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Nathaniel Hawthorne's Transnational Revision of America and Civil Wars: *The American Claimant Manuscripts* Reconsidered

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INTRODUCTION

Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–64), appointed US consul in Liverpool by President Franklin Pierce, arrived in England with his family in July 1853.¹ During the four years in office that his campaign biography of his college friend—*The Life of Franklin Pierce* (1852)—had brought him, the transatlantically celebrated author of *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) began planning a new romance about an American claimant to an English estate. He wrote three manuscripts between April 1858 and the fall of 1861—a period that encompasses the Hawthornes' travels in Italy, France, and Britain, as well as their return to America in June 1860. However, Hawthorne ultimately left them unpublished. These manuscripts, titled “The Ancestral Footstep,” “Etherege,” and “Grimshawe” by the editors of *The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, were compiled as *The American Claimant Manuscripts* (1977).²

Hawthorne's later works, written after the late 1850s, were long neglected as failures of the aging author. Charles Swann's *Nathaniel Hawthorne: Tradition and Revolution* (1991) was exceptional in considering them significant achievements.³ In the 2009 special issue of the *Nathaniel*

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Hawthorne Review, “The Later Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne,” Magnus Ullén and David Greven called for overdue reevaluations of late Hawthorne. Nevertheless, *The American Claimant Manuscripts* have received little critical attention. Objecting to Edward H. Davidson’s pioneering study *Hawthorne’s Last Phase* (1949), Ullén and Greven asserted that it “failed to differentiate properly the American Claimant materials . . . from the much more nearly finished Septimius romance.”⁴ As this remark suggests, their focus was on salvaging Hawthorne’s later manuscripts that deal with a youth of mixed English and Native American ancestry who seeks the elixir of life: “Septimius Felton” and “Septimius Norton.” Indeed, the issue included three articles on the Septimius romance, whereas James Hewitson’s “A System ‘Too Bare and Meagre for Human Nature to Love’: America in *The American Claimant Manuscripts*” was the only article in the issue to examine the earlier manuscripts. As Robert Milder asserts in *Hawthorne’s Habitations: A Literary Life* (2013), “Hawthorne’s English years are the best-documented and least-addressed phase of his career.” However, praising Hawthorne’s late realism, Milder regards his English sketch *Our Old Home* (1863) as a “quiet masterpiece” but disapproves of his unpublished romances.⁵

To be sure, “The Ancestral Footstep,” “Etherege,” and “Grimshawe” all exhibit a certain level of incompleteness. Each of the three contains Hawthorne’s working notes and asides. Particularly in “Etherege,” the author repeatedly expresses difficulty with his plot and characterization, which at one point culminates in the following ejaculation: “Oh, Heavens! I have not the least notion how to get on. I never was in such a sad predicament before.”⁶ Yet, the American Claimant romance is undoubtedly one of Hawthorne’s major engagements in his later years, given that he grappled with it for more than five years. To elucidate what he tackled is essential not only for a reevaluation of these manuscripts but also for a better understanding of Hawthorne as a writer and of his career.

In this article, I aim to demonstrate that throughout *The American Claimant Manuscripts*, Hawthorne wrestles with the question of what America is in an increasingly transnational context. As Swann and Hewitson point out, Hawthorne developed a critical view of his native country while writing these manuscripts in the period preceding and after the beginning of the American Civil War.⁷ However, he did not simply explore the meaning of America in its relation to England. It is necessary to pay closer attention to the order and places of his writing, which requires consideration of the three manuscripts together with *The Marble Faun* (1860), an Italian romance

that Hawthorne published after he suspended writing “The Ancestral Footstep.”⁸ For my analysis of *The American Claimant Manuscripts* here, I refer to David Armitage’s *Civil Wars: A History in Ideas* (2017). Explaining the objective of his study, Armitage states, “They [historians]—I should say, *we*—have tended to study particular conflicts: the English Civil Wars, the American Civil War, the Spanish Civil War. We have rarely treated civil war as a serial phenomenon, across time and around the world.” Thus, he delineates “what has been at stake, and what still remains at issue, in civil wars over the past two thousand years.”⁹ Hawthorne, having read some of the texts that Armitage deals with, exhibits a certain idea that the present-day historian illustrates. I argue that Hawthorne’s transnational experiences, along with his familiarity with world history, gradually enabled him to see America in the context of the transnational history of civil wars. His revision of America from such a perspective caused him to face the nation—and ultimately himself—and radically transformed his romance from the one he had initially conceived.

1. HAWTHORNE’S ENGLISH YEARS AND THE HISTORY OF BLOODSHED

Hawthorne wrote “The Ancestral Footstep” in Rome in a journal-like format between April 1 and May 19, 1858.¹⁰ The first entry contains a passage, “the battlefields of the Roses, or of the Parliament.”¹¹ Although these civil wars—the Wars of the Roses (1455–85) and the English Civil Wars (1642–51)—are mentioned only in this passage in “The Ancestral Footstep,” they subsequently appear in “Etherege” and “Grimshawe” in different ways and with varying significance. To understand what occupied Hawthorne’s mind throughout his writing of the *American Claimant* romance, it is first necessary to provide an overview of Hawthorne’s English years.

Shortly after Hawthorne settled in Liverpool and assumed the consulship in August 1853, he began researching from which part of England William Hathorne—his ancestor who had emigrated to New England and settled in Salem—had originated.¹² Hawthorne added the “w” to his family name sometime after his 1825 college graduation. On October 9, 1854, he wrote in his notebook:

My ancestor left England in 1630. I return in 1853. I sometimes feel as if I myself had been absent these two hundred and eighteen years [*sic*]*—*leaving England just emerging from the feudal system, and

finding it on the verge of Republicanism. It brings the two far separated points of time very closely together, to view the matter thus.¹³

In the absence of success with his research, Hawthorne's yearning for a connection turned into a near identification with his ancestor.

