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Hawthorne and Brook Farm

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HAWTHORNE AND BROOK FARM

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by

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THIS THESIS, presented by BESSIE BERNICE OSBORN as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS at the University of North Dakota, is hereby approved by the Committee under which she carried on her work.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to gather together scattered information and ideas concerning Hawthorne's brief stay at Brook Farm, his attitude toward the experiment, and his part in it. In order to do this it has been necessary to make a study of the enterprise and some of its members and visitors. A study of the American Note Books was also necessary, because it was there that Hawthorne recorded the accounts of his life at Brook Farm and his reactions to it. Then too, a study of his novel The Blithedale Romance in connection with the above studies revealed some very interesting facts.

The material comes from many varied sources. Among them are biographies of Hawthorne, Margaret Fuller, and others; books and articles on Brook Farm; histories of American literature; and two books mentioned specifically above, Hawthorne's American Note-Books and The Blithedale Romance.

CHAPTER I

BROOK FARM

The Brook Farm Association, which was an outgrowth of the transcendental movement, was started by George Ripley. Late in 1840 he, a Unitarian minister, resigned his charge in Boston and urged the members of the Transcendental Club to make some practical application of their new views and philosophy of life. His project did not at first receive much support from the members of the club; in fact, Hawthorne and Dwight were the only ones who followed him. The place selected for the experiment was a milk farm on which the Ripleys had boarded earlier in the summer of 1840. It was located in West Roxbury.

It was Mr. Ripley's purpose to establish a community the chief aim of which was "a society of liberal, intelligent, and cultivated persons whose relationships with each other would permit a more wholesome and simple life than can be led amidst the pressure of our competitive institutions." [1] Here he proposed to bring about a more natural union between intellectual and manual labor. Ripley wrote in a letter to Emerson: "To accomplish these objects we propose to take a small tract of land which, under skilful husbandry, uniting the garden and the farm, will be adequate to the subsistence of the families; and to connect with this a school or college, in which the most

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1. Swift, Lindsay. Brook Farm, 16.

complete instruction shall be given, from the first rudiments to the highest culture."[2] Ripley proposed to raise the necessary funds for the foundation and operation of such a community as he had outlined by forming a joint-stock company among those who were friendly to the enterprise. Ten thousand of the total thirty thousand dollars required could, he believed, be raised among those who were to lend their personal cooperation, and the rest would be given by those who could take part in lending money. The shares were placed at $500.00 each with five per cent interest.

Ripley decided in the winter of 1840 to buy Brook Farm, thus making himself responsible for the management and success of the venture. About the first of April, 1841, he, his wife, and some fifteen others moved on to the farm. It was not, however, until in September that the "Brook Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education" was organized. The signers of the original agreement were George Ripley, his wife, Miss Marianne Ripley, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Mrs. Minot Pratt, George P. Bradford, Warren Burton, Minot Pratt, Charles Dana, Samuel D. Robbins, his wife, David Mack, George C. Leach, and Lemuel Capen. Twenty-four shares of stock were taken and one third of the amount was actually paid. These shares were distributed as follows: George Ripley held 3, amounting to $1500; Minot Pratt, 3; William B. Allen, 3; Charles Dana, 3; Marianne Ripley,3; Sophia Ripley, 2; N. Hawthorne, 2; Maria Pratt, 2; Sarah Stearns, 2; and Charles

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2. Ibid., 16.

Whitmore, 1. At the same time the following officers were elected; General direction, Ripley, Pratt, and Allen; Direction of finance, Hawthorne, Dana, and Allen; Direction of Agriculture, Allen, Pratt, and Ripley; Direction of Education, Sophia W. Ripley, Dana, and Marianne Ripley; Recording Secretary, Dana; Treasurer, Pratt. [3] The motive and aim of most of the members and particularly of the more sober ones was to work out for themselves a life better suited to their own personal tastes and feelings than any which might be evolved in more complicated surroundings, and which was for this reason judged to fulfill more nearly the demands of humanity.

Most of these persons were of what are called the cultured class. They were, as a whole, unused to manual labor and particularly farm labor. They knew very little of the best methods of agriculture of the time. Their condition might be likened to that of travelers in an unknown country. New prospects were constantly developing. However, most of the writers on the subject of Brook Farm are agreed that the eventual failure of the enterprise was not due to lack of knowledge and skill on the part of the farmers, but to the lack of capital.

Brook Farm Association is known mainly not for what it accomplished nor because it was a group working for a better life but because of some persons who were members or visitors there. Hawthorne and Emerson are perhaps the best known of these. The former was a resident there about a year and the

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3. Swift, Lindsay, Brook Farm, 18.

latter was a frequent visitor. Margaret Fuller was another outstanding visitor as were A. Bronson Alcott and Charles Lane. Emerson and Margaret Fuller were not in sympathy with the theory, but they were interested in the progress of the community as an experiment. Alcott and Lane were in sympathy with the theory, but they considered that the experimenters were merely playing.

