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Reflection of Puritanism in the Short Stories of Nathaniel Hawthorne

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Obraz puritanismu v povídkách Nathaniela Hawthorna

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Prohlášení

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Poděkování

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Abstrakt

První část této práce se zaměří na Nathaniela Hawthorna jako spisovatele, na vlivy, zdroje a témata, která se ho dotýkala. Důraz je kladen na jeho zájem o puritánskou minulost a historický základ mnoha jeho povídek. Tato část také poskytne základní informace o původu a charakteristice puritanismu a zaměří se na ty situace, které se promítají do Hawthornových povídek.

V druhé části se práce pokusí analyzovat vybrané povídky a soustředí se na to, v jakém světle Hawthorne ukazuje puritány a jak on sám chápe vinu. V závěru je ukázána spojitost mezi těmito dvěma tématy, z čehož vyplývá, proč Hawthorne nebyl vůči puritánům nestranný, a také poukazuje na největší chyby, které dle Hawthorna (nejen jeho) puritánští předkové učinili.

Klíčová slova: Nathaniel Hawthorne, puritanismus, puritáni, vina, vztah

Abstract

In its first part, this thesis attempts to explore Nathaniel Hawthorne's influences and sources of writing with an emphasis on his interest in the Puritan past and the historical basis of many of his stories. This part also provides basic information about the origin and characteristic features of Puritanism, focusing on those historical events which influenced Hawthorne's short stories. In its second part this thesis will attempt to analyse selected short stories with the focus on Hawthorne's presentation of Puritanism. Partly, it also focuses on Hawthorne's perception of sin in his stories. As a conclusion, the thesis tries to show the connection between Puritanism and sin and uses this connection to demonstrate why Hawthorne's judgement of the Puritans was not impartial, and it attempts to define what he saw as the biggest mistake of his (and generally Puritan) ancestors.

Key words: Nathaniel Hawthorne, Puritanism, Puritans, sin, relationship

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1. Introduction

“But now shall it be seen that the Lord hath sanctified this wilderness for his peculiar people. Woe unto them who would defile it!”(Hawthorne 45). This exclamation of one of Hawthorne’s Puritan character, Endicott, is a great summary of Puritan understanding of their position in the world – they considered themselves as God’s chosen people and New England as their Promised Land. Because of other settlers and England’s meddling into their affairs they felt they needed to defend their faith and “their” land. Since Endicott was a real person, famous for his severity and enthusiasm, the story shows that Hawthorne put into poetic language what he gathered from historical documents. The more stories I read the more fascinated I was by the constant repetition of the theme of Puritanism and sin in the stories. Thanks to Hawthorne’s stories I started a search about the Puritan past and the life of the first Puritan settlers. Gradually, I became more interested in Hawthorne’s perspective and attitude to these descendants of The Pilgrim Fathers. What was so haunting about them? Why are they presented so negatively in his stories? This diploma thesis tries to answer, at least partly, these questions.

The first part of this thesis will provide basic information about Hawthorne as a writer with emphasis on his awareness of his Puritan ancestors who were sometimes too active to spread the Puritan belief or defend the unity of their community. The second half of this theoretical background is dedicated to several important facts about Puritanism, including not only their historical development, but also their beliefs and their attitudes towards life and the world around them, which were also influenced by the historical and geographical setting.

In the main part of the thesis, several Hawthorne’s stories are analysed in order to show Hawthorne’s view of the Puritans and some of the Puritan characters he revived. Many of these stories reflect historical events or at least mention them. I also point out that the red line of all his Puritan stories is the Puritan struggle against “the others” – because there are various beings that they try to eliminate, partly out of fear, since they see them as a real or

potential threat to their society. A separate chapter deals with Hawthorne's theme of sin, because only after finding out his idea of what is sinful it is possible to decode his aversion towards Puritans.

The conclusion of this work summarizes the aspects typical for Hawthorne's short stories about Puritans – their relationship to people of different beliefs and different modes of life, their superstitious fear that influenced their imagination and therefore they saw other people as enemies or devil's acquaintances. Hawthorne in his stories shows the gradual alienation and it seems that the deterioration of the relationship was the fact why he could not pardon the Puritans.

Concerning the choice of the texts, only a selection of short stories is included in the analysis. It is on purpose that there are almost no comments concerning *The Scarlet letter*, although it is closely connected to Puritanism, because it is not a short story and this book has been analysed many times and it would demand different length of the thesis. It also does not include the analysis of Hawthorne's text "The Main Street", although it presents many interesting moments from Puritan history, because it is not a short story, but a sketch.

2. Nathaniel Hawthorne

The life of Nathaniel Hawthorne, as of any other author, was influenced by the time he lived in and by the literary and philosophical situation of the 19th century in America. This chapter starts with short presentation of historical background, and then gives an account of Hawthorne's life. The end of the chapter is dedicated to the literature of American romanticism in general, and to, only a short, presentation of Hawthorne's style and themes, because they are the topic of the practical part of this thesis.

2.1. Historical Context, Romantic Movement

The beginning of 19th century in America was marked by spreading of the Romantic Movement and national expansion and greater awareness of national identity. "The romantic spirit seemed particularly suited to American democracy: It stressed individualism, affirmed the value of the common person, and looked to the inspired imagination for its aesthetic and ethical values" (Vanspakeren et al., 26).

An important part of the American Romantic Movement was the Transcendentalist movement (in essays and poetry), which was based on belief in the unity of the world and God, and which spread the general humanitarian trend. Some of the Transcendentalists (including Thoreau, Emerson and for several years Hawthorne) lived together in a small village called Concord¹. Some Transcendentalists were involved in more radical way of life – in an experimental utopian community The Brook Farm² – and Hawthorne also lived there for a few years. (Vanspakeren et al., 27)

Into the commencing period of Romanticism was born Nathaniel Hawthorne, who later became one of the most famous writers of the romantic fiction, together with Melville and Poe.

2.2. Biography

Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864) was born in Salem, Massachusetts, on 4th July, as a descendant of an old Puritan family of Hathornes – he altered his name later by adding “w” (Vanspakeren et al. 37, Vančura et al. 297). His father was a sea captain and died when Nathaniel was four years old. He then lived with his mother and his two sisters Elizabeth and Louisa. His uncles took care of his education and gave him a small income: Hawthorne kept books for his uncle William, and uncle Robert paid for Nathaniel’s education. (van Doren 4-9, Martin 17)

2.2.1. College

In 1818 the family moved to Raymond, but in 1819 Nathaniel was sent back to Salem for his preparation for the college. In 1821 he passed the entrance exam to Bowdoin College. (van Doren 11;17; Vančura et al. 298). His studies were mediocre and he was thinking about his future profession – he wrote a letter to his mother: “I do not want to be a doctor and live by men’s diseases, nor a minister to live by their sins, nor a lawyer and live by their quarrels. So I do not see that there is anything left for me but to be an author” (van Doren 16). For that reason he soon joined a literary society The Athenaeum and during his studies he wrote some poems and essay “The Spectator”, but “his comments about himself as author were not respectful” (van Doren 15, 18; Martin 15).

Among his life-long friends from college were Horatio Bridge and Franklin Pierce (who later became a very unpopular president of the USA). Hawthorne graduated in 1825 and spent next thirteen years in Salem, writing stories, reading and preparing himself for the career of a writer. (Vančura et al. 298; van Doren 21, Martin 22)

2.2.2. Through Hard Work to Fame

During the first five years there was only one tale published, albeit anonymously, in the *Salem Gazette*, and Nathaniel Hawthorne insisted upon anonymity³ for 11 years (van Doren 25). His second literary attempt was called *Seven Tales of My Native Land*, but Hawthorne burned it “after a long series of excuses on the part of the printer who was to bring it out” (van Doren 31). Hawthorne later used this event as a theme for his short story “The Devil in the Manuscript” (Hawthorne 501). In 1828 his romance *Fanshawe* was published. Hawthorne himself paid for the print, but then he reread it and began a search for every copy of it and burnt them too. (van Doren 35)

During his thirteen years of writing, he went regularly for long trips, for instance to New Haven in Connecticut or to Canterbury⁴ in New Hampshire – the community of Shakers inspired him to produce two tales “Canterbury Pilgrims” and “The Shaker Bridal” (van Doren 39).⁵

In May 1830, Samuel Griswold Goodrich published in the annual *Token* anonymously four pieces by Hawthorne (van Doren 41). Later, parts of his work *The Storyteller* were published separately in *New England Magazine*. In 1835 more tales and sketches were published and “Hawthorne’s name got to be known, discussed and admired” (van Doren 42). His earliest notebook is dated in 1835 and in 1836 Hawthorne wrote: “In this dismal chamber FAME was won.” (van Doren 46).