Hawthorne's "transatlantic fancies of England" were not readily satisfied, because he was occupied with his consular job in "the greatest commercial city of the world."¹⁴ He worked at the consulate six days a week, rarely taking holidays for the first two years. According to Bill Ellis, "Liverpool at the time was the main portal of trade to the United States, and the consul's responsibilities included dealing with all the commercial and diplomatic ambiguities that arose in Anglo-American trade."¹⁵ Additionally, there were ceaseless visitors, among whom were countless (and, in many cases, questionable) Americans who sought the consul's support for their claims to English property. By late 1854, Hawthorne had come to regard such claimants as "another instance of the American fancy for connecting themselves with English property and lineage."¹⁶

Meanwhile, as consul, Hawthorne came across a group of people who reflected the context of the time: sailors of various races who had been brutally treated on board.¹⁷ Shipmasters and captains often escaped punishment because of the complex and ineffective legal system. The violent death of Daniel Smith—a South Carolinian farmer deceived into serving as a sailor—particularly shocked Hawthorne.¹⁸ "This was a hard fate, certainly," he wrote in his notebook on May 15, 1855, "and a strange thing to happen in the United States, at this day—that a free citizen should be absolutely kidnapped, carried to a foreign country, treated with savage cruelty during the voyage, and left to die on his arrival."¹⁹ Within ten days, Hawthorne not only reported the matter to William Marcy, Secretary of State, but also wrote to Charles Sumner, his longtime friend, to ask for help: "These shipping-masters should be annihilated at once;—no slave-drivers are so wicked as they, and there is nothing in slavery so bad as the system with which they are connected."²⁰

Hawthorne's comparison of the system of merchant ships to slavery reminds us that Sumner was a reformer, abolitionist, and senator from Massachusetts, who staunchly opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Hawthorne might have used this comparison to stir Sumner into action, although it did not motivate the senator, who was busily dealing with slavery itself. At the same time, it illuminates that Hawthorne saw the inhumanity of violence in both systems. Ellis considers that Hawthorne

nonetheless “suppressed” his descriptions of shipboard cruelties when he compiled his notebook entries into *Our Old Home*.²¹ In any case, “Bleeding Kansas,” caused by the passage of the act in May 1854, symbolized the increasingly divided and bloody nation on the eve of the American Civil War.

About a month after the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Hawthorne wrote to the publisher William Ticknor: “I find it impossible to read American newspapers (of whatever political party) without being ashamed of my country.”²² In December, he told Horatio Bridge, his college friend: “our country has not a very inviting aspect from this side of the water—so convulsed with party-spirit as it is. . . . From this distance, it looks to me as if there were an actual fissure between the North and South, which may widen and deepen into a gulf, anon.” He continued, “If it were not for my children, I *never would* come back.”²³ Britain, however, was carrying on the Crimean War. In October 1854, after the news of the fall of Sevastopol—Russia’s naval port that was besieged by Anglo-French forces—turned out to be wrong, Hawthorne saw British people as “somewhat grim” and could not help feeling that “it is impossible for a true American to be otherwise than glad.”²⁴ Later in the month, he confided in the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: “I am not particularly patriotic, myself;—indeed, I never considered myself at all so, at home; but, here, among our ill-wishers and maligners, my heart warms a little.”²⁵ In November 1855, Hawthorne feared a possible war between the two nations due to the tension caused by Britain’s Foreign Enlistment Act and ensuing recruitment in the United States.²⁶ Under these circumstances, Hawthorne’s “divided feelings for England and America” intensified.²⁷

Considered against this background, Hawthorne’s trips in September and October 1855 reveal some curious moments. On September 10, he visited the Tower of London and viewed the relics of past kings, noblemen, and prisoners, including the gilded armor of Charles I; the golden staff of Edward the Confessor, the last Anglo-Saxon king defeated in the Norman Conquest (1066); and the Bloody Tower, where “the supposed bones of the little princes”—Edward V and his brother Richard, commonly believed to have been assassinated by Richard III (1483)—were discovered. Later, in the Temple Garden, recollecting the famous scene in the first part of *Henry VI*, Hawthorne reflected: “This is the spot in which, according to Shakespeare, the Plantaganets [*sic*] and the Lancastrians plucked their pale and bloody roses.” Still later in the day, Hawthorne heard that Sevastopol had been taken.²⁸ On October 1, at the chapel of the Chelsea Hospital, he saw “the

dusty and tattered banners” of the countries against which Britain had fought wars: France, the Netherlands, India, Prussia, America, and China. He then told a Chelsea pensioner that “some Russian banners might soon hang from the walls.”²⁹ Visiting Worcester about a week later, Hawthorne observed the statues of Charles I and Charles II, along with some remains of the Battle of Worcester (1651), the final battle in the English Civil Wars. In his notebook, he specifically mentions that it was “the night of rejoicing for the taking of Sebastopol.”³⁰ Clearly, Hawthorne saw a long history of bloodshed, capped by the recent battle in the Crimean War.

Hawthorne’s allusions to *Henry VI* and *Richard III* are unsurprising. In his boyhood, he loved reading English literature, and Shakespeare was among his favorites. Sixteen-year-old Hawthorne, expressing his wish to become a writer, hoped that his future works would be praised “as equal to proudest productions of the scribbling sons of John Bull.”³¹ He was also an avid student of history. In his twenties, Hawthorne checked out an astonishing number of books from the Salem Athenaeum, including the Earl of Clarendon’s *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* (1702–4) and Algernon Sidney’s *Discourses Concerning Government* (1698).³²

However, Hawthorne’s references to the Wars of the Roses and the English Civil Wars, as well as his view of English history as a continuous series of bloody conflicts, must be understood in a broader context. According to Armitage, some of the most influential works in early modern Europe, including Shakespeare’s plays and Sidney’s work, were inspired by Roman narratives of civil war.³³ One such narrative is “the republican story”: “sympathetic to the supposedly selfless civic values of the Roman republic, it portrayed the endless repetition of civil wars as springing from the very roots of Rome itself”—that is, Rome’s founding myth of Romulus’s murder of his brother Remus.³⁴ “In fact,” Armitage asserts, “fratricide would become the central metaphor of the unnatural dissension at the heart of civil war.”³⁵ In the mid-nineteenth century, as the world was becoming transnationally connected, “any distinctions between civil war and foreign war had begun to collapse.” To use the words from *Les Misérables* (1862) that Armitage quotes, “every war” had become “war between brothers.”³⁶