There were many others, but my intention is to discuss only those who played an important part in the life of Hawthorne while he was there or afterward. Emerson was also asked to join the community at Brook Farm, but he believed that reform was an individual matter and that group endeavors along that line would not amount to much. He was too much of an individualist to surrender his own rights and perogatives. He entered these words in his journal concerning Brook Farm. "I do not wish to remove from my present prison to a prison a little larger. I wish to break all prisons. I have not yet conquered my own house. It irks and repents me. Shall I raise the siege of this hen-coop and march baffled away to a pretended siege of Babylon? It seems to me that so to do were to dodge the problem I am set to solve, and to hide my impotency in the thick of the crowd. I can see too, afar that I should not find myself more than now,-- no, not so much in that select, but not by me selected, fraternity."[4] He refused to join the enterprise but he did not sneer at it.

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4. Journals , 473-474.

"Like Emerson, Thoreau was urged to join Brook Farm. He refused to try the experiment." [5] He considered that Brook Farm was merely another attempt to make the world over; he wasn't in the world to make it a good place to live; but to live in it, whether it was good or bad.

Strange as it may seem, for their characters and ideals were as far apart as the poles, Margaret Fuller had her place in the life and writings of Hawthorne. It will be necessary to give a few details of her training and personality, in order to understand what will come later.

At an extremely early age she was taught to read. Her father did not believe in letting her intellect take a natural course of development; instead, he forced it almost beyond all human reason. When she was at the age when most of the children of today are just starting school she was reading the classics, and not only that but Horace and Ovid in the original. Every evening before she could go to bed, she was required to recite her lessons to her father. There was very little love in the early life of Margaret. Her mother was too busy running the household and taking care of children. Very soon the mother was worn out and Margaret had to take over the duties of the house and the teaching of the younger children. Mr. Fuller was quite an autocrat in his own domain.

At an early age Margaret remarked upon the fact there were

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5. Blankenship, Russel, American Literature, 306-307.

many things which men and boys did which women and girls could not. She could not understand why. She decided that when she grew up she would do as she pleased. I believe, on the contrary, that she, even then, was not allowed to do as she wished. It is true that she wished to become an outstanding woman, and that she commplished it; but it was not by doing as she pleased, but by overcoming her handicaps. Her training was not the only stone in her path; she was handicapped by her physical appearance. She was not attractive. In her youth, before she learned to make her personality her most outstanding trait, it might be said that she was repulsive to most people. Of course a good deal of that repulsiveness was due to her training. She was not interested in the ideas or amusements of the other young people of her day. Her chief occupation was to read and study the classics. She loved them. Her clothes were never suitable. Finally the wife of one of the professors at Harvard took her in hand and tried to help Margaret make the most of her good qualities. She had the full cooperation of Margaret herself, and the two of them were able to accomplish much along the lines of clothes, conversation, and mannerisms. It took a great deal of effort on the part of Margeret to develop her sparkling personality. She soon became known up and down the country as the outstanding woman of her time. Her father had taught her not to be afraid to express her opinions and to be able to back them up.

She championed the cause of womanhood and stuck to it. In this, she was far ahead of her time. It wasn't until over fifty

years after her death that the first steps toward equality of the sexes were taken. Some of her contemporaries did not think that she was feminine. Her wide reading and contacts with great people developed in her characteristics which were far above the petty distinctions between feminity and masculinity. Her interests were world wide and not centered in just a few of her more intimate friends. She was interested in the trends of the world and not in just the workings of her own particular household.

The burden of being, after her father's death, the mainstay of her family was one which she had to carry for a long time, Most of her nervous energy was spent in consideration of others. At first it was the younger children and her mother, then it was the young Jew whom she thought she loved, then it was the liberal cause in Italy, and then it was her husband and child; which absorbed her.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt in her introduction to Margaret Bell's biography says of Margaret Fuller, "She happened to live in New England but her nature was not stamped with the mark of any locality. It had the warmth of the South and the breadth of the whole world." [6] And again, "back of it (her writing) we still sense the enthusiasm for greatness of mind and soul; the humility which was prepared to sit at the feet of any great men or women; the self-sacrifice which gave always in every way

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6. Margaret Fuller, 13.

possible." [7] Then, "It was a day when women were of little account in the intellectual field. There were few women of note in this country in the world of letters and she stands out as teacher and writer." [8] Mrs. Roosevelt gives the following as the one quality which stands out in Margaret Fuller; "the belief and trust that human beings were marching on through wider sympathy and tolerance and understanding to a higher and finer destiny." [9]

Lindsay Swift in his discussion of her says, "If her youthful aim had been more self-culture, the refining process of years had converted it into self-forgetfulness; if her early sphere of interests had been contracted, it had grown to embrace all human service. Strong, yet without health, her capacity for work was always astonishing; with an inborn live of ease and luxury, her acceptance of almost uninterrupted poverty was cheerful and sometimes greatful;-" [10]

Later I shall discuss in connection with his work, Blithedale Romance, Hawthorne and Margaret Fuller and his reaction to her.

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7. Ibid., 14.
8. Ibid., 14.
9. Margaret Fuller, 14.
10. Brook Farm, 216-217.

