like my present residence immensely. The house stands on a hill, overlooking Florence, and is big enough to quarter a regiment; in somuch that each member of the family, including servants, has a separate suite of apartments, and there are vast wildernesses of upper rooms into which we have never yet sent exploring expeditions. At one end of the house is a moss-grown tower, haunted by owls and by the ghost of a monk, who was confined there in the thirteenth century, previous to being burnt at the stake in the principal square of Florence. I hire this villa, tower and all, at twenty-eight dollars a month; but I mean to take it away bodily and clap into a Romance, which I have in my head ready to be written out.

(Sept 3, 1858, HL)

The rent of approximately one dollar per day seems less than exorbitant, but Hawthorne's own description of the villa mentions that even with each servant having his own suite of apartments, rooms were still unoccupied. The addi-
tional costs of food, coaches, and such would have been substantial. But his letter reveals no inclination to economize. Rather, he indicates that he either has no budget, or his expenses have not allowed him to hold to one. He asks Fields to "tell Ticknor that I have exhausted all but about £100 of my letter of credit, and shall have to send to Baring's for a new one immediately after my arrival in Rome. He must do the needful without delay."

Hawthorne planned to return to Rome the following month, and yet he felt that the £100, or about $500, would barely last until then. We have no record of how much he paid his servants, or even how many servants he employed, but the cumulative costs of supporting his large household were apparently tremendous.

In his letter to Fields, Hawthorne tries to justify his lavish residence. He intends to use it as material for a romance. His careful notebook descriptions of the moss-grown tower eventually do become Donatello's owl-tower at Monte Beni, and the fictional setting is also haunted by the ghost of a monk who was burned at the stake. The letter to Fields of September 3 continues:

Speaking of Romances, I have planned two, one or both of which I could have ready for the press in a few months if I were either in England or America. But I find this Italian atmosphere not favorable to the close toil of composition, although it is a very good air to dream in. I must breathe the fogs of old England or the east winds of Massachusetts in order to put me into working trim. Nevertheless, I shall endeavor to be busy during the coming winter at Rome; but
there will be so much to distract my thoughts that I have really a plethora of ideas, and should feel relieved by discharging some of them upon the public. What an unseemly simile is this!—but I am speaking of brains, not of bowels.

The two romances Hawthorne mentioned are "The Ancestral Footstep," about an American who returns to England to claim his inheritance, and the story of the faun. Both works are about mixed blood, an inevitable theme given the inspiration of Italy, with its embodiment of past and present. The notebooks written in England would supply background material for the first romance, just as the notebooks he was keeping in Italy were intended for the second. What Hawthorne failed to mention to Fields was that he had already begun sketching out the Italian romance. His pocket diary of 1858 reveals that he was "sketching plot" of a romance as early as July 14, and that on July 17 he "began rough draft." But not until October 25 does the diary record the more definite resolve, "Began to write a Romance" (CE, 14.603, 604, 616). When Hawthorne was struggling to begin The House of the Seven Gables, he had explained to Fields that he never could produce serious art in the summer months, and his present change of scenery had not altered that fact. He even doubted that the coming winter in Rome would allow him the proper atmosphere for writing. Hawthorne clearly did not want Fields to expect a new work from him soon, because Hawthorne knew from experience that his publisher would begin advertising the work before
it was finished. Hawthorne had too many distractions as head of a large entourage touring Italy to be pushed back into his role as professional author so soon.

In October the family returned to Rome, taking lodgings already engaged by their old friend from Boston, the artist C. G. Thompson. The residence was less extravagant than previous ones, but was "such a comfortable, cozy little house" as Hawthorne had not believed existed in Rome (quoted in TU, 333). He began to work on the romance each day, and by January 30, 1859, wrote in his diary: "I finished, to-day, the rough draft of my Romance, intending to write it over after getting back to the Wayside" (CE, 14.640). Hawthorne simply could not give the manuscript any more attention at this time. During the winter his oldest daughter, Una, had been taken with the Roman fever, and for months the family despaired for her life. From November through February, Hawthorne made no entries in his notebooks while he watched over his sick child. He did occasionally go out sightseeing, however. Because he considered the manuscript copy of his romance only a rough draft, he directed his excursions to those places and events which would benefit his revisions. He saw the carnival again, St. Peter's, the catacombs, the Coliseum, the Medici Gardens, and the Pincian Hill. He also studied the art which figures prominently in his story: the Faun and the Dying Gladiator at the Capitol, the Cleopatra at William Story's studio,
Guido's archangel at the Capuchin Church, and Guido's "Beatrice Cenci."

Hawthorne now was ready to inform Fields about his progress on the new work. On February 3, he wrote of Una's illness, his wife's exhaustion, and his own growing bitterness at Rome:

Amid so much domestic trouble, I take some credit to myself for having sternly shut myself up for an hour or two, almost every day, and come to close grips with a Romance which I have been trying to tear out of my mind. As for any success, I can't say much; indeed, I don't know what to say at all. I only know that I have produced what seems to be a larger amount of scribble than either of my former Romances, and that portions of it interested me a good deal while I was writing them; but I have had so many interruptions, from things to see and things to suffer, that the story has developed itself in a very imperfect way, and will have to be revised hereafter.... I shall throw aside the Romance, and take it up again, next August, at the Wayside.

(Feb 3, 1859, HL)

The metaphor of "trying to tear" a Romance out of his mind which Hawthorne employs here is much more aggressive than the previous metaphor of "discharging" his brains upon the public, a shift which indicated his increasing frustration over his inability to return to a workable pattern of artistic creativity. Although, as usual, he was equivocal about the merits of his new work, he made it clear that he had not been able to give the romance his full attention, and that it would have to go through a major revision, a process which he had been spared with his earlier romances. He expected to leave Italy for Paris in mid-April, arrive in England early in the summer, and sail for home before
mid-July. Then he could attend to his writing once again. But his old reservations about the adjustments the family would have to make in returning to the Wayside were still very much alive. His letter of February 3 to Fields continues:

If I had but a house fit to live in, I should be greatly reconciled to coming home; but I am really at a loss to imagine how we are to squeeze ourselves into that little cottage of mine. We had outgrown it before we came away, and most of us are twice as big now as we were then. I have an attachment to the place, and should be sorry to give it up; but I shall half ruin myself if I try to enlarge the house, and quite, if I build another. So what is to be done? Pray have some plan for me before I get back; not that I think you can possibly hit on anything that will suit me.

Hawthorne's peevish repetition of his dissatisfaction with his Concord home indicates that he was not joking. He simply did not want to return to it. Moreover, he apparently expected Fields to do something about it. He relied on his publishers for more than his banking and secured credit; he wanted them involved in managing his household as well. Throughout his career, Hawthorne exhibited a pattern of becoming more passive in his role as family provider whenever his writing demanded a more active role. The few months before he had left America to begin his political appointment had showed promise that he could be both author and businessman, but subsequent years had not borne out his ability to balance the two roles. The remainder of his letter to Fields, in fact, reveals how out of control his
expenses had become. He needed about $2,000 just to cover his expenses on the continent before he could return to England, which he expected would be in only four months. He explains:

Barings have sent me their a/c by which it appears that my debt is about £56 up to the 31st Dec'r. I have a credit of theirs on hand, of which £150 remains to be drawn; and I shall want £200, or £250, more, to bring me back to London; so that our respected senior partner will have to supply about £400 to meet my further expenditure on the Continent.

From the evidence of letters, Hawthorne was spending about £100, or $500, per month on the continent. The medical bills for Una would have been figured into this sum, but even so his expenditures were extravagant in comparison to the cost of living in his Concord neighborhood. Hawthorne's expenses for one month in Italy equalled the expenses for an entire year of the average New England family. And Hawthorne showed no willingness to compromise his lifestyle upon his return. His family had grown accustomed to having servants, spacious quarters, and enough ready cash to purchase such luxuries as books, fine fabrics, and objects of art.

A month after writing Fields, Hawthorne elaborated on his wish to enlarge the Wayside in a letter to Ticknor. He proposed an additional wing on the southern end of the house, with "a drawing-room, two bed-chambers, and two chambers for servants." With such future expenses in mind, Hawthorne recognizes that his romance still "requires a
good deal of revision" in order to make it suitable for the marketplace. "If I were only rich enough, I do not believe I should ever publish another book, though I might continue to write them for my own occupation and amusement. But with a wing of a house to build, and my girls to educate, and Julian to send to Cambridge, I see little prospect of the 'dolce far niente,' as long as there shall be any faculty left in me" (quoted in TI, 220-21). Revising a manuscript for publication is perhaps the most tedious task of the professional author, and one which Hawthorne was not anxious to undertake. But while Una was gaining strength to travel, he continued recording impressions of Roman scenes in his notebooks for use in the revision.

On June 24, the Hawthornes arrived in London, soon meeting Fields and his wife Annie, who were just beginning a year's tour of Europe. The two men had not seen each other since the day the Hawthornes sailed out of Boston harbor six years earlier. Both had changed considerably in physical appearance. Hawthorne's hair had thinned and grayed during his residence abroad, particularly in the last year, and he showed the effects of strain over Una's illness and his own pulmonary and intestinal problems caused by the Italian climate. Fields had put on a considerable amount of weight and had allowed his beard to grow bushy. Delighted to see each other again after so many years, the author and publisher picked up where they had
left off. They visited frequently, Fields often dragging Hawthorne to dinners with the London literary set. Soon the publisher was involved in Hawthorne's efforts to bring his new romance before the public.

Hawthorne had planned to reserve cabins on a ship bound for America on either July 15 or August 1, but Fields soon changed that. He persuaded Hawthorne to remain in England a year longer in order to secure the highest possible payment for his new work. The publisher was in London for business as much as for pleasure, for his firm's list of English authors now was quite impressive. The list included Robert Browning, Barry Cornwall, DeQuincey, Leigh Hunt, Charles Reade, Tennyson, and Thackeray. During Fields's continuous negotiations with English publishers such as Bohn, Chapman and Hall, and Smith, Elder for the American copyright to popular English authors, and the English copyright for his own American authors, he succeeded in arranging for Smith, Elder to buy the English copyright to Hawthorne's new romance for £600.

The amount was three times what Hawthorne had received from Chapman and Hall for the English copyright to The Blithedale Romance, a sum which had seemed to him more than generous in 1852. The £600 also represented twice what he had paid for his Wayside estate in 1852, and would presumably be more than adequate to cover the remodelling costs about which he was so apprehensive. But why was Smith,
Elder willing to pay such a large sum for the rights to the unseen work? Hawthorne's books had earned critical respect and had shown steady, if undramatic, sales in the English market. But he was far from achieving the popularity of such novelists as Dickens, Thackeray, or even Trollope.

One explanation for the large payment lies in Hawthorne's timing. By the late 1850s, the firm of Smith, Elder was the biggest spender of the English publishing houses. They specialized in outbidding rivals for novelists popular with the public, taking Trollope from Chapman and Hall, Wilkie Collins from Dickens, and George Eliot from Blackwood's. George Smith also convinced Thackeray to edit the firm's new magazine, the *Cornhill*, for a salary of £1,000 a year.¹

The £600 offered Hawthorne was in line with the firm's payments to respectable, if not best-selling, authors. Trollope was becoming increasingly popular with each novel, and in 1858 had commanded £600 for *Castle Richmond* from Chapman and Hall. In 1859, Smith, Elder offered him £1,000 for the copyright to a new three-volume novel which they could use first in their new magazine. Trollope thereby produced *Framley Parsonage* under the Smith, Elder imprint.² Smith paid much larger sums in order to woo George Eliot and Wilkie Collins: £7,000 for Eliot's *Romola* and £5,000 for Collins's *Armadale*.³

The more obvious explanation for the large offer to
Hawthorne, however, is inherent in the publishing environment of Victorian England itself. First edition novels were generally priced at a guinea and a half, a sum completely out of reach of the middle-class reading public, who could hardly earn that amount through a week's labor. Instead of purchasing new novels, readers relied on membership in the circulating libraries, which made first editions available for an annual fee. Mudie's Select Library, the largest and most powerful of these libraries, charged its members one guinea per year, less than the price of one three-volume novel. By the late 1850s when the English postal system was greatly improved, Mudie's had expanded its territory to include not only rural areas of England, but the colonies as well. Mudie's thus needed a considerable number of copies of any work which promised popularity, and frequently bought the bulk of an edition from the publisher. The publisher could maintain an artificially high price with such an assured sale, and in fact the circulating libraries benefitted from the high nominal price because it effectively drove customers to the libraries to borrow what they could not buy.

Even libraries such as Mudie's did not pay the full retail price for a work. Just as the American publishers offered competitive discounts to their retail booksellers, so did their English counterparts grant their most competitive discounts to the circulating libraries as general
practice. Mudie's discount on the three-decker frequently amounted to fifty percent or more of the nominal price of 3ls.6d., a greater discount than the one given for the less desirable one and two-volume books. Publishers could afford the large discount not only because the nominal price was inflated, but also because Mudie's effectively advertised and circulated the works for them. For an average edition of six hundred copies, for example, even at Mudie's discount price of 15s. per copy, the receipts from a sale of 550 copies would total £412.10s. About £200 of that would go for actual production costs plus whatever advertising the publisher felt necessary. The remaining £200 or so could then be divided between author and publisher, according to their previous agreement. And because 1,500 copies sold to the circulating libraries is a more reasonable estimate for a work from an established writer, the profits would actually be much higher for authors such as Trollope, Eliot, and Hawthorne.⁴

In nineteenth-century America, the influence of the retail bookselling system on the fiction itself was often remote and difficult to demonstrate; in Victorian England the influence of the circulating libraries was pronounced. The libraries used their buying power to ensure that successful fiction appeared in editions of three volumes. The form had been popular for fiction since the publication of Sir Walter Scott's Waverley in 1814. And as the price of
Scott's novels rose to 3ls.6d., the price of other fiction followed. By 1840, 51 out of 58 new novels bore this price. After Scott's decline, both libraries and publishers found it to their advantage to maintain the three-volume format at the inflated price. Readers equated the multi-volume editions with quality, an assumption which would prove false by the end of the century. The libraries preferred the three-volume editions for practical reasons: at any given time they could lend out each volume of the set to three different readers, each paying a guinea for a year's subscription. Publishers began issuing almost all of their important works of fiction in three parts for sale to the libraries, and not until roughly a year after original publication did they issue the work in a more affordable, one-volume edition. Consequently, first editions of novels in one volume tended to be mistaken for cheap railway novels or reissues. Any new work in one volume from Hawthorne could easily be viewed as another "Cheap Reprint," comparable to the many cheap editions of his works which Bohn and Routledge had placed on the market years before.

The firm of Smith, Elder was not being entirely speculative in paying £600 for Hawthorne's new romance. They wanted him on their list, and their relations with Mudie's ensured that they would not lose a small fortune by it. Of course Mudie's would take the new romance; their list of Hawthorne's works already included Mosses from an Old
Manse, The Scarlet Letter, The House of the Seven Gables, Twice-told Tales, True Stories, The Blithedale Romance, and Tanglewood Tales. The only works missing were A Wonder Book and The Snow-Image. We have no way of knowing exactly how many copies of each they circulated, but we do know that they listed both the American and English editions of each work.6

By mid-July, Fields had secured a lengthy, signed agreement between Smith, Elder and Hawthorne spelling out the conditions for the assignment of copyright to the English publishers. The original document today is in the Huntington Library and reveals the special risks under which Smith, Elder were operating. Because the agreement dated July 1859 has been hitherto unpublished and because it bears heavily on the final manuscript of The Marble Faun, the document is here quoted in full:

Memorandum of an Agreement made this [blank space] day of July 1859 between Nathaniel Hawthorne Esq. of Boston in the United States of America now resident in Great Britain and Mess'rs Smith Elder & Co. of 65 Cornhill London, Publishers.

Mr. Hawthorne having commenced a story to be completed in 3 volumes, engages to write the concluding chapter in Great Britain and also that he will on publication, take such steps as shall secure an English copyright so far as the Law admits, for which purpose he will be in London at the time the book is published, and will obtain satisfactory identification of himself, legally attested at that time by a declaration made at the Mansion House by Mr. Peabody the American Consul, or some other equally well known gentleman. Mr. Hawthorne also engages immediately on the publication of the story by Smith Elder & Co
to enter it at Stationer's Hall in his own name, and with his English place of address, and after so doing he agrees to assign to Smith Elder & Co the copyright of such story for Great Britain, and in consideration of Mr. Hawthorne's taking the necessary steps for securing to them the English copyright. Smith Elder & Co agree to pay him on the completion of the assignment the sum of £600 (six hundred pounds). It is understood that in this event of Mr. Hawthorne's taking all the steps as advised for securing the English Copyright it shall be at Smith Elder & Co's risk in case a court of Law should decide that no American can assign an English Copyright.

The Book to be published six days earlier in England than in America, and satisfactory proof to be afforded Smith Elder & Co of the date of the American publishing.

[ Signed "Smith Elder Co"]

The contract carefully specifies certain conditions in order to ensure the validity of the transaction. First, Hawthorne is described as a "resident in Great Britain." Foreign authors not residing in Great Britain at the time of the publication of their work were not protected under English copyright. The House of Lords had ruled in 1854, in the lengthy appeal of the Jefferys v. Boosey case (known earlier as Boosey v. Jefferys), that an author must be within the Queen's dominions at the time of publication for his right to be secure. Second, Hawthorne must take such steps as if he were an English author wanting copyright: he will have a reliable witness document that he was in London at the time the book was published; he will enter his book at Stationer's Hall, giving his English residence as his address. Even in the routine steps he must have multiple
proofs that he is indeed an English resident. In essence, he must take steps to secure the copyright for himself before selling it to Smith, Elder. Third, the book must be published six days earlier in England than in America. A ruling by the Court of Error on the Boosey v. Jefferys case back in 1851 (overturned in the 1854 appeal) had established that wherever a foreign author was residing, first publication in Britain made him "an author within the meaning of our statutes for the encouragement of learning." Thus Ticknor & Fields held up the publication of the American edition of The Blithedale Romance in 1852 to allow Chapman and Hall to bring out the English edition a few days earlier. The ruling of 1851 was overturned in the 1854 decision, however, to require not only first publication in Great Britain, but also the author's residence in Britain at the time of publication. Smith, Elder obviously wanted to cover themselves from all angles in the written contract, although they informally agreed to what amounted to simultaneous publication on both sides of the Atlantic. Ticknor & Fields did not want to chance pirated reprints of the work in America any more than Smith, Elder wanted their competitors Bohn and Routledge reprinting the work before the legitimate English edition could be circulated. Moreover, because lawyers for the case of Boosey, representing the rights of foreign music composers (and by extension the rights of authorized reprinters of foreign literary works),
had argued unsuccessfully that an alien should acquire English copyright if he actually composed his work in Britain, Smith, Elder thought it prudent to mention in the contract that Hawthorne would write the concluding chapter in Great Britain.

The continuous legal turmoil over the question of international copyright made such contractual specifications necessary. The law could change at any time, and for this reason it was in Hawthorne's interest for the contract to assign the risk to Smith, Elder. It may have been Fields who demanded the inclusion of the clause: "it shall be at Smith Elder & Co's risk in case a court of Law should decide that no American can assign an English Copyright." He was well aware of the loss the American historian William Prescott had suffered without such a clause. The English publisher Bentley had contracted to pay £1,000 per volume for the first two volumes of Philip II, but the contract was voided by the landmark decision of 1854 and Prescott got almost nothing. The author's health and ties to America would not allow him to cross the Atlantic to preside over the publication of each volume. Bentley also lost by the decision because he was the largest publisher of American works in Britain, and now he had no protection against other English reprinters, notably Bohn and Routledge. Over the years Bentley had paid considerable sums to American authors: £12,590 to Cooper, £2,495 to Prescott,
£2,450 to Irving, £660 to Melville, £600 to Bancroft, in addition to many smaller payments to lesser-known authors.9

With Hawthorne's contract with Smith, Elder, the feature which was to influence explicitly the completed manuscript itself was not the legal specificity for assigning copyright, but the simple statement that the story was to be "completed in 3 volumes." The stipulation was a common one, and Hawthorne's contract only differed from most in that the publisher did not specify the number of pages required. In 1836 the first contract between Dickens and Bentley stipulated that the author's unwritten novel would be "three volumes of 320 pages each, and twenty lines in each page."10 An agreement between Thackeray and George Smith in 1851 specified three volumes of "not less than One thousand pages of the usual novel size."11

Hawthorne's biographers have not recognized that the agreement with Smith, Elder stipulated that the work would be in three volumes, or that the agreement was drawn and signed early in July before Hawthorne retreated to an oceanfront house in the village of Redcar to begin revising the manuscript. The most recent biographer, Arlin Turner, only acknowledges that Smith, Elder's offer of £600 in early July influenced Hawthorne's decision to remain in England an additional year in order to secure English copyright (TU, 346). Fields's biographer, Warren Tryon, even mistakenly assumes that Fields was still negotiating with
English publishers for the copyright from Paris that fall (TR, 243). The truth is that by late July, Hawthorne had settled with his family at Redcar in order to begin revising his manuscript with the expanded format in mind. His diary records that he turned his attention to the rough draft and began writing in earnest on July 26 (CE, 14.684). On August 6, he reported to Fields who was still in London:

I work diligently at the book, but get along more slowly than I expected; because it is so long since I touched the work that I now look at it critically, and therefore make many amendments. Whether I really do it any good is another question—but, at all events, I think so. It will take me till the end of next month to finish it. If I mistake not, it will have some good chapters. I cannot possibly think of a name.  