Against this background, Hawthorne conceived the first idea for his romance in April 1855. At a party, Hawthorne learned of the legend of a bloody footprint left in Smithills Hall, a medieval manor house in Bolton. The legend goes that “a certain martyr, in Bloody Mary’s time,” being examined before the master of the house, “stamped his foot in earnest protest against the injustice with which he was treated”; blood from his foot

left “a long footmark printed in blood” and remained there for centuries.³⁷ A week later, Hawthorne wrote in his notebook:

In my Romance, the original emigrant to America may have carried away with him a family-secret, whereby it was in his power (had he so chosen) to have brought about the ruin of the family. This secret he transmits to his American progeny, by whom it is inherited throughout all the intervening generations. At last, the hero of the Romance comes to England, and finds that, by means of this secret, he still has it in his power to procure the downfal [*sic*] of the family.³⁸

This was the nucleus of the romance that Hawthorne would revise throughout “The Ancestral Footstep,” “Etherege,” and “Grimshawe.” While moving his residence from Britain to Italy, back to Britain, and then to America again, he would struggle to figure out the relations between England and America, those between ancestors and descendants, and their connections to the history of bloodshed that his image of the Bloody Footstep symbolized.

2. AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, ENGLISH ARISTOCRACY, AND ROMAN FRATRICIDE

As mentioned above, Hawthorne did not start to write “The Ancestral Footstep” until April 1858. Having handed over his consul duties to his successor, he left for Italy via France with his family in January. Before that, he put his English notebooks in the charge of his English friend Henry Bright. Hawthorne most likely wrote the first manuscript with the intention of revising it later with his notebooks in hand.

To trace the transformation of the American Claimant romance, it is essential to look at Hawthorne’s initial plans in his memoranda and abstract. His memoranda, the early parts of which were written in England, reveal that Hawthorne intended the “English and American ideas to be brought strikingly into contrast and contact,” focusing on the “feelings of the Democrat and Aristocrat.” He also sketches his protagonist as a “lawyer” and “politician,” who “might too have been a soldier in the Mexican War.” This personage, who strongly recalls Pierce, is characterized as “a self-made man.”³⁹ In “an abstract of the plot of this story” inserted early in “The Ancestral Footstep,” the protagonist—a nineteenth-century American—goes to England in search of his hereditary mansion. His ancestor emigrated from

England to America more than two hundred years previously, leaving behind a legacy and a legend. Significantly, the legend had lost “some of its connecting links”; however, “it referred to a murder, to the expulsion of a brother from a hereditary house, in some strange way, and to a Bloody Footstep which he had left impressed into the threshold, as he turned about to make a last remonstrance.” Ultimately, the protagonist turns out to be “the rightful heir to the title and estate,” but he “rejects both, feeling that it is better to take a virgin soil, than to try to make the old name grow in a soil that had been darkened with so much blood and misfortune as this.” This family story is supposed to have “an ending unexpected by everybody, and not satisfactory to the natural yearnings of novel-readers.”⁴⁰

On the basis of these plans, Hawthorne fleshes out his characters and plot. The protagonist, Middleton, is a former congressman, but discouraged with his political ambition, he has come to England to search for his hereditary mansion on account of a family legend he heard in his boyhood. His search brings him into contact with other major characters: Eldredge, the current owner of the mansion; the Master of Eldredge Hospital, who tells Middleton the history of the Eldredges; Hammond (also called Rothermel or Wentworth), an old American pensioner at the hospital; and Alice, Hammond’s daughter, who was brought up by her relative in America and has been in England for two years.

Hawthorne modifies the legend of the Bloody Footstep to suit his purpose.⁴¹ In “The Ancestral Footstep,” the setting of the legend is shifted from “Bloody Mary’s time” (1553–58) to the beginning of the British colonies in America: the original Middleton “emigrated to New England with the Pilgrims; or . . . to Virginia with Raleigh’s colonists” (1620/1585). Furthermore, the footstep was produced not by a martyr’s protest but by a brother’s expulsion due to “bitter hostility between two brothers” out of the family’s three sons.⁴² This hostility stemmed from a love triangle: the eldest son was engaged to a woman who was mutually in love with the second son. When the second son disappeared, he was thought to have been killed by the eldest son; in reality, it was the second son who hurt his elder brother and left the Bloody Footstep. The second son fled to America with his beloved and changed his name. Instead of the eldest son, who later died unmarried and childless, the third son became the family heir. The father of the three sons founded the Eldredge Hospital in atonement for the “dissension and bloodshed between the sons.”⁴³ Eldredge, the current owner of the mansion, is a descendant of the third son, whereas Middleton is descended from the second son and therefore “the rightful heir” to the estate. In “The Ancestral

Footstep,” the above-mentioned civil wars—the Wars of the Roses and the English Civil Wars—are implicitly connected to the soil of England, where the Bloody Footstep remains.