CHAPTER II

HAWTHORNE AND BROOK FARM

It seems odd that "the least gregarious of men should have been drawn into a socialistic community";[1] but, although he was not urged on by any great transcendental ferver, he was willing as an unoccupied young man to lend a hand in a reasonable scheme for helping people to live together on better terms than were common. Not only for this reason was he interested in the plan, but also for some very personal reasons. George Parsons Lathrop says, "Hawthorne had two objects in joining the community; one of which was to accure a suitable and economical home after marriage; the other, to hit upon a mode of life which should equalize the sum of his exertions between body and brain." [2] George P. Bradford, a fellow laborer and friend, said that he believed that Hawthorne was attracted to the enterprise by the hope of finding some more satisfactory opportunity of living according to his tastes and views and also of uniting successfully manual with intellectual work. [3]

The Peabody's book shop in Boston was a center of transcendentalism and the preliminary meetings of the new association were held there; and Hawthorne may have become acquainted with

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1. James, Henry Jr. Hawthorne, 78-79.
2. "Biographical Sketch", Tales, Sketches, and Other Papers, Nathaniel Hawthorne, 487.
3. "Reminiscences of Brook Farm", Century, Vol. 23, 143.

the movement there. He had been interested previously in the community idea, in the case of the Shakers, and he had twice written tales with motives suggested by the life in such communities. But the radical ideas would not have interested him so much if it had not happened to fulfill his own private needs.

Woodberry is of the opinion that,"No man was less of a reformer than Hawthorne; he was constitutionally plegmatic about society, a party man in politics, and an ironical critic of all 'comeouters' as these people were then popularly named; and in this instance, which is the only apparently freakish action in his life, he was certainly swayed by what he supposed to be his own interest. He was merely prospecting for a home in which to settle. In this new community hopes were held out that there would be cottages for the families, and the whole business of supporting a family was to be simplified and made easier by the joint arrangement of the community in an economical sense." [4] Woodberry also mentions the union of manual and intellectual labor.

Bradford believes that Hawthorne was disappointed in this latter reason, therefore he gave up the manual labor after the first summer. "He was shy and silent, and he was apparently self-absorbed, but doubtless carefully observing and finding material for his writings." [5]

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4. Nathaniel Hawthorne, 105-106.

5. "Reminiscenses of Brook Farm," Century, Vol. 23, 143.

Hawthorne arrived at the farm in an April snow-storm. The first mention of Brook Farm in his Note-Books is the line, "Here I am in a polar paradise! " He wondered whether it was to be a good or evil omen, but he had faith in it. It appears that his main job was to help take care of the cows. He says, "I intend to convert myself into a milkmaid this evening." "I have milked a cow!! " He also mentions foddering the cattle." [6] At first Hawthorne was filled with enthusiasm and worked very hard. He thought that by working six hours a day, he might earn the rest of the time to write; but his six hours soon became sixteen. He was so enthusiastic the first day that he worked the hay chopper so hard that it broke. Dr. Ripley declared that Hawthorne worked like a dragon. [7]

In a letter to his sister dated May 3 he said, "At the first glimpse of fair weather, Mr. Ripley summoned us into the cow-yard, and introduced me to an instrument with four prongs, commonly entitled a dung-fork. With this tool I have already assisted to load twenty or thirty carts of manure, and shall take part in loading nearly three hundred more. Besides, I have planted potatoes and pease, cut straw and hay for the cattle, and done various other mighty works. This very morning I milked three cows, and I milk two or three every night and morning. The weather has been so unfavorable that we have

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6. American Note-Books, 227, 228, and 229.

7. Lathrop, George P. "Biographical Sketch", Tales, Sketches, and Other Papers. Nathaniel Hawthorne, 488.

worked comparatively little in the fields; but, nevertheless, I have gained strength wonderfully, - grown quite a giant, in fact, - and can do a day's work without the slightest inconvenience. In short I am transformed into a complete farmer." [8] The manure spoken of here was taken from a pile which he refers to in many of his letters as his "gold mine."

Soon after his arrival he stated in a letter to Sophia that he liked "his brethern in affliction very well." [9] He also soon noticed the beauty of the place. He says, "I have not yet been twenty yards from our house and barn; but I begin to perceive that this is a beautiful place." [10] Later in the fall after he became merely a boarder his letters are full of descriptions of the woods and the surrounding country. He described the changing colors until finally the predominant color was a seered brown. Evidently he liked Nature best in the fall, because he says, "There is no season when such pleasant and sunny spots may be lighted on, and produce so pleasant effect on the feelings, as now in October. The sunshine is peculiarly genial; and in sheltered places, as on the side of a bank, or of a barn or house, one becomes acquainted with the sunshine. It seems to be a kindly and homely nature. And the green grass, strewn with a few withered leaves, looks the more green and beautiful for them. In summer or spring, Nature is farther from ones sympathies." [11] He had his own par-

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8. Hawthorne, Julian, Hawthorne and His Wife, 227.
9. Hawthorne, Nathaniel, American Note-Books, 227.
10. American Note-Books, 229.
11. Ibid, 256.

ticular haunts which he visited and where he communed with nature and himself. One of his favorite walks was along the Needham road, and another was through a wood of pines and along the edges of the marshy land toward Cow Island. Cow Island was not an island, but a piece of high ground surrounded by marsh and the Charles River. Another of his haunts was a tree in which a grape vine had so entwined itself that it made a bower.