Despite the fame, it was difficult to publish a book and it was only thanks to his friend Horatio Bridge, who contributed \$250, that *Twice Told Tales* were published in March 1837 (van Doren 48; Vančura et al. 298). The main theme here is “sin” and Hawthorne traces the roots of Puritan culture. (Vančura et al. 298). In response he obtained positive references and letters asking for contribution to magazines. Yet at the same time he wrote to Longfellow that he suffered from a “lack of materials” and that he had “seen so little of the world” (van Doren 62).

2.2.3. Family, Various Jobs

In 1838 he met his future wife, Sophia Peabody, at her family home in 1838. (van Doren 50). Before they got married, Hawthorne had to solve his financial problems to ensure that he would be able to support his wife. He did not suppose to do this by writing stories (van Doren 97), that is why, in January 1839, he was appointed measurer of coal and salt at a salary of \$1500 in the Boston Custom house (van Doren 99, Martin 28). During this work his imagination was torpid (as it was later in any office), he said: “I pray that in one year more I may find some way of escaping from this unblessed Custom house ... I detest all offices.” (van Doren 103). During 1840-41 he wrote children’s books *Grandfather’s chair* and *Biographical stories* (van Doren 107).

In January 1842 Hawthorne resigned to his position at the Custom house, and in April he arrived at The Brook Farm. He did not go there out of Transcendentalist or social convictions⁶, but out of suspicion (Martin 29). He hoped it would be a possible solution for him and Sophia, since it was meant for men to work and think or write. Nevertheless, Hawthorne “was never able to write there, nor did he like the work” (van Doren 109). He could not work creatively, the physical work was exhausting and tiring for him and the social life thwarted his concentration. However, he filled his notebooks with observations that bore fruit a decade later in *The Blithedale Romance*. (Vančura et al. 299).

After their marriage in 1842, Nathaniel and Sophia went to live for three years to Old Manse in Concord – these were their happiest days (van Doren 119, Vančura et al. 299). Hawthorne prepared for edition the collection of stories *Mosses from the Old Manse*⁷ (1846) (Vančura et al. 299). At that time Hawthorne used to discuss various issues with Emerson, but they did not seem to share the same opinions. Often, he would walk with Thoreau.⁸ (van Doren 121-124).

During the years in Concord, Hawthorne wrote eight new works (“The New Adam and Eve”, “The Hall of Fantasy”, “The Procession of Life”, “The

Celestial Railroad”, “The Christmas Banquet”, “Earth’s Holocaust”, “The Intelligence office”, “A select Party”). They were allegories in which the subject matter was society itself. Their satirical tone is against reformers, against progress, against politics and business, against the Transcendental and Unitarian optimism. (van Doren 128).

2.2.4. Back to Salem, His Famous Works

In 1844 Hawthorne’s first daughter, Una, was born. For financial reasons, the family went back to Salem, where Hawthorne was appointed Surveyor in the Salem Custom house (van Doren 132-4). In June 1846 their son, Julian, was born. During his service in the Custom house Hawthorne wrote little, but in 1847 he began to write regularly, though with more difficulty. He wrote his last sketch “Main Street” and his last four tales: “The Snow-Image”, “The Great Stone Face”, “Feathertop”, and “Ethan Brand”. (van Doren 137)

In 1849 he was dismissed from the Custom house, he focused on writing, but two months later his mother died, which “shook him deeply” (van Doren 140). Nevertheless, he continued his writing and in February 1850 *The Scarlet Letter* was finished. When he read the conclusion to Sophia, “it sent her to bed with grievous headache, which I look upon as a triumphant success” (Hawthorne’s notebook in van Doren 141). *The Scarlet Letter* was a great accomplishment. It sold well and was widely discussed; Hawthorne became famous and even had money. (van Doren 167)

In the next three years, not only their third child, Rose, was born (1851), but Hawthorne also produced an astonishing amount of works. Two more romances – first of it is *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851). One of the reviews of *The House of the Seven Gables* was written by Herman Melville and those two men became friends and correspondents. They liked to talk to each other “pretty deep into the night” about “time end eternity, things of this world and the next, and books, and publishers, and all possible and impossible matters”⁹ (van Doren 181). The second romance is *The Blithedale Romance*

(1852) – about his experience at The Brook Farm. He then wrote two children's books: *A Wonder Book for Girls and Boys* (1852), and *Tanglewood Tales for Girls and Boys* (1853); and he had brought out *Twice-Told Tales* again, adding its famous preface, with a new collection called *The Snow-Image and Other Twice-Told Tales* (1851). He also wrote *True Stories from History and Biography* (1851) and he had contributed to the campaign of 1852 with a biography *Life of Franklin Pierce* (1852). (van Doren 167). He started this political biography just after Franklin Pierce was elected President and Hawthorne said it was a pure work of friendship (van Doren 190).

2.2.5. England

In 1853 he accepted the offer to become United States Consul in Liverpool, because of financial reasons. He needed the money. However, many people reproached him that it was a reward for the over positive biography of Pierce (Martin 34). All in all, his seven years spent in Europe solved his financial problems, but the busy life of a consul¹⁰ did not allow him to write as much as he would like to: his experience of England only later resulted in a book of sketches *Our Old Home* (1863) (van Doren 201-2). The book is a record of his “escapes” or holiday excursions to London and other interesting places (van Doren 204).

He wrote into his notebook in 1857 that he was weary of London and England, and tired of everything and he hoped that he would be happy in Italy. He went there with Sophia and the children in January 1858; at first the weather was cold and they were not happy, but later things improved and they enjoyed their stay there. He started his English romance, *The Ancestral Footstep*, which has remained unfinished. Later, he saw in the museum the sculpture of Faun by Praxiteles and he began *The Marble Faun*. Before returning back to America, he lived another year in England and here he completed *The Marble Faun*. (van Doren 217-225)

2.2.5. Back to America

In June 1860 he returned to Boston. The title of this chapter is not “Back home”, because according to Doren, in England and ever since, Hawthorne did not feel at home (van Doren 204). In the next four years, Sophia felt that something was ailing him and this is the reason she sent him regularly to the coast to recover his health. (van Doren 235). In his last days Hawthorne was writing for a magazine *The Atlantic Monthly*, but did not finish any of his larger works. (Vančura et al. 300).

He began a new project *Dr. Grimshawe's Secret*, which, although as long as any of his books, remained unfinished. Van Doren speaks about “thirty one studies and drafts for all the fragments” (240) and suggests that Hawthorne had lost his confidence since he used to write with fair speed, straight along” (van Doren 240). This assumption is confirmed by Hawthorne's note in his diary “the life is not yet breathed into this plot, after all my galvanic efforts. Not a spark of passion as yet. I have not the least notion how to get on. I never was in such a predicament before” (van Doren 241-2).