As the abstract describes, Middleton ultimately rejects the “soil that had been darkened with so much blood and misfortune.” He returns to America, but not by himself. Alice, with her “free spirit,” helps him: “It shall be partly due to her high counsel that Middleton forgoes his claim to the estate, and prefers the life of an American, with its lofty possibilities for himself and his race, to the position of an Englishman of property and title.” Alice, too, “shall choose the condition and prospects of woman in America, to the emptiness of the life of a woman of rank in England.”⁴⁴ Thus, Middleton and Alice become “the Adam and Eve of a new epoch,” returning to “a virgin soil.”⁴⁵

In “The Ancestral Footstep,” however, Hawthorne finds particular difficulty in his characterization of Eldredge. That Middleton is the rightful heir to the mansion turns Eldredge into its unlawful occupant; therefore, the latter, an Englishman, attempts to remove the former, an American. However, Hawthorne also believes in “English moral sense and simple honor,” which prevents him from making the Englishman thoroughly evil.⁴⁶ In the latter part of the manuscript, he suddenly furnishes Eldredge with Italian traits: “Mr. Eldredge, as a Catholic . . . had resided long on the Continent; long in Italy; and had come back with habits that little accorded with those of the gentry of the neighborhood; so that, in fact, he was almost as much a stranger, and perhaps quite as little of a real Englishman, as Middleton himself.”⁴⁷ Hawthorne seems to have made this change not only on account of the cultural differences between Anglo-America and Italy—especially their religious differences, as mentioned in the passage—but also to evoke Rome’s connection with fratricide. However, the change has a significant impact on the story’s overall design: it transforms Hawthorne’s initial idea of the romance presenting a contrast between American democracy and English aristocracy into something very different, which I demonstrate in my subsequent sections.

After Hawthorne had written the final entry in “The Ancestral Footstep,” he next engaged himself with *The Marble Faun*. While writing “The Ancestral Footstep” between April and May 1858, Hawthorne viewed such artworks as the Faun of Praxiteles and “the bronze she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus” in the Capitol and conceived the first idea of his Italian romance.⁴⁸ This overlap in the time of their composition and conception, as well as their correspondence in terms of subject matter,

enables these two works to be regarded as twin texts. In *The Marble Faun*, the role of “the Adam and Eve of a new epoch,” who reject the blood-soaked soil, is assumed by Kenyon and Hilda, American artists in Rome. However, it is dubious in the Italian romance whether the America to which they are returning is “a virgin soil.”

At the beginning of *The Marble Faun*, Hawthorne introduces its Roman setting as follows: “Far off, the view is shut in by the Alban mountains, looking just the same, amid all this decay and change, as when Romulus gazed thitherward over his half-finished wall.”⁴⁹ Here, Rome’s mythical founder is depicted without any mention of his killing of Remus. Led by this implicit fratricide, the romance tells another fratricidal story: Donatello’s murder of the Model, a.k.a. “Brother Antonio.” The passage near the end of the romance—“the Republic was again crumbling into ruin”—refers to not only Rome’s repeated civil wars and the ongoing wars of 1859–60 in the course of Risorgimento but also the America that had by then become deeply divided.⁵⁰

3. A DISUNITED STORY OF “DIS UNITED STATES” IN THE TRANSNATIONAL CONTEXT

The Hawthornes moved from Rome to London in May 1859, just after war broke out in northern Italy. While staying in England, the author published *The Marble Faun*. Preparing for the publication, he wrote to Ticknor: “I have another Romance ready to be written, as soon as this one is off the stocks.”⁵¹ When he returned home to Concord, Massachusetts, with his family in June 1860, however, things did not turn out as he expected.

Hawthorne tackled the second and third manuscripts of the American Claimant romance—“Etherege” and “Grimshawe”—between the latter half of 1860 and the fall of 1861. Into “Etherege” he inserts a revealing aside: “President Buchanan of dis United States.”⁵² Indeed, Hawthorne and his romance were going through the disunited state of the nation: South Carolina’s secession from the Union, Abraham Lincoln’s inauguration, the Confederate bombing of Fort Sumter, the First Battle of Bull Run, and the crushed hopes of a swift close to the war.⁵³ This war assumed transnational significance. “The U.S. Civil War,” Armitage states, “took place at the heart of a global capitalist economy built on cotton and the labor of the enslaved, with ramifications felt in the Caribbean, Europe, Egypt, and South Asia.”⁵⁴ Hawthorne—as former consul in Liverpool, the global center of the cotton trade in his time and the largest slave-trading port in Europe in the

eighteenth century—must have had this context in view.⁵⁵ As seen above, he compared the system of merchant ships to slavery in his letter to Sumner. In fact, within the same notebook entry in which he describes the death of the “kidnapped” farmer Smith, Hawthorne writes the following: “The seed of the long-stapled cotton, now cultivated in America, was sent thither in 1786 from the Bahama islands by some of the royalist refugees who had settled there.” Hawthorne captures the dark side of American prosperity when he remarks: “to the refugees, America owes as much of her prosperity as is due to the cotton crops, and much of whatever harm is to result from slavery.”⁵⁶

Considered in the course of the American Claimant romance’s transformation, “Etherege” displays a noticeable tendency to situate America and England, along with their participation in the slavery and cotton industry, in a transnational context. Significantly, this manuscript contains a new introductory part about the protagonist’s boyhood in America. Unlike “The Ancestral Footstep,” “Etherege” is not journal-like but consists of thirty sections, ten of which comprise the author’s working notes.⁵⁷ The first nine sections are set in America, whereas the rest basically follow the story of “The Ancestral Footstep,” although a number of major alterations are made as the manuscript proceeds. The setting of the American story plays an important role. It is modeled on the Charter Street Burying Point in Salem, where Hawthorne’s ancestor John—William Hathorne’s son and the notorious judge of the Salem witchcraft trials (1692)—was buried. In “Etherege,” the graveyard is characterized as “the most ancient” and “more English than anything else in town” because of the “bones and dust of the first ancestors.”⁵⁸ The story is set around the turn of the nineteenth century. Thus, the graveyard connects the past to the present as well as England to America.