He used to sit in the old-fashioned hall, hour after hour holding a book before him; but he seldom turned the leaves, because he was listening to the chatter and fun of the young people. He entered into the labor of the farm, but he seldom entered the conversations. James remarks, "Some of his companions, either then or afterwards, took, I believe, rather a gruesome view of want of his articulate enthusiasm, and accused him of coming to the place as a sort of intellectual vampire, for purely psychological purposes. He sat in a corner, they declared, and watched the inmates when they were off their guard, analysing their character, and dissecting the amiable ardour, the magnanimous illusions, which he was too cold blooded to share." [12] This attitude was childish. If Hawthorne was there without really being a part of it, it was fortunate for posterity because Brook Farm would, otherwise, have been forgotten long ago. Miss Sedgwick, in her article, remarks upon the fact that Hawthorne did more observing than reading when he was sitting in the hall.

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12. Hawthorne, 84-85.

She tells a story or two about him which I think it might be interesting to note here. One evening, when Hawthorne, reading as usual, was alone in the hall, she and another girl were going up the stairs. It was suggested by one of them that they throw sofa pillows at him. They reached over the banister and each took a cushion and threw it. Hawthorne immediately seized a broom and warded off the cushions and then threw them back at the girls. As fast as the girls could throw them at him the pillows came back with more effect, hitting the girls every time, while they could only hit his broom. Not a word was spoken during the battle. His eyes shone and twinkled like stars. It would seem from this that he could enter into the fun when he wanted to do so. She says further, "My memories of Hawthorne are among the pleasantest of my Brook Farm recollections. His manners to children were charming and kind. I saw him one day walking, as was his custom, with his hands behind his back, head bent forward, the two little Bancrofts and other children following him with pleased faces and stooping every now and then with broad smiles, after which they would rise and run on again behind him. Puzzled at these manoeuvres, I watched closely, and found that although he hardly moved a muscle except to walk, yet from time to time he dropped a penny, for which the children scrambled." [13]

Here and there in the Notes one notices a faint hint that

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13. "A Girl of Sixteen at Brook Farm," Atlantic, Vol. 85, 397.

he was getting tired of the arrangement; but it is not until in August that he says anything tangible, "And, joyful thought! in a little more than a fortnight I shall be free from my bondage, --free to enjoy Nature, --free to think and feel!" [14] And again, "Oh, labor is the curse of the world, and nobody can meddle with it without becoming proportionally brutified. Dost thou think it a praiseworthy matter, that I have spent five golden months providing food for cows and horses? Dearest it is not so. Thank God, my soul is not utterly buried under a dung-heap. I shall retain it, somewhat delighted, to be sure, but not utterly unsusceptible of purification." [15]

On the 22nd of August he wrote, "But I am becoming more and more convinced that we must not lean upon this community. Whatever is to be done must be done by my own undivided strength. I shall not remain here through the winter, unless with an absolute certainty that there will be a house ready for us in the spring." [16]

On the 3rd of September he wrote from Salem, "But really I should judge it to be twenty years since I left Brook Farm; and I take this to be one proof that my life there was an unnatural and unsuitable, and therefore an unreal, one. It already looks like a dream behind me. The real me was never an associate of the community; there has been a spectral appearance

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14. American Note-Books, 235.

15. "Review of Love Letters of Hawthorne," Nation, Vol. 85, 160.

16. American Note-Books, 237.

there, sounding the horn at daybreak, and milking the cows, and hoeing the potatoes, and raking hay, toiling in the sun, and doing me the honor to assume my name." [17]

Evidently he found nothing better in Salem or Boston, or perhaps there was hope of them getting a cottage built; because, however it was, we find him writing from Brook Farm the 22ned of September," Here I am again, slowly adapting myself to the life of this queer community, whence I seem to have been absent half a lifetime, - so utterly have I grown apart from the spirit and manner of the place." [18] A little farther on in the letter we find a brighter prospect, "I have a friendlier disposition towards the farm, now that I am no longer obliged to toil in its stubborn furrows." [19] A few days later he wrote that he simply could not and would not spend the winter there. [20] Near the end of September he was elected to two offices in the association; trustee of the estate, and chairman of the committee of finance. [21] But this in no way decided whether he whould remain or not.

Hawthorne's farewell to the place is given in the words of Miles Coverdale in The Blithedale Romance." No sagacious man will long retain his sagacity if he live exclusively among reformers and progressive people, without periodically returning

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17. Ibid., 237.

18. Ibid., 240-241.

19. American Note-Books, 241.

20. Ibid., 242.

to the settled system of things, to correct himself by a new observation from that old standpoint." [22]

Hawthorne wrote a very interesting word picture of a New England village fair to which he journeyed with William Allen to sell a calf and buy some pigs to take the place of those which he had tended all summer. [23] Later on he wrote a eulogy on those pigs just before they were killed. [24] Perhaps it was of his sentiments concerning these that Miss Sedgwick told when she wrote, "When, in the following winter, the Brook Farmers, as a delicate attention, sent a spareribto Mrs. G. S. Hilliard, with whom he was then staying in Boston, thinking to please him, he raised his hands in horror, and exclaimed, 'I should as soon think of a sculptor's eating a piece of one of his own statues!'" [25]

It was in a letter written on the 28th of September that he described a picnic party in the woods. [26] He showed in that letter that the farmers could not only work but could also play with a vengeance. It might be said concerning Brook Farm that it was all one big picnic, but that assumption would be unfounded.