Civil War broke out and that was a disaster for Nathaniel Hawthorne and he was disappointed by his nation and by the war. Nevertheless, in 1861 he began a romance again, *Septimus Felton*, his third unfinished work. (van Doren 246)

After his journey to Washington, he published an article “Chiefly About War Matters” – the matters are reported with detachment and editor Fields thought the tone too cold for the readers, so he suppressed certain passages¹¹ (van Doren 251). In 1863 Hawthorne finally prepared the stories for *Our Old Home* and he dedicated the book to Pierce. Van Doren claims that it was because thanks to Pierce that Hawthorne was in England, and also because Hawthorne loved him. Editor Fields advised him against such dedication, because people did not like Pierce, but Hawthorne refused to change his mind. For example Emerson bought *Our Old Home*, but he disagreed with Hawthorne's admiration of Pierce, so he tore the page with the dedication from his copy. (van Doren 254)

Later in 1863 he announced that a new romance would appear – but *The Dolliver Romance* remained unfinished as well. His health went from bad to worse, and during a trip with Pierce, he died at night on 18th May 1864. (van Doren 263)

The life of Nathaniel Hawthorne was full of hard work and financial problems, he missed the appreciation of his work, and towards the end of his life he experienced the horrible disappointment of the civil war. Thanks to his notebooks that he kept assiduously, we could see deeper into the life of this remarkable author; whose books became classics in the American literature.

2.3. Romantic Style and Themes

The biographical chapter offered an insight into the authors life. This short chapter focuses on the literary background and importance of Hawthorne in the area of romantic writing; and as a foreshadowing of the main part, it presents his themes and style of writing.

The romantic poetic and essays writing was connected mainly with the Transcendentalists, which does not include Hawthorne, who belongs among the romantic fiction writers together with Melville and Poe. The novelists expressed themselves in “the form Hawthorne called the “Romance” – a heightened, emotional and symbolic form of the novel. They were not love stories, but serious novels that communicate complex and subtle meanings” (Vanspakeren et al. 36). A typical hero is a “figure larger than life, burning with mythic significance ... it is a haunted, alienated individual” (Vanspakeren et al. 36), for example Arthur Dimesdale or Hester Prynne. The plot of the romance reveals “hidden actions of the anguished spirit”. According to Vanspakeren, The reason for this alienation and anguish is the absence of tradition and traditional community life in America. Therefore the romance form is dark and indicates how difficult it is to create an identity without a stable society. Most of the romantic heroes die in the end (in Hawthorne: the sensitive but sinful minister Dimesdale). (Vanspakeren et al. 37)

2.3.1. Hawthorne's Themes

The writing of Nathaniel Hawthorne is influenced by the fact that his ancestors came from England as Puritan immigrants and two of them were very active in public service – William Hathorne, the first of the family in America was a magistrate and a judge, one of the responsible for mistreatment of Quakers in the 1650s. His son John Hathorne was a judge during the witch trials in Salem (Vanspackeren et al. 37, Vančura et al. 297). Hawthorne himself confessed that the idea of “famous, but wrongdoing founder of the family haunted him till early childhood and deeply influenced his (artistic) imagination” (Vančura et al. 297). He named these ancestors directly in the preface to *The Scarlet Letter*; he also used the idea of a cursed family of an evil judge in his novel *The House of the Seven Gables*.

Hawthorne's themes are often connected with Puritanism and the life that his ancestors were leading, but his image of them is not favourable. The most famous portrayal of Puritan America is *The Scarlet Letter*. But also most of his short stories are based on reading of the documents of colonial history and personal writings of the first Puritans¹². These sources showed him the public essence of Puritanism as well as the personal sense of what it meant to be a Puritan. (Martin 31)

Apart from early New England's Puritanism, Hawthorne was also inspired by the Calvinist thinker and preacher Jonathan Edwards¹³. Based on that, Hawthorne artistically presents the symbol of the good and the bad, but adds humanistic features. (Vančura et al. 299)

The themes derived from Puritanism are generally: sin (“Rappaccini's Daughter”, “The Birthmark”), sin and punishment (*The Scarlet Letter*) (Vančura et al. 299) and sin and conscience (*The Marble Faun*) (Vančura et al. 300).

Hawthorne, perhaps because he had the memory of his ancestors still in mind, he “never went to church” (van Doren 215). He found it hard to respect the clerical people and he thought that we need “a new revelation – a new

system – for there seems to be no life in the old one” (van Doren 215). In Liverpool, however, he took a pew in the Unitarian church, and sent his son Julian every Sunday to occupy it, but he never went himself. (van Doren 215)

2.3.2. Hawthorne's Style

Together with Poe, Hawthorne is a pioneer of the modern American short story, but in contrast to Poe, Hawthorne's stories include a moral element, which is absent in the work of Poe. Even though moral dilemmas are important in Hawthorne's works, he is also interested in the psychological point of view, not only moralistic and he focuses on the psychological problem of sin and conscience. (Vančura et al. 301). Vančura also claims that some of Hawthorne's stories bear similarities with the work of Poe: *The House of the Seven Gables* evokes Poe's *Fall of the House of Usher* and the atmosphere of *The Marble Faun* reminds that of Poe's; but Hawthorne puts more emphasis on the surroundings, not only on the characters,. (Vančura et al.300).

Hawthorne was fond of the famous English writers, and their books influenced his own style. He preferred Shakespeare, Milton and Scott; he admired Spencer and Bunyan for their allegoric vitality but he was also influenced by the style of the gothic romance. (Martin 31)

Concerning his writing, Hawthorne wanted his style to be plain, as he wrote to an editor in 1851:

“I am glad you think my style plain. I never aimed at making it anything else, or giving it any other merit – and I wish people would leave off talking about its beauty. If it have any, it is only pardonable as being unintentional. The greatest possible merit is to make the words absolutely disappear into the thought.” (van Doren 267)

Hawthorne's themes and style were influenced by the romantic movement, but he is most famous for highlighting the theme of Puritanism and sin.

3. Puritanism

Puritan themes are frequent in the work of Nathaniel Hawthorne. In order to understand these themes, it is necessary to know that the roots and origins of Puritanism are in the Continental Reformation. Furthermore, it is often said, that the moral and economical beliefs of the United States are based on Puritanism – to see to what extent and in what aspect this is true, it is important to know what was important for the Puritans. Therefore this chapter briefly presents the historical development of Reformation in Europe and England, the rise and development of Puritan movement with focus on the American continent¹⁴ and the second part of this chapter offers a short overview of Puritan beliefs and lifestyle.

3.1. Historical Development

3.1.1. Reformation – Continental Europe

In the 16th century Europe there was an effort to renew the west Christianity. Firstly, because people saw the decline in the church, and secondly, there was new information available about the very roots of Christian beliefs. At the beginning the aim was not to create a new church, but to reform the one that existed. However, in the end, the changes were too extensive and there was not enough will to carry them out, therefore new churches (Protestant) were founded. (Filipi 111)

Before the Reformation in the 16th century, there had been former attempts – for example by famous priests: John Wycliffe (c.1320-1384) and Jan Hus (John Huss c.1369-1415), but these had been quite isolated and local. In the 16th century the followers of Martin Luther (1483-1546) and later those of Jean Calvin (1509-1564) were much more numerous and their ideas spread to various European countries. However, the Reformation was not a united movement; it could be practised only where the political establishment was sympathetic (later, in 1555 ‘Cuius regio, eius religio’). Therefore, from the beginning there existed many Protestant churches and the Protestants have

never created united world organization. As Filipi says: “Locality belongs to their characteristics – with all its conveniences and inconveniences” (112).

For some, however, the reformation steps that Luther and Calvin made were not enough, these people wanted a more radical reformation; and that is why in the following years and centuries the Protestant churches divided further, including the English reformation.

3.1.2. Church of England, Puritan Problem, Emigration

Unlike the continental Reformation that started from “below”, the English reformation was started by the head of the monarchy and for different reasons.