The protagonist, now named Ned (Edward) Etherege, lives in a house next to the graveyard with Doctor Etherege (Ned’s guardian), Elsie (the Doctor’s niece), Hannah (a handmaid), and the Doctor’s pet spiders. Being an orphan, Ned often thinks about his unknown origin and hopes to go to England someday to search for a Bloody Footstep and a mansion connected with it, which he vaguely remembers being told about by his mother or nurse. The Doctor exerts a strong influence on Ned. This “ancient gentleman” was “a traveller in various parts of the world”—Paris, Rome, Vienna, and London—and “studied in famous old universities.”⁵⁹ Based on this background, the Doctor gives instruction to Ned and leaves him a legacy so that the orphan may continue his studies after his guardian’s death and become a politician. However, the Doctor is also related to other parts of

the world. His pet spiders are from “some torrid region,” and his favorite is a “great African spider.” His cobwebby room is described as “the only textile factory that existed, at that epoch, in New England.”⁶⁰ When the Doctor is recast as a more sinister personage later in “Etherege,” his power to trammel others is called “a kind of slavery.”⁶¹

Another important episode in the American part is Mountford’s search for Colcord’s grave. Mountford, a London lawyer from the Temple and envoy of the English family, visits the Doctor to ask about the grave. Searching with Mountford for this grave in the adjoining graveyard, Ned discovers an antique key supposedly connected to an English property. Mountford’s story of Colcord is also noteworthy. Colcord, he says, “appears to have been one of the prisoners at the battle of Worcester, whom the Roundhead Government transported to America”; afterward, Colcord lived in New England “as a bond-servant, bought at public auction.”⁶² Mountford’s reference to the Battle of Worcester, along with the Temple’s implied relation with the Wars of the Roses, suggests that Hawthorne is here drawing a connection between these civil wars in England and bond servants as chattel in colonial New England. Colcord seems to be the same person as the second son, who left the Bloody Footstep, mentioned below. Although the episode of Colcord fades away in “Etherege,” it reappears in “Grimshawe” with different details.

Ned goes to England more than twenty years later, when the English part of the story begins. The family history is more explicitly connected with the English history of bloodshed in “Etherege.” The hospital of the family, now named the Brathwaites, was founded on “the transgressions of the builders; the wealth unjustly obtained, in the wars of the Roses.”⁶³ Ned is brought into the hospital in a state of unconsciousness and provided with care after being unknowingly assaulted by Brathwaite, the current owner of the mansion, who attempts to remove the American. Pearson, a pensioner at the hospital, helps Ned; he meets Elsie again as Pearson’s daughter. The legend of the Bloody Footstep is given various possible origins: the Norman Conquest, the Wars of the Roses, “Bloody Mary’s days,” and the English Civil Wars.⁶⁴ The family’s second son, who left the Bloody Footstep, becomes the only Protestant member of the Catholic family. Hawthorne illustrates that this son was “kidnapped” to America, which calls to mind the above-mentioned farmer Smith.⁶⁵

The transnational context of “Etherege” is foregrounded in the new scene of a dinner party that the Warden of the hospital organizes for Ned. Dishes and drinks from all over the world—sherry, port, claret, turtle, salmon, “all

candied conserves of the Indies,” and so on—are made possible by the British Empire’s trade.⁶⁶ At the party, Ned’s appointment as US ambassador to Hohenlinden is celebrated.⁶⁷ The Warden asks his “transatlantic guest” to make an “international speech.”⁶⁸ Ned meets Brathwaite, also the Warden’s guest, on this occasion. The owner of the English mansion remains a “long-Italianized Englishman,” but Hawthorne seeks better ideas. One of them is “a partaker in the massacres of India”—that is, the Indian Mutiny (1857–59), which Hawthorne paraphrases in terms of fratricide: “a man bedaubed all over with the blood of his own countrymen.”⁶⁹

During his long-awaited visit to Brathwaite Hall, Ned comes across its entrance, stained with the Bloody Footstep. En route, he notices that the mansion presents “a new aspect from this point of view,” which brings him a realization: “If I come back hither, with the purpose to make myself an Englishman—especially an Englishman of rank and hereditary estate—then for me America has been discovered in vain, and the great spirit that has been breathed into us is in vain; and I am false to it all!”⁷⁰ However, Ned is later imprisoned in the mansion by Brathwaite. Although Pearson and Elsie rescue him, this final event reveals that Pearson is the rightful heir to the estate. “Etherege” does not suggest that Ned and Elsie return to America as “the Adam and Eve of a new epoch.” In this manuscript, America is no longer “a virgin soil,” as the graveyard next to their childhood home represents.

In his abstract of the plot inserted in “The Ancestral Footstep,” Hawthorne writes that the family legend had lost its “connecting links.” “Etherege” illuminates that the author himself was unclear about those links. “I don’t in the least see my way,” he writes more than once; “Still I shall keep hold of this slippery idea, stubbornly, stubbornly, and grasp again, and yet again, and seize it wholly at last.”⁷¹ Hawthorne’s torturous process of figuring the links out, however, evoked a long-forgotten memory in his own family history.

4. RETURN TO THE FRATRICIDAL ORIGINS OF THE NATION AND THE SELF

“Grimshawe” is about half the length of “Etherege.” Of its fifteen sections, the first eleven are set in America; after an intervening section consisting of an author’s note, the last three relocate to England.⁷² The English part of the story ends abruptly soon after the protagonist, now named Ned (Edward) Redclyffe, is brought to the hospital. The current owner of the English mansion no longer appears, and Hawthorne’s emphasis

in “Grimshawe” is placed elsewhere.