During the year in Italy when he was planning and drafting the new romance, Hawthorne could not have been oblivious to its potential publication in the English three-volume format. But the fact that he had planned to leave for America before the manuscript was finished indicates that he expected Fields simply to sell the advance sheets to an English publisher, as he had done with The Blithedale Romance. We have no evidence that he knew Fields would be in London that summer, negotiating in person with English publishers, and that the receptive publishers would stipulate that the work be in three volumes. Chapman and Hall had not turned down The Blithedale Romance because it would only make two English volumes. The offer from Smith, Elder solidified Hawthorne's hopes of successfully reaching
the English market, and he was now in a position to address that market directly, with the American readership as a secondary concern. But because the English market demanded an expanded format, he found the revision of the manuscript an unusually slow process.

By early September, Hawthorne could give Sophia half of the manuscript to read. We do not have his original draft for comparison with the finished copy now in the British Museum, but a look at his Italian notebooks dated after the completion of the first draft in January reveals that he lifted numerous additional passages in order to expand the manuscript. The Centenary Edition of The French and Italian Notebooks (Vol. 14) cross-references passages from the notebooks to passages in The Marble Faun. The catalogue reveals that all but five of The Marble Faun's fifty chapters rely on at least some material from the notebooks (CE 14.993-1008). The chapters "Scenes by the Way," "Pictured Windows," "The Emptiness of Picture-Galleries," and "A Scene in the Corso" are the most dependent, and could be lifted out of the finished work with essentially no harm to the narrative structure. The first of these chapters was intended to bring the second Smith, Elder volume to a close, and the other chapters supplied filler for the third volume.

The first volume had introduced and explicated the four main characters—Kenyon and Hilda, and Donatello and
Miriam—in Hawthorne's characteristic method of pairs. Kenyon is the artistic observer, Donatello a mysterious remnant of a past Edenic age, Hilda the fair-haired innocent secluded from the fallen world, and Miriam the dark beauty with a guilty past. By the end of "A Moonlight Ramble," which Hawthorne designated as the final chapter of the first volume, all of the key elements of the story have been introduced: Donatello's confessed but innocent love for Miriam, Kenyon's affection for Hilda, and the stalking presence of Miriam's tormentor. The volume ends just after Miriam sees the reflection of her "demon" in the Trevi Fountain, and the foursome sets out for the Coliseum.

The second volume centers around the climax of the story, when Miriam's glance persuades Donatello to hurl her tormentor over the precipice. Hilda witnesses the crime and, like Donatello, is immediately plunged into the reality of living in a fallen world. Donatello flees to his ancestral home at Monte Beni in the Apennines; Hilda retreats to her tower; and Miriam to temporary seclusion. Kenyon, not knowing the cause, is left to comment on the change in everyone. Hawthorne was pressed to expand his fairly simple plot into the expected three hundred or so pages of the usual three-decker volume. His notebook passages from the summer spent in Florence supplied the setting for Monte Beni, notably the description of the owl-tower which he had promised Fields would serve his romance.
But still, the manuscript was coming up short. Thus he added what he thought would be the final chapter of the volume, "Scenes by the Way," the chapter drawing the most heavily of all from his notebooks. The chapter ends with some suspense, for Kenyon and Donatello are traveling to an all-important meeting with Miriam when Donatello spots a penitent woman at the foot of a shrine, her face hidden in her hands. Donatello's sudden compassion for the unknown woman indicates that his guilt has enobled him, making a reunion with Miriam now possible.

Smith, Elder added one more chapter, "Pictured Windows," to the second volume to fatten it for publication, making a division much less meaningful than the one Hawthorne planned. Hawthorne intended the discursive chapter to begin the third volume. He had only to resolve the plot with Donatello and Miriam's reunion and punishment, Hilda's confession and recognition that sin need not destroy all good, and Kenyon's successful proposal of marriage to Hilda. Not surprisingly, then, Hawthorne not only begins the volume with passages from his notebooks, throughout the volume he interjects his longest sections of notes yet. The characters pass through a village market, cathedrals, art galleries, principal streets, and even the Roman carnival. Hawthorne had never before included so much novelistic description in a work. But his readers would not see his use of filler material as a fault; the English market favored
verisimilitude in depictions of contemporary life.

The most popular English novelists were just that—novelists, not romance writers. Trollope was praised for his faithful representations of life, and yet his Autobiography reveals that he shared Hawthorne's problem of filling the expected number of pages for a three-volume edition. Trollope complains:

In writing a novel the author soon becomes aware that a burden of many pages is before him. Circumstances require that he should cover a certain and generally not a very confined space. Short novels are not popular with readers generally. Critics often complain of the ordinary length of novels,—of the three volumes to which they are subjected; but few novels which have attained great success in England have been told in fewer pages. Novelists such as Trollope and Thackeray frequently joked about the necessity for padding their three-decker works. Hawthorne was accustomed to padding collections of tales, but extending the length of a romance was something else.

On October 5, the Hawthornes moved to Leamington for the winter. The following day he reported to Ticknor that he was within a fortnight of finishing the manuscript: "There will be three English volumes, or two of yours, each perhaps as big as the Seven Gables" (WT, 2.81). The Marble Faun is roughly twice the length of his earlier romances, and about half of its copy comes from guidebook detail lifted from the notebooks. Therefore the romance itself interwoven throughout Italian scenes is essentially the length he was accustomed to writing.
Hawthorne was still thinking creatively in terms of the one-volume format. Whereas English authors accustomed to the three-volume format devised intriguing plots and sub-plots in order to fill the expanded length, Hawthorne's romance had only a simple plot and no sub-plots. Thus his only hope of preparing the story for publication in three volumes was to add material extraneous to the story itself. He justified his extensive use of descriptive passages as integral to the work's atmosphere, and yet it was impossible to integrate such a large bulk of material convincingly.

Modern critics discussing his completed work see the problem, but not the cause. Because it has not been recognized in Hawthorne scholarship that Smith, Elder stipulated that the work would appear in three volumes, we find analyses such as that of the most recent biographer, James R. Mellow, who maintains that "the great failure of The Marble Faun is his separation of plot and scenery." Rome is merely a backdrop. Roy Harvey Pearce likewise believes that "The theme is not, as in 'The Scarlet Letter,' to be seen growing inevitably out of materials of which it is to be part; rather it is moralized into the work." The result is a contrived romance. Both scholars discuss the work in a vacuum; they attribute Hawthorne's failure to his fascination with Italy or his return to the sketch as a preferred genre, but they ignore the pressures of format.
Hawthorne, however, realized that there was much more to producing a work than mere creative genius. When he wrote Ticknor on October 5, he mentioned his intentions to hold the manuscript until Fields, from whom he had heard nothing for some weeks, returned from the continent: "I do not intend to send the manuscript of the book to Smith & Elder till he comes back, as he has had the whole management of the business. No doubt, he will make arrangements about your having the sheets with a view to simultaneous publication" (WT, 2.82). Both Hawthorne and Ticknor wanted Fields back from his delayed honeymoon to take charge of the new work. Hawthorne had never dealt directly with English publishers; Fields had always been the intermediary. Three days later Hawthorne heard from Fields in Paris, and on October 10 responded that the romance was almost finished, and that he had found "far more work to do upon it than I anticipated":

You ask for the title. I have not yet fixed upon one. Here are some that have occurred to me; but neither of them exactly meets my idea. "Monte Beni; or the Faun. A Romance." "The Romance of a Faun." "The Faun of Monte Beni" "Monte Beni; a Romance." "Miriam; a Romance." "Hilda; a Romance." "Donatello; a Romance." "The Faun; a Romance." "Marble and Man/Life; a Romance." When you have read the work (which I especially wish you to do, before it goes to press) you will be able to select one of them, or imagine something better. There is an objection in my mind to an Italian name, though perhaps Monte Beni might do. Neither do I wish, if I can help it, to make the fantastic aspect of the book too prominent by putting the Faun into the title page.

(Oct 10, 1859, HL)
The old problem of deciding on a title was upon him again. Just how equivocal Hawthorne was about his preferences is even more evident when we see that only four days earlier, in his letter to Ticknor, he had reported that the publishers "proposed to call the Romance 'The Transformation; or the Romance of Monte Beni'; but this title did not suit me, and I rejected it. I think I shall call it 'The Marble Faun'; and unless I write you to the contrary, I wish you would prefix that title on the title-page" (WT, 2.88). He declines to list this preference for Fields, apparently because, as he explained, "the fantastic aspect" of the book would be too prominent if the Faun were in the title. In other words, his romance must achieve that fine balance between reality and absurdity, and too much emphasis on the Faun would make his romantic improbabilities too glaring against a detailed background of reality. Hawthorne also might have declined to inform Fields of Smith, Elder's choice of "The Transformation" because he suspected that Fields would also prefer the more sensational title.

On October 14, Hawthorne wrote a preface; three days later he sent Smith, Elder 429 pages. Not until November 9 did he send the final 79 pages. The publishers wanted the work out in time for the Christmas season and were anxious to begin printing. For once, Hawthorne allowed himself to be pressured into writing the Preface before the work was finished, because he needed the £600. In his October 6
letter to Ticknor he had mentioned that the delay in publishing would prevent his receiving the payment soon, and he wished that Ticknor would "place funds to some moderate amount with the Barings. I don't know how my account stands with them" (WT, 2.88).

The completed Preface is essentially like its predecessors: self-effacing, deferential to the "Gentle Reader," yet defensive in its own humble way. Hawthorne explains that he "proposed to himself merely to write a fanciful story, evolving a thoughtful moral, and did not purpose attempting a portraiture of Italian manners and character." He was aware that his notebook sketches threatened to dominate the work, and yet he defends his extensive use of Italy for a setting as appropriate for a Romance. He reiterates his feelings expressed eight years earlier in the Preface to The Blithedale Romance that America is hardly ancient or mysterious enough to provide the proper atmosphere for Romance and poetry. And again he defends his use of filler material, confessing that in rewriting the work he was "somewhat surprised to see the extent to which he had introduced descriptions of various Italian objects, antique, pictorial, and statuesque." "Yet," he continues, "these things fill the mind . . . and cannot easily be kept from flowing out upon the page." He wants the Italian setting read in terms of the Romance, not as an accurate picture of Italian people and places. Once again, Hawthorne
exhibits his old fear that his audience will not know how to read a romance.

Even so, Hawthorne wrote Fields on November 17 that this romance was his best yet, although he "can see some points where it is open to assault" (HL). It had been inspired by Rome itself. Although the Miltonic idea of a fortunate fall was not new to his fiction, in Rome his imagination had conceived of a possible connection between the Faun of Praxiteles and an innocent, spontaneous youth moving among the ruins of the city with his diverse companions. Donatello embodied the central idea of man elevated through knowledge of his fallen world, but Hawthorne worried that readers might be distracted by Donatello's physical resemblance to the Faun and thereby miss his whole point. Thus he remained adamantly opposed to Smith, Elder's preference for the title "The Transformation," not softening until the publishers informed him that the title was among his original list of suggestions (TU, 346). According to Hawthorne's diary, Fields had written him on October 13 and November 16, presumably to discuss possible titles (CE, 14.696, 702). In Hawthorne's response of November 17, however, he declined to mention Smith, Elder's preference again; he only remarked that the subject was still under discussion, and that he won't trouble himself about the book "as long [as] they publish it and pay me my £600." He soon wrote Ticknor: "By Fields's advice, I gave the book
the title of 'The Romance of Monte Beni'; but as Smith & Elder thought it not a captivating name, I sent them several others to choose from" (quoted in TI, 230).

Fields's letter of November 16 also brought news of Ticknor & Fields's purchase of the prestigious literary journal The Atlantic Monthly from the bankrupt Phillips, Sampson & Company.¹⁶ James Russell Lowell had been the journal's editor since its inception in 1857 and would remain for the time being, but Fields may have suspected, if Ticknor had not already written him of the idea, that his senior partner wanted him home to take over the position. The journal needed more public appeal, and Fields had the contact with a wide range of authors and the promotional skills which could make it a success.

He wasted no time in soliciting contributions, for Hawthorne's letter of November 17 responds:

I had not heard of the purchase of the Atlantic Monthly; but my presaging spirit had foreseen the event. I cannot but admire your wishing me to write for it, after all your friendly advice to the contrary. However, I will—that is, after I get home. I mean to spend the rest of my abode in England in blessed idleness; and as for my Journal, in the first place, I have not got it here—secondly, there is nothing in it that it will do to publish.

The "friendly advice" had been given back in 1850 when Hawthorne was writing The House of the Seven Gables, and Fields had discouraged him from accepting offers for short magazine stories because such work would hinder the progress of his romance. Now that the tables were turned and
he was the one needing short pieces, Fields had to change his position. The allure of Hawthorne's journals was too tempting to let the matter drop, although Hawthorne had rebuffed Fields's attempts back in 1857. At that time Hawthorne had written that he was packaging the journals for posterity, and he had left them with Henry Bright for safekeeping while he toured the continent (JH, 2.168-69). He still had no plans to publish them, although he did promise to contribute something to the Atlantic Monthly once back in America. With this encouragement, Fields soon tried again, but this time soliciting work from Mrs. Hawthorne. Hawthorne frequently praised his wife's literary skills, but he doubted "whether she would find sufficient inspiration in writing directly for the public" (Nov 28, 1859, HT). He had no intentions of allowing her to publish.

Meanwhile, the new romance was still in the hands of the printers. In the November 28 letter to Fields on behalf of his wife, Hawthorne added:

I don't know how the Romance comes on; but I have a suspicion that they must have decided on deferring the publication till the spring. This will suit me just as well, provided it comes out before June--and provided they pay me an installment of the copy money within a month or two.

Hawthorne had worried that the English edition would come out before advance sheets could be sent to Ticknor in time for the American edition to appear simultaneously. Now that publication seemed to be delayed, the only deadline was the following June, when Hawthorne planned to leave for Amer-
ica. His other concern was for the first payment from the copyright agreement. We have no evidence that Smith, Elder agreed to pay the £600 in installments; the contract signed in July states that the money would be paid upon assignment of the copyright at the time of publication. This is exactly what happened the following spring.

By the first of December, Hawthorne had received another letter from Fields and learned that he could not expect payment from Smith, Elder until publication day. He immediately called upon Ticknor to deposit £200 with the Barings (TI, 230). He also asked Ticknor for a favor which the kind publisher must have found annoying. Hawthorne had left three trunks in charge of the American consul at Marseilles in June, with directions for their shipment to Ticknor in Boston. Hawthorne feared that they might have been sent to New York by mistake. Would Ticknor let him know if they had been received? If not, "you would greatly oblige me by writing to our consul at Marseilles on that subject. His name is Derbe, I think, or some such French name; but you would find it in a Blue-Book or United States Register" (quoted in TI, 230-31). In addition to overseeing the house in Concord and paying continuous bills from money which he was trying to keep invested, Ticknor now had to chase down Hawthorne's baggage as well.

Moreover, Ticknor wondered if Fields would ever return from Paris and resume his share of the routine work. In his
absence, Hawthorne had to act as intermediary between Ticknor and Smith, Elder for the advance sheets. On December 22, he reported that the proof sheets were coming at the rate of fifty pages a day when he suggested to the publishers that there was no reason for the haste, that he would remain in England till the following summer. The printing slowed down, and Hawthorne assured Ticknor that the book would not be out before Christmas. He also instructed him: "The exact middle of the work is at the 10th chapter (called the 'Pedigree of Monte Beni') of the second volume; and you must commence the second volume with that chapter" (quoted in TI, 232). In spite of Hawthorne's insistence, the division is meaningless except in terms of manuscript length only. The first volume of the American edition ends with Kenyon musing over the vastness of his lodgings at Monte Beni, hardly a suspenseful moment. Suspense was more necessary at the end of each English volume in order to assure that Mudie's readers would check out each volume and keep up the demand for the work. America had no comparable arrangement; readers simply bought the two-volume set.

By December 22 Hawthorne could also report to Ticknor that he wished the title to be "'The Marble Faun'; and unless I write you to the contrary, I wish you would prefix that title on the title-page" (quoted in TI, 232). On December 30 he wrote Fields that he had suggested "The Marble Faun; a Romance of Monte Beni" to Smith, Elder in place
of "Transformation; or the Romance of Monte-Beni," but he has not yet heard what they think of the idea (HL). At least all parties agreed on the subtitle, which already appeared at the head of each proof sheet.

Hawthorne also let Fields know that he was confused about exactly what role Fields expected him to play in handling the details of American publication. Hawthorne felt that he had prevented the work's publication in England before Christmas, in which case "the American edition must have been left altogether in the lurch." And he intended to direct Smith, Elder to forward the sheets to Ticknor. But he added, "I had the idea that you had made some arrangements about forwarding the sheets. Was not this so?"

The two men had grown beyond the relatively well-defined relationship of their earlier days, when the author had relied completely on his publisher to handle business concerns for him. Hawthorne was now more capable of arranging his own affairs, but he still slipped back into dependency often enough to necessitate Fields remaining in charge of many matters. Fields may have been merely forgetful in leaving for Paris without directing Smith, Elder to forward the advance sheets to Ticknor, but he may also have been giving Hawthorne more credit for being a businessman than the author deserved. Hawthorne could deal effectively with the English publishers, but he was either uncomfortable in doing so or he felt he needed Fields's go-ahead before pro-
ceeding. The letter ended on a genial note, however, for Fields apparently had proposed that the two families return to America together the following May. Hawthorne suggested the latter part of June instead, adding that he would be delighted to have the Fields's company on the return voyage. He noted that he had been away for almost seven years, and the thought of going home made him "alternate between a longing and a dread" (Dec 30, 1859, HL).

Back at home, Ticknor grew increasingly nervous as the new year rolled around and he still had no advance sheets. Hawthorne was doing his best to speed up the shipments, reporting to Ticknor on January 26, 1860 that he had reminded Smith, Elder "of the necessity of publication on both sides of the water." They responded that they had already sent proof sheets of the first volume and would duly forward the remainder, letting Ticknor know the date of English publication (WT, 2.89). By February 3, Hawthorne could inform Ticknor that the sheets of the third volume were on the way. Smith, Elder intended to bring the book out on February 28 with the title "The Transformation," but he begged Ticknor "not to be influenced by their bad example." He still preferred "The Marble Faun" (WT, 2.91-92).

Ticknor's troubles continued, for on February 10 Hawthorne wrote apologetically that he was surprised that the advance sheets have not reached him sooner. "I fear you will be pressed for time; but if you bring out your edition
before the importation of any copies of the English one, it will save the copyright. This will give you a whole week or more, in March. Moreover, if your first edition consists only of a single copy, it will guard the copyright as well as if it were ten thousand" (quoted in TI, 234-35). Ticknor knew the rules of the trade, but Hawthorne felt the need to reassure him. A publisher who brought out the first reprint of a foreign edition, often even if he only announced the work, was granted "courtesy copyright" by other publishers. Although Ticknor & Fields had been the exclusive publisher of Hawthorne's works since 1854, they still were not immune to competition from aggressive reprinters. Later in 1860, Ticknor even felt the need to warn his son Howard, who was in London on business for the firm, of the risks involved in reprinting English works. Ticknor explains that the past year has been an unfortunate one for the firm in regard to reprints. A delay in receiving advance sheets can take away the firm's profits or even cause a loss of their entire investment: "You will see at once that we cannot pay for 'early sheets,' if we do not receive them. In fact, for the present we must hold off, as the ----s are evidently resolved to print whatever we get that is popular." He adds: "You will find it necessary to be very guarded in your bargains with English publishers; I mean, to make your agreements very specific" (quoted in TI, 248-50). Ticknor's consternation at the delay of the sheets of The Marble Faun
stemmed from his partner's failure to secure a specific agreement from Smith, Elder about when the proof sheets would be sent. The contract only stated that the work would appear in England six days earlier than in America. Hawthorne also recognized the risks of first publication in England, for in one of his letters to Fields he mentioned that if the work "could have appeared first in America, it would have been a safer thing" (Nov 17, 1859, HL).

While awaiting publication, Hawthorne wrote Fields once more of his objections to the English title: "Smith & Elder (who seem to be pig-headed individuals) persist in calling the book 'Transformation,' which gives me the idea of Harlequin in pantomime; but I have strictly enjoined upon Ticknor to call it 'The Marble Faun; a Romance of Monte-Beni'" (Feb 11, 1860, HL). Hawthorne's objections to the English title underscore his insecurity that the work might not be taken seriously. A romance should reveal some deep truth, not simply dazzle and mystify. Not surprisingly, when Fields quoted Hawthorne's letter in his *Yesterdays with Authors*, the only phrase he omitted was the parenthetical reference to the pig-headed English publishers.\(^{17}\)

Fields included the February 11 letter in his reminiscences of Hawthorne because it reveals the author's own sense of himself as an artist in relation to prevailing literary tastes. Hawthorne had been predictably equivocal
upon the completion of each major work of his career, but many times his doubts seemed attributable to modesty or general insecurity rather than a genuine resignation to failure. But in his letter to Fields while awaiting the publication of *The Marble Faun*, his laments ring true:

I thank you most heartily for your kind wishes in favour of the forth-coming work, and sincerely join my own prayers to yours in its behalf, but without much confidence of a good result. My own opinion is, that I am not really a popular writer, and that what popularity I have gained is chiefly accidental, and owing to other causes than my own kind or degree of merit. Possibly I may (or may not) deserve something better than popularity; but looking at all my productions, and especially this latter one, with a cold and critical eye, I can see that they do not make their appeal to the popular mind. It is odd enough, moreover, that my own individual taste is for quite another class of works than those which I myself am able to write. If I were to meet with such books as mine, by another writer, I don't believe I should be able to get through them. Have you ever read the novels of Anthony Trollope? They precisely suit my taste; solid and substantial, written on the strength of beef and through the inspiration of ale, and just as real as if some giant had hewn a great lump out of the earth and put it under a glass case, with all its inhabitants going about their daily business, and not suspecting that they were made a show of. And these books are just as English as beef steak. Have they ever been tried in America? It needs an English residence to make them thoroughly comprehensible, but still I should think that the human nature in them would give them success anywhere.