In 1533 king Henry VIII separated from Rome (from the Pope and the Catholic Church) and he declared himself the head of the Church of England (Filipi 141). The king was not fond of changes in church life – these were made by Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who was influenced by continental reformation theologians, mainly by Calvinists. Thanks to Cranmer, changes were made in liturgy, and two important documents emerged: *Articles of Religion* (1563) and *Book of Common Prayer* (1549). However, the power of the king and parliament over the church was so significant, that the more radical reformers were dissatisfied. They wanted a more thorough purification of the church and society – therefore the, at first pejorative, label “Puritans” (Filipi 142, Winship 43). For the church, such reformation meant “congregational polity and Calvinist doctrine” (Foster 1).

The Puritans were persecuted in England, so they exiled to New England¹⁵ (North America). The first group of The Pilgrim Fathers, lead by William Bradford, left England on a ship called Mayflower in 1620. After this group there were others that followed, and between 1630-1640 about fifteen thousand Puritans emigrated to New England. (Foster 2)

3.1.3. New England, New Colonies

The name New England signifies the Puritan idea of starting new life, creating a new type of Christian society with new rules, a fresh start for history and religion¹⁶ (Filipi 134, Putna 21). Their act of leaving home and founding their settlements in a hostile land was very original, because the ambitions of the first settlers were not to rule over somebody, to gain more land or enrich themselves, but their motives were purely religious. It was an act of faith, based on the reading of providential signs. (Ruland and Bradbury 10, Putna 21)

The first Puritan settlement was founded in 1620 – Plymouth Plantation. Their first year there was very hard – half of the hundred and one Pilgrims did not survive the first winter. (Putna 22)

Another important year was 1630, when John Winthrop¹⁷ and a group of Puritans were exiled from England (by King Charles I) and after a short time in Leyden (Holland), they sailed to New England (Foster 1, Putna 25). Winthrop himself established Massachusetts Bay Colony, with the main port, Boston. Later, as other Puritans came, there were other new colonies, such as New Towne (later Cambridge) 1630, Concord 1635, Salem 1636, New Haven 1638. (Putna 21, Foster 2, Ruland and Bradbury 8)

Gradually, the colonization was more successful, the Puritan settlements grew more wealthy, the education more profound, but the original idea of “permanent” spiritual purity of these communities turned vague and unreal. Even the founders of Plymouth and Boston, Bradford and Winthrop, spoke about decline of morals. They felt that their original dream had failed – the second generation was not like the first one. Soon, the Puritan’s main genre was “jeremiad”: the preacher’s wailing of decline of the faith and morals and warning of God’s wrath.¹⁸ (Ruland and Bradbury 11)

Although it is difficult to judge whether and how the morals were declining, from today’s perspective there were several critical moments that deserve reflection: merciless treatment of the dissidents from the Puritans (heretics sent to Rhode Island); persecuting of those who belonged to different

churches, namely Quakers and Shakers; Salem witch trials (see below); necessity of controlling the “visible sainthood” of each member of the parish, without it the person was not covenanted and cannot for example baptize their children. (Putna 27, Foster 2)

From all above mentioned, the Salem witch trials relate the most to Hawthorne’s ancestors and his own feeling of guilt. In 1692-1693 because of hysteria that was labelled as bewitchment, two girls were accused and they then accused others. The inhabitants of the city were scared and therefore a special court was set up in Salem. Among the judges was John Hathorne, one of Hawthornes’ ancestors. The judges at first reluctantly made the first sentence and then another. Altogether nineteen convicted witches were hanged (there were also few men among the women). Fortunately, in spring 1693 there came a rational and authoritative governor Phips who put an end to the trials. One hundred and fifty people could leave the prison; and those who started the hysteria confessed that it had been invented. Salem judges repented publicly in Boston. (Britannica.com, Putna 79-80)

According to Putna, the lesson from this event for the descendants (including Hawthorne) was: do not believe to hysteria, superstitions and legends; reason and Christian belief do not admit witchcraft – because the conclusion of the trials was that there were no witches in Salem nor anywhere else. (Putna 81)

3.1.3.1. John Endicott

Considering Hawthorne’s stories, it is necessary to present John Endicott (also spelled Endecott; lived 1588-1665) who played an important part in the history of colonies in New England. Born in England, he became attached to the Puritan interest and emigrated to New England in September 1628) he came with the colonist “to govern” and he was among the most influential people since his arrival and on the death of John Winthrop in 1649 he became governor, and by annual re-elections served continuously until his death, with the exception of two years (1650-1651 and 1654-1655). (Moore, Jacob 347, 355; Heath, Britannica online)

Endicott was very pious and zealous man and because of the military rank, he was severe and sometimes harsh in his judgements and actions. He is characterised as “a strange mixture of rashness, pious zeal, genial manners, hot temper, and harsh bigotry” (Britannica online), or as “one of the most zealous undertakers, and the most rigid in principle” (Moore, Jacob 347) or, according to Heath as “remorseless enthusiast”. Jacob Moore writes about his “acts of intolerance, rashness and intense zeal against all heresy” (350, 355) and also Heath agrees that he was famous for his “strict and harsh punishments especially against religious dissenters”.

There are three deeds that served as a base for Hawthorne’s writing. They characterise the atmosphere of the beginning of the settlement in Massachusetts (Salem) and show the beliefs of the Puritans. Shortly after his arrival, being in command of the military company, he went to Merry Mount (Mount Wollaston, now Quincy), because the inhabitants provoked a scandal in the colony – Moore writes about “dissolute proceedings of the settlers”. Captain Endicott “cut down their Maypole and admonished them with threats to change their conduct” (Moore, Jacob 349). Heath precises that Endicott cut down the Maypole “between the fall of 1628 and the summer 1629” (Heath). The maypole was very important for the inhabitants as a centre for their celebrations, almost a sacred place. Later, their establishment was broken up altogether, because “the orgies of these people had become too scandalous” (Moore, Jacob 349).

Few years later Minister Roger Williams came to Salem. Under his influence, Endicott was resolute to “put down every remnant of what he deemed to be popish or heathenish or symbols of Romanism”, so in 1634 he “cut the cross of Saint George from the standard (flag)” (Moore, Jacob 353). But people thought this was a rash act and it was brought before the general court at Boston and Endicott was disabled for one year from any public office. (Moore, Jacob 353)

He was known for his religious intolerance, he showed great bigotry and harshness, particularly towards the Quakers. After the year 1644 when he

was elected governor, many orders against heretics and religious dissenters, namely Quakers, passed and were in practice: heavy fines, whipping, cutting ears, imprisonment, stripes, the dungeon... and in 1656 “an act of banishment was passed upon the entire sect, with the penalty of death if disregarded” (Moore, Jacob 356). To discourage everybody from the heretics, yet another law was passed: ”and any colonists siding with them were to be treated with equal severity” (Moore, Jacob 357). In 1659, two men were sentenced to death (Moore, Jacob 357). These were severe rules, not only from today’s perspective, but also in comparison with neighbouring New Plymouth where similar severe laws were enacted and several Quakers whipped, banished from the country or imprisoned, but none suffered death. (Moore, Jacob 155)

One last note about Governor Endicott that appeared also in Hawthorne’s writing: in 1649 Endicott “the most rigid of any of the magistrates, joined in an association against the custom of wearing long hair” (Moore, Jacob 359).

In his time he was regarded with respect which is shown by many years spent in the governor’s office. However, Endicott’s intolerance also inspired Hawthorne to personify Puritanism.

3.1.4. Division

The broad and incoherent Puritan movement included those who were dissatisfied with the moderate Anglicanism and saw it as an incomplete reformation. Gradually, they split into groups, separated and formed independent churches pursuing further reformation. Each group had different emphases. The Puritan movement later divided to deist “Unitarian” and more traditional “Trinitarian” who later adopted the name Congregationalists. The Unitarians later separated into Transcendentalists as a movement that was spiritual, but not ecclesiastical. (Putna 27)

The churches derived from Puritan later Congregational Church are: Baptists, Quakers, Shakers, and later Methodists (Filipi 143, Putna 149). The

Congregational Church was the more traditional part of Puritan movement and it is considered as a continuation of Puritans, although in moderate version. (Putna 27) Because of that, nowadays, we cannot find in America a church named Puritan.