As before, the American part begins with Ned’s early life, with the Doctor (now called Grimshawe, Grim, or Ormskirk), Elsie, Hannah, and the Doctor’s spiders in the house next to Salem’s oldest and most English-tinctured graveyard. In “Grimshawe,” however, Hawthorne highlights the community at a specific time: “it was a very rude epoch, just when the country had come through the war of the Revolution, and while the surges of that commotion were still seething and swelling, and while the habits and morals of every individual in the community still felt its influence.”⁷³ Thus, Hawthorne situates “Grimshawe” in the fratricidal origin of the nation: the American Revolution.⁷⁴

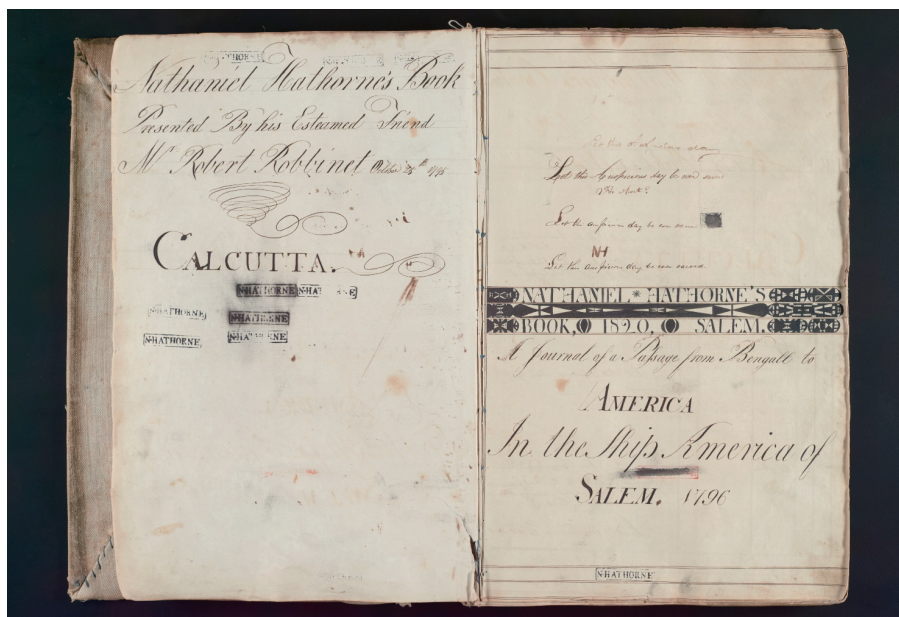
This setting is symbolic. Describing the townspeople’s antipathy toward the Doctor as a “Tory,” Hawthorne chooses a wording similar to the “party-spirit” that he used to denote pre-Civil War America: “Nobody thought very well of him . . . so that he had not that very desirable strength, in a society split up into many sects, of being able to rely upon the party-sympathies of any one of them.”⁷⁵ Meanwhile, in the scene in which these people mob the Doctor, the author elucidates “the genuine hereditary growth of the frame of public mind which produced the witchcraft delusion.”⁷⁶ In short, Hawthorne attends to the American history of bloodshed from colonial New England to the American Civil War.

In “Grimshawe,” Hawthorne alters the legend of the Bloody Footstep to illustrate such “party-sympathies.” Here, his use of point of view is particularly significant. The Doctor and Colcord (also called Seymour) both narrate the family legend, thus revealing its different aspects. As the Doctor remarks, “There are two ways of telling that legend.”⁷⁷ First, the Doctor is “a low-born Englishman” who harbors enmity against the family. In his legend, the only Puritan son of the Catholic family became a masked headsman of Charles I; afterward, he always “made a bloody track wherever he went.” This Puritan son was hated by his family because he “fought against his own brothers.” Thus, he was “sent to Virginia and sold as a bond slave” but eventually came to New England.⁷⁸ Meanwhile, for Colcord, the family’s second son who emigrated to America was “of a milder, sweeter cast” than his brothers. As a descendant of this second son, Colcord relates that his ancestor was “one of the earliest Quakers converted by George Fox.” According to this legend, the second son escaped from his cruel papist brothers and left “much track of blood” as he went, bleeding from his tortured foot. He eventually came to New England, but there, he suffered “much persecution likewise from the Puritans.”⁷⁹ Later, in the English part,

Colcord reappears as the pensioner at the hospital and emphasizes the atonement of its founder—his ancestor—rather than his crime during the Wars of the Roses. This founder, Edward Redclyffe, is the Doctor's object of revenge; the Doctor makes Ned (Edward Redclyffe) his namesake so that the orphan may supplant the family. Thus, their stories trace not one footstep but a trail of bloody footsteps from England to America, reversing the victimized and the victimizer according to their respective viewpoints.

Significantly, Hawthorne's representation of America, and Salem in particular, as the successor to the English history of fratricide includes his family's connection to this history: William Hathorne's persecution of Quakers and John's hanging of Salem witches. In this regard, it is noteworthy that in "Grimshawe," Salem is also portrayed within transnational relations. Narrating the origin of the Doctor's spiders, Hawthorne writes: "from certain inquiries and transactions of Doctor Ormskirk's with some of the ship masters of the port, who followed the East or West Indian, the African, or the South American trade, it was supposed that this old philosopher was in the habit of importing choice monstrosities in the spider kind from all those tropic regions."⁸⁰ While "Etherege" suggests the Doctor's personal connection with slavery through his African spider, "Grimshawe" shows that his importation of spiders is made possible by the community's commitment to trade with these regions. This is also applicable to Hannah's characterization. While the handmaid plays almost no part in "Etherege," "Crusty Hannah" in "Grimshawe" is introduced as "a mixture of Indian and Negro, & as some say, Monkey"; she is "such a mixture of persons and races as could be found only at a seaport."⁸¹ Here, Salem is foregrounded as a seaport town.

This aspect of Salem calls to mind that Hawthorne's father, Nathaniel Hathorne, was a sailor.⁸² His 1795–98 logbook of the ships *America* and *Perseverance* reveals that he visited places such as Bengal, St. Helena, Ascension, Batavia, Manila, and Canton on his voyages.⁸³ He died from yellow fever in Paramaribo, Dutch Guiana, in early 1808, when his son was just three years old. In 1820, sixteen-year-old Hawthorne was given the logbook. He must have read it with a deep yearning for a connection with his father whom he barely remembered. His own writing on its title page shows both his identification with his namesake father and, by entering the date 1820, his differentiation of himself from his father. However, Hawthorne changed his name around the time he began his literary career. By so doing, he symbolically killed Nathaniel Hathorne, his father and his earlier self.



Nathaniel Hawthorne, Logbook of the ship *America* and ship *Perseverance*, 1795–98.
 Courtesy of Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Rowley, MA.