Hawthorne's praise of Trollope sounds much like Dr. Johnson's praise of the "just representations of general nature" in Shakespeare. Hawthorne wanted to depict human nature in the neoclassical sense, but the latitude which he claimed for the romance genre always encouraged him to
stray from reality. He could write like Shakespeare, as Melville was the first to notice, during his "occasional flashings-forth of the intuitive Truth in him; those short, quick probings at the very axis of reality."\textsuperscript{18} But when he attempted to structure his work around that "intuitive Truth," his characters easily melted into embodiments of his central idea. They lost their life-like qualities. Hawthorne recognized that this tendency hindered his own popularity as an author, and yet he could not write any other way.

Immediately following this important passage of his letter to Fields, Hawthorne mentions the publication date of his own "moonshiny Romance." The phrase contrasts to the "solid and substantial" quality he admires in Trollope, and indicates that underlying his assessment of his lack of popular success is a dissatisfaction with his chosen genre. His prefaces consistently defend the romance against the novel form, and yet he now shows real doubts. His language even implies a masculine/feminine polarity in the two genres. The novels of Trollope are "solid and substantial," "written on the strength of beef and through the inspiration of ale," whereas his own romance is "moonshiny," or insubstantial. Hawthorne has genuine respect for an author who can incorporate a manliness into his art; he himself has never been able to do so.

We have to question why Hawthorne always felt that a
new work must be a romance. The answer lies mostly in his timing. During his literary apprenticeship in the 1830s and 40s, his favorite author was Sir Walter Scott, the best-selling romance writer of the century. Hawthorne also enjoyed gothic romances. The "novels" on the market tended to be the sentimental domestic novels of women writers, who he believed lacked seriousness of purpose. The novels of Dickens were also extremely popular, but they exhibited a sentimentality, a forced expression of emotion, which Hawthorne essentially outgrew in the 1830s. Without realizing it, Hawthorne's praise of Trollope anticipated the shift towards realism of the latter part of the century. Trollope's art was totally new to Hawthorne; he asks Fields if the Englishman's novels have "ever been tried in America."

Hawthorne understood why Trollope was a commercial success, a knowledge that increased his apprehension over the fate of his own forthcoming romance. As scheduled, the English edition of Transformation appeared on February 28, priced at 31/6 for the three volumes. Hawthorne followed the procedure of assigning copyright set forth in his contract with Smith, Elder, and promptly received his £600. Ticknor received the advance sheets too late to bring out the American edition simultaneously, but he managed to have the Boston Transcript announce the date of publication as March 7 and review the work from proof-sheets on March 1 (CE, 4.xxviii). Consequently, the American edition appeared
roughly a week after the English edition, before any English copies could be imported and reprinted. The two-volume set sported the traditional brown cloth binding with gilded letters on the spine and sold for $1.50. As soon as Hawthorne received a few copies in the mail for presentation to his English friends, he wrote Ticknor: "Your edition is certainly much handsomer than the English one—at exactly a fifth the price!" (quoted in TI, 238).

American publishers understandably needed to sell a larger number of copies than their English counterparts in order to make the same profit. We have no records of the number of copies printed by Smith, Elder, but the work went through three impressions before April 21. A year later, in 1861, Smith, Elder issued the work in the cheaper one-volume Popular Library format, bound in limp cloth and priced at just 2s.6d.¹⁹ In America, Ticknor paid $425.36 to have the work stereotyped by Houghton & Co., then ordered three printings before publication for a total of eight thousand sets. The unpublished Cost Books combine the printings under the dates of February 20, 23, and 27. By April another 3,000 copies were needed, by late May another 1,500, by late July another 1,000, and by September another 1,000. By the end of 1860, Ticknor & Fields had printed a total of 14,500 sets, and paid Hawthorne 22.5 cents per set, fifteen percent of the retail price, on all but 300 copies reserved for promotional and presentation purposes.
The amount totaled $3,194, slightly more than Hawthorne received from the sale of his English copyright, and more than the total income from any of his other romances during his lifetime.\textsuperscript{20}

The \textit{Marble Faun} was a commercial success, despite the growing national tensions over the slavery issue and a general atmosphere not conducive to the reading of fiction. The prestige and marketing capabilities of Ticknor & Fields had grown during Hawthorne's seven-year absence; after 1855 they even had a traveling representative, James R. Osgood, who carried their fall list to bookstores in Detroit and Cincinnati.\textsuperscript{21} The \textit{Marble Faun} was the first of Hawthorne's romances to make real headway in the western market. William Dean Howells remembers that on his first visit to the Old Corner, he tried to impress Ticknor and Fields with his knowledge of the \textit{Marble Faun}'s success: "I patriotically bragged of the West a little, and I told them proudly that in Columbus no book since \textit{Uncle Tom's Cabin} had sold so well as the \textit{Marble Faun}. This made the effect that I wished, but whether it was true or not, heaven knows; I only know that I heard it from our leading bookseller."\textsuperscript{22}

Howells also commented in his memoirs that the \textit{Marble Faun} carried Hawthorne's name "higher than all the rest [of his romances], and certainly farther. Everybody was reading it, and more or less bewailing its indefinite close."\textsuperscript{23} In England, readers of the three-decker, accustomed to intri-
cate plots with all loose ends tied together at the end of the third volume, reacted the same way. Even Henry Chorley, who from experience knew how to read a Hawthorne romance, complained. The faithful Chorley praised Hawthorne's newest contribution to literature in the *Athenaeum*, yet concluded that the work's final scenes "are all left too vaporously involved in suggestion to satisfy any one whose blood has turned back at the admirable, clear and forcible last scenes of 'The Scarlet Letter'" (quoted in *CR*, 319). Another loyal follower, Henry Bright, complained directly to Hawthorne, who responded on March 10 that according to Smith, Elder, the edition was almost all sold and that they would soon print another "to which I mean to append a few pages, in the shape of a conversation between Kenyon, Hilda, and the author, throwing some further light on matters which seem to have been left too much in the dark. For my own part, however, I should prefer the book as it now stands" (*CE*, 4.liii). Shortly after March 16, the publishers issued a second printing of the first edition, using the standing type from the first printing but adding Hawthorne's "Postscript" at the end and the words "SECOND EDITION" before the publisher's imprint on the title page.24 Ticknor likewise held up the fourth printing of the American edition in order to include the Postscript which Hawthorne sent in manuscript form (*CE*, 4.1).

Hawthorne decided to add the Postscript against his
better judgment; he felt that his Preface had adequately instructed readers how to approach his romance, and that the work would suffer from too much clearing up of mysteries. Thus he uses the Postscript as a further means of defining his genre. His characters have a "certain relation to human nature," and yet are "artfully and airily removed from our mundane sphere." The Faun, for example, "becomes nothing better than a grotesque absurdity, if we bring it into the light of day." Hawthorne does not mind, however, supplying a few gaps in the plot, such as Hilda's whereabouts during her disappearance, Miriam's accompaniment by her "official relative," and Donatello's banishment to prison. The disclosures which his readers really demanded, such as Miriam's true identity and exact crime, and whether Donatello's ears resemble those of the Faun of Praxiteles, he leaves purposely vague. He simply will not allow reader pressures to destroy the delicate balance of his romance.

Many of the book's reviewers became distracted by the Italian setting, as Hawthorne had feared, and failed to judge the whole work. The Westminster Review felt that the descriptive material suggested "a strange flavour of the news letter, and not only so, but of news addressed to an American public." The London Times called Transformation "worth all the guide-books we ever met with" (quoted in CE, 4.xxxiv-xxxv). In America, Ticknor & Fields themselves helped contribute to the impression that The Marble Faun
was a book of circumstantial reporting. Advertisements in the *Boston Transcript* from late April through May listed *The Marble Faun*, Charles Eliot Norton's *Notes of Travel and Study in Italy*, and George Hillard's *Six Months in Italy* as "The Best Guide Books to Italy" (quoted in CE, 4.xxxii). The appearance of *The Marble Faun* in the spring had been out of Ticknor & Fields's control, of course, but the delay in publication had its advantages. Back in 1851, Fields had accepted the manuscript of *Eleven Weeks in Europe* from James F. Clarke, advising the author that "The spring is always the best time for a volume of European Travels. March is a good month" (LB, d, 2.248). The firm targeted *The Marble Faun* not only at the market for fiction, but at the guidebook market for travelers abroad as well.

The publisher who best capitalized on the book's potential as a guidebook to Italy was neither American nor English, however, but German. Bernhard Tauchnitz controlled the English-speaking market abroad from the book-distributing center of Leipsig (or Leipsic), Germany. This town of only 66,000 people was home to 120 publishers and booksellers, who supplied the continent. Tauchnitz published his first "Tauchnitz Edition" in 1841, and by 1860 had 500 volumes on his list. Hawthorne was not new to Tauchnitz; the publisher had included *The Scarlet Letter* in his offerings years ago, but because of some problem in the negotiations never actually signed a contract with either
Hawthorne or his publishers. America had no reciprocal copyright agreements with any nation, so that Tauchnitz's issuing of *The Scarlet Letter* with no remuneration to the author was not illegal.

Books published in Britain, however, were another matter. Between 1850 and 1887 Britain shared reciprocal copyright agreements with Germany, France, Belgium, Spain, and part of Italy. Smith, Elder held the English copyright to *Transformation*, whereas no English publisher had held the copyright to *The Scarlet Letter*. Tauchnitz thus negotiated with Smith, Elder directly, securing a second edition (with the appended Postscript) of *Transformation*, from which they set their type. The Tauchnitz edition appeared in two volumes -- Volumes 515 and 516 of the Tauchnitz Collection of British Authors -- under the English title *Transformation: Or, the Romance of Monte Beni*. The title page bore the claim "Copyright Edition." Tauchnitz then produced the work in a variety of custom bindings, with special attention to the tourist trade in Italy. Some copies were embellished with photographs, or customers could select from loose photos and have them bound to order. Tauchnitz produced four editions in 1860, with an unknown number of reprints of each edition. Apparently, Hawthorne received no direct payment from Tauchnitz for the continental editions; Smith, Elder instead received compensation, a settlement which they may have anticipated when
they offered Hawthorne such a large sum for the English copyright to his work. Four years later, Tauchnitz wrote Hawthorne a letter which sheds some light on the transaction and on the publisher's previous dealings with the American author. Hawthorne had never received compensation for Tauchnitz's use of The Scarlet Letter. Then in 1864, just months before his death, Hawthorne received the following explanation:

Years ago I took the liberty of writing to you requesting the publication of one of your former books and in consequence of your communications, I published at that time "The Scarlet Letter" in one of my small volumes.

I did not continue at that time the publication of your books, but in the course of years the sale of the above mentioned volume has been as far as to bind me to present you One Hundred and Twenty Dollars, which I charge Messrs. [illegible] London to pay to you.

Another book of yours "Transformation" has been published by me at a later period, and as it came out during your residence in England it was considered as an English book and I made an agreement about it signed by you and Messrs. Smith Elder & Co.

No additional information about this contract has come to light. Hawthorne never mentioned signing it, and the Tauchnitz archives were completely destroyed on a raid on Leipzig in World War II.

In America, England, and the continent, Hawthorne's romance, if not a runaway best-seller, nevertheless achieved measurable success. Hawthorne spent his final months in England in the spring of 1860 at the resort town
of Bath, reading reviews of his work in English newspapers and journals and in whatever American periodicals he could procure. Fields did not return from Paris until late April, but upon his arrival he immediately dashed off a cheerful letter to Bath. Because Hawthorne neglected to discard these last letters before his return to America, we can once again catch Fields's ebullient spirit. His letter of April 25 begins almost breathlessly:

Here we are, just in, all snowy from Mt. Cenis. We had a breezy time getting over that accursed mountain & I brought away a cold I shall carry to my grave an' I am not careful. How it froze my vitals that infernal day we came bumping over the icy road!

However here we are once more in old England (how much better as a place to arrive in than any other on the earth's stranger soil) and we feel at home once more. I went to Bennoch at once today & he told me of you and yours. So I send off this line to ask 'How are you all?'

(April 25, 1860, HL)

The letter then proceeds with Fields's characteristic encouragement of his author, relating an incident which, even if true, he probably embellished:

The book seems to be achieving great sales here. My copy just rec'd says on the title page 3d Ed! I have cut the preface leaves & read them. Admirable! Tomorrow I go on with the heart of the volumes. I know how well I shall like them having had a touch of the author's quality in days long vanished. I must tell you what happened to us on walking into the hotel late last night on our arrival from Paris. There stood a very pretty damsel (the bar-maid) deep in a maroon covered volume. Curse the girl why dont she show signs of welcome to two tired travellers! Bedad she was heart-deep in "Transformation"! I asked her to give me a look at the romance which she did saying "you would find it a remarkably interesting
story, Sir, written by an American. You had better inquire for it at Mudies tomorrow."

Fields had not had time to read the work himself, but the fact did not prevent him from finding numerous grounds for praising it. The work was already in its third edition; it was being circulated by Mudies; it had intrigued a barmaid.

Hawthorne soon responded that he had begun to wonder if Fields was still alive. Plans had been laid for their return passage on a steamer for June 16, and Hawthorne informed Fields playfully: "I consider it my duty towards Ticknor, and towards Boston, and America at large, to take you into custody and bring you home; for I know you will never come except upon compulsion. Let me know at once whether I am to use force." Hawthorne continues:

The book has done better than I thought it would. . . . The English critics generally (with two or three unimportant exceptions) have been sufficiently favourable, and the review in The Times awarded the highest praise of all.

At home, too, the notices have been very kind, so far as they have come under my eye. Lowell has a good one in the Atlantic Monthly; and Hillard an excellent one in the Courier; and yesterday I received a sheet of the May number of the Atlantic containing a really keen and profound article by Whipple, in which he goes over all my works, and recognizes that element of unpopularity, which, (as nobody knows better than myself) pervades them all. I agree with almost all he says; except that I am conscious of not deserving nearly so much praise. When I get home, I will try to write a more genial book; but the devil himself always seems to get into my inkstand, and I can only exorcise him by pensfull at a time.

(April 26, 1860, HL)
Hawthorne's personal friends Lowell and Hillard, also long associates of Ticknor & Fields, were accustomed to giving unqualified praise of their literary peers. Hawthorne was soon corrected regarding the identity of the author of the Courier review, however. Fields's next letter explained, "Giles wrote that article in the Boston Courier, Whipple tells me in his last letter" (May 2, 1860, HL). Henry Giles was also one of Ticknor & Fields's authors. Lowell or Ticknor probably sent Hawthorne the advance copy of the May issue of the Atlantic Monthly containing Whipple's lengthy essay. Hawthorne respected Whipple's judgment perhaps more than any other critic's. He had trusted Whipple to help decide on titles for most of his romances, and he appreciated Whipple's professional integrity which would not allow friendship to cloud an honest appraisal of an author's merits. The essay Hawthorne mentions, entitled simply "Nathaniel Hawthorne," praises his imaginative insights into human nature and history, but concludes that he "has been heretofore attracted to the dark rather than the bright side of the interior life of humanity, and the geniality which evidently is in him has rarely found adequate expression." 29

This darkness hurt his popularity. Hawthorne completely agreed with Whipple, promising Fields that in his next book he would do his best to add geniality. The publisher soon wrote Whipple an impressively detailed account of his experiences and literary contacts upon reaching England
again, making a special point of mentioning, "Your Hawthorne article is keen and welcome. H. wrote to me how much it touched him." Hawthorne understood the depth of friendship between Fields and Whipple, and appreciated Whipple's honest objectivity all the more.

Fields spent his last months in England finalizing business deals and visiting with friends, and he tried to persuade Hawthorne to join him in socializing with British authors. On May 2, he prompted him: "Do come up to London. Among others who wish to meet you is Trollope the novelist whom I met at dinner yesterday. I told him you was a reader of his books and he seemed really delighted that you praised his novels. He is a good fellow" (HL). For whatever reason, Hawthorne did not meet Trollope until the English author came to America the following year.

Fields also wrote in the May 2 letter of his dread of the inevitable seasickness awaiting him during the upcoming voyage, apologizing in advance for the bad company he would be on the trip. That matter aside, he takes the opportunity once again to praise Hawthorne's latest literary success. He has just finished the book, and reports:

I am delighted with the Marble Faun as I knew I should be and will not allow that there was the slightest occasion for yr explanatory P.S. at the end of the 3'd Ed. On all hands among the best people I hear golden opinions and your Publishers here are very proud to have sent out your book. Your Boston Publishers hold up their heads higher than ever now. You cant imagine what lots of attention I get in London from the fact that I am one of the boys who publish for you in America. I
am sure that I have eaten the last week two din-
ners on the strength of my title page notoriety.

Hawthorne must have smiled at Fields's typical expression
in superlatives--the "best people" and "golden opinions."
But the warm approval of his publisher was exactly what
Hawthorne needed to counteract his own tendencies towards
despondency. He had doubted the value of his own produc-
tions in comparison to the success of Trollope's novels,
and Fields had attempted to turn that self-deprecat-
ing admiration into a positive channel. Fields assured Haw-
thorne that Trollope was flattered by his admiration, and
encouraged the two authors to become acquainted socially.
And he even credited much of his own social success to his
connection with Hawthorne.

On June 16 when the Hawthornes and Fieldses sailed for
America, they were joined by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe
who, like Hawthorne, had been in London to protect her Eng-
lish copyrights (TR, 247). Hawthorne could not measure his
popular success against hers, but he could be contented
with all he had accomplished. He had served responsibly and
honestly as consul at Liverpool, provided his wife and
children with the cultural benefits of a year on the conti-
nent, and given them that confidence and stability which
comes from financial security. We have no way of knowing
how much of the thousands of dollars he had saved at Liver-
pool still remained invested. 31 He had misjudged the
expenses of a year in Italy and had been forced to dip into
his investments a good six months before his return to England. Moreover, the £600 from Smith, Elder may have just covered the costs of the additional year in England. We do know that he was returning with much less in savings than he had hoped. And he was returning to a home which he viewed with discontent, to a nation in turmoil on the verge of war. But his family was now respectable by anybody's standards, and he had realistic prospects of supporting them comfortably through the additional income which his writing could provide. Fields's constant encouragement would be there, too.
Footnotes for Chapter Six


3 Sutherland, p. 105.


5 Altick, The English Common Reader, p. 263.


8 Quoted in Ibid., p. 38.

9 Barnes, pp. 173-75.


11 Quoted in Sutherland, pp. 106-07.

12 Hawthorne to Fields, Aug 6, 1859, Arnold Whitridge Collection, NYC.


14 Mellow, p. 521.


17 Fields, Yesterdays, p. 88.
18 [Herman Melville], "Hawthorne and His Mosses. By a Virginian Spending His Summer in Vermont," The Literary World, August 17, 1850. Quoted in CR, 116.


23 Ibid., p. 52.

24 Clark, p. 245.

25 Sutherland, p. 69.

26 Nowell-Smith, p. 32.

27 C. E. Frazer Clark, pp. 252-54.

28 Tauchnitz to Hawthorne; Leipsig, Jan 9, 1864, the autograph file, the Houghton Library, Harvard University.


30 Fields to Whipple, May 4, 1860, Univ. of Illinois Archives, Roger Adams Papers, Record Series 15/5/23, Box 1.

31 The editors of the Centenary Edition of The Marble Faun (4.xx) followed biographer Randall Stewart (Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Biography, New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1948, p. 181) in stating that Hawthorne accumulated $30,000 during his years in England. Stewart never documented his source, but the historical editor of the forthcoming Centenary Edition of Consular Letters, Bill Ellis, estimates that Hawthorne saved only $20,000, an amount more consistent with the author's own statements to Ticknor about his savings.
Chapter Seven:

The *Atlantic Monthly*, Fragmentation, and Decline

The return to America in June 1860 marks the beginning of Hawthorne's physical and intellectual decline. Although the years abroad had brought a polish to his social skills and a relative security to his financial condition, they had also been hard on his health. He no longer had the physical stamina or mental concentration to endure extended periods of creative composition. Moreover, America in 1860 was not the optimistic, upwardly-mobile nation he had left. Tensions over the plight of southern slaves and the ultimate fate of the Union dominated the business arena, discouraging speculation and expansion in industries based on non-essential consumer needs. The book industry was one of the hardest hit, and even Ticknor & Fields was worried. Hawthorne and Fields had left the brilliant gatherings and toasts of English society to enter into a world hardened by premonition of war. When Longfellow saw the two men at the Old Corner just two days after their arrival, he remarked in his diary that both looked "bewildered and sad" (quoted in TR, 248).