3.2. Characteristic Features

The preceding chapter deals with historical development, this chapter presents the theoretical background of Puritan movement and some aspects of their daily life.

Puritanism was not a coherent church organization, therefore there may have been slight differences between the individual parish (congregation) in terms of theology or social life, but this part of the thesis focuses mainly on the common points for the inhabitants of New England that could be called Puritans. The three following categories are interconnected; the headings are an attempt to structure the ideas of Puritanism. The points mentioned below are only the “ought to”, what they said they believed in; there is little probability, and no possibility of proving, that every single Puritan believed that and behaved according to these requirements.

3.2.1. Theology

Limited themes are mentioned here to clarify the Puritan perspective and the consequences in daily life and in the life of the church community. Theologically, Puritan beliefs are based on Calvinism, and although Calvinism has many common features with the Lutheran churches, there are differences important for both of them. (Filipi 128)

The theology has not changed; nowadays still the central point is God’s grace that exculpates sinful men without their merit. The Calvinist churches believe that man’s destiny is given beforehand; some are chosen to be saved, others to be damned. This doctrine is called predestination. Therefore the

central question is that of individual election and damnation (Ruland and Bradbury 17). Of course those who are inside the church believe they are the chosen people, so they ask what are the binding consequences of their exculpation: “What can I do to show my gratitude and not to waste the exculpation?” The good deeds that lead to consecration of the life in discipline and obedience are not preconditions to receive grace, but a grateful response to it. This grateful response is much more emphasized than in Lutheran churches. (Filipi 128)

In contrast to Catholic and Lutheran churches, Calvinist and Congregational churches are not united by one creed; individual local churches formulate their own creed (Filipi 128). The attention is focused on the church’s order. For this purpose there are two documents: “Platform from Cambridge”, the result of a synod conference of American Congregationalists in 1646-1648; and so-called “Savoy declaration” of English Congregationalists from 1658. (Filipi 135)

3.2.2. Structure

The church organization was one of the key points of Reformation – they wanted the separation and independency of political power and hierarchical power for the church. However, in England the king was the head of the monarchy and the church, and because the (later called) Puritans wanted the church to be independent, they eventually separated from the Church of England.

The above-mentioned development resulted in one of the specific features of congregationalism (with small ‘c’ indicates a structure that could be also in other churches): each parish was independent on higher instances (clerical (pope, archbishops...) or politic power) – it was subject to Christ only. Later, the necessity of tolerance was added. All these formed the character of Christianity in the USA and elsewhere. Nowadays there are still these requirements, but the emphasis is on tolerance: the public and state institution

must be neutral and guarantee the liberty of each citizen regardless of his or her church. (Filipi 130,135)

To achieve the ideal of independence, the community had to be formed by convinced and conscious Christians, who were aware of consequences of their faith; this is in contrast to “popular church” where the individual becomes member automatically by birth. (Filipi 136)

The churches were based on presbyter and synod principles, which means that at the head of the parish is beside the elected minister also the selected vestry (the elected members are laymen). The election is not the will of people, but the acceptance of Christ’s mandate. (Filipi 131)

3.2.3. Beliefs, Life

The heritage of Puritanism emphasizes personal piety, moral respect, enthusiasm for evangelisation, simplicity of liturgy, and Christianity in public and social life. (Filipi 143)

3.2.3.1. Church

The churches that developed from Calvinism are more radical than Lutheran churches concerning the reform of the service (mass). The most important event is the preaching of the word of God based on the Scripture, almost equally important is singing of Psalms. The rooms for services are simple, austere, without altars, candles or paintings (Filipi 132). Lord’s supper (communion) is less frequent.

Some typical features of Calvinism include the emphasis on church as a particular social organism. Should the church be a place of the rule of Christ, each member has to be bound and protected by the rules of clearly defined community. Along with the rules, the discipline is necessary to stop the self-assertion at the expense of others. The discipline is achieved at first by preaching God’s word and only further steps are repressive: admonishment, distance from the sacraments etc. The execution of the discipline in the actual community is the responsibility of the vestry along with the minister (Filipi

130-131). Foster, talking about the first settlers, speaks of their attitude to sin in more harsh words: If any one of the membership fell into a scandalous iniquity, the association should first admonish him and then, if he fails to repent, cast him out “until he brings suitable expressions and evidences of repentance with him” (Foster 63). In the past, the words “cast him out” sometimes meant to send him to the forest, sometimes only to exclude him from the sacraments. These internal rules are very similar with those that Cotton Mather suggested for his “local, voluntary Reforming Societies” (Foster 62).

By 1636 the Puritans were restricting church membership to those who could provide a reasonable proof of having experienced a work of saving grace – “the first settlers could comply, future generations would not be so fortunate” (Foster 48).

What connected the church organization and the organization of society was the exigency of unity. The Puritans were so attached to unity there could be traced features of tribalism: they eliminated or excluded all potentially divisive members; moreover, those outcast were in a worse position than those who had never been Puritans. As Foster illustrates it: “Once expelled, their former brethren regarded them with a hate stronger than any feeling they had toward the mixed multitude who had never shared in the privileges of the elect” (Foster 53,54). The reason for this hatred was in the idea of being an example for the rest of the world (“city upon a hill”) and therefore the “exemplary failure would bring exemplary punishment” (Foster 3). Some of the serious social misconducts were covetousness (seeking the self over common good), faction, and contention, especially that “spiritual pride” that caused inferiors to resist the superiors. (Foster 51)

Examples of people who were dangerous to unity: Ann Hutchinson was expelled in 1637, Mary Dyer was hanged on Boston Common as a Quakeress in 1660, John Humphrey abandoned the Massachusetts Bay for Providence Isle in 1641 and there was an account of his misfortunes and hardship – all because he left the chosen people (Foster 55-57) and Roger William is another example of an outcast sent to Rhode Island (Ruland and Bradbury 29).

3.2.3.2. Community and Society

The project of Puritans, in leaving their country and sailing towards the new one, was “reformation of the church and society... purging them from the popish and humane corruptions” (Foster 1). Puritans wanted to create a new type of society.¹⁹ However from today’s point of view, they were still trapped in the 17th century view of society. Although they despised the hierarchy in Catholic Church, they could not imagine human society without given hierarchy. The inequality of people was natural, necessary, as John Winthrop said: “God has so disposed... in all times some must be rich, some poor, some high and eminent in power and dignity, others in subjection” (Foster 13). They believed this order came from God and it was not human business to change it – it even served to defend the existence of human slavery, without the possibility to change their status: “some to be high and honourable, some to be low and despicable ... and so to remain during their lives” (Foster 14). The general opinion was that inequality was “not merely natural, but beneficial, of value to superior and inferior alike” (Foster 15). If the order was not followed, there surely would be “distraction and desolation of the whole [society]” (Foster 15). Every member of the society was subjected to the whole and had to help to the common good (Foster 16). The three most characteristic words were “mutuality, subordination and public service” (Foster 18).

The order was thought important also as “a check on limitless atrocities that they (people) might be tempted to commit” (Foster 19). The ideas of order and restriction often appeared in Puritan writings under military analogies: “daily battle with sin; Christian soldiers” (Foster 25). As in other societies there were external signs of social deference: the order on school and college class lists, the seating in many churches and the use of honorific from “Goodman” upward to “Esquire”; the manner of clothing and wearing “gold or silver buttons, or walk in great boots, or wear silk” was not allowed to men and women of lower condition and education. (Foster 28)

Although Puritans maintained some kind of social hierarchy, the difference from England was that in the new society there were not the upper

and lower extremes of the society (the monarch and poor labourers who do not own land).

In organizing their society anew, the Puritans chose to subordinate it to rules according to the church. They insisted upon “communion in church as the sole qualification for freemanship” and they “based their civil commonwealth on principles strikingly similar to those that gave form to their ecclesiastical societies”²⁰ (Foster 45).