James R. Mellow states, “Although Hawthorne frequently remarked on his paternal ancestors and their lives, he exhibited a marked reticence—or, perhaps, reverence—concerning his father.” “Nathaniel Hawthorne,” Mellow continues, “is virtually never mentioned in Hawthorne’s letters or journals.”⁸⁴

I speculate that while Hawthorne was revising the American Claimant romance, his notebook description of Daniel Smith’s death might have reminded him of his father, who had likewise died on foreign shores more than fifty years previously. If so, the writer in his later years could also have thought of a possible aspect of his father that young Hawthorne had never imagined—Captain Hathorne, remembered by a colleague as “the sternest man that ever walked a deck,” might have been a cruel captain.⁸⁵ In addition, according to Margaret B. Moore, a Salem captain “was murdered by the slaves he was transporting in 1789,” although “[s]lavery was abolished in Massachusetts in 1780, and the slave trade prohibited in 1788.”⁸⁶ It must be underscored that I do not have any proof of Nathaniel Hawthorne’s involvement in shipboard cruelty or the slave trade. However, such a line of thought is suggested by Hawthorne’s characterization of the Doctor as the

father figure.

In fact, one of the major alterations in "Grimshawe" is its depiction of the father-son relationship between the Doctor and Ned. Seeing in Ned "the rudiments of a poetic and singular mind," the Doctor says, "I want you to be a man; and I'll have you a man or nothing."⁸⁷ When Ned enters boarding school, the Doctor tells him, "Ned, my son, goodbye. . . . Do not be cast down, my boy. Face the world; grasp the thistle strongly, and it will sting you the less. Have faith in your own fist! Fear no man! Have no secret plot!"⁸⁸ However, Hawthorne as a writer had less to do with his "fist" than with a "plot" for his story. Earlier, in "The Custom-House," the introduction to *The Scarlet Letter*, Hawthorne depicts an imaginary conversation between his ancestors William and John about himself: "A writer of story-books! What kind of a business in life,—what mode of glorifying God, or being serviceable to mankind in his day and generation,—may that be? Why, the degenerate fellow might as well have been a fiddler!"⁸⁹ For Hawthorne as a writer, his sense of deviation from the fathers' norms—the American gender norms of a self-made man—was a standpoint from which he critically reconsidered the America created by the fathers.⁹⁰

Given this background, a passage near the end of "Grimshawe" attains a special significance. In the hospital, Ned is asked about his old scar and answers from a wandering mind that is recovering from the assault: "It was an Indian bullet . . . shot at me in battle, two or three hundred years hereafter." The surgeon responds to this incoherent speech, "Ah; he has served in the East Indies."⁹¹ Hawthorne's use of the ambiguous word "Indian" is intentional. In "Etherege," the owner of the English mansion is once envisioned as a partaker in the Indian Mutiny. At the end of "Grimshawe," Hawthorne suggests that his American protagonist is a participant in the Indian Wars, to which his family was deeply committed.

CONCLUSION

Hawthorne's long years of grappling with the American Claimant romance was a painful process of facing both national and personal trauma and recovering their "connecting links." After his years of reconsidering America in the transnational history of civil wars, he relinquished his initial idea of the romance presenting a contrast between American democracy and English aristocracy, with the American Adam and Eve rejecting the bloody soil and returning to a virgin land; he ultimately came to view his native country, his family, and himself as part of the long history of fratricide.

Hawthorne shows the influence of what Armitage calls “the republican story,” which regards civil wars as endlessly repeated from the mythical origin of Rome. He also reflects the nineteenth-century tendency to see every war as fratricide. Hawthorne’s experiences in Britain and Italy, his return to the disunited country, and his ambivalence toward England and America as well as the fathers all caused the romance’s transformation.

Although Hawthorne abandoned the American Claimant romance, he discovered something valuable through the process: the potential of juxtaposing two stories told by opposing parties, as shown by the legend of the Bloody Footstep told by the Doctor and Colcord in “Grimshawe.” Hawthorne subsequently developed this way of telling stories in the Septimius romance, in which the legend of the Bloody Footstep once again appears—this time, as the heritage handed down by both the English and Native American lineages of the mixed-blood protagonist Septimius. Living in a house on Concord’s Lexington Road—the location of Hawthorne’s own house—at the time of American Revolution, Septimius kills an English officer who turns out to be his kin. Here, Hawthorne went on to tackle the American history of fratricide that had resulted in the ongoing Civil War, of which he would not live to see the end.

NOTES

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¹ For biographical information on Hawthorne, see James R. Mellow, *Nathaniel Hawthorne in His Times* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); and Brenda Wineapple, *Hawthorne: A Life* (New York: Knopf, 2003). For his English years, see Raymona E. Hull, *Nathaniel Hawthorne: The English Experience, 1853–1864* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1980).

² Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, ed. William Charvat et al., vol. XII, *The American Claimant Manuscripts* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1977). All references to Hawthorne’s works relate to this edition (hereafter CE) and are noted by volume and page number. For basic information on these manuscripts, see Edward H. Davidson and Claude M. Simpson, “Historical Commentary,” XII: 491–521.

³ Charles Swann, *Nathaniel Hawthorne: Tradition and Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press, 1991), 132–259. For a revision of Swann's overview of Hawthorne's later works, see Nozomi Fujimura, "Mikan no Saisei—*The Marble Faun* no Hôson Kôki Sakka Keireki ni okeru Igi [Unfinished Resurrections: The Significance of *The Marble Faun* in the Later Works of Hawthorne]," *Studies in English Literature* 92 (2015): 43.

⁴ Magnus Ullén and David Greven, "Late Hawthorne: A Polemical Introduction," *Nathaniel Hawthorne Review* 35.2 (2009): 8–9.

⁵ Robert Milder, *Hawthorne's Habitations: A Literary Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 170, 271.

⁶ XII: 286.