Perhaps because neither family really wanted to immerse themselves again in America's problems, or perhaps because they had simply grown closer after their reunion in
London the previous year, the Hawthornes became more closely associated with the Fieldses than with any other family. Both households enjoyed literature, not politics. The Hawthornes had been in England when Fields married and set up a virtual literary salon at his home on Charles Street, and now they returned to find the firm's social activities extended beyond the doors of the Old Corner. Special dinners at the Fieldses were even a part of the firm's budget, a justifiable promotional expense. In July, his first month back in New England, Hawthorne became the guest of honor at Fields's most extravagant banquet to date. The guest list included ex-President Pierce, and Longfellow, Emerson, Dr. Holmes, Lowell, and Whipple, among other leading literati of the day (TR, 225).

Never one to relish the center-stage in social settings, Hawthorne probably appreciated the constant attention James and Annie Fields paid to his family much more than the ostentatious tribute paid to himself. The Hawthorne circle affectionately referred to the couple as 'Heartsease' and 'Mrs. Meadows,' nicknames which reflected the harmonious relations between the two families. At Concord and Boston they visited each other often. Sophia and Annie began a correspondence in which Sophia soon felt free to pour her heart out, Annie taking up the role of confidant vacated by the death of Sophia's mother years earlier and by her sister Elizabeth's fanatical espousal of
the abolitionist cause to the exclusion of other interests. The Fieldses even entertained the Hawthorne children frequently. Less than a month after arriving back in America, Hawthorne was in New Hampshire visiting Pierce when he wrote Fields directing him to send Julian home the next day: "I must go down to Concord this afternoon, and am sorry to leave him with you; not doubting that you are heartily tired of his society. Send him to Concord tomorrow; and (as I suppose he has no money) be kind enough to pay his fare." Fields had now taken on the role of kind uncle to the young Hawthorne. And he was generous as well. Hawthorne reported the following day that "Julian has come home, laden with rich gifts, and still glowing with the delightful time which Mrs. Fields and yourself so filled up with enjoyments." 

Settled into the Wayside once more, Hawthorne immediately began carrying out plans for its enlargement. He engaged two carpenters to construct rooms above two existing rooms and a three-story addition containing Mrs. Hawthorne's parlor on the ground floor, a guest room on the second, and his own study on the top. The interior design was modified to feature pointed arches over doors and windows, marble mantels, fashionable wallpaper and upholstery, and "grained" woodwork. Both Hawthorne and his wife had brought ideas from Europe which they wanted incorporated into the new design. The original estimate for the
project was $500, but expenses soon grew much higher.

Hawthorne became anxious to publish again in order to avoid further depletion of savings, and his English notebooks provided a ready source of material. By late July, he wrote Fields that he was exploring the idea of "some sketch of rural or town scenery," possibly a sketch of places connected with Robert Burns.6 We do not have Fields's response, but we do know that he had been encouraging Hawthorne to write for the Atlantic Monthly for months. While Hawthorne worked on the sketch in the summer heat, carpenters hammered away all around him. By August he sent the short piece "Some of the Haunts of Burns" to the Atlantic in time for the October number. But in September he had to write Fields twice for money, once for $200 and again for $50, the last time suggesting: "Would it not be practicable, hereafter, to give me a credit to some moderate amount on the Bank in this place; so that I need not be continually bothering you for money?"7 Ticknor & Fields apparently complied: the Huntington Library today holds a collection of thirty-three checks signed by Hawthorne and drawn on a Concord bank beginning on October 12, 1860.

Hawthorne never considered submitting his English sketches to any American magazine other than the Atlantic Monthly. The periodicals to which he had contributed back in the 1840s had either declined in popularity or folded altogether. Fred Lewis Pattee observes that the 1850s saw a
general decline of the Philadelphia-type magazine: Sartain's ceased publication in 1852; Graham's in 1859; Peterson's merely dragged on; and only Godey's Lady's Book still held its own. In New York, the Knickerbocker was now "in a saintly senility," and Putnam's, born in 1853 of aged parents, had died of old age, at four years old. Only Harper's Magazine, primarily a reprint magazine, was prospering. Before the Atlantic Monthly, Boston had only the venerable but boring North American Review. William Dean Howells's account of his experience as a young author in the early 1860s adds to the picture somewhat. Howells claimed that there were very few places where an author of short pieces could market his work: "the Atlantic in Boston and Harper's in New York were the magazines that paid, though the Independent newspaper bought literary material; the Saturday Press printed it without buying, and so did the old Knickerbocker Magazine." Boston was the acknowledged intellectual center of the nation: Philadelphia and New York counted for little. Howells's account continues: "Every young writer was ambitious to join his name with theirs [Boston authors] in the Atlantic Monthly, and in the lists of Ticknor & Fields, who were literary publishers in a sense such as the business world has known nowhere else before or since. Their imprint was a warrant of quality to the reader and of immortality to the author." Hawthorne had become loyal to his Boston
publishers, a relationship benefiting both parties, and he simply had no reason to look elsewhere.

The *Atlantic Monthly* also offered Hawthorne promising possibilities for longer fiction which he had hitherto published in book form only. If he could write a romance for serialization, he could essentially sell the work twice: in parts to the magazine, and as a whole upon completion. The magazine's connection with Ticknor & Fields made such double publication feasible. The firm's connections with Smith, Elder also left open the possibility of triple or quadruple payment. Advance sheets could be sold to the English publisher for publication as a volume, or in parts for serialization in Smith, Elder's own magazine *The Cornhill*, followed by collection into a volume.

Hawthorne turned once again to a theme which had been on his mind since 1855, when he had first heard the legend of the bloody footprint in Lancashire. The legend itself did not intrigue him so much as the footprint's possible use as a focal point for a romance exploring the differences between democratic America and class-bound England, through the character of a young American laying claim to an English inheritance. After Hawthorne left England for Italy, he increasingly pondered the idea. In April and May of 1858, he had even begun a draft of his new unnamed romance but abandoned the project when his discovery of the Faun of Praxiteles suggested a more intriguing romance, one
set in Italy.

Back in America in 1860, his home was in such chaos from being remodeled that he waited until early in 1861 to turn his attention to the abandoned romance. Curiously, he did not attempt to revise his old draft from 1858, but instead began a new one. For about six or eight months in 1861 he worked on a second, then a third draft, each time beginning the romance again. With each previous romance, he had followed the story through to its conclusion, then revised superficial elements. Now he had such problems with the plot that he could not bring the story to a satisfactory conclusion. His American claimant possesses a secret which gives him the power to bring about the downfall of a powerful English family and secure their inheritance for himself. But Hawthorne can neither conceive of a plausible secret capable of such destruction, or of a plausible motive for the protagonist's actions. As with The Marble Faun, Hawthorne uses the story line to bring in sketches of everyday scenes, drawn heavily from his notebooks. But with this new romance, the story could not support such extensive use of authorial observation and description. Hawthorne labored with his drafts, finally abandoning them altogether. The editor of the Centenary Edition of "The American Claimant Manuscripts" concludes that, unlike in his previous romances, Hawthorne simply could not find a compelling moral center for this story (CE, 12.506). He
never completed any of the three drafts for publication. But his family brought them out in 1882, eighteen years after his death: the first as The Ancestral Footstep, and the second two combined and edited by Julian as Doctor Grimshawe's Secret.

We have no letters between Hawthorne and Fields relating to the author's efforts on the romance which we now refer to as "The American Claimant," but a letter from Hawthorne to Ticknor suggests that Hawthorne did not wish to make his abortive attempts known. The inevitable Civil War had finally broken out, and Hawthorne wrote on May 16: "The war continues to interrupt my literary industry; and I am afraid it will be long before Romances are in request again, even if I could write one" (quoted in TI, 257). Fiction and poetry were not on people's minds, and Hawthorne was not alone in worrying about the future. Bayard Taylor, one of Ticknor & Fields's most respected poets, submitted his latest manuscript to Fields in the spring of 1861 and received the cautious response: "Times are so shaky we postpone 'The Poet's Journal' till autumn" (Apr 7, 1861, HL).

Amid this period of frustrated creativity for Hawthorne, Fields made a gesture of friendship which could not have been more perfectly timed to lift his author's spirits. For some time he had been sending complimentary copies of each new volume of the firm's The Complete Works of Sir
Walter Scott to the Hawthornes upon publication, and on February 15 informed Hawthorne:

Sometime during the spring we shall publish Lockharts' Life of Scott uniform with the Novels. When it is all out, a copy shall be bound to match the set we sent to Mrs. Hawthorne the other day. Meantime I send a sample volume that you may see to whom we dedicate this Edition. I do not ask permission, after the olden manner, but take for granted your acquiescence. One night last December I read aloud your 'Artist of the Beautiful' from the 'Mosses' (always a great favorite of mine) and I said as I closed the book "the Novels we inscribed to Washington Irving, and the Life shall be dedicated to the Artist of the Beautiful."

Dear Hawthorne, you have given great pleasure to many thousands of readers but to none more than to your friend

J. T. F.
(Feb 25, 1861, HL)

Of course, connecting Hawthorne's name with the popular Scott's was simply good publishing practice, much like the existing system whereby Ticknor & Fields's authors reviewed and puffed each other's works. But Fields also knew that no author deserved or would appreciate this special tribute more than Hawthorne. Scott had been Hawthorne's lifelong favorite, notwithstanding Hawthorne's envy of the enormous popularity which Scott had commanded throughout the century.

Two days later, Hawthorne responded to the honor with a gratitude which was more than a sociable exchange of compliments. Whatever popularity he enjoyed, he felt he owed to Fields, for Fields had performed the miraculous feat of
bringing him into the public's sympathy. The publisher had been his savior, in a sense, and yet Hawthorne was careful to measure his success realistically. He knew that he was far from being a "popular" author. Nevertheless, when he weighed his early obscurity against his present reputation, his gratitude to Fields was deeply sincere:

I am exceedingly gratified by the Dedication. I do not deserve so high an honor, but if you think me worthy, it is enough to make the compliment in the highest degree acceptable, no matter who may dispute my title to it. I care more for your good opinion than for that of a host of critics, and have excellent reason for so doing; inasmuch as my literary success, whatever it has been or may be, is the result of my connection with you. Somehow or other, you smote the rock of public sympathy on my behalf; and a stream gushed forth in sufficient quantity to quench my thirst, though not to drown me. I think no author can ever have had publishers that he valued so much as I do mine.

(Feb 27, 1861, HL)

Fields needed the lift, also. He found it increasingly difficult to remain detached from the war when business was at a standstill and so many of his authors were vocal supporters of the northern cause. The southern book market was now lost, and even the northern and western markets were in jeopardy. The firm reacted by cutting their list of publications, the volumes printed, and the amounts spent by exactly one-half by the end of the year (TR, 253). Moreover, in June Fields took over the editorship of the Atlantic Monthly from James Russell Lowell, intending to give the magazine a broader popular appeal. He wanted "short storyish papers that have fun as an element in them"
(quoted in TR, 258), not the more scholarly articles which Lowell had preferred.

Although Fields initially maintained the price established by Lowell of $100 to $150 each for short stories, regardless of length, he was also willing to pay more in order to secure the best contributors. Mrs. Stowe agreed to publish her new novel, Agnes, in the Atlantic for $200 per installment, provided she could then receive 50% of the profits from the sale of the published book. Like Hawthorne, she had an account with the firm which she could draw on at any time. She was indeed at the top of the pay scale, but authors such as Hawthorne, Emerson, Taylor, and Holmes also felt that they were generously compensated.\textsuperscript{11} Thomas Wentworth Higginson, another of the magazine's early contributors, was pleased when the editorship passed to Fields, because "Fields had an advantage over Lowell of being both editor and publisher, so that he had a free hand as to paying for articles." And Fields "first introduced the practice of paying for each manuscript on acceptance."\textsuperscript{12} Once again, Fields's ability to intermingle various roles contributed to his success in a new venture.

Hawthorne, by contrast, no longer demonstrated the confidence of a successful author-businessman. By the middle of 1861, he had only contributed a single article to the Atlantic, and he was beginning to need money badly. The additions to the Wayside had cost over $2,000 instead of
the $500 he originally had in mind (TU, 357). Julian was in a private school in preparation for Harvard, and the girls required tutoring in various subjects. The children had had no regular schooling during the seven years abroad, and now their worried father tried to compensate for the deficiency. On July 14 he asked Fields to "tell Ticknor I am penniless, and have a quarter's bills to pay, and would like $200" (HL). Two days later he thanked Fields for his note with "a cheque of $200 enclosed" (July 16, 1861, HL).

But he could not continue to dip into his savings. By the end of the summer he had given up on "The American Claimant" theme and decided upon another story altogether. He had long been interested in the theme of immortality, and he remembered a legend Thoreau had told him back in 1852 about a former owner of the Wayside who believed he would never die (CE, 13.557). One morning while Fields was visiting him at the Wayside, Hawthorne laid out the whole story as he intended to write it. Fields remembered years later that "the plot was a grand one, and I tried to tell him how much I was impressed by it." Encouraged by Fields's unconditional praise, Hawthorne then began work on a first draft of the romance, but not without many distractions.

For one, Anthony Trollope came to America on a lecture tour in September. Fields planned a dinner party for him with the Boston literati, and of course insisted that Haw-
thorne come from Concord. The two authors had not been able to meet in London, and Fields now anticipated the event with much pleasure. On September 11, he wrote:

I send you enclosed a letter brought as an introduction by Anthony Trollope. He is a jolly good fellow & you will like him. Now he is in Newport & will return for a few days only to finish his visit here. On Monday he will dine with us at 3 o'clock at our house. We make the hour 3 that Emerson may get back to Concord. But you must stay with us & return [the] next day if you wish to. Let me know on receipt of this if you will come. I really hope you can, for Trollope is a fine boy and wishes to meet you very much.

(Sept 11, 1861, HL)

The dinner was a success. Trollope was in roaring form, but Hawthorne could not have helped but notice the contrast between his own writing problems and the systematic prolificness which his fellow author described for the group. Trollope explained that day after day he rose at five in the morning and wrote a specified number of pages before breakfast. He went to work on a novel "just like a shoemaker on a shoe, only taking care to make honest stitches." We have no record of Hawthorne's personal impressions of the author he so admired, but a week after the dinner Fields wrote to say that "Trollope fell in love with you at first sight and went off moaning that he could not see you again. He swears you are the handsomest Yankee that ever walked this planet" ([Sept 18, 1861], HL).

Fields's letter also mentions a further reason why Hawthorne had been distracted from his new romance. Hawthorne had dipped into his English notebooks again and pro-
duced a second article for the Atlantic, which he submitted to Fields in September. Fields remarks in a postscript: "'Near Oxford' is admirable. Do the Cathedrals at your pleasure and oblige T & P. The sooner the better." But even more appreciated than the unqualified praise was the $100 payment which soon arrived, before the article appeared in the magazine's October number.

Fields also wanted Hawthorne to rush the new romance. A year and a half had passed since the appearance of The Marble Faun, and even with the war going on and the firm's list of publications drastically cut back, Fields still wanted to keep his best authors producing. In his letter of September 18, he urges Hawthorne: "I wish very much to begin your new story (about the house) in our January number. Now dip your pen steadily and briskly to that end. When shall I have the first installment? I shall depend upon seeing the early chapters of yr story 'right away'."

Of course, the story "about the house" was actually the story about a search for the elixir of life, but Fields remembered instead that the Wayside had somehow inspired the theme. Hawthorne waited over two weeks before responding:

In compliance with your exhortations, I have begun to think seriously of that story, not as yet with a pen in my hand, but trudging to-and-fro on my hill-top. It has shaped itself into something like a plot, though undeveloped in many parts; but I will try it in black and white pretty soon. I shall not be ready by the first of December; for I don't mean to let you have the
first chapters till I have written the final sentence of the story. Indeed, the first chapter of a story ought always to be the last written.

(Oct 6, 1861, HT)

Hawthorne was suspicious of serial publication for his proposed work because he was uncertain whether he could follow his plot through to its logical conclusion. Fields could not understand Hawthorne's fears that he might not be able to finish the present story, a fact suggesting that he did not know of Hawthorne's abortive efforts with "The American Claimant" manuscripts earlier in the year. Hawthorne thus had to remain firm in refusing to hand over the first chapters prematurely. But he wanted to be cooperative also. He promised Fields that he would give the story "a fair trial," for he wanted to be doing something to earn his bread. His letter continues: "And speaking of that, I must again apply to our unhappy Ticknor for $100--having a bill to pay this week, for painting my house on the outside. I was given over to Satan, surely, when I first had to do with carpenters and painters."

Hawthorne had no trouble beginning his new romance. The story opens with the battle of Concord in 1775, a time linked to the present by the tense atmosphere of war. The American youth Septimius Felton kills a British soldier who, just before dying, gives him a secret formula which can stop the aging process. Septimius finally distills the formula, but the prospect of immortality it offers has changed him from a caring person into an absurd fool. Haw-
thorne seems uncertain exactly what to make of his young protagonist. Moreover, even in the first chapters Hawthorne was encountering serious problems with the plot, particularly in developing a plausible motivation for the action. For what noble or intriguing reason would Septimius want to live forever?

While Hawthorne worked on his draft, Fields formulated an even stronger appeal to convince the author to let him announce the work for publication in the Atlantic in the coming year. On November 5, he wrote succinctly:

I think you had better allow me to put your story into my prospectus for 1862. And these are my reasons.

1st!!! Of course I want your name as a leader to my list of attractions.

2d. I think you will get more money out of the story, handling two sums instead of one.

Tell me you allow me to name a forthcoming story by N.H. on the Dec'r cover. I must hear by return of mail.

I could not let you do anything that could in the slightest degree dull the edge of your fine genius. So you must trust me in this case as acting not wholly from selfish motives.

(Nov 5, 1861, The Pierpont Morgan Library)

As editor and publisher of a literary magazine, Fields wanted as impressive a "list of attractions" as possible. The Atlantic was building a reputation and needed all the annual subscriptions a prospectus could attract. And as Hawthorne's friend and banker, Fields wanted the author to have the highest possible income through serial publication
of his work. Hawthorne proposed a compromise:

When the story is finished, you may have it for the Magazine if you think best. My hesitation is not so much on the score of comparative profit, as because I think my chapters have not the characteristics that produce success in serial publications; and, moreover, a monotony results from my harping on one string through the whole book, and when prolonged from month to month, it will be likely to tire the reader out. If published in a volume, he may finish the infliction as briefly as he likes.

(Nov 6, 1861, Massachusetts Historical Society)

Hawthorne was not being characteristically modest; he had used the same excuse back in the early 1850s to decline all offers for serialization of his romances. His one dominant idea, he feared, would tire the reader over an extended period of time. And he had needed money then as badly as now. The only difference in 1861 was that his loyalty to Fields and his memories of financial success with The Marble Faun, a work whose format had been determined by the marketplace, prompted his cooperation, but only after the work was finished. The letter continues with doubts that the story will be ready in time for the first of the year and asks Fields half-jokingly: "Can't you announce it conditionally, or hypothetically?" Hawthorne also wonders if Smith, Elder would be interested in the story for the Cornhill, and if it might be better for him to go to England to secure the copyright there.

Such concerns proved premature, however, for 1862 brought more struggles and still no completed romance. In January Hawthorne's latest sketch, "Pilgrimage to Old Bos-
ton," appeared in the *Atlantic*. Similar in structure and style to his early imaginative sketches such as "Main Street" and "Sights from a Steeple," the sketch was easy for Hawthorne to write. Assuming that Hawthorne was paid the usual $100 upon acceptance of the story late in 1861, his only income from the literary profession for the entire year was the other $100 for "Near Oxford" and, according to the unpublished Cost Books of the firm, $24.50 from a new edition of *Tanglewood Tales*, $22.00 from *The Snow-Image*, and $113.58 from *The House of the Seven Gables*. The total comes to $360.08, by far his smallest annual income since his association with Fields. A look at his signed checks now at the Huntington Library further reveals just how inadequate this income was. The twenty-three checks dated 1861 total $983.20, an amount that in no way represents the whole of his expenses, even if we could be certain that all of his checks for 1861 are in the Huntington collection.

The uncertainties over his finances and professional future, and the endless talk about the war, kept Hawthorne from drawing encouragement from the company of fellow authors as much as he otherwise might. Upon his return from England, he had been elected into "the Saturday Club," a group of New England literary men which had formed while he was away for the purpose of genial conversation over dinner one Saturday a month. Hawthorne usually traveled from Con-
cord with Emerson for these meetings, but he always sat next to his old friend Longfellow, who shared Hawthorne's detachment from the passionate political discussions which increasingly dominated the gatherings. But in July of 1861, Longfellow's wife had died suddenly and tragically after her robe caught on fire, and the poet stopped attending the meetings. Soon thereafter, Hawthorne began pressing for Fields's election into the club. He felt that the publisher was obviously deserving, and more importantly, the group needed someone whose genial nature and conversational skills could moderate the strident debates. On March 22, 1862, Hawthorne wrote fellow member Horatio Woodman:

I trust you will favor Fields as a candidate for the club. There is no better fellow; and I think the danger of such a club is, that it should be too purely made up of clashing intellects. Between any two minds, there should be interposed a genial and kindly nature, in which the intellect (though quite sufficiently) is not most prominently developed. Longfellow always seemed to me exceedingly valuable to the club in this point of view; for it was not his mind so much as his harmonizing temper that made the charm of his society.16

The recommendation reveals Hawthorne's sincere fondness for his publisher. Fields had never shown the critical astuteness of a Whipple or Lowell, but his kindly nature provided the perfect counterpart for the strong intellects, of which Hawthorne implied that the group already had too many. We also suspect that Hawthorne wanted someone he would enjoy sitting next to. For whatever reason, however, Fields was not accepted for membership until two years later.
In March, Hawthorne received an invitation to visit Horatio Bridge in Washington. Ticknor wished to accompany him, and Sophia insisted that the change of climate would be good for his health. The two men set out by way of New York and Philadelphia, soon reaching the capital. Bridge was excited to have his former classmate's company once again, arranging a busy schedule for Hawthorne that included a call on President Lincoln, visits to Alexandria, Fort Ellsworth, Harper's Ferry, Manassas, among others, and observations of Confederate prisoners, slaves fleeing northward, and General McClellan reviewing his troops (Tu, 364). The first-hand experiences helped Hawthorne better define his own feelings about the war, and he recorded his impressions assiduously. On April 2, he reported to Fields that he was busy sitting for a portrait by Leutze, who kept his subject jolly by bringing out first-rate cigars and champagne, and he reported on the status of the sunken Cumberland, news which the publisher might want to pass on to Holmes, who intended to write a song on the subject. But in the end, the trip did nothing to lift Hawthorne's spirits about the war. In his letter to Fields: "I see no reason to think hopefully of the final result of this war. Things and men look better at a distance than close at hand" (Apr 2, 1862, HL).