The 18th century brought changes such as when in 1685 a royal government was inaugurated in the colony, and Dominion of New England was created (1685-89). The new character that Massachusetts received required religious toleration, and also new suffrage law in the Bay Colony substituted a simple property qualification for the old requirement of church membership. From that time, in all New England, the government would not cooperate as closely with the church in establishing the Puritan social ideal as it had before 1685. (Foster 60) There was an advantage for those who were considered sinful – although they may have been kept out of full membership in the church, they could remain a part of the society.

3.2.3.3. Beliefs

On one hand, there was the pathos of creating a “new, pure land”. The Puritans believed they are the chosen people and they understood their pilgrimage as an analogy with the exodus from Egypt (see biblical book of Exodus) and therefore New England was the Promised Land Canaan. (Putna 25, Ruland and Bradbury 9). They wanted to create a “city upon a hill” and with their exemplary life they wanted to serve as a model for the reform of other churches. (Winthrop in Foster 3)

On the other hand, the permanent fear of sin and condemnation was motivation for further activity and creativity.²¹ Because they were never sure whether they are chosen or not, they had to examine their souls and the world around in order to see God’s signs²². This examination lead, only six years after foundation of Boston, to establish Puritan theological seminar – Harvard University (they renamed New Towne to Cambridge). (Putna 25)

Puritan thinking and feeling were bibliocentric and in a way fundamentalist which in their case can lead to the desire for the most profound and most precise understanding of biblical world and its wider contexts; and to widespread use of biblical images and quotations in the texts that they produced. (Putna 26)

The order was important and necessary, the inequality of people was striking, but some saw it very positively as an inducement to love. For example Winthrop wrote that men of unequal talents would have “need of each other, and from hence they might be all knit more neatly together in the bond of brotherly affection” (Winthrop papers in Foster 41). This mutual relationship, serving the other with love, is called charity (Caritas in Latin, Agape in Greek).

To sum up the basis of the Puritan movement, we may quote Foster: “good bookkeeping, subordination, inequality, authority, unity, suppression of the individual will for the good of the whole” (Foster 6). Be pious in privacy, and in public serve others with love – that behaviour would be ideal.

4. Puritans and the Others

The theoretical part presented Hawthorne's interest in Puritanism as well as the theoretical base of Puritanism seen from today's perspective – the rules and historical facts to see what beliefs are behind the picture of Puritans that Hawthorne presents us. The practical part of the thesis deals with Hawthorne's own description. Hawthorne studied historical sources and he often gave a historical introduction before he started a story, he also used footnotes (which is not usual for sketches or storytelling). In his stories there are few explicit descriptions of Puritan lifestyle (see chapter 4.1), but mostly he mentions it implicitly – Hawthorne shows how individual characters of his stories were influenced by the Puritan morals, what they feel and their experiences.

In the first part, however infrequent in Hawthorne's stories, is mentioned direct description of Puritan daily routine, settlement and meeting house. The next part presents various encounters of Puritans and other co-habitants of New England and Puritan perception of the wilderness that surrounded them.

The Other

As it was explained in the theoretical part, the Puritans believed themselves the chosen people and they wanted to be a model for others by their exemplary life. To achieve it, they not only emphasized their unity, but also punished the wrongdoing.

One possibility of maintaining unity is to define themselves against those whose thinking is different. This included not only those who stayed in Old England – by proclaiming Puritan religious sovereignty (Moore 350), but also those who separated from Puritans during the several first years in New England.

The confrontation with the others is important because the Puritans themselves wanted it, it was their effort. Furthermore, in this definition of themselves against the others, we can best see their understanding of the world and of other people. Their position in the world was based on the conviction “we are the best”. All this together is very often a theme in Hawthorne’s work.

To illustrate the behaviour towards those whose thinking is different from the Puritan’s, there are short stories “The Gentle Boy” and “The Maypole of Merry Mount”. In both of them Hawthorne starts with a historical overview and writes about two extremes which stand in opposition and seem impossible to reconcile. In “The Maypole of Merry Mount” there are on one hand, people of excessive happiness, joy and celebration and on the other hand, the pious and hardworking Puritans with their strict rules and hatred of happiness. In “The Gentle boy” the Puritans still severe and on the other hand Quakers who are enthusiastic, with different belief and suffer various punishments.

Hawthorne presents the Puritans as well as their counterparts with a certain disrespect. The third story I this part “Endicott and the red cross” is connected with the two previous by the main character and by his endeavour to distinguish his colony from everything old (England, religion...).

4.1. Puritans: Some Characteristic Features

Hawthorne does not describe complexly the culture of the Puritans, he gives fragments of the whole image in different stories. The description usually fits to the context of the story, therefore it will be presented gradually. However, there are some parts that will be treated separately to have an idea of Hawthorne’s approach to the Puritans.

The description of the parish in the short story “The Gentle Boy” seems impartial, but Hawthorne uses so many negative prefixes and suffixes, that it influences the reader’s opinion towards the feeling of something too austere, something missing. It is described as simple, almost provisional “it was then, and in many subsequent years, unprovided with a bell, the signal for the

commencement of the religious exercises was the beat of a drum” (Hawthorne 50). The interior of the meeting house was rude: “The low ceiling, the unplastered walls, the naked wood work, and the undraperied pulpit” (Hawthorne 53). Hawthorne wants to persuade the reader that there was nothing to stimulate the piety or religious feeling. On the floor there were “rows of long, cushionless benches, supplying the place of pews and the broad aisle formed a sexual division” (Hawthorne 53).

In the short story “Endicott and the Red Cross” there is a similar description of the austere outside view of a house of prayer as “an edifice of humble architecture with neither steeple nor bell” (Hawthorne 205). And Endicott declares that they do not want the bell and other features typical for churches in Europe, because it was their aim to be different, pure.

In the same story Hawthorne presents a view of an ordinary Puritan settlements in Salem, he is attracted by the image which shows “so many other characteristic of the times and manners of the Puritans, that we must ... represent them in a sketch” (Hawthorne 205). The main features described are various types of punishment. The speciality of Puritan punishment seems to be the visibility of the chastened – Hawthorne comments on this praxis: “It was the policy of our ancestors to search out even the most secret sins and expose them to shame, without fear or favor, in the broadest daylight” (Hawthorne 206). First he describes various instruments of torture: “the whipping post – with the soil around it well trodden by the feet of evil doers, who had there been disciplined. At one corner of the meeting house was the pillory, and at the other stocks”. (Hawthorne 205) This description would be sufficient but Hawthorne makes it more vivid by showing the instruments in action: “The head of an Episcopalian and suspected Catholic was grotesquely incased in the pillory, a fellow criminal, who had boisterously quaffed a health to the king, was confined by legs in the stocks” (Hawthorne 205). This selection of the chastened fits especially to this story about England’s aspiration to dominate New England.

Furthermore, there are other people who are chastened and “undergo their various modes of ignomy, for the space of one hour at noonday” (Hawthorne 206). On the steps of the meeting house stood a man “bearing on his breast this label ‘A Wanton Gospeller’ ... because he dared to give interpretations of Holy Writ unsanctioned by the infallible judgement of the civil and religious rulers”. (Hawthorne 205) Next to him stood a woman with “a cleft stick on her tongue” (Hawthorne 205). But there were others, reports Hawthorne, whose punishment was lifelong: “Some whose ears had been cropped, ... others whose cheeks had been branded with the initials of their misdemeanors, ... another with a halter about his neck, which he was forbidden ever to take off” (Hawthorne 206). And Hawthorne foreshadows his greatest work *The Scarlet Letter* by presenting its to-be character Hester Prynne “a young woman with no mean share of beauty, whose doom it was to wear the letter A on the breast of her gown ... A meaning Adulteress” (Hawthorne 206).

These descriptions presents the situation of the first decades of the Puritan settlement. The daily routine of the Puritans is best described in the short story “The Maypole of Merry Mount” and will be discussed within the chapter about Merry Mount because it is necessary for the contrast that Hawthorne creates in the story.