⁷ Swann, 179; James Hewitson, "A System 'Too Bare and Meagre for Human Nature to Love': America in *The American Claimant Manuscripts*," *Nathaniel Hawthorne Review* 35.2 (2009): 41.

⁸ My argument on the relation between "The Ancestral Footstep" and *The Marble Faun* is a revision of my earlier argument on the Italian romance. See Fujimura.

⁹ David Armitage, *Civil Wars: A History in Ideas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 19–20.

¹⁰ XII: 3–89.

¹¹ XII: 5.

¹² According to Loggins, William (ca. 1606/07–1681) was born in Bray, Berkshire, which remained unknown to Hawthorne. See Vernon Loggins, *The Hawthornes: The Story of Seven Generations of an American Family* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), 3–95.

¹³ CE, vol. XXI, *The English Notebooks, 1853–1856* (1997), 138.

¹⁴ XXI: 9, 14.

¹⁵ Bill Ellis, "Introduction: Hawthorne's Consular Letters, 1853–1857," CE, vol. XIX, *The Consular Letters, 1853–1855* (1988), 17.

¹⁶ XXI: 140.

¹⁷ Regarding Hawthorne's action to save abused sailors and their background, see Ellis, 25–39.

¹⁸ Reynolds considers Hawthorne's reaction to the case of Smith and his letter to Sumner as examples that show his characteristics as a reformer. See Larry J. Reynolds, *Devils and Rebels: The Making of Hawthorne's Damned Politics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008), 105–10.

¹⁹ XXI: 169.

²⁰ XIX: 294; CE, vol. XVII, *The Letters, 1853–1856* (1987), 345.

²¹ Ellis, 37.

²² XVII: 237.

²³ XVII: 294.

²⁴ XXI: 137.

²⁵ XVII: 266.

²⁶ XVII: 396–400.

²⁷ Frederick Newberry, *Hawthorne's Divided Loyalties: England and America in His Works* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1987), 225.

²⁸ XXI: 321–28.

²⁹ XXI: 377–78.

³⁰ XXI: 393–96.

³¹ CE, vol. XV, *The Letters, 1813–1843* (1984), 139.

³² Marion L. Kesselring, *Hawthorne's Reading, 1828–1850: A Transcription and Identification of Titles Recorded in the Charge-Books of the Salem Athenaeum* (New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1975), 47, 61.

³³ Armitage, 93–120.

³⁴ Armitage, 88.

³⁵ Armitage, 46.

³⁶ Armitage, 168–69.

³⁷ XXI: 160.

³⁸ XXI: 162.

³⁹ XII: 472–80.

⁴⁰ XII: 10–11.

⁴¹ Gollin considers that the Bloody Footstep in the three manuscripts “signifies ‘brotherly hatred and attempted murder’” and sees in it “the archetypal fratricide of Cain, and the inherent fratricide of all civil wars.” Rita K. Gollin, “Estranged Allegiances in Hawthorne’s Unfinished Romances.” *Hawthorne and the Real: Bicentennial Essays*, ed. Millicent Bell (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005), 163.

⁴² XII: 49.

⁴³ XII: 29.

⁴⁴ XII: 70, 84–85.

⁴⁵ XII: 58.

⁴⁶ XII: 79.

⁴⁷ XII: 60–61.

⁴⁸ *CE*, vol. XIV, *The French and Italian Notebooks* (1980), 162; Fujimura, 44.

⁴⁹ *CE*, vol. IV, *The Marble Faun* (1968), 6.

⁵⁰ IV: 443; Fujimura, 55.

⁵¹ *CE*, vol. XVIII, *The Letters, 1857–1864* (1987), 164.

⁵² XII: 220.

⁵³ James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 234–368.

⁵⁴ Armitage, 169.

⁵⁵ Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Vintage, 2015), 200–203; David Eltis and David Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 52.

⁵⁶ XXI: 169. Beckert also mentions the 1786 introduction of the long-staple cotton from the Bahamas. See Beckert, 101.

⁵⁷ XII: 90–342. What I call a “section” is a unit of passages separated by blank lines. Sections are not numbered in the manuscript. Hawthorne’s working notes occur in the 2nd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 15th, 17th, 18th, 21st, 23rd, and 28th sections.

⁵⁸ XII: 91.

⁵⁹ XII: 90, 107.

⁶⁰ XII: 93, 118, 110.

⁶¹ XII: 295.

⁶² XII: 100–01.

⁶³ XII: 137.

⁶⁴ XII: 151.

⁶⁵ XII: 195.

⁶⁶ XII: 235–39.

⁶⁷ XII: 245.

⁶⁸ XII: 168, 191.

⁶⁹ XII: 205, 265.

⁷⁰ XII: 280–81.

⁷¹ XII: 201–02.

⁷² XII: 343–471.

⁷³ XII: 380.

⁷⁴ Regarding the American Revolution as a civil war, see Armitage, 121–58.

⁷⁵ XII: 384, 380–81.

⁷⁶ XII: 382.

⁷⁷ XII: 421.

⁷⁸ XII: 364–68.

⁷⁹ XII: 395–97.

⁸⁰ XII: 350.

⁸¹ XII: 344, 440.

⁸² See Loggins, 189–210; Mellow, 12–14. Loggins and Mellow also refer to Nathaniel Hathorne's logbook.

⁸³ Nathaniel Hathorne, Logbook of the Ship America and Ship Perseverance, 1795–1798, Log 3003 (OS). Courtesy of Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Rowley, MA.

⁸⁴ Mellow, 14.

⁸⁵ Mellow, 13.

⁸⁶ Margaret B. Moore, *The Salem World of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998), 13.

⁸⁷ XII: 425–26.

⁸⁸ XII: 431.

⁸⁹ *CE*, vol. I, *The Scarlet Letter* (1962), 10.

⁹⁰ Nozomi Fujimura, “‘A Text of Deep and Varied Meaning’: Nathaniel Hawthorne, ‘The Story Teller,’ and the Making of the American Subject,” *Studies in English Literature* 51 (2010): 50.

⁹¹ XII: 453.