Back in Concord, Hawthorne used his notes from the
trip to draft an article in which he gave his own opinions about the immediate issues which were evoking mostly stereotyped or hysterical responses from friends and family. He questioned whether the present generation of negroes would be better off because of the war, and whether the rebel soldiers were really the thoughtless animals depicted in northern propaganda. Knowing that his candid views might offend some readers, he was willing to work with Fields if the article needed revising. On May 7, he sent the completed article with the explanation that he had "found it quite difficult not to lapse into treason continually; but I made manful resistance to the temptation." Fields was on his way to New York and sent the article on to the printer without reading it. When he returned, however, he realized that there had to be some changes. Hawthorne's honest opinions did not bother him so much as the honest description of the President. It was simply not respectful enough. Although the article was already in proof, Fields quickly wrote Hawthorne:

I knew I sh'd like it hugely and I do. But I am going to ask you to change some of it if you will. Ticknor and I both think it will be politic to alter yr. phrases with reference to the President, to leave out the description of his 'awkwardness' & general uncouth aspect. England is reading the Mag'z now & will gloat over the monkey figure of 'Uncle Abe' as he appears in yr. paper. . . . I w'd not speak of the President as Uncle Abe, but w'd call him the President in every instance when he is mentioned.

(May 21, 1862, HL)

Although he tried to soften his criticism by concluding
that "the whole article is piquant & tip top in all other respects," Fields had never before taken such firm editorial control over any of Hawthorne's work. He had to be careful. The mood of the marketplace was such that any publication less than patriotic might be thought treasonous.

Hawthorne carefully considered Fields's objections, then decided that he could not alter his description of the interview with Uncle Abe. Instead it must be omitted entirely. He explained to Fields that the interview was "the only part of the article really worth publishing," and that it had "historical value." But he let Fields have his way, concluding: "What a terrible thing it is to try to let off a little bit of truth into this miserable humbug of a world! If I had sent you the article as I first conceived it, I should not so much have wondered" (May 23, 1862, HL).

In July the revised article appeared in the Atlantic under the title "Chiefly About War Matters."

Even after the revisions, Hawthorne felt disapproval from his Concord neighbors because he had not come down hard enough on the Southerners. He was happy to return to the innocuous sketches of English life and scenes thereafter. In July he submitted "Leamington Spa" to Fields, and the publisher responded with characteristic enthusiasm, mentioning for the first time that the accumulating sketches would make a remarkable book:

I always settle at once upon a new Mss. from "The Wayside" like a famished host upon miracu-
lous bread... and so I tell you this morning how much delight the "Leamington Spa" has given me in the perusal. I don't think even your pen ever did a better thing in its way. It is truly a bit of England broken off from one of the best spots by a most skillful master-hand. Do break off some more pieces and hand them to me for exhibition in the Atlantic Crystal Palace, for you will make it one by sending such rare specimens.---What a delectable book you are building up out of these capital papers. Let us, Author and Publisher, be thinking of a sleek volume, for pretty soon we shall have made one. Well  

(July 24, 1862, HL)

Fields knew that Hawthorne needed encouraging, but the publisher's emphasis on the pronoun "we" and the book as a joint venture indicates the personal sense of accomplishment that he experienced with each new work. His own sense of professional pride was deeply interwoven with his authors' successes. He had dined with the elite of London and Boston, but in some ways he was still the lad from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, making his way in the publishing world with no college education or blue-blood ancestral ties to bolster him. He wanted to be a successful businessman, but even more he wanted his name connected with the fine literature which his business produced. His own attempts at poetry made him see himself as part of a brotherhood of authors, or as Hawthorne once remarked, "a man in whom the publisher and author meet, and in whom both classes can understand one another" (June 17, 1852, HL).

The only time Fields's poetry ever received any public or critical recognition, however, was when it was delivered with the force of his personality, such as before his home-
town of Portsmouth or before the Harvard Phi Beta Kappa Society (TR, 154-55). He had no chance of literary immor-
tality except through his role as generous publisher of the finest writers.

Hawthorne needed the incentive of a new volume, and hence double payment, in order to proceed with the remuner-
ative hackwork. Editing passages from his notebooks into short works for serial publication did not provide the kind
of relationship with his audience which stimulated his literary creativity. But at least writing for the Atlantic
promised ready cash, even if the book industry should fold before the end of the war. As the war dragged into its
second year, he wrote Bridge that he was concerned about spending money needlessly "in these hard times" because he
was convinced that the book trade and everybody connected with it would fall to nothing before the war was over.18
Because he made so little progress on his romance about Septimius Felton, he increased his efforts with the short
English sketches. Fields kept up a steady stream of encour-
agement. On September 24, he wrote to convey general praise
of "Leamington Spa," which had just appeared in the October
Atlantic, and to press for other submissions:

I wish to tell you how greatly admired yr. paper on Leamington is; how everybody swears it is one of your or anybody's best; how I am stopped in the street to laugh with friends over your fat dowager; how the papers all praise the article & ask for more of the same sort.

You must send me a paper for my December No.
& my January issue also. I cant get on without them, & I beg you will on receipt of this let me know the subjects of both articles.

Hereof fail not!
(Sept 24, 1862, HL)

Hawthorne responded three days later in a hurried note: "I mean to send you an article soon on Old English Towns--and another one in time for the January No." (Sept 27, 1862, Berg). Between October 1862 and June 1863, he contributed six more articles to the magazine and wrote two others which he reserved for the eventual book.

Nevertheless, Hawthorne was experiencing a period of stifled creativity unlike any he had ever known. The pressures of war and economic hard times not only made any imaginative escape into fiction virtually impossible for the author, the pressures also underscored his insecurities about the public even wanting to read whatever he might write. His habitual posturing as a writer of "trifling" romances would seem ludicrously out of place to a public occupied with men going to war and struggling to feed their families. But these insecurities belonged to Hawthorne, however, not to Fields, who surely sensed his author's need for encouragement and therefore never represented the public as anything other than enthusiastic admirers of Hawthorne's work. From the evidence of the letters, Fields doubled his efforts to be the friend which Hawthorne obviously needed. The letters increasingly mention the Fieldses' many attentions to the Hawthorne children, especi-
ially Julian, their insistent invitations for the author to come to Boston, and their pleasurable visits to the Wayside. An undated letter from Fields, probably written late in September 1862 because Hawthorne responded to it on October 5, is characteristic of its author. Yet it also displays a thoughtful and calculated warmth which distinguishes it from the publisher's more hurried notes. The letter has three purposes: to inform Hawthorne of the forthcoming arrival of complimentary books from the firm, to recount a delightful visit to the Wayside, and to praise Hawthorne's status as author through mention of an earlier work. Fields writes:

> By the Express you will receive some books which I hope you will care to have. Among them are the remaining volumes, save one, of that Life of Scott by Lockhart which it gave so much pleasure to your publishers to dedicate to you. . . . We enjoyed, we always do, our visit to the Wayside. Annie says it is worth twenty visits elsewhere to sojourn under your roof. Long ago she fell in love with Mrs. Hawthorne and it does her a world of good to go to Concord. I think as I write of Hawthorne "on the Hill;" of the two trees, the locust and the oak, living apart yet so near to each other to all outside appearances; of all the pleasant moments of our ramble to the 'Old Manse'; of the couch on the grass and the young man singing to the river as we lay in the cool shadows. It was all very lovely, & I do not forget such happy thrills as you gave me and mine of real delight.

> Since dinner I read The Introduction to the 'Mosses' to Annie as we sat in our window overlooking the bay. I wish you were all here in this twilight to see with us the boats go tilting by. It was like hearing you however, for your words in that delicious paper sounded like a talk under the trees. Childe Hawthorne to his bright Tower came!
With all kindest love to all the dwellers in the Wayside Paradise,
   Ever from, dear Hawthorne,
J.T. Fields
   ([Sept 1862], HL)

Fields's "Childe Hawthorne" exclamation is, of course, a dismal misquotation of either Browning's poem or Edgar's Song in King Lear—further evidence that the publisher was no first-rate intellect himself—but the friendly sentiments which nurtured his author were there, nevertheless.

On October 5, Hawthorne sent Fields the sketch "About Warwick" for the December number of the Atlantic, explaining that he always feels "a singular despondency and heaviness of heart in re-opening these old journals now."

But as long as he "can make readable sketches out of them, it is no matter," for he wants $100 "awfully and immediately" (Oct 5, 1862, HT). He certainly was not producing anything to increase his literary reputation, so he might as well capitalize on what reputation he already had. The remainder of his letter to Fields relates to Lockhart's biography of Scott which the firm had dedicated to him, and reveals that Hawthorne looked to Scott for the answer to some of his own vocational anxieties. He had been reading through the new edition, and offered these suggestions for the unpublished final volume:

I think you ought to insert in it an explanation of all that is left mysterious in the former volumes—the name and family of the lady whom he was in love with &c. It is desirable, too, to know what have been the fortunes and final catasto-
phies of his family and intimate friends since his death, down to as recent a period as the death of Lockhart. All such matter would make your edition more valuable; and I see no reason why you should be bound by the deference to living connections of the family that may prevent the English publishers from inserting these particulars. We stand in the light of posterity to them, and have the privileges of posterity.

I should be glad to know something of the personal character and life of his eldest son, and whether (as I have heard) he was ashamed of his father for being a literary man. In short, fifty pages devoted to such elucidations would make the edition unique.

Hawthorne's suggestions sound curiously like the criticisms of the first edition of *The Marble Faun*, in which readers complained that the work's mysteries needed clearing up. But of course the work in question was a biography, not a romance. Hawthorne may have felt that a brief history of Scott's progeny would make the edition more valuable, but he also wanted such information for his own knowledge. Taking into consideration the catastrophic bankruptcy of Scott and his publishing firm, how well did the popular author provide for his family? Were his children equipped to earn a living on their own? And most importantly, was his oldest son ashamed that his father was a literary man? It is easy to see that these concerns were very real to Hawthorne. He was beginning to feel like an old man, his savings were inadequate to support his family in the event of his death, his wife and children knew no practical trade, and worst of all, his son Julian perhaps someday would resent his father for having chosen the undependable, impractical, even "fem-
inquine," profession of authorship. Years later, in fact, Julian remembered that his father "explicitly advised me against adopting the literary calling." Hard economic times had impressed upon Hawthorne that the profession offered too little security for a man trying to provide for his family.

The only bright spot in Hawthorne's present was the favorable reception which Fields and others gave each new sketch appearing in the Atlantic. In early November he submitted his most lengthy article yet, drawn from his disastrous involvement with Delia Bacon and entitled "Recollectations of a Gifted Woman." The submission prompted Fields to increase his rate of pay above the standard $100 per article. On December 4, Fields informed him:

I am so much obliged to you for enriching my January Number with that glorious paper the "Recollectations of a Gifted Woman" that I cannot help telling you so again as I finish re-reading it this evening. In [the] future you must receive $100 for all articles of ten pages or less, and for all over 10 pages $10 per page additional. This paper occupies 15 pages, so I gave Mrs. Hawthorne $150. today. You must tell me if this is satisfactory.

(Dec 4, 1862, HL)

The increase marked the beginning of a trend whereby Fields paid his leading authors $100 for an article of ten to twelve pages before 1863, and $150 or $200 thereafter. Thoreau, Mrs. Stowe, and James Parton joined Hawthorne in merits the increase. Lesser writers or newcomers usually received only $50 an article (TR, 264-65).
Fields's letter of December 4 continues with characteristic alternations of pressure and praise:

What is to be the subject of yr. next? And when will you send it? Have you not almost enough for a a book prepared? And when will you like to publish a volume? . . . We have never printed an article in the 'Atlantic' that has been more applauded than "About Warwick." That absolutely perfect paper is hailed with delight all over the land. Curtis had his cup of coffee with us today and he joined the chorus with enthusiasm. Lowell & Longfellow chanted high praises to me last night 'and Holmes swears you are the Prince of English writers. He holds his own plume straight into the air as you know, but he knocks under to you. Charles Stuart bows to Hawthorne-dom. Oliver kneels!

Hawthorne must have smiled at Fields's graphic exaggerations, but he responded seriously that he was delighted at what Fields told him about the kind appreciation of his articles, for he felt rather despondent about them himself. "As to the increased rate of payment, it is more than satisfactory, for I was satisfied before; but I am glad to know that you think my work worth its price, and the money comes into a pocket where it finds plenty of room" (Dec 6, 1862, HL). Hawthorne then mentions that he has been "quite ill" for some days, or otherwise would have completed an article describing his summer's residence at Francis Bennoch's house near London. He intends to call it "A Suburban Residence," or "some title to that effect."

He did not send the article eventually entitled "A London Suburb" until the beginning of the new year, however, once again writing Fields in his self-effacing man-
ner: "I herewith bore you with another article" (Jan 4, 1863, HT). The faithful Fields had a check for $150 in the mail within four days, for on January 8 Hawthorne responded that it had been gratefully received. Hawthorne's letter also mentions for the first time his own plans for a volume of the collected sketches. Such a book "will require, I believe, as much as three more articles, including 'A London Suburb,' to make up a volume of, say, 325 pages" (Jan 8, 1863, HL). Hawthorne normally would have looked forward to the publication of his new book, but in the midst of the war he could not be optimistic about its prospects. His letter continues with caution about whether publication should be deferred until autumn, or at least until summer, "though perhaps it may be desirable to make what harvest we can while the war lasts; for when that comes to an end, I look for utter ruin--at all events, so dark a gloom that nobody can see to read in it, and so no more books will be bought. Not that I really believe this, but I should not wonder if it were true."

Fields refused to be dragged down by his author's pessimism. His letters decline even to mention the war, instead giving all their attention to topics specifically related to literature or personal matters. On January 16, he advised Hawthorne to expect proofs of "A London Suburb" soon and to return them immediately. And he added characteristically:
Have I told you how delighted I am with it? If I have not I am a knave of the darkest dye. You will be tired of my enthusiasm over these charming papers, but this last one is so excellent from beginning to end I must roar again. I declare to you it is the best of the series. But this I always say of the last one I read. All the felicities of the English tongue seem to have been created for yr. use alone. . . . The 'Atlantic' is lifted into quite another region by your rich contributions to its pages.

(Jan 26, 1863, HL)

Fields was not praising the articles thoughtlessly or insincerely; he genuinely liked their genial style and wealth of personal observation, the same elements he had admired in Hawthorne's early sketches, "The Custom-House," and the Preface to Mosses from an Old Manse. In fact, the sketches of English life epitomized those qualities which had given Hawthorne's longer works the immediate popularity they enjoyed. They represented the direction in which Fields had been gently pushing Hawthorne for over a decade, a direction in which Hawthorne had refused to move wholeheartedly. He had tried to make his works "popular" without compromising his artistic integrity. But the more he had incorporated elements of the sketch as literary genre into his romances, the more his romances had been misunderstood. The central ideas behind The Blithedale Romance and The Marble Faun seemed absurd when placed in the settings of Brook Farm or modern Rome, and yet such settings had given these works their vogue. The Atlantic Monthly sketches enjoyed unequivocal acceptance because, ironically, in them Hawthorne had abandoned both his seriousness of intent as
an artist and his laborious practice of structuring a work around a central idea. He had begun submitting the sketches only after giving up work on the romance which was to have been adorned with personal observations of English scenes. He still plodded along on the "Elixir of Life" romance, but he could not resist the temptation to keep producing the more effortless short pieces instead.

He responded to Fields's praise warmly: "I am much encouraged by what you say about the English articles—not but what I am sensible that you mollify me with a good deal of soft soap, but it is skillfully applied and effects all that you intend it should" (Jan 30, 1863, HL). He pressed on with the articles, submitting another on February 22 with the comment: "Heaven sees fit to visit me with an unshakeable conviction that all this series of articles is good for nothing; but that is none of my business, provided the public and you are of a different opinion" (Feb 22, 1863, HL). As long as Fields kept paying, he would keep writing.

Hawthorne's articles were appearing regularly in the Atlantic every other month: "A London Suburb" in March, "Up the Thames" in May, and "Outside Glimpses of English Poverty" in July. When he submitted the latter in April, he informed Fields that he would "begin to write the last article (which will come first in the volume) in a day or two," reasoning that he does not think "the public will
bear any more of this sort of thing."20 He then began work on a sketch intended for the beginning of the volume. He had saved one of the most "spicy," to use his own word, incidents of his English experience for this sketch, which he called simply "Consular Experiences." While in office, he had been besieged by persons in all sorts of trouble, but a certain Doctor of Divinity from New Orleans had been in the most scandalous of circumstances. He had emerged drunken and penniless after a week in a brothel, and Hawthorne had arranged for his passage home, but not until after a stern lecture. "Consular Experiences" was much like the popular "The Custom-House" introductory sketch in its honest look at life from the vantage point of a political appointee. And the Doctor of Divinity episode would surely cause even more of a stir than did Hawthorne's candid portrayal of the old cronies at the Salem Custom House.

When Hawthorne sent the sketch to Fields on April 30, he offered astute marketing advice that sounds much like his publisher. He wanted "Consular Experiences" at the beginning of the volume which he wished to entitle "OUR OLD HOME: a Series of English Sketches." He would submit to Fields's judgment concerning whether the introductory sketch might not be deprived of its freshness by previous publication in the magazine, but he went on to build a case for reserving the sketch for the volume:

The article has some of the features that attract the curiosity of the foolish public, being made
up of personal narative and gossip, with a few pungencies of personal satire, which will not be the less effective because the reader can scarcely find out who was the individual meant. I am not without hope of drawing down upon myself a good deal of critical severity on this score, and would gladly incur more of it if I could do so without seriously deserving censure. The story of the Doctor of Divinity, I think, will prove a good card in this way. . . . It seems to me quite essential to have some novelty in the collected volume, and if possible, something that may excite a little discussion and remark.

(April 30, 1863, HL)

Hawthorne wanted the work to sell, even if on the wave of a small scandal. He had relaxed his caution somewhat from the time of *The Scarlet Letter*, when he had urged Fields not to allow Duyckinck to reprint the rollicking passage about the "old gourmand" in the *Literary World*.

Fields completely agreed that the new sketch would give novelty to the planned volume, but he wanted Hawthorne to submit another in its place for the August number of the *Atlantic*. On May 3, Hawthorne wrote that he would indeed write another, and that for the time being he was considering to whom he would dedicate the volume. He could not decide between Pierce, who made his observations of England possible, Francis Bennoch, who demonstrated English hospitality at its best, or simply nobody. He asked, "How soon do you mean to get the volume out?" Anxious to have the income from the book, he pressed further:

If you can get anything for the sheets in England, do it by all means—even if it were only five pounds. I don't see why anybody should give more, or so much, for a book that a dozen pirates will be ready to seize upon, if it prove to have
any sellable value. However, it will not take in England, being calculated (by the objects which it describes, and the sentiments it expresses) for the American market only.

(May 3, 1863, HL)

Hawthorne would not be in England in order to protect the copyright there, and consequently he could not expect to sell his advance sheets for a sizeable amount. Moreover, the book was by an American for Americans; the English would neither appreciate nor enjoy his candid descriptions of their gloomy churches, their miserable orphans, or their fat aristocratic ladies.

By late May, Hawthorne had revised and expanded an article which had been his only contribution to literature during his consulship. The English miscellany The Keepsake had published "Uttoxeter" in 1857 (CE, 5.xxiii). Now the article became "Lichfield and Uttoxeter" and went directly to Fields for inclusion in the new volume. While Hawthorne was writing the final sketch, "Civic Banquets," which he had promised Fields for the August Atlantic, compositors were working on Our Old Home and sending Hawthorne proof sheets.

As busy as Fields was, Hawthorne did not mind bothering him with other matters. The author, like his children, saw the publisher as something of a kindly uncle. While Sophia was away visiting relatives in early May, Hawthorne had written her: "I want a new hat, my present one being too shabby to wear anywhere but at home; and as Mr. Fields
is all made up of kindness, I thought he might be kind enough to get me one at his hatter's."21 Fields enjoyed patronizing his authors, but Hawthorne's request seems rather extreme, even given the unusually intimate author-publisher relationship. Hawthorne had always tended towards a helpless passivity in controlling his own financial affairs, and Fields certainly had encouraged this by allowing him to leave his monetary concerns in the hands of the firm. But such a dependency on the part of Hawthorne ultimately ensured that he would be tempted to test, even to take advantage of his publisher-patron's generosity. Hawthorne may have procured a new hat, but the charity was not what he really needed. His recurring insecurity over his vocational identity stemmed partly from this lack of direct control over his finances and his subsequent inability to function well in the traditional masculine role of provider. Often he did not know how much money he had invested or how much he could spend. By 1863, when he was well aware that his savings were far from adequate, it had become easier to defer to Fields's generosity than to face the fact that he needed to cut back on expenditures drastically.