4.2. Merry Mount

The short story “The Maypole of Merry Mount” refers to the historical event described above in the early days of the residence of John Endicott in New England. Hawthorne wants to be as faithful as possible to the historical development, he refers to an authority two other books and to be even more convincing he inserts a footnote, in which he doubts the phrase he put Endicott into the mouth, towards the end of the story. However, Heath points out that Hawthorne does not refer a to a book that would be the most appropriate: *New English Canaan* – a book by Thomas Morton, who was the founder of the colony of Merry Mount.

Hawthorne presents two completely different settlements of New England. One of happy settlers at Merry Mount and the other is Puritan settlement. With detailed and vivid description it seems that he does not side with any of these two, he presents them as two extremities that are both considered in a way insane by the severity with which they adhered to their habits. Hawthorne uses multiple points of view – third person omniscient, but “on occasions he slips into third person limited employing both Puritan and Cavalier perspectives” (Heath). The description of both groups is very direct which is surprising especially in the case of Puritans, because in most of his stories Hawthorne does not presents them directly, but on an example of one or more personages.

Firstly, according to Hawthorne, the colonists of Merry Mount were “worldly people: minstrels, wandering players, mummers, rope dancers... mirth-makers of every sort” (Hawthorne 43) who became to be “discountenanced by the rapid growth of the Puritanism” for that reason, they crossed the sea and “all the hereditary pastimes of Old England were transplanted hither” (Hawthorne 43). Merry Mount was a “gay colony, ... people of mirthful spirit... and lightsome hearts” (Hawthorne 40), This part of the description seems positive, but Hawthorne adds few more details which break the image of an ideal settlement – he shows “faces... distorted or extravagant, with red noses pendulous before their mouths, which seemed of awful depth, and stretched from ear to ear in an eternal fit of laughter” (Hawthorne 41); it was a “strange company” (Hawthorne 41). Hawthorne presents some negative aspects of Merry Mount, he puts in question the sincerity of their happiness by saying that they were men who, “after losing the heart’s fresh gayety, imagined a wild philosophy of pleasure” (Hawthorne 42) and he adds “whatever might be the quality of their mirth”; furthermore he says they were forced to be happy, because “it was a high treason to be sad at Merry Mount” (Hawthorne 42)

Hawthorne presents their habits: to keep bonfires and dance... and they venerated the Maypole. They liked mummary (Hawthorne 44) such as on the evening of his story, when they were dressed in various masques and the

wedding celebration was accompanied by dance and by “a prelude of pipe, cithern, and viol, ... minstrelsy” (Hawthorne 42).

On the other hand, there is a group of “grim Puritans” (Hawthorne 43) who were watching from the forest and who “compared the masques to those devils and ruined souls with whom their superstition peopled the black wilderness” (Hawthorne 41). For the Puritans, the costumes and celebrations, decoration, joy, merriment, music was bad, pagan “with the pagan decoration of his holy garb...he seemed the wildest monster there” (Hawthorne 41). Then follows the scornful description of Puritans:

“Unfortunately, there were men in the new world of s stern faith than these of Maypole worshippers. Not far from Merry Mount was a settlement of Puritans, most dismal wretches, who said they prayers before daylight, and then wrought in the forest in the forest of the cornfield till evening made it prayer time again. ... When they met in conclave, it was never to keep up the old English mirth, but to hear sermons three hours long ... Their festivals were fast days, and their chief pastime the singing of psalms. Woe to the youth or maiden who did but dream of a dance! ... or if he danced, it was around the whipping post.” (Hawthorne 43)

The drama of the scene comes to the climax with the description of the leader of the Puritans: “So stern was the energy of his aspect, that the whole man, visage, frame, and soul, seemed wrought of iron. ... It was the Puritan of Puritans; it was Endicott himself!” (Hawthorne 44) He starts his mission towards the heretics by the exclamation “Stand off, priest of Baal!” (Hawthorne 45). He uses the name of a pagan god from Old Testament (I Kings 16.30-33) to prove, that he is on the right side, just as the Israelites were.

Under the leadership of Endicott, the Puritans cut down the Maypole and punished the colonists. To show the figure of Endicott in full light, Hawthorne gives few examples of his severity in the orders he gives: whipping, branding, cropping of ears (Hawthorne 45); concerning females, Endicott explains: “We are not wont to show an idle courtesy to that sex, which require

the stricter discipline” (Hawthorne 45); he sentences the bear: “Shoot him through the head. I suspect witchcraft” (Hawthorne 45). He also required formal changes in clothing “garments of a more decent fashion ...instead of glistening vanities” and he ordered to “cut the hair of the youth” (Hawthorne 46). Although from historical point of view, the paper signed with his name forbidding long hair for males is of later date, it is possible, that his conviction in this matter was strong from the beginning of his membership in the Puritan movement. However, at the end, Hawthorne adopts milder tone and shows Endicott moved by the love of the couple and his decision to take them for the re-education. (Hawthorne 46)

Nevertheless, the story ends in an unhappy atmosphere “As the moral gloom of the world overpowers all systematic gayety” (Hawthorne 47).

Whereas Merry Mount settlers are presented as foolish, maybe childish, people who enjoy vanity, but they are generally harmless, living their lives and nourishing their spirit with happiness; the Puritans are described in more aggressive way – how fierce they were to prove their truth, to restore the order which they believe divine. Puritans want to have everything under control, want others to be like them. Hawthorne presents this clash as an important quarrel about “the future complexion of New England” (Hawthorne 44) expressed by Hawthorne: “Should the grizzly saints establish their jurisdiction over the gay sinners”? (Hawthorne 44). Hawthorne seems to regret that there was no place for “merry old England”.

Heath argues that Merry Mount embodies something essential that the Puritans lack. And he focuses on the cultural role of merriment and holidays: the purpose is to provide a temporary respite from everyday drudgery and work, because “without holiday, all is work and gloom” (Heath).

Therefore the Puritans attempted to suppress this tradition, as Hawthorne suggests in his story, influenced the development of the country’s culture towards the loss of merriment.

4.3. The Red Cross

The short story called “Endicott and the Red Cross” presents a milder image of Endicott – although tough, severe and militant, it is shown that his resoluteness was important for the forming independence of the colonies. Almost half of the story is consecrated to the description of various kinds of punishment, as described in chapter “Characteristic features” and the second half of the story presents Endicott after receiving bad news about the possibility that an English superior will come to New England and will represent the English political and church hierarchy. He is advised not to speak about it, and to keep the other people in peace – because any incautious action might be a pretext for the king to act against New England. However, Endicott sees this kind of behaviour as “meek and moderate” and is determined to “do according to his own best judgement” (Hawthorne 207).

Similarly to the previous story, it features Endicott in action against an enemy. ‘The other’ in this story is England, the king Charles I and Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury and Catholic and Anglican churches – they are real thread to the Puritan independence and to their liberty of worshipping God.

The Puritans feared that the king and mainly the Archbishop “wrought the utter ruin of the two Puritan colonies, Plymouth and Massachusetts” (Hawthorne 205), but the settlers were resolved that their “infant country should not fall without a struggle” (Hawthorne 205). Hawthorne adds that fighting was a part of the daily life of the Puritans as those “religious exiles were accustomed often to buckle on their armor, and practise the handling of their weapons of war” (Hawthorne 204). In such a situation, Endicott’s “stern and resolute countenance” (Hawthorne 205) seems useful.

This time, Endicott is not an aggressor, but again the situation is similar: he feels the necessity of defending his own (and his “fellow-exilers”) faith and liberty against “our bitterest persecutor” (Archbishop of Canterbury), who seems resolute to “pursue us even hither” (Hawthorne 208). In the speech that Endicott makes, there are two important themes. The first is the theme of

liberty and the second is comparison of the Puritans and Church of England, which is still viewed as too close to the Catholic church.