The last letters from the farm do not make any mention of what he intended to do. The last reference in his Notes is dated

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22. Works, Vol. 4, 167.
23. American Note-Books, 247-251.
24. Ibid., 253-255.
25. "A Girl of Sixteen at Brook Farm," Atlantic, Vol. 85, 396.
26. American Note-Books, 251-253.

October 27, 1841 and reads, "Fringed gentians, --- I found the last, probably, that will be seen this year, growing on the margin of the brook."[27]

In summing up Hawthorne's attitude toward Brook Farm, we find that it was a changing attitude in so far as he and his own needs were concerned. In the first place he was not a Transcendentalist, and he was not interested in the experiment because of the theories which were back of it. Parrington says, "cool, detached, rationalistic, curiously inquisitive, he looked out upon the ferment of the times, the clash of rival philosophies and rival interests, only to bring them into his study and turn upon them the light of his critical analysis. Radical in his intellectual processes, he could never become greatly interested in specific radicalisms. He is often thought of as a Transcendentalist, and his association with the Peabodys and his venture into Brook Farm might seem to lend color to such an interpretation. Yet nothing in his intellectual sympathies marks him as of the school."[28] The plunge into the Brook Farm Utopianism proved that the waters were colder and less hospitable than he hoped. Morris says, "Society in the abstract concerned him very little. His was not the temperament of a reformer and he had no interest and but small sympathy with reform in any sphere. In so far as he possessed any philosophy, he was in agreement

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27. Ibid., 272.

28. The Romantic Revolution in America, 1800-1860, 442-443.

with some of the beliefs commonly held by the transcendentalists, but the temper of his mind was skeptical and habitually he reached his conclusions by observing life rather than by absorbing doctrine. Neither his temperament nor his opinions predisposed him to active participation in a regenerative experiment conducted by a group of radical theorists." [29] Blankenship gives Parrington's ideas in this manner, "Although he was a member of Brook Farm and nominally a romantic idealist, he had no belief in human perfectibility, that he mistrusted man's instincts, and that he was barred from participation in transcendentalism by his lack of mysticism." [30]

There is no doubt, but that Hawthorne joined the association for practical reasons. And it is also very plain that he was disappointed in these expectations. Blankenship says that the experience was distasteful to him and that ever after he was skeptical about theories of social betterment. [31] George Curtis wrote in the Easy Chair that Hawthorne showed no marked affection for Brook Farm." [32] Hawthorne, himself, referred to his stay there as the one romantic episode in his life, but that was years later. It is clear that at first he enjoyed the experience. He wrote to his sister, "such a delectable way of life has never been seen on earth since the days of the early Christians." [33]

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29. The Rebellious Puritan, 121.

30. American Literature, 373-375.

31. Ibid., 374.

32. Swift, Lindsay. Brook Farm, 170-171.

33. Hawthorne, Julian. Hawthorne and His Wife, 228.

He entered into the experiment with the spirit that a small boy might have in taking his first dose of sugar-coated pills. It was all right until the sugar was gone, then it was quite bitter. When he discovered that there was small chance of it fulfilling his own practical needs, he was ready to try something else. He said himself that the only thing left for him to do there was to "observe, think, and feel, and content myself with catching glimpses of things which may be wrought out hereafter." 34

It is with what was wrought out later that I shall concern myself in the next chapter.

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34. American Note-Books, 241.

CHAPTER III

TREATMENT OF BROOK FARM IN THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE

Obviously Brook Farm provided the setting for Hawthorne's Blithedale Romance, although many of his biographers, even his son and his son-in-law, claim that the experiment had only slight connection with the novel. In this novel Hawthorne shows himself to be more of a realist than would be guessed from some of his other works. Swift says, "Having clearly in mind certain incidents and experiences at Brook Farm, some of which amused and irritated him, he did not avoid the impulse to tell these happenings pretty nearly as he found them, until, unsubstantial as the characters may or may not, be, the daily life and doings, the scenery, the surroundings, and even trivial details are presented with a well-nigh faultless accuracy." [1] Blithedale Romance was written in the early part of 1852, while Hawthorne lived at West Newton. An entry in the Notebooks on the 20th of April, 1852, says, "Wrote the last page of The Blithedale Romance." [2] Again on May 1st, "Wrote Preface, Afterwards modified and conclusion and lengthened it to 201 pages. First proof-sheets May 14." [3] West Newton was only a few miles

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1. Brook Farm, 172.
2. American Note-Books, 409.
3. Ibid., 409.

from Roxbury; and even though Ripley's experiment had long since passed out of existance, the scene of the Utopia was still there. Undoubtedly Hawthorne visited the place in order to refresh his memory. But Morris says, "For Nathaniel this proximity to the scene of his story was convenient but not essential; his notebooks covering the period of his sojourn at Brook Farm yielded a mass of precise, minute observations; his memory, reviving these impressions with greater enjoyment than he had anticipated, served him admirably." [4]

Hawthorne in a letter to a friend said, "When I write another romance, --- I shall give some of my experiences and observations at Brook Farm." [5] In the preface of the novel, which he wrote after he had finished the story and, perhaps, after some comments had been made upon the resemblance, he wrote, "The author does not wish to deny that he had this community in mind, and that he has occassionally availed himself of his actual reminiscenses, in the hope of giving a more lifelike tint to the fancy-sketch in the following pages. He begs it to be understood, however, that he has considered the institution itself as not less fairly the subject of fictitious handling than the imaginary personages whom he has introduced

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4. Rebellious Puritan, 253.