By the end of June, Fields had wonderful news for Hawthorne. Smith, Elder were very interested in the new book. Fields wrote:

Smith & Elder are to reprint 'Our Old Home' & are to pay 150 Pounds for it, (£150), so you see
England has not given up yet their favorite American author. Smith & Elder say in their letter of reply to mine they expect the first offer of your new Romance when it is ready. They also say they must have Our Old Home in their hands thirty days before the book is published in the States. This of course will delay a little, but it is best to do as they desire seeing they pay for what is by no means copyright. . . . I will of course attend to the sending of . . . sheets to S. & Elder & give you no trouble in the matter. Leave it all in my hands.

(June 30, 1863, HL)

The English publishers obviously followed a policy of crafting their agreements as specifically as possible, the same policy about which Ticknor had lectured his son back in 1860. Ticknor & Fields had almost been left empty-handed when the advance sheets for The Marble Faun did not arrive in time for simultaneous publication, and they had in fact lost considerable amounts with other English works. Smith, Elder knew the risks and therefore included the thirty-day stipulation, but their payment was generous enough that neither Hawthorne nor Ticknor & Fields challenged the agreement. The English publishers also made it clear that their payment was directly related to their wish to keep Hawthorne associated with their firm (See letter of Smith, Elder to Ticknor & Fields, June 4, 1863, Appendix A). Fields had clearly used the prospect of a new romance as bait to attract them to the present work.

Fields's letter to Hawthorne also mentioned that the printers were ready for any introductory material to Our Old Home. On July 1, Hawthorne responded that he planned to
write a dedication to Franklin Pierce, "come what may," the following day. He knew that Pierce was extremely unpopular for his soft stance regarding the South and that the dedication would require "some little thought and policy in order to say nothing amiss at this time." But Hawthorne was also pleased with Fields's success at selling the advance sheets, and wrote:

I am delighted with Smith & Elder--or rather with you; for it is you that squeeze the English sovereigns out of the poor devils. On my own behalf, I never could have expected to get £10. I look upon the £150 as the only trustworthy funds I have, our own money being of such a gaseous consistency. By the time I draw for it, I expect it will be worth at least $1500.

(July 1, 1863, HL)22

Hawthorne had already received most of his final total of $1,300 from the ten installments in the Atlantic. The unexpected £150, or $750, is roughly what he would have earned from five more articles published there also. At his current level of productivity, therefore, the payment from Smith, Elder equalled about seven to nine months of salary. Moreover, the war had created a general insecurity over the value of U. S. currency, and Hawthorne wondered if the English pounds would be worth more Yankee dollars by the time the payment was actually made. No records have been located indicating exactly how many dollars Hawthorne finally did receive.

Fields knew that Hawthorne needed every cent possible from the sale of the new book, and consequently he was dis-
turbed by its connection with an unpopular politician through the dedication. Hawthorne, too, realized the risks and tried to omit political overtones from the introductory piece, calling it simply "To A Friend." He used the dedication to explain his artistic intentions regarding the individual sketches, much as he had used the prefaces of each romance to introduce readers to the work. He made no pretensions to seriousness: he had originally intended the sketches to be but "exterior adornment, of a work of fiction" (CE, 5:4), which now lay abandoned in fragments. But even if he appeared frivolous about any artistic merit in the volume, he was perfectly serious about his personal loyalty to Pierce.

On July 15, Fields wrote to try and dissuade Hawthorne from his noble but imprudent intention:

It is the opinion of wiser men than I am in the 'Trade' that the Ded'n & Letter to F.P. will ruin the sale of yr. book. I tell you this, in season that you may act upon it if you elect so to do. A large dealer told me he sh'd not order any copies, much as his customers admired yr. writings, and a very knowing literary friend of ours says it will be in these days, the most damaging move you could possibly make. So, this is what I feared. You must decide whether you will risk the sale of "Our Old Home" by putting a friend's name to it.

(July 15 1863, HL)

Fields admirably left the final decision with Hawthorne. We do not have the original draft of the dedication for comparison, but on July 18 Hawthorne wrote back that he had amended the final paragraph "in such a way that, while
doing what I know to be justice to my friend, it contains not a word that ought to be objectionable to any set of readers" (July 18, 1863, HT). The existing final paragraph distinguishes the personal friend from the Statesman in Pierce, and pledges to "defer a colloquy with the Statesman till some calmer and sunnier hour" (CE, 5.5). As Hawthorne explained to Fields in the July 18 letter, he could not but stand by an old friend, but he had no fancy for making himself a martyr, either. A slightly-altered dedication was the only possible compromise. Fields may have been dismayed, but his wife appreciated the author's sentiments. On July 26, she wrote in her diary: "the ruin in prospect for his book because of his resolve does not move him from his purpose. Such adherence is indeed noble. Hawthorne requires all that popularity can give him in a pecuniary way for the support of his family."

Despite his fears that sales would be hurt by the book's dedication, Fields ordered a first printing of 3,500 copies in July, and a second printing of 2,000 copies in September. He allowed Hawthorne royalties of fifteen cents per copy, or twelve percent on the retail price of $1.25, for a total of $825 from the two printings. The percentage represents an increase over the ten percent allowed on his earlier volumes of previously-published stories, but the author's reputation was now better established, and the sketches in the present volume had proven popular with a
broad audience. Fields anticipated much larger sales than had been the case with works such as *Twice-told Tales*, *The Snow-Image*, and *Mosses from an Old Manse*. Just before *Our Old Home*’s official appearance, Fields reported to Hawthorne: "The book in advance of publication goes handsomely. . . . Our man who went West to sell our new pub's reports so generously of the sale of 'O.O.H.' that we feel confident of another Ed. being called for during the month" ([c.Sept 18, 1863], HL). Fields also noted that he had attended to Hawthorne’s list regarding presentation copies before mentioning that "It is pleasant to have a new book in the house to give a friend who may accidentally drop in, so instead of 3 I send 10 of the 'Old Home', which also please accept from T & F."

*Our Old Home* appeared simultaneously in England and America on September 19. Although Emerson reported that he and others cut out the offending dedication, the book sold well. The English two-volume edition sold for a guinea (about $5.25) and possibly went through as many as four printings, although we cannot determine how many copies constituted each printing. In America, copies were running low by the end of the year, and by February 1864, Fields ordered another 1,000 printed. The $150 from this third printing brings the total royalties from the American edition to $975 during Hawthorne's lifetime. Added to the $750 from Smith, Elder and the $1,300 from the Atlantic,
Hawthorne received roughly $3,025 for the work. If he had been able to complete a romance instead and had been in sufficient health to cross the Atlantic to protect copyright, he probably would have received that amount from the English royalties alone, as he had with *The Marble Faun*. He was still considered one of America's leading authors, but the numbers in his bank account told another story. Despite Fields's unwavering optimism about Hawthorne's favor with the public, Hawthorne himself knew that the present volume was all he could show for the last three years of authorship. A decade earlier, three years had yielded three major romances and a variety of lesser works.

After completing work on *Our Old Home* in the summer of 1863, Hawthorne turned his full attention back to the frustrating romance about the man who thought he would never die. His work to date consisted of two substantial drafts and eight short studies of plot and character. The first draft followed the story through to a logical conclusion, and the second draft essentially expanded the narrative by amplifying conversation and psychological analysis (CE, 13.568-72). He abandoned this second draft about two-thirds of the way through, but not before changing the names of characters—Septimus Felton became Septimus Norton—and even altering main events. He clearly did not have either his characters or his plot firmly in mind.

Sometime in the summer of 1863, he conceived of a com-
pletely new approach to the theme and began again. Instead of the young, tiresome Septimus, he chose as his main character an old apothecary with some noble but undefined purpose for wanting to live forever. Dr. Dolliver would not simply remain immortal, however, he would experience a complete reversal of the aging process. Because he would grow younger while his contemporaries aged and died, his increasing isolation would provide ample opportunity for philosophical speculation about the consequences of interfering with life's natural processes.

On August 31, Fields dashed off a short note to Hawthorne after considering the prospects for serialization of the new story: "In the event of your sending that story, of which we spoke this morning, for publication in the 'Atlantic,' let it be understood between us that we shall pay you $200 for each monthly installment" (Aug 31, 1863, HL). The amount was at the top of the magazine's pay scale, promising the author his highest remuneration for a romance yet if the work should prove as popular as The Marble Faun.

Yet even as late as October, Hawthorne had produced only detached memoranda which he hoped to work into a narrative. He could not tell Fields when to expect the first installment, explaining: "There is something preternatural in my reluctance to begin. I linger at the threshold, and have a perception of very disagreeable phantasms to be encountered, if I enter. I wish God had given me the fac-

ulty of writing a sunshiny book" (Oct 18, 1863, HL). If Hawthorne had not been able to write "a sunshiny book" in his younger, happier years, he certainly had no hope of writing one now, in the midst of a tragic war and in a declining state of health. For days on end he suffered aching fevers, nosebleeds, and a marked loss of appetite. But the problem which plagued him the most was an inability to concentrate on his work. The foremost scholar of Hawthorne's last years, Edward H. Davidson, analyzes the fragmented drafts of the last romances and concludes simply that "The man was old in 1863, miserably old. Not only does his handwriting bear witness to his senility but the repetitions of his own ideas and characters and the borrowings which increase with the number of pages he wrote tell a story of tragic exhaustion."²⁸ In 1863 Hawthorne turned fifty-nine years old. Obviously, age had something to do with his physical and mental deterioration, but the rapid progression of symptoms also indicates that he suffered from some form of systemic illness. He was simply getting beyond the point where encouragement, even Fields's, could do any good.

On October 24, he wrote Fields a letter which began in an ordinary manner but soon turned truly pathetic. After using a vague excuse to decline an invitation to visit the publisher, Hawthorne mentioned that he was "not yet robust enough" to begin the first chapters of the romance. Neither
could he think of a title, and perhaps if Fields or his wife could produce one, it would give him the "needful impetus" to write. The letter continued with his financial difficulties:

I want a great deal of money. In the first place I have a tax-bill to pay (a great deal more than I ought to pay, I am sure) of $170--more than twice as much as last year. Then there are the last quarter's bills; and altogether, I can't do with less than a cheque for $400. I wonder how people manage to live economically. I seem to spend little or nothing, and yet it will get very far beyond the second thousand for this present year. But, be that as it may, I must have the $400; and if it were not for these troublesome necessities, I doubt whether you would ever see so much as the first chapter of the new romance.

His uncontrollable expenses prompted the need to produce another romance, and yet the very real possibility that he would leave his family destitute made an imaginative escape into fiction virtually impossible. He was in a depression that was paralyzing and complete, unlike the short periods of despondency which had overtaken him upon the completion of each major romance. The letter concludes: "Those verses entitled 'Weariness' [by Longfellow], in the last Magazine, seem to me profoundly touching. I too am weary, and begin to look ahead for the Wayside Inn" (Oct 24, 1863, HL).

Fields answered at once, but the characteristically cheerful and hurried manner of his letter suggests that he had not yet perceived the seriousness of his author's situation. Explaining that Ticknor sent the money the day the request came, Fields began:
Would that we could help you to a title, but who w'd dare meddle in that way over a book of yours! No, Sir Knight; only yourself can christen your brain-children.

The New Tithonus.
The Deathless Man
The Modern Tithonus

Such names as these w'd at once occur to everyone, but you will prefix a title that will sound on long after it is spoken. So begin, mon Emperor, and it is done!

(Oct 28, 1863, HL)

Fields was always happy to share his ideas, despite his disavowal of responsibility for Hawthorne's final decision. The letter also pressed Hawthorne to allow him to announce the new story in the December issue, to send him "something" for the January issue "as a sweetener to the whole volume," and to make another series to follow Our Old Home.

In November, Hawthorne promised to write the first chapter of the romance by the end of the month, in time for the February issue. The title would have to wait until the book was completed. He explained to Fields: "This will leave me to exercise greater freedom as to the mechanism of the story than I otherwise can, and without which I shall probably get entangled in my own plot. When the work is completed in the Magazine, I can fill up the gaps, and make straight the crookedness" (Nov 8, 1863, HL). Hawthorne was finally determined to give serial publication a try, provided the work did not have to be as polished as a completed volume. Perhaps the necessity of composing a specific number of pages by a given date would cure the mental block
which was stifling his literary output. The most popular English writers worked under such pressure.

Fields clearly believed that serialization would speed up the writing and ensure the romance's completion. On November 9, he sent Hawthorne $100 which the author had requested, mentioning as an afterthought: "Your autobiographical prefaces are always hailed with pleasure, so when the story is finished for a book you must not omit that part of it" (Nov 9, 1863, HL). Hawthorne did finally get back to work, for a month later he traveled to Boston for the funeral of Mrs. Pierce, bringing the first chapter with him. He stayed overnight with the Fieldses, who were both shocked by his encroaching deafness, invalid appearance, and nervous depression. Annie noted in her diary that he had written the first chapter of a new romance, "but he thought so little of the work himself as to make it impossible for him to continue until Mr. Fields had read it and expressed his sincere admiration for the work."29 The visit made an impact on Fields, for from then on his letters to Hawthorne become obsequious efforts to support his author.

Although Hawthorne's contribution was not by any means the whole of the promised first installment, Fields sent a check for $200 immediately. On December 9, Hawthorne gratefully acknowledged the unexpected payment for "the Dolliver Romance" and asked the publisher to send the chapter in
print as soon as possible so that he might "write the rest in a similar strain" (Dec 9, 1863, HL). The whole process was painfully slow, and he warned Fields not to think of publishing the installment so early as the February issue. The letter concludes with the author's characteristically peevish complaints about pens, ink, and paper. In fact, Hawthorne rarely wrote Fields anymore without asking for new writing materials, an indication that he sometimes retreated into impotent anger in dealing with his failing powers.

The very next day Fields assured Hawthorne that the first installment could be postponed until the March issue if necessary. The publisher added: "Always consult yr. own convenience and mood with me. Your pleasure is mine & I trust you know me well enough by this time to feel this is so in every enterprize" (Dec 10, 1863, HL). The letter continues with an account of Fields's pursuit of "some good paper," a short soliloquy on the merits of the quill over the steel pen, and a compliment for the author newly discovered in a biography of Washington Irving.

Yet Hawthorne never completed the first installment. On December 15, he confessed to Fields that he did not yet have the "courage" to read the proof sheets; on January 17, he explained that his mind had "lost its temper and fine edge"; and on February 25, 1864, he wrote the often-quoted letter listing possible excuses which Fields could report
to the *Atlantic* readership. For the first time, he admitted firmly that he could not finish it: "and if I make too great an effort to do so, it will be my death."30 "The Dolliver Romance" never made it past three chapter-length segments of narrative and a few memoranda.

The final months of Hawthorne's life are well known. In March Ticknor agreed to accompany him on a trip south, moving from city to city as whim directed in hopes of reaching as far as Havana. On March 28, they set out from Boston, spent a week in New York, and arrived in Philadelphia on April 4. Ticknor was careful to pace the trip to avoid tiring Hawthorne, but in Philadelphia he himself caught a severe cold. Six days later, he was dead. Hawthorne telegraphed Ticknor's family, summoned an undertaker, and waited for the arrival of the son Howard to accompany the body back to Boston before returning himself. Neither the Fieldses nor his wife had ever seen him so haggard and upset. In May, Franklin Pierce proposed a visit to the Isles of Shoals and Hawthorne accepted, probably knowing that the trip would be his last. Mrs. Hawthorne asked Fields in confidence if he would arrange for Dr. Holmes to see her husband before Hawthorne left from Boston with Pierce, and both publisher and physician obliged. Holmes had only to talk with Hawthorne for a few minutes to suspect the worst, but he wisely declined to prevent the journey. Early in the morning of May 19, the doting Pierce
looked in on his friend and found him dead. He had passed away in his sleep without a struggle. Evidence available in statements by Holmes, Pierce, Mrs. Hawthorne, and Hawthorne himself indicates that he died of a brain tumor, or some kind of systemic malignancy that finally reached the brain (TU, 386-91).

Hawthorne was buried just outside of Concord on May 23. Fields laid the unfinished manuscript of "The Dolliver Romance" on the coffin and joined the leading literary men of New England in paying their last tribute to one of their most respected peers. Hawthorne never achieved the widespread popularity which would cause the public to mourn his death, but of all the "fiction-mongers" present at his funeral, he had reached the most readers with a truly American literature. He was certainly the only American writer of serious fiction to follow the success of Irving and Cooper in England. And through his loyal association with the firm of Ticknor & Fields, he had contributed greatly to the prestige of a publishing house which was to encourage and nurture a whole new generation of American authors. Fields had lost a close friend and valuable asset, but he had little time to mourn: his office was full of manuscripts and young authors waiting to be discovered.
Footnotes for Chapter Seven

1 Stewart, Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 217.


3 Hawthorne to Fields, July 18, 1860, Milburn Collection, St. Lawrence University.

4 Hawthorne to Fields, July 19, 1860, Milburn Collection, St. Lawrence University.


6 See note #4 above.

7 Hawthorne to Fields, Sept 21, 1860, HL; Sept 27, 1860, Berg.


9 Howells, p. 79


11 Austin, pp. 70-72, 270, 302, 328.


13 Fields, Yesterdays with Authors, p. 96.

14 Quoted in Mellow, p. 548.


16 Hawthorne to Woodman, March 22, 1862, The Pierpont Morgan Library.

17 Hawthorne to Fields, May 7, 1862, Milburn Collection, St. Lawrence University Library.

18 Quoted in Mellow, p. 549.

19 Julian Hawthorne, "Hawthorne's Last Years," Critic, 45 (July 1904):71.
20 Quoted in Austin, p. 227.
21 The Love Letters, 2.279.
22 In his Yesterdays with Authors, p. 104, Fields misquotes the amount to read £180, rather than the £150 stated in the original letter.
24 The unpublished Cost Books, 4.24, 45.
25 Howe, p. 15.
26 Clark, p. 265.
27 The unpublished Cost Books, 4.79.
29 Howe, p. 58.
30 Dec 15, 1863, HL; Jan 17, 1864, HT; Feb 25, 1864, HL.
Chapter Eight:
Fields after Hawthorne

During Hawthorne's final year of life, Fields had not shared his author's despondency over the war. Business had begun picking up again as the North sensed victory. Money flowed freely as the general feeling of well-being grew, and Fields made certain that his firm shared in the prosperity. Sensing that the public sought escape from the war, he kept his lists primarily "literary." Beginning in 1863, he doubled the number of titles offered and increased the size of the editions, so that compared to prewar conditions twice the amount of money was ventured. As a result, the firm saw its profits trebled and quadrupled. Comparing figures from 1862 to 1866, the number of titles increased from 224 to 378; the number of volumes from 154,536 to 384,628; the retail value from $182,000 to $734,000 (TR, 268, 404). Of course, the high retail value in 1866 was due mostly to postwar inflation, but the figures still represent a dramatic increase in business.

Fields also found himself senior partner of the firm following Ticknor's death in April 1864. His first major decision was to sell out the retail business of the house at the Old Corner, move to larger quarters, and devote the firm's attention exclusively to publishing. By September
1865, the firm was settled into a remodeled, older mansion well located on Tremont Street, on the Common's busiest corner. Fields now had an impressive paneled office to replace the small room behind the green curtain which had been his haven at the Old Corner. The new arrangement signified his professional advancement, but it also signalled the end of the days of easy-going intimacy with both established and aspiring authors. Moreover, his duties as editor of the Atlantic increasingly kept him out of circulation. Soon the firm purchased the quarterly North American Review and began three other periodicals: a weekly reprint magazine made up of selections from current European publications entitled Every Saturday, a monthly juvenile magazine entitled Our Young Folks, and an annual publication made up of original contributions entitled the Atlantic Almanac. Fields did not attempt to edit these also, but they increased the burden of business nevertheless (TR, 279-92).

Business conditions no longer followed the general rules taken for granted before the war. High taxes, government spending, and a flood of greenbacks inflated the currency and caused prices to sky-rocket. All of the firm's expenses increased: the costs of paper, binding, printing, advertising, and general overhead. Retail booksellers demanded greater discounts, and authors greater royalties. The price of books rose accordingly (TR, 293).