Firstly, concerning the theme of liberty, Endicott reminds his companions with eagerness and ardour why they came into the wilderness of New England: “Was it not for the enjoyment of our civil rights? Was it not for liberty to worship God according to our conscience?” (Hawthorne 208). This remark is very important and seems quite satirical after the earlier description of all the publicly punished people. And it is the Wanton Gospeller who represents the voice of those who are persecuted for their words; he asks Endicott: “Call you this liberty of conscience?” (Hawthorne 208). But for resolute and intolerant Endicott, there is no place for debate and he only threaten the Wanton Gospeller by even more severe punishment.

Secondly, Endicott is concerned with the faith and praxis of the Puritans and enumerates the features incompatible with Puritanism. He warns others that the archbishop may establish “the idolatrous forms of English episcopacy” (Hawthorne 208). He pictured to the colonists what would happen to their church: “we may briefly behold a cross on the spire of this tabernacle, ... and a high altar, with wax tapers... we shall hear the sacring bell and the voices of Romish priests” (Hawthorne 208). This is a terrifying news for the Puritans because they feel they have liberated themselves already from the subjection of England and the Church of England; and they do not want any other connection with Old England: “What have we to do with this mitred prelate, with this crowned king? What have we to do with England?” (Hawthorne 208). To manifest the independence, Endicott with his sword rends the Red Cross, which symbolises England, completely out of the standard.

Although not everybody agrees with this deed, the story finishes with an exclamation: “And forever honoured be the name of Endicott!” (Hawthorne 209). And it is not sure whether it is meant seriously or mockingly. Luckily, in this story it is only the flag that suffers from the turbulent nature of this Puritan warrior.

4.4.Quakers

This chapter presents few historical facts about Quakers, shows Hawthorne's description of Quakers, then summarizes what happened during the encounters between this "sect" and the Puritans; and at the end it gives an account of what the Quakers felt, how this situation changed their lives. But fortunately, it is also the Puritans that are changed.

The short story "The Gentle Boy" illustrates the difficult and violent relationship of the Puritans with the Quakers. The Quaker movement appeared in England in the Puritan environment. George Fox (1624-91) came to a different conclusion concerning the salvation of an individual – he claimed that everyone could be saved (Putna 65). The beginnings of the movement were quite fierce, full of enthusiasm, apocalyptic visions and ecstatic manifestations (Putna 66). According to Putna, the Puritans were the most furious towards Quakers, because Quakers were heretics risen from their own background (Putna 67).

Jacob Moore specifies that Quakers were persecuted in England so they appeared in New England in 1656 and "immediately attracted the notice of the authorities" (Moore, Jacob 155). As a result, Massachusetts passed a law "forbidding masters of vessels bringing them (Quakers) over". (Moore 356). Nevertheless, the Quakers, being dropped elsewhere, forced their way through the wilderness to come to the Puritan colonies to preach what is the true religion.

As if Hawthorne counted on a reader not familiar with history, the story opens with detailed historical background, he gives exact dates, but he does not name the governor under whose rule this all happened. As a motto of this story could be his statement that it were the Puritans who wanted to "banish and to prevent the further intrusion of the rising sect" (Hawthorne 47).

Hawthorne does not describe the theological differences or causes of the situation. More important for him are the consequences that destroyed the

life of many people and broke many families; and that all this wrong was caused by the Puritan effort to maintain unity.

4.4.1.Hawthorne's Characteristic of Quakers and Puritans

Hawthorne presents the Quakers with a sort of mockery or misapprehension; he makes the reader notice, that their actions were based more on enthusiasm than on reason. Hawthorne says that the Quakers were lead to New England “by the inward movement of the spirit” (Hawthorne 47). And he explains why the Puritans intent to “purge the land of heresy” was not successful; it was because the Quakers “esteem persecution as a divine call to the post of danger” (Hawthorne 47). He describes them as “wandering enthusiasts who practised peace towards all man” (Hawthorne 47). The Quakers were “eager to testify against the oppression which they hoped to share” (Hawthorne 47). Their enthusiasm is not described as something desirable, Hawthorne says it was close to madness, but he admits, that it was so because of the Puritans’ reaction: “their enthusiasm, heightened almost to madness by the treatment they received, produced actions contrary to the rules of decency” (Hawthorne 47). Although Hawthorne sees Quakers’ actions as excessive and not fully intelligible, he considers them innocent – or at least those who paid their faith by death as martyrs – he speaks about them as of “innocent blood” (Hawthorne 49).

The Quakers were not different in physiognomy, but Hawthorne describes one Quaker who would provoke the Puritan hatred by his appearance, because his “grey locks fell from beneath the broad grimed hat, which alone would have made him hateful to the Puritans” (Hawthorne 62). It is again an allusion to Puritan orders adopted under the rule of Endicott, who declared his “dislike and detestation against wearing of such a long hair” (Moore, Jacob 159) he considered long hair as a “manner of Barbarous Indians” and thought that “men deform themselves, and offend sober and modest men” (Moore, Jacob 159).

On the other side there are the Puritans who are characterised by their actions against the Quakers. This point of view also shows the position of Quakers in the society. Hawthorne talks about the Puritans as of “our pious forefathers” (Hawthorne 47) who distributed “fines, imprisonment, and stripes” (Hawthorne 47). And there were worse punishments, such as being sentenced to death, which Hawthorne describes poetically as “the crown of martyrdom” (Hawthorne 48). Hawthorne characterises the Puritan behaviour as violent and criticizes it: “An indelible stain of blood is upon the hands of all who consented ... but a large share o responsibility must rest upon the person then at the head of government” (Hawthorne 48). Hawthorne does not name the person, but the date of the execution and the knowledge of historical events allow us to find the name: Endicott. In this story, he is again characterised as a man of “narrow mind and imperfect education, uncompromising bigotry... he exerted his influence indecorously and unjustifiably to compass the death of the enthusiasts” (Hawthorne 48).

Later Hawthorne introduces one more historical remark showing the violent character of the situation even after the restoration: “The dungeons were never empty; the streets of almost every village echoed daily with the lash; ... and more innocent blood was yet to pollute the hands that were so often raised in prayer” (Hawthorne 61). Thus for the second time in this short story he directly confronts the piety of prayer on one side and the brutal and violent acts on the other.

And even in the story itself, Hawthorne shows the brutality of Puritan punishment seen by Tobias who adopts a small boy and explains to his wife, Dorothy, that “Christian men, alas! Had cast him [the boy] out to die” (Hawthorne 51). Tobias expresses his surprise and seems to note the incompatibility of Christianity and violence. The polemic between Puritans and brutality is escalated by the hospitality of savage men, such as when Tobias and Dorothy learn from the boy what happened to his mother – she was “carried to the uninhabited wilderness, and left to perish there by hunger or wild beasts. This was not uncommon ... and they [Quakers] were accustomed

to boast that the inhabitants of the desert were more hospitable to them than civilized man” (Hawthorne 51).

4.4.2. Different Encounters

After the factographical introduction, the actual story is a series of encounters between Puritans and Quakers, and there is an interesting alternation in individual (personal, private) meetings and public encounters between the protagonists. The reader discovers that the number of people involved in each encounter is a very important factor for the course of the meeting – whether it is peaceful or not.

4.4.2.1 First Encounter – Personal

The story opens with a small Quaker boy, Ibrahim, dwelling on his father’s tomb (hanged for the Quaker persuasion). There comes Tobias, a Puritan who “possessed a compassionate heart which not even religious prejudice could harden into stone” (Hawthorne 49). In this personal encounter, Tobias’ heart won over his reason. He knows the Puritan rules that nobody should be in contact with the heretics (Quakers), nevertheless, influenced by the “warmth of his feelings he resolved that at whatever risk” he will bring this boy home and give him some food (Hawthorne 50). The same adoption repeats later, because his wife, Dorothy, was “gifted with even a quicker tenderness” (Hawthorne 51). Throughout the story Hawthorne’s notion about people’s heart is important