5. Ibid., 252.

there." [6] And, "In short his present concern with the socialist community is 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." [7] Again, "These characters, he feels it right to say, are entirely fictitious. It would, indeed (considering how few amiable qualities he distributes among his imaginary progeny), be a most grievous wrong to his former excellent associates, were the author to allow to be supposed that he had been sketching any of their likenesses. Had he attempted it, they would at least have recognized the touches of a friendly pencil. But he has done nothing of the kind. The self-concentrated Philanthropist; the high-spirited Woman, bruising herself against the narrow limitations of her sex; the weakly Maiden, whose tremulous nerves endow her with sibylline attributes; the Minor Poet, beginning life with strenuous asperations, which die out with his youthful fervor;- all these might have been looked for at Brook Farm, but, by some accident never made their appearance there." [8]

There are certain features of the setting of the novel

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6. Blithedale Romance, iii.

7. Ibid., iii.

8. Blithedale Romance, V.

which coincide with corresponding features at Brook Farm. Coverdale's "hermitage" is an elaboration of Hawthorne's haunts, the bower formed by the grape vine entwined in the pine tree. They both climb into the tree in search of seclusion and both eat grapes from the vines.[9] Eliot's Pulpit was a huge boulder which recieved its name from the tradition that John Eliot had preached there to the Indians.[10] Coverdale's longing for the building of the cottages reminds one of Hawthorne's search for a home for himself and Sophie.[11] More important are some of the author's own experiences at Brook Farm, which Hawthorne took from his Note-Books. Coverdale's arrival at the farm in an April snow-storm corresponds to Hawthorne's arrival.[12] Coverdale too, was sick after his arrival. Each one uses that for an excuse for not working even after he is well.[13] Silas Foster's saying that some one would have to go to the fair at Brighton to buy pigs corresponds to the buying of the pigs by Allen at the same fair mentioned in the Note-Books.[14] Then too, Hawthorne's eulogy on the hogs was copied almost verbatim into the novel.[15] The account of the picnics, tableaux, readings from Shakespeare,

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9. American Note-Books, 247. Compare Blithedale Romance, 120-121.
10. Ibid., 232. Compare Blithedale Romance, 141.
11. Ibid., 227. Compare Blithedale Romance, 156.
12. American Note-Books, 226. Compare Blithedale Romance, 14-15.
13. Ibid., 231. Compare Blithedale Romance, 49.
14. Ibid., 247-251. Compare Blithedale Romance, 27.
15. Ibid., 253-255. Compare Blithedale Romance, 170-171.

were taken from his memories of Brook Farm. An account of a picnic in the woods in honor of a little boy at Brook Farm recorded in the Note-Books was rewritten as the masquerade in the woods in the novel.[16] Coverdale's description of his surroundings in the hotel in Boston, too, was taken from his Note-Books.[17]

Swift says, "Whoever chances to know the topography and history of Brook Farm, must of necessity follow the 'Blithedale Romance' from the opening transcript of the author's arrival in the April storm, through real scenes and real events corresponding only too faithfully with the mise-en-scene and movement of the Brook Farm Association." [18] There can be no doubt that Brook Farm furnished the setting for the novel. Turner, whom I am following in the detailed check of incidents, says, "Clearly The Blithedale Romance was first planned with the Brook Farm community as a basis." [19]

Since Blithedale Romance was written in the first person, Coverdale is the spokesman of the author, and his thoughts and opinions correspond to those of the author, and in addition,

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16. Ibid., 251-253. Compare Blithedale Romance, 244-247.
17. Ibid., 204. Compare Blithedale Romance, 175-176.
18. Brook Farm, 172.
19. Autobiography in The Blithedale Romance, 41.

his experiences are very similar to those of Hawthorne. Turner says, "To begin with, Coverdale and Hawthorne obviously occupied similar positions in the world. Both were bachelors somewhat advanced in age, and both spent some time in a socialistic community, making occasional visits to the city. Both were men of letters. Likewise Coverdale's relation to the world is identical with what Hawthorne recognized as his own, and frequently attributed to himself." [20] Coverdale is a recluse and a spectator and is regarded as an intruder even as Hawthorne was. He was always analizing the souls around him. Coverdale had the same attitude toward Blithedale that Hawthorne had toward Brook Farm, except that Hawthorne puts doubts and misgivings into the mind of Coverdale at the beginning. Coverdale, like Hawthorne, chopped hay; worked in the "gold mine"; milked cows; and, like Hawthorne, was unable to accomplish anything along the literary line. Coverdale like Hawthorne disapproved of any attempt at reform and philanthropy. Again Coverdale agrees with Hawthorne in the matter of women's rights and also in the matter of women entering the fields of oratory and literature. Among many other little things in which they agree are their love of seclusion and their disapproval of spiritualists and mesmerists.[21]

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20. Ibid., 42.