Hawthorne's works kept pace with market conditions.
Between 1860 and 1863, the price of *The House of the Seven Gables* rose from $1.00 to $1.25, and the price of *Twice-told Tales* from $1.50 to $2.00, to take but two examples. The abrupt jump in costs of paper seems mostly responsible for the increase. The war had effectively halted the export of southern cotton to English mills and looms, drying up the production of paper available for American buyers. Moreover, the worn fabrics usually pulped for paper went into bandages, so there was no cloth for paper. The mechanical pulping of wood was not yet perfected as an alternative method of paper production. In 1861, paper costs for a 280-copy edition of the first work were $35.88; by 1863, they were $62.79 for a similar edition. For the second work, paper costs jumped from $49.07 in 1860 to $86.83 in 1863. In the case of both works, the Cost Books record the same specifications for paper on the different dates; the same paper simply cost about 75% more in 1863. Binding expenses increased more slowly by comparison, from $25.20 to $33.60 for *The House of the Seven Gables* and from $50.40 to $67.20 for *Twice-told Tales*, a 33% jump. In roughly a three-year period, the total cost to the firm of producing a single copy of the first work increased from 41 cents to 52.5 cents, and for the second work from 56 cents to 76 cents.¹

The only cost which Fields had any hope of controlling was the author's copyright. Wherever possible, he replaced
the old percentage system with a flat-rate one, paying Emerson, Hillard, and Holmes twenty cents per copy, regardless of the retail price.2 Hawthorne did not fare so well. Even before the author's death, Fields either intentionally or neglectfully failed to increase the copyright payment as retail prices rose. A look at the Cost Books (See Appendix B) reveals that as early as October 1862, Hawthorne only received 15 cents per $2.00 set of the two-volume *Mosses from an Old Manse*. The firm had increased the retail price from $1.50, but neglected to increase royalties accordingly. In 1863, all of Hawthorne's works issued reflected the general price increase, but royalties remained at the old levels. In 1864, prices took another jump, but royalties remained the same. The collected *Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne* published that year paid Hawthorne's estate 12 cents per volume, a rate indicative of Fields's plan for future editions of the author's works. In 1865, the firm increased royalties only slightly, to an average of 12 or 12.5 cents per copy sold. *The House of the Seven Gables* was actually adjusted downward, from 15 to 12 cents. The following year all royalties were adjusted to a flat 12 cents, where they remained throughout the decade.

Shortly after Hawthorne died, his estate was appraised at $26,000, and George Hillard was appointed administrator.3 Little of the estate was in ready cash, and expenses were numerous. Mrs. Hawthorne was increasingly forced to
dip into the principal, and as she watched her family's savings evaporating, she began besieging Fields with letters begging him to give a full account of the sales of her husband's works so that she might know how much income she could count on. Hawthorne had never felt the need for written contracts with his publisher, and Fields had never given him cause to believe that such contracts were necessary. Fields's reputation for generosity and fair dealing was impeccable. But in the unsteady economic environment of postwar America, simple verbal agreements, "gentleman's agreements," no longer stood as business became increasingly expansive and impersonal. Fields saw author after author rebel against the firm as intense competition for higher royalties caused discontentment and even suspicion. Among these rebellious authors were Julia Ward Howe, Bayard Taylor, Mayne Reid, Anna Dickinson, George Boker, Clarence Stedman, and Richard Stoddard (TR, 333-34). The publisher who had founded his entire career on the concept of amiable author-publisher relationships was now the focus of complaints and accusations he simply was not equipped by nature or by experience to handle. He tried to soothe upset, angry authors in his customary manner, with kind words, a good anecdote, and a few bad puns. But his method no longer worked; in fact, it often made matters worse.

The Hawthorne family was also unequipped for the momentous changes following the war and the death of their
provider. To bring in additional income, Mrs. Hawthorne submitted a portion of her husband's American notebooks for publication in twelve installments in the 1866 issues of the *Atlantic*. Fields promptly paid the promised $100 per installment, or $1,200 total, fair payment for such work. When the pieces were collected for publication as *Passages from the American Note-Books*, however, Mrs. Hawthorne was in for a surprise. She had always believed that her husband received fifteen percent for all of his original works, and when Fields informed her of a reduction in rate she protested: "My dear friend, will you tell me why your house now gives 12 per cent instead of 15 per cent for the books? For I supposed the price of the books being higher than formerly, the percentage should keep up to the former mark. But I need to be instructed." The fact was that Hawthorne had only received ten percent for his collections of previously-published works and children's books, and in 1862 had received twelve percent for *Our Old Home*. Perhaps he himself never knew that these works commanded a lower rate than the romances, but this seems highly unlikely. We do know that he tried to keep financial concerns away from his wife, and in so doing may have misled her about his true earnings. Sophia also grew unjustifiably upset over Fields's procurement of £100 from Smith, Elder for the English copyright to the *American Note-books*. On August 2, 1868, she informed Fields that she had "discovered now that
Smith and Elder gave 250 pounds for 'Our Old Home'," and that she could not understand why "they so meanly diminish the price." She was sadly mistaken: the English publishers had only given £150 for Our Old Home and had made it clear at the time that they only offered so much in order to obtain first refusal on any future romance.

Mrs. Hawthorne was not alone in her bewilderment. Late in 1867, Fields was confronted by an author whose complaints epitomized the potential explosiveness of the old verbal agreements. Gail Hamilton (Mary Abigail Dodge), a likeable young author who visited frequently in the Fields and Hawthorne homes, had agreed in 1862 to receive a flat sum of fifteen cents on each volume sold in lieu of a percentage on the retail price. Fields had explained that this arrangement was being made with all his authors. Miss Hamilton was satisfied so long as her books were priced at $1.50, because she was essentially receiving a royalty of ten percent, the customary payment to an established author. When the price of her books rose to $1.75 and $2.00, however, she became alarmed. Letter followed letter, and still Fields refused to admit that she was being unfairly treated. The controversy dragged on into the spring of 1869, with harmful consequences for Fields. Even after the firm followed the recommendations of an outside arbitrator, who found no fault on either side but nevertheless suggested that the firm compensate her for the differ-
ence between her actual percentages and the all-important ten percent, Miss Hamilton refused to silence her querulous letters and chatter. The suspicions of other authors regarding payments for their works were reinforced by her vocal accusations. 6

Sophia Hawthorne was ripe for Miss Hamilton's influence. In addition to her financial troubles, Sophia's social relations with the Fieldses had cooled somewhat from the friendly intimacy of former days. Apparently, she and the children had worn out their welcome at the Charles Street residence on more than one occasion, for Annie had written a friend concerning Sophia:

I know she has felt discontented for a year or two because we no longer asked the children & herself to stay in our house for long periods but they were the most fatiguing and ungratified guests . . . I could never do anything, but was obliged to relinquish every moment while any of them were in the house to finding congenial occupation and change of occupation for them.

(quoted in TR, 344-45)

Miss Hamilton likewise had abandoned her sociable visits to the Fieldses, but she and Sophia were still fast friends. As the two women compared notes, they discovered that neither had received a satisfactory explanation from Fields regarding payment of royalties. Miss Hamilton soon prompted Sophia out of her helpless passivity, and the latter's deferential letters to Fields turned increasingly confrontational. Of course, Sophia did not abandon her feminine pose of helplessness and lack of understanding about bus-
iness matters, and she still referred to Fields as "Hearts ease," but she hinted at her suspicions and demanded her rights, nevertheless. The sensitive Annie was perhaps the most bewildered by the abrupt change in her former friend, noting:

All this toward us whom she has ever esteemed her best and truest [friends]. She forgets her husband's faith and her husband's wish and with the first wind . . . is turned aside . . . Most strange of all people that Mrs. Hawthorne should have proved disloyal.

(quoted in TR, 345)

Fields was more irritated than hurt by Mrs. Hawthorne's disaffection. He answered her letters from time to time, but he was soon out of patience. He had spent the previous winter, from November 1867 through April 1868, accompanying Dickens on a hectic tour of America and was at the point of exhaustion. His health suffered as business tensions and lack of sleep brought on blinding migraine headaches. Moreover, he could not quite overcome an arthritic condition which paralysed his wrists, making it necessary for him to dictate all correspondence (TR, 358). He was in no mood to listen to Mrs. Hawthorne's self-pitying complaints that she had been forced to dismiss her cook and her chambermaid, her girls had been forced to bake their own bread, and Julian had been too short of funds to spend the summer vacationing by the sea. Even a visit by the tax man had sent her into a swoon. 7 Her case would have been indeed pathetic except for the fact that the girls were
twenty-four and seventeen years of age and Julian twenty-two, and they contributed nothing to the household income. Even so, Mrs. Hawthorne's complaints against Fields had justification.

On August 13, 1868, her letters had become so annoying that Fields abandoned a personal reply in favor of a very legalistic one signed only "Ticknor & Fields." The letter, printed in full in Appendix B, stated simply that the firm was aware of the recipient's "considerable dissatisfaction" with the firm's accounting methods, but that they were abiding by a contract executed by "your administrator" [presumably Hillard] and the firm. Perhaps Mrs. Hawthorne would care to choose a disinterested person to examine the facts. The firm agreed to abide by whatever recommendations that person might make. Attached to the letter was a list of calculations demonstrating that the set sum of twelve cents per copy had actually proven more remunerative in royalties than the old percentage system. Presumably drawn up by a clerk, the list unwittingly demonstrates the problems the firm had in keeping accurate accounts. The clerk carelessly calculates the old copyright on *The Scarlet Letter* as "Fifteen per cent on 75c equal to 7 1/2 c per copy," instead of the correct figure of 11.25 cents per copy. Moreover, when we compare the clerk's figures to the actual Cost Books, we discover that Hawthorne's estate only received twelve cents per set for all two-volume works
after 1863, not the twelve cents per volume which the clerk records. Therefore, the clerk's totals of $1.33 on the old copyright and $1.68 on the new should read $1.33 on the old and $1.32 on the new, figures hardly convincing as justification to Mrs. Hawthorne that she had fared better under the flat rate accounting system. The discrepancy between the firm's records and the account presented to Mrs. Hawthorne may have been deliberate, or it may have resulted from the clerk's assumption that all of the author's works commanded a royalty of twelve cents per volume. Either way, Ticknor & Fields might as well have saved itself the trouble. Mrs. Hawthorne could make little sense of the figures. Rather than employ a third party for arbitration as Fields suggested, she simply turned the case over to her sister, Elizabeth Peabody, sold the Wayside, and took the family to Germany where Julian could continue his studies in engineering.

The entire matter is indeed difficult to unravel. The key to identifying the mysterious contract between the firm and the executor of the Hawthorne estate, George Hillard, must lie with Hillard himself, and here records are woefully lacking. Clearly, Hillard was caught in the middle. He had been one of Hawthorne's most loyal friends, even lending him as much as $500 on one occasion, and yet he was also loyal to his friend and publisher Fields. As one of Boston's leading lawyers, Hillard would not have
signed any contract carelessly, and yet he might have been less cautious than usual because he would have trusted Fields to deal fairly with the author's widow. We have no record of Hillard's even mentioning the contract. And Sophia claimed repeatedly that she knew nothing of any agreement to alter the royalties from her husband's books to a fixed rate. A letter to Fields by Sophia's newest champion, her sister Elizabeth, however, perhaps sheds some light on the matter. Miss Peabody claimed:

I did not know . . . that the contract for 12 cents a volume went into operation in 1864. I knew there was such a contract, which Mr. Hillard signed, and which afterwards was given up, because when Mrs. Hawthorne came to know it she objected, & it was found that Mr. Hillard had signed it under the erroneous impression that she had been consulted beforehand.

So someone besides Fields finally admitted that such a contract did exist.

Once Miss Peabody determined that the firm had papers to substantiate their side of the argument, she withdrew quietly but bitterly, choosing her words carefully: "I shall be happy to give my testimony that the business transactions between your firm and the Hawthornes, are legally righteous." There was the final dig. Fields was legally correct, but that was all. He had forced a contract on an author's widow without her consent, even without her knowledge. The argument that a fixed rate protected both author and publisher in a time of fluctuating prices was specious because prices were only fluctuating one way,
upward, and Fields knew it. In this instance, he had sacrificed his guiding principle of generosity as friend and patron of authors to the cold principles of the businessman.

Miss Peabody concluded her letter to Fields with honest straightforwardness:

"But as that 12 cents a volume contract is proved by this examination to have been a great deal worse bargain for her, than even to have received only ten per cent during those four years, when she thought she was receiving 15 per cent, I do not suppose she will ever feel that affectionate confidence in your disinterested friendship that she once had."

The words proved prophetic. Mrs. Hawthorne allowed the firm to publish her husband's French and Italian notebooks in 1872, but she took her own notebooks to Putnam in New York for publication. The friendship with Fields was over.

Fields was not about to let troubles with the widow sour his memories of the author, however. In February of 1871, he began a series of reminiscences of Hawthorne in the Atlantic which ran for four issues, and which ultimately became a chapter in his Yesterdays with Authors. He wrote of his "discovery" of The Scarlet Letter manuscript and of Hawthorne's pervasive shyness and gentleness. And, not surprisingly, he gave himself full credit for nurturing the author's genius. Mrs. Hawthorne noticed the first article and remarked bitterly to her husband's cousin, Richard Manning:

I feared, indeed I knew, that Mr Fields
would make mistakes in his account of Mr. Hawthorne, & I am not surprised to hear of these you mention. But I dread that other mistakes more important are made, for Mr. Fields was never admitted to the intimacy of Mr. Hawthorne, and is not a man with whom he could deeply sympathize at all. He has caught up some culture, but is not a truly literary person, and has no original opinions. His comical vein and a sort of good-fellow-way amused my husband, and he believed him faithful and upright. But I have heard that he has made the absurd boast that he was the sole cause of the Scarlet Letter being published!!!!. . . It was Mr. Whipple . . . who came to came to Salem with Mr. Fields, and told him what a splendid work it was -- and then Mr. Fields begged to be the Publisher of it. And then and there he promised Mr. Hawthorne that he should have fifteen percent for every book he would write.

(Feb 12, 1871, the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.)

The last sentence explains the harshness of the preceding ones. Fields had gone back on his word, a fact which completely overshadowed his personal merits and professional achievements in Mrs. Hawthorne's judgment. And yet in spite of her argument, Fields had in fact come closer to being "admitted to the intimacy" of Hawthorne than had any other man, except maybe Horatio Bridge in the Bowdoin College days, a remarkable feat given the contrasting personalities of the author and publisher. Fields had sought to bring Hawthorne into the active world of men and commerce, not to withdraw with him into the passive world of the imagination. The two had complemented each other perfectly.

Hawthorne could not have entered the business world of book-making so successfully alone. Before Fields, the author knew little other than the "buckshot" approach to publishing: send publishers and editors scattered short
pieces in hopes that at least a few pieces would find the target. No literary reputation of worth could be created or sustained with such a timid authorial approach. Even *The Scarlet Letter* would have lost its impact if it had been hidden among a collection of old legends, as Hawthorne had intended. Hawthorne needed the aggressive confidence of Fields in order to venture forth into the marketplace, staking everything on the merits of a single work. Mrs. Hawthorne could not see that if there had been no Fields, there well might have been no Hawthorne other than the respected but little-known writer of tales and sketches.

Hawthorne needed a mediator between himself as a reclusive writer and a public which treated books as commodities in the marketplace. With Fields interposed between himself and the business world, Hawthorne could concentrate on his writing and still earn the respect of a society which expected its men to do something, to earn a living through tangible goods or services. Fields's vital role had grown through the years. Initially he had simply provided the encouragement to prompt Hawthorne to bring out his first major romance, convincing him that the public would want to buy his book. But soon he was involved with the manuscript itself, suggesting an introduction which would attract notice and discussing an appropriate title with the author. Then he applied his best promotional skills to make the book a commercial success. Hawthorne had never before
had such a network of personal and professional contacts operating in his behalf.

With the success of *The Scarlet Letter*, Fields increased his control over Hawthorne's literary production, working to free the author of all distractions to his writing. He reissued previous volumes by Hawthorne with minimal demands on the author's valuable time. He controlled access to Hawthorne by other publishers and editors. And he extended a line of credit from which the author could draw at any time. With Fields "managing" him, Hawthorne enjoyed as much freedom as a professional writer could expect.

As the months passed, however, the working arrangement of author and publisher became increasingly polarized along active and passive, masculine and feminine, lines as Fields took charge of all practical affairs, leaving Hawthorne to be the "woman at home," as it were. Up to this point, Hawthorne's entire career had reflected his struggle to carve out an identity on the traditional masculine-feminine axis, and now he could not ignore the irony that his professional success had brought with it further confirmation that his was a "feminine" profession. The more his works succeeded in the marketplace, the more Fields wanted him to stay home and write. And the more he wanted to provide for his family, the more he had to rely on Fields.

The only outlet for the author's frustration was his
writing. In *The House of the Seven Gables*, Judge Pyncheon receives the full force of Hawthorne's bitter satire against a society which places its highest value on material prosperity and respectability. And Clifford and Holgrave provide a study of how both the emasculated and the serious artist fail to survive as such. The Preface to the reissued *Twice-told Tales* further belies an author who feels both defensive and misunderstood by his public. And *The Blithedale Romance* explores again the polarity between active and passive masculine roles through the characters of Hollingsworth and Coverdale, with the author heaping contempt on both extremes. Not until Hawthorne accepted the prestigious appointment at Liverpool did he abandon his defensive tone and become comfortable with his personal and professional status. He finally had a vocational identity which needed no apology, allowing him to write *Tanglewood Tales* and the three-volume *The Marble Faun* to accommodate the marketplace while making no apologies for the implied compromise of his art.

The final years of Hawthorne's life found him short of cash and again dependent on Fields's patronage as he struggled to write for extra income. His creative powers diminished rapidly, however, leaving him able to produce little more than short sketches drawn from passages in his journals. Fields did his best to provide incentives for him to produce, but Hawthorne's years of writing were over. A
terminal illness, not a lack of encouragement from his publisher and his public, halted his literary career. Because of Fields, Hawthorne died knowing that he was still one of America's most respected authors, and that any new work he should produce would find a ready market. Melville had no Fields to give him unequivocal support when he attempted serious fiction, and he died neglected. Hawthorne never abandoned his faith in his publisher.

Despite the hard bargain for royalty rates after the author's death, Fields did continue to show kindness to the family. He advanced money to Mrs. Hawthorne when she needed ready cash in the years before 1868, when she left for Germany, and he always felt a certain responsibility towards Julian. Even as late as 1879, nine years after he had retired from publishing, he worked to secure some kind of political appointment for the author's son, writing to Governor Claflin of Massachusetts: "We are all greatly interested for Julian Hawthorne, our great writer's only son. Sn. Brandeis is hoping to move in young Hawthorne's behalf while in Washington, & if you can help him it will be a delight to all of us here." Fields had not lost his reliance on the good-old-boy network for securing favors for friends. His efforts for Julian went unappreciated, however. Fields died in 1881 at the age of sixty-three. Julian, like his mother, never forgave him for "cheating" the family, and when his Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife
appeared in 1885, it made no mention of Fields, referring only to "Ticknor & Co."13

A new generation of Boston literary men noticed the work. Longfellow and Emerson were dead; Alcott, Lowell, and Holmes were too old to take an active part in defense of their beloved publisher. But at least two authors who knew both Hawthorne and Fields rose up at Julian's treatment to give Fields his due. Thomas Bailey Aldrich, now editor of the Atlantic, had worked with Fields in the years following Hawthorne's return from England, and had observed the cordial relationship between the two men. He was therefore careful to place his review copy of Julian's book in the proper hands. Thomas Wentworth Higginson had also known both author and publisher, and to him Aldrich wrote:

In your notice of Julian Hawthorne's book I hope that you will find it in your way, or be willing to give Julian a rap on the knuckles for his shabby treatment of Fields. It was he who discovered Nathaniel Hawthorne in his obscurity and despondency, and put hope into his heart. The literary history of Hawthorne that omits mention of J. T. Fields in connection with the publication of The Scarlet Letter & the later books, is no history at all.

The whole thing is a little piece of small revenge, growing out of a needless quarrel brought about years ago by the pestiferous Gail Hamilton. It seems to me that it is only justice to Fields' memory that Julian Hawthorne's offence should not be overlooked.

(Nov 24, 1884, HL)

Thomas Higginson needed no prompting to review the narrow "biography harshly. He had personally heard Mrs. Hawthorne describe Fields's restorative effect on her depression-
prone husband, and he knew that her gratitude to the publisher had evaporated partly because she had always believed her husband to be more famous than he was, and she could not accept the fact that his works always sold steadily but slowly. Julian was no different. Higginson's review of the son's book appeared in the February 1885 Atlantic, stating flatly that it is the omission of the name of James T. Fields that is especially objectionable about the biography "for the sake of what can only be a personal grievance." Higginson then summarizes beautifully what Fields meant to Hawthorne:

From his attributes both as publisher and man, Mr. Fields was practically the center of the literary society of Boston during much of Hawthorne's career. A less discerning person would not have penetrated Hawthorne's shell as he did; interposed as a medium between a shy writer and a slow public; invited him, tempted him, urged him, encouraged him, and volunteered to put the stamp of the world upon the gold of genius. All who knew the literary society of that period knew how thoroughly and habitually Fields did this. He believed ardenty in every word that Hawthorne wrote; it would be almost true if we said that no man of his time believed in it, so ardenty, since such was Fields's temperament. 

Higginson discerned a central truth. No other publisher would have been as successful at drawing this shy, unpopular writer into the world of book-making. But no other publisher would have bothered. Fields had a driving personal need to associate with true men of letters, to play a part in the transmission of literary genius into the published book. Through his patronage of authors and his
insistence on an impressive, high-quality format for volumes bearing the imprint of Ticknor & Fields, he sought the literary immortality which ordinarily belongs only to the author. More important, he also sought the company of literary men for the same reasons that he cultivated friendships among the British upper classes. Both groups constituted the best "society," the "high-brow" culture into which few mere businessmen were admitted. Fields could have patronized any of the writers catering to mass, or "low-brow," culture and thereby enhanced his business career, but he chose instead to work for writers of serious, lasting literature, and to measure his personal worth more in terms of social than monetary status.

Fields recognized in Hawthorne the perfect opportunity to be a true patron in the eighteen-century sense of the word, a role which implied upper-class status for the benefactor. And even if the "patron" did not have the personal wealth to underwrite the author's expenses, he did have the resources of a respectable publishing house, combined with the force of his own personality, to keep his author producing. Other promising writers, such as Longfellow, Holmes, and Lowell, did not need such a patron, and Thoreau would not have tolerated one. Only Hawthorne presented himself to Fields as one who could find a place among America's premier authors with Fields's help.