21. Turner, Arlin. "Autobiography in The Blithedale Romance," 42-46.

I am inclined to believe with Woodberry that "his Hawthorne's own attitude is sketched frankly in Miles Coverdale."[22] Even though Hawthorne said the characters were imaginary, it must be agreed that Hawthorne is self-portrayed in the person and attitude of Miles Coverdale.

When Hawthorne learned that some of his contemporaries who knew Margaret Fuller were identifying her with Zenobia he made haste to declare that no characters in the book had a prototype. Nevertheless down through the years the idea has persisted. He mentioned a letter, which Coverdale had recieved from Miss Fuller, and the fact that Priscilla resembled her, probably in the hope of diverting the readers attention from the likeness between Zenobia and Miss Fuller. Turner says that the passing reference to Miss Fuller serves only to convince anyone that he really had her in mind when he created Zenobia.[23] Leisy agrees that Zenobia represents Margaret Fuller, whose forwardness offended Hawthorne's latent Puritanism."[24] Margaret Fuller, among those interested in reform, was probably the only one with whom Hawthorne had contact. She was never officially associated with Brook Farm, mainly because she detested the farm; but she was a visitor there and her name was connected with the venture. That alone would give one the idea that Hawthorne had

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22. Nathaniel Hawthorne, 228.

23. "Autobiography in The Blithedale Romance,"48.

24. American Literature, 98-99.

her in mind. Turner points out a much closer resemblance, "A striking parallel between Zenobia and Miss Fuller lies in their backgrounds. Each was precocious as a child, and each suffered from being brought up by a man; both were driven by unsatisfactory early lives to devote themselves to futile attempts to improve the position of women. The two resemble each other, furthermore, in their natures. Miss Fuller was famous for her personality, as well as for her oratorical and conversational powers; and Hawthorne's account of Zenobia gives her the same traits. The closest parallel, however, between Zenobia and her apparent prototype lies in their purpose and work. Like Margaret Fuller, Zenobia had written stories and tracts 'in defense of her sex' and had made lectures on the stage, and she was determined to continue advocating women's rights."[25] Of course there were some differences. For instance, Zenobia was beautiful and healthy, whereas Miss Fuller was practically an invalid and was rather masculine. Naturally if Hawthorne did not want his readers to connect the two, he would not portray them too closely. Then too, the heroine of his book had to be beautiful and healthy. Again quoting Turner, "It seems impossible, then, to escape the conclusion that Margaret Fuller suggested to Hawthorne a good many of the traits in Zenobia's character."[26]

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25. "Autobiography in The Blithedale Romance," 49.

26. Ibid., 50.

Hawthorne disapproved of Miss Fuller's championing of women's rights, and they certainly were not on intimate terms. In November, 1840, he says,"I was invited to dine at Mr. Bancroft's yesterday, with Miss Margaret Fuller; but Providence had given me some business to do, for which I was very thankful."[27] Blankenship states that, "In Zenobia the novelist has given a spiteful picture of Margaret Fuller, --"[28] But Emerson says, "Hawthorne drew some sketches, not happily, as I think; I should rather say, quite unworthy of his genius. No friend who knows Margaret Fuller could recognize her rich and brilliant genius under the dismal mask which the public fancied was meant for in that disagreeable story."[29] I think that if Emerson had seen an estimate of her and an account of her life in Italy which Hawthorne wrote from Rome, he perhaps, would have believed with some others that Hawthorne's impressions of her were tinged with his own prejudices. In the following quotation he gives his informant's ideas, but they must have been his own too. "She was a great humbug, --- of course, with much talent and much moral reality, or else she could never have been so great a humbug." He goes on, "She had stuck herself full of borrowed qualities, which she chose to provide herself with, but which

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27. American Note-Books, 225.

28. American Literature, 376-377.

29. "Historic Notes of Life and Letters in Massachusetts," 541.

had no root in her." "It was such an awful joke, that she should have resolved --- in all sincerity, no doubt --- to make herself the greatest, wisest, best woman of the age. And to that end she set to work on her strong, heavy, unpliable, and in many respects, defective and evil nature, and adorned it with a mosaic of admirable qualities, such as she chose to possess; putting here a splendid talent and there a moral excellence, and polishing each separate piece, and the whole together, till it seemed to shine afar and dazzle all who saw it." "But she was not working over an inanimate substance, like marble or clay; there was something within her that she could not possibly come at, to re-create or refine it; and, by and by, this rude old potency bestirred itself, and undid all her labor in the twinkling of an eye."[30]

"The incident introduced into The Blithedale Romance which is commonly considered as giving the result of Hawthorne's life and observation at Brook Farm, -- the drowning of one of his characters -- with its ghastly features, did not really occur here, but in another place at some distance, and really had no connection."[31] Of course, the incident which Bradford here recalls is the suicidal drowning of Zenobia. On the first anniversary of his marriage Hawthorne helped hunt for the body

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30. Hawthorne, Julian, Hawthorne and His Wife, 260,261.