Hawthorne needed Fields because he did not have the
temperament or experience to cope with the pressures of the business world. He had lacked a father's guidance in his early years, a factor probably contributing to his inability to function adequately as a father-figure for his own family. The Hawthornes were destitute when Fields agreed to publish *The Scarlet Letter*, and they only lived comfortably the next few years because Fields arranged for the firm to serve as Hawthorne's banker, providing the family with the ready cash which they could not save on their own. The high-salaried position at Liverpool marked a peak in Hawthorne's business, if not literary, career and in his personal confidence as well, but even then he had not been able to manage his funds to best meet the future needs of his family. A traditional Victorian wife, Mrs. Hawthorne was never aware of how much money her husband lost through his imprudent impulses and bad loans, and thus she never seemed to question his ability to take care of the children and her. She naturally blamed someone besides her adored husband when financial problems arose years later. She felt betrayed, and Fields was the only possible target for her suspicions. Ironically, one aspect of the "gentleman's agreements" which drew her wrath—the arrangement whereby the publishing firm controlled all of Hawthorne's finances—was the only arrangement whereby Hawthorne could provide for his family at all. He never could have produced enough short works to bring in the ready cash which his family's
lifestyle demanded.

Fields was not content to be a mere financial patron, however. He "interposed himself as a medium between a shy writer and a slow public" because the role of mediator admitted him into the intimacy of Hawthorne in a way that the role of mere publisher could not. As a mediator between the public and Hawthorne, he could use his business sense to inform his author of what readers preferred, and thereby possibly influence the work of art itself. The use of his good business judgment, not his intellect, was the only way he could play a vital part in the development of a truly American literature. Hawthorne's success could be his own.

Fields never succeeded in gaining literary immortality through his connection with Hawthorne. Perhaps the fault lies with Hawthorne scholarship, but more probably the fault lies, ironically, with the very reasons for Fields's success in his own lifetime. He was always more than a patron, intermingling various roles within himself--publisher, editor, poet, businessman--and crossing boundaries between the worlds of literary society, art, and business. His interests and accomplishments were too varied for him to achieve immortality in any one area. Instead, he has been relegated to a shadowy place in the background of Hawthorne's career, where he most certainly does not belong. Hawthorne did not produce his greatest works alone, and therefore his professional literary career cannot be eval-
uated without an understanding of the co-mingling of temperaments of the two men, of the vital author-publisher relationship in which each found his own identity and yet combined with the other to bring about completed works which the public would buy. Hawthorne and Fields together helped establish the profession of authorship in America.
Footnotes for Chapter Eight


2 Ibid., 4.199, 5.81, 113.


8 Randall Stewart's articles on the subject (See Notes # 3, 4, 6 above) are mostly excerpts from letters by Sophia and her sister to Fields. The articles were written without benefit of the firm's Cost Books, which have since been deposited at Harvard University, and thus do not treat the economic facts of the case. Stewart only concludes vaguely that Mrs. Hawthorne was in a pathetic state. The case has also been discussed by Fields's biographer, Warren Tryon, who makes the unsubstantiated claim that Fields told Miss Peabody that "Hawthorne himself had agreed in 1864 that his 15 per cent should be altered to $.12 a copy" (TR, 346). We have no evidence of this communication, and the Cost Books reveal that the accounting system for the author's royalties was not changed until after his death.


10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.


13 Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, 1.359.
T. W. Higginson review of Julian Hawthorne's
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Ticknor & Fields's letter books and cost books, 1843- . By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University. Charvat and Tryon's edition only covers the cost books to 1858.


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Appendix A

Fields to Evert A. Duyckinck, New York

Mar 5, 1850

Dear Duyckinck

I send you by today's Express the Sheets as far as printed of Hawthorne's fine Romance. I prefer that you should notice it in yr. paper rather than that Smith sh'd do him in his ungenial manner. Giles was terribly vexed with him for his mention of his bk. in the last no.

Hawthorne [sic] is a splendid book. The Introduction is full of fine humor. That old Inspector is a delicious morsel & I advise yr. extract to be the description as I have marked it of that worthy. It will raise a roar of laughter thro' N. Eng'd. The Scarlet Letter itself is wonderfully well done. In my view nothing finer has appeared in this country. Do let us try and put that glorious genius where he properly belongs. He seems to me so brim full of the genius fire that we ought to force a little hearth among the coals & raise a conflagration. I knew you admire as much as I do the great ability of Hawthorne & I leave him in yr. hands to place before the public, confident of yr. justice and good will.

Very Truly
J. T. Fields

March 8, 1850

Dear Duyckinck

Hawthorne objects to the publication in advance of the Old Inspector. And also to anything from the main body of the Scarlet Letter. He thinks it will be better to take the character of General Miller than anything else. However you can do what you please with the Introduction omitting the reference to the old Gourmand as pr. his request.

Yrs tr'y
J. T. Fields

(MSS, Duyckinck Family Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations)
Appendix A

Mar 12, 1851

Dear Hawthorne,

I will send you in a day or two a dag'e. of Thompson's portrait as you request. Touching the "wood cut," on the whole I have come to the conclusion that the Editors of papers and periodicals will do us a service by their attempts at a portrait and what good words they will say to accompany their picture. I trust Madame will not be woefully shocked by their heads in wood, but I do not anticipate very elegant efforts at their engraver's hands. If Mrs. Hawthorne could see a cut of George Brown's face in the Dollar Mag'e she would feel alarmed I doubt not for her husbands safety.

And now a business word or two. To "Keep the pot a boiling" has always been the endeavor of all true Yankees from the days of the Colonies down to the present era. Will it not be a good plan for you to get ready a volume of Tales for the fall, to include those uncollected stories, The Snow Image, the piece in the mag'e. got up by Audubon's son & friend, &c &c, and to add to it any others not yet printed? And then to a Book of Stories for Children the next season would do wonderfully well. I remember hearing it said either by yr. wife or her sister that you were in the habit of telling in your own delightful manner stories on old subjects to yr. children. Write them out and a better book I dare be sworn cannot be printed. It is a good thing to follow up success in the Book way and your works are becoming day more popular and commanding extensive sales. When the House of the Seven Gables is out, say by the 25th or 30th of this month, I judge that the demand will be very great. We do not wish to publish till we can have in the store 3 or 4 Thousand copies all bound. I anticipate a great rush for the new Romance. The republication of The Twice Told Tales seems to delight everyone. Pray take my advice in the matter of the new vols. referred to on the other page and let me hear from you. It is well to begin early for the fall Publications.

With my best regards to Mrs. H in high [sic] my wife joins me,

Yrs. always,
Jas. T. Fields

P.S. A Fairy Story Bk. from you would have a great run.

(MS, Berg Collection, NYPL)
Appendix A

Aug 14, 1851

Dear Hawthorne,

Since my great loss I have written to no one. This you will understand.

Your "Wonder Book" is all I could wish. It is now in Billing's hands who is making the drawings. During my absence all things in the Publishing way stopped and now that I am back again to my desk I trust all will be well & in progress. In reply to your question if anything can be done with the English Publisher I can only say we have always failed to accomplish anything in this way. The Trade are quarrelling among themselves and will not buy the Mss. or early sheets of an American Book. We must wait for a better state of things in England.

Today I got a letter from Miss Mitford dated July 20th. She has read the House of the 7 Gables & writes of it thus. "I have read it a second time, lingering over its beauties with acalmer enjoyment. I thank you for this book again and again. The legendary past is all the better for being vague and dim and shadowy—all pervading yet never tangible, & the living people have a charm about them which is as lifelike and real as the legendary characters are ghostly and remote. Phoebe for instance is a creation which not to speak it profanely is almost Shakesperian. I know no modern heroine to compare with her unless it be Eugene Sue's Rigoletto. Hawthorne is one of the glories of your America. Is he young? I hope so for the sake of books to come.

So discourses this charming old lady away over the broad seas.

All your books are selling well. We shall put to press at once another thousand of the Gables. Do you intend to give us a new vol. of the Twice Told Tales? I hope so. I again repeat that the Wonder Bk. is a wonderful Book. The Introductory matter to the Stories cannot be better, and your closing up is "in your best manner." Ah how I wish I could go among the hills of Berkshire again with all the happiness of last year about me! But the past is past.

Very sincerely Yrs.
Jas. T. Fields

(MS, Berg Collection, NYPL)
Appendix A

Sept 30, 1851

Dear Hawthorne,

I enclose you a letter from Tauchnitz at Leipzig. It has reference to your books which I sent out some months ago. His agent in New York promised to do all the necessary arrangements touching their reprint in Germany. But the matter was not it seems properly put before Mr. Tauchnitz. I advise a letter from you at once to T. accepting his offer to reprint, but would suggest The Scarlet Letter to begin with. Leave the terms in this way. Let him pay you if they are successful just what he pays other Transatlantic authors. He is a good man & will be honest. At any rate it is much better to have them appear in Germany even if the proceeds into yr. pocket are 0.

I have good news for you. God willing when the next steamer leaves Boston Harbor on the 15th of Oct. I shall be on deck and en route for Italy where I shall remain all winter. This is sudden but I shall go to it manfully. Envy me, and believe me

Yr. Sincerely,
J.T.F.
in great haste.

(MS, Berg Collection, NYPL)
Appendix A

Smith, Elder to Ticknor & Fields

June 4, 1863

Dear Sirs,

We accept with pleasure Mr Hawthorne's offer of one month priority of his new work "Our Old Home," for One Hundred & Fifty Pounds sterling, on the understanding that we are to have the first offer of his new Romance, as you state.

By a month's priority, we beg to say that we mean that the whole of the sheets of "Our Old Home" should be in our hands thirty days before the work is published in the States, and we conclude that you will strictly observe this condition.

We beg you will present our respectful acknowledgements to Mr Hawthorne and believe us to remain,

Dear Sirs
Yours faithfully
Smith Elder Co.

P.S. You will oblige us by stating when we may expect to receive the sheets, & by not fixing the date of publication until you hear of our having received the work complete.

(MS, the Houghton Mifflin Contract Files, Burlington, Mass.)
Appendix B

BUDGET FOR FAMILY OF FIVE FOR ONE WEEK

Barrel of flour, $5.00, will last eight weeks $ 0.625
Sugar, 4 lbs. at 8 cents a pound 0.32
Butter, 2 lbs. at 31.5 cents [sic] a pound 0.625
Milk, 2 cents a day 0.14
Butcher's meat, 2 lbs. beef a day at 10 cents a lb 1.40
Potatoes, 1/2 bushel 0.50
Coffee and tea 0.25
Candle light 0.14
Fuel, 3 tons of coal per annum, $15.00; charcoal chips, matches, etc., $5.00 per annum 0.40
Salt, pepper, vinegar, starch, soap, soda, yeast, cheese, eggs 0.40
Household articles, wear and tear 0.25
Rent 3.00
Bed Clothes 0.20
Clothing 2.00
Newspapers 0.12

Total $10.37

Appendix B


[Note: "Expected royalties" indicates the royalties which Hawthorne would have received under the original agreement awarding 15% for the romances and 10% for all other works, with the exception of the 12% paid for Our Old Home. The difference between actual and expected royalties is the amount Hawthorne's estate actually lost by the firm's shift in accounting practice.]

1860

The Blithedale Romance, 15% of 75 cents (11.25 cents) for 280 copies = $31.50.

The House of the Seven Gables, 15% of $1.00 (15 cents) for 500 copies = $75.00.

The Marble Faun, 2 vols., 15% of $1.50 (22.5 cents) for 14,200 sets = $3,195.

Mosses from an Old Manse, 2 vols., 10% of $1.50 (15 cents) for 280 sets = $42.00.

The Scarlet Letter, 15% of 75 cents for 1,000 copies = $112.50.

True Stories, 10% of 75 cents (7.5 cents) for 500 copies = $37.50.

Twice-Told Tales, 2 vols., 10% of $1.50 (15 cents) for 560 copies = $84.00.

Total American royalties for 1860 = $3,577.50.

1861

The House of the Seven Gables, 15% of $1.00 (15 cents) for 280 copies = $42.00.
The Snow-Image, 10% of 75 cents (7.5 cents) for 280 copies = $22.00.

Tanglewood Tales, 10% of 88 cents (8.75 cents) for 280 copies = $24.50.

Total American royalties for 1861 = $88.50.

1862

The Blithedale Romance, 15% of 75 cents (11.25 cents) for 280 copies = $31.50.

Mosses from an Old Manse, 2 vols., 15 cents on $2.00 (7.5%) for 280 sets = $42.00.

Our Old Home, 15 cents on $1.25 (12%) for 5,500 copies = $825.00.

The Scarlet Letter, 15% of 75 cents (11.25 cents) for 500 copies = $56.25.

Total American royalties for 1862 = $954.75. [Expected royalties = $968.75, or a $14.00 difference]

1863

The Blithedale Romance, 11.25 cents on $1.00 (11.25%) for 280 copies = $31.50.

The House of the Seven Gables, 15 cents on $1.25 (12%) for 280 copies = $42.00.

The Scarlet Letter, 15 cents on $1.25 (12%) for 500 copies = $75.00.

The Snow-Image, 7.5 cents on $1.00 (7.5%) for 280 copies = $21.00.

Tanglewood Tales, 8.75 cents on 90 cents (9.7%) for 350 copies = $30.63.

True Stories, 7.5 cents on 90 cents (8.3%) for 500 copies = $37.50.

Twice-Told Tales, 2 vols., 15 cents on $2.00 (7.5%) for 280 sets = $42.00.

A Wonder Book, 7.5 cents on 90 cents (8.3%) for 500 copies = $37.50.
Total American royalties for 1863 = $317.13. [Expected royalties = $393.75, or a $76.62 difference]

1864

The Blithedale Romance, 11.25 cents on $1.50 (7.5%) for 280 copies = $31.50.

The House of the Seven Gables, 15 cents on $1.50 (10%) for 780 copies = $117.00.

The Marble Faun, 2 vols., 22.5 cents on $3.00 (7.5%) for 560 sets = $126.00.

Mosses from an Old Manse, 2 vols., 15 cents on $2.50 (6%) for 280 sets = $42.00; 15 cents on $3.00 (5%) for 280 sets = $42.00.

Mosses from an Old Manse, one-vol. ed., 25 cents on $3.00 (8.3%) for 500 copies = $125.00.

Our Old Home, 15 cents on $1.25 (12%) for 1,000 copies = $150.00.

The Scarlet Letter, 11.25 cents on $1.50 (7.5%) for 1,000 copies = $112.50.

The Snow-Image, 7.5 cents on $1.50 (5%) for 280 copies = $21.00.

Tanglewood Tales, 8.75 cents on $1.25 (7%) for 500 copies = $43.75.

Twice-Told Tales, 2 vols., 15 cents on $2.50 (6%) for 280 sets = $42.00; 24 cents on $3.00 (8%) for 375 sets = $90.00.

Twice-Told Tales, new one-vol. edition, 20 cents on $3.00 (6.7%) for 1,350 copies = $270.00.

The Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne, 14 vols., 12 cents on $1.50 per volume (8%) for 7,000 volumes (500 editions) = $840.00.

Total American royalties for 1864 = $2,052.75. [Excluding the collected Works, total American royalties = $1212.75. Expected royalties = $1861.50, or a $648.75 difference.]
1865

The Blithedale Romance, 12.5 cents on $1.50 (8.3%) for 500 copies = $62.50.

The House of the Seven Gables, 12.5 cents on $1.50 (8.3%) for 500 copies = $68.75 [sic].

The Marble Faun, new one-vol. ed., 25 cents on $3.00 (8.3%) for 500 copies = $125.00.

Our Old Home, 15 cents on $1.50 (10%) for 280 copies = $42.00.

The Scarlet Letter, 12 cents on $1.50 (8%) for 500 copies = $60.00.

The Snow-Image, 12.5 cents on $1.50 (8.3%) for 500 copies = $62.50.

Tanglewood Tales, 12 cents on $1.25 (9.6%) for 650 copies = $78.00.

True Stories, 12 cents on $1.25 (9.6%) for 500 copies = $60.00.

Twice-Told Tales, 2 vols., 15 cents on $2.50 (6%) for 280 sets = $42.00.

Twice-Told Tales, special 2-vol. ed., 12 cents on $1.50 (8%) for 280 sets = $33.60.

Twice-Told Tales, one-vol. ed., 24 cents on $2.75 (8.7%) for 1200 copies = $288.00.

A Wonder Book, 12.5 cents on $1.25 (10%) for 500 copies = $62.50.

Total American royalties for 1865 = $984.85. [Expected royalties = $1252.75, or a $267.90 difference.]

1866

The Blithedale Romance, 12 cents on $1.50 (8%) for 300 copies = $36.00.

The House of the Seven Gables, 12 cents on $1.50 (8%) for 900 copies = $108.00.

The Marble Faun, 2 vols., 12 cents on $3.00 (4%) for 500 sets = $60.00.
Mosses from an Old Manse, 2 vol., 12 cents on $2.00 (6%) for 300 sets = $36.00.

Our Old Home, 12 cents on $1.50 (8%) for 825 copies = $99.00.

The Scarlet Letter, 12 cents on $1.50 (8%) for 820 copies = $98.40.

Tanglewood Tales, 12 cents on $1.50 (8%) for 280 copies = $33.60.

True Stories, 12 cents on $1.25 (9.6%) for 500 copies = $60.00.

Twice-Told Tales, 2 vols., 12 cents on $3.00 (4%) for 800 sets = 96.00.

A Wonder Book, 12 cents on $1.50 (8%) for 560 copies = $67.20.

Total American royalties for 1866 = $694.20. [Expected royalties = $1291.75, or a $597.55 difference.]
Appendix B

To Mrs. Hawthorne [dictated]
Boston, 13th Aug't 1868

Dear Madam:

We are advised by Mr. Hillard, that you have expressed to him considerable dissatisfaction with our method of accounting to him for the copyright on your husband's works.

So far as we are advised, we are led to believe that you are under the impression that we have for some time wrongly and purposely withheld from you a certain percentage of the copyright we should have paid you on the said works.

We can reply to such an accusation, that we are quite willing to enter into a consideration of the justice as to fairness of the relations that exist between us; and we think it will be found that there has been no attempt on our part to deprive you of any just right.

The relations between us are simply these: By virtue of a contract duly executed by your administrator on the one side, and ourselves on the other, we hold the exclusive right to the publication of Mr. Hawthorne's works during the time of copyright therein. We can truly say, that in our possession of the right to the publication of Mr. Hawthorne's works, it is far from our desire to deprive his family in the slightest degree of any revenue to which they may be entitled to receive therefrom.

Indeed our feelings towards them prompt us to very different conduct; and we would err if err at all on the side of kindness and consideration rather than on the side of injustice.

Permit us then to offer this suggestion for your consideration: that you choose some person, who is disinterested — say Judge Noar, or Dr. Holmes, or both, and have them examine facts into all matters between us. We will agree in case you consent to this reference to submit on our part all matters into their hands, and to accept their decision and abide by their recommendations whatever they may be.

Awaiting your reply
We remain
Yours ever truly
Ticknor & Fields

(MSS, the Pierpont Morgan Library)
[Attached to Ticknor & Fields' letter to Mrs. Hawthorne of August 13, 1868. Both MSS in the Pierpont Morgan Library]:

One of the conditions of this contract is that we shall pay as copyright on the said works the sum of (12) twelve cents per volume on each copy of the said works which we shall sell.

This stipulation we have faithfully performed, and our right to the future publication of the said works is therefore incontestable.

With reference of the sale of copyright as expressed in the contract we can say, that at the time it was agreed upon, it was a fair one for both parties. Certain it is that it made the aggregate copyright on the works considerably larger than it had hitherto been; and the change from a percentage copyright to a specific one, was made because the fluctuations in the prices of books made such a change necessary.

A comparison of the old sales of copyright with the present one, shows these results:

On the Scarlet Letter the old copyrt was:
  Fifteen per cent on 75c equal to 7 1/2c [sic] per copy.
  The present copyrt is 12c per copy.

Twice Told Tale 2 vols
  The old copyrt was ten per cent or 15c per copy.
  The present copyrt is 24c per copy.

Mosses--2 vols.
  The old copyrt was ten per cent or 15c per copy.
  The present copyrt is 24c per copy.

Marble Faun [2 vols]
  The old copyrt was fifteen per cent or 22 1/2c per copy.
  Present copyrt is 24c per copy.

Snow Image
  The old copyrt was ten per cent or 7 1/2c per copy.
  Present copyrt is 12c per copy.

Wonder Book
  The old copyrt was ten per cent or 7 1/2c per copy.
  Present copyrt is 12c per copy.
True Stories
The old copyrt was ten per cent or 7 1/2 c per copy.
Present copyrt is 12c per copy.

Tanglewood Tales
The old copyrt was ten per cent or 8 3/4c per copy.
Present is 12c.

Blithedale Romance
The old copyrt was fifteen per cent or 11 1/4c per copy.
Present copyrt 12c.

Seven Gables
The old copyrt was fifteen per cent or 15c per copy.
Present copyrt 12c.

Our Old Home
The old copyrt was fifteen percent or 15c per copy.
Present copyrt 12c.

On the 14 volumes the old copyrt amounted to 1.33c.
Present copyrt amounts to 1.68c.

This exhibit shows that the change from a percentage copyrt
to a specific one was not made for the purpose of evading
any portion of it.