31. "Reminisences of Brook Farm," Century, Vol. 23, 142.

of a young girl who lived near Concord and who had become despondent and had thrown herself into the river. The account of the tragedy which he recorded in his journal furnished material for the tragic end of the story. The two accounts are practically the same.[32] Some of Hawthorne's contemporaries considered this incident of the story prophetic of the way in which Margaret Fuller met her death.[33]

Carl Van Doren speaks of Priscilla as being, "closely studied from the little seamstress at Brook Farm."[34] "The two women have had the same background, - that is, Priscilla has the same background which Hawthorne learned or surmised the seamstress at Roxbury had had. Each has been a seamstress in the city, and shows clearly the effects of her confining work. Both are exceedingly slight of stature and are on the 'outer limit of girlhood.' Despite a diminutive physique and fair skin, each little seamstress is extremely vivacious; bounds and dances instead of walking, laughs continually, and runs races with the boys, and cheers those about her by her gaity and playful spirit. Both are liked by all their associates, even though neither can do her part of the work."[35] On account of the likeness in the

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32. Hawthorne, Julian, Hawthorne and His Wife, 296-303, Compare Blithedale Romance, 266-276.

33. Turner, Arlin, "Autobiography in The Blithedale Romance," 48.

34. American Novel, 98-100.

35. Turner, Arlin, "Autobiography in The Blithedale Romance," 46, 47.

wording of the accounts of two incidents concerning Priscilla, as they were written in a letter, and as they appear in the story. Turner is convinced that Hawthorne wrote the latter with the former before him. The incidents are, her ride on the back of one of the oxen, and her climb up on to a load of hay and consequent upset of the load.[36]

It might be interesting and profitable to note here Turner's idea as to a possible source for the characterizations of Zenobia and Priscilla. It is Madame de Staël's Corinne. "In each novel the older sister is vivacious and beautiful and is talented, most of all in extemporaneous speaking and in dramatizations of scenes from Shakespeare's plays; whereas the younger sisters in each is a frail and retiring creature. Mystery surrounds the past lives of each pair of sisters, and the sister relation is not revealed until late in each story. Each older sister meets death, moreover, as a result of grief over losing her lover to her sister."[37]

Hollingsworth does not have any one prototype. His character seems to include traits taken from various philanthropists of Hawthorne's day. Turner has chosen three main ones: William B. Pike, Orestes Augustus Brownson, and George Ripley.[38] A reviewer of Blithedale Romance suggested Dana or Channing.[39] Swift con-

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36. Ibid., 47.

37. "Hawthorne's Literary Borrowings," 560.

38. "Autobiography in The Blithedale Romance" 50.

39. "Blithedale Romance," Living Age, Vol. 34, 332.

siders Minot Pratt to be the original of Silas Foster.[40] But when Priscilla is scolded for climbing on the load of hay, Foster takes the part of William Allen, for in Hawthorne's letter it was Allen who threatened to "rivet two horse shoes around her neck."[41] Foster is William Orange when he stands looking on at the masquerade,[42] and when Foster helps recover the body of Zenobia he corresponds to the unidentified man who helped recover the body of Martha Hunt at Concord.[43]

Blithedale Romance "simply borrowed from Brook Farm some suggestions of character and a few touches of local color, but was neither intended nor received as an account of the Association. The artist did as painters do, - used the material in his possession, and produced his effects by such combinations as suited his purpose. His work reflects upon Brook Farm neither credit nor discredit."[44] Hawthorne would not have had a much better picture of Brook Farm, the life there, and some of its residents had he photographed it instead of painting it.

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40. Brook Farm, 175.

41. American Note-Books, 260. Compare Blithedale Romance, 89.

42. Ibid., 252-253. Compare Blithedale Romance, 245.

43. Hawthorne, Julian, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, 297.

44. Frothingham, O. B. George Ripley, 153-154.

CONCLUSIONS

This study shows that, although he was a member of Brook Farm Association, Hawthorne was not in sympathy with the theory of the enterprise. He was in search of a home where he could take Sophia Peabody. He hoped that there would be a cottage built for them at the farm. Perhaps if he had stayed longer, the cottage would have been built eventually; but he got impatient and could not wait. Another attraction was the thought that at the farm he could earn a living and still have time and energy to spend in literary efforts. He was disappointed in this, too, so all in all, his entrance into the venture was not very fruitful. Perhaps the only fruits were a few friendships and the experiences which were later incorporated into The Blithedale Romance.

The study of The Blithedale Romance reveals that Hawthorne must have had the farm in mind because it certainly furnishes the setting of the novel. Miles Coverdale is a very thin disguise for the author. He has the same attitudes and experiences that Hawthorne had while there. Parts of Hawthorne's letters and journals are transcribed into the story. Hawthorne must have had Margaret Fuller in mind when he created Zenobia. At least he considered her typical of her class and he made Zenobia true to type. Priscilla is undoubtedly the little seamstress of Brook Farm as recorded in his Note-Books. The rest of the

characters do not lend themselves so readily to this kind of study, because they are made up of traits taken from several people.

Hawthorne stated in the Preface to The Blithedale Romance that he wished someone would write a history of the Brook Farm community.[1] He did not realize that in his romance he had written the best possible history of the community.

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1. Blithedale Romance, v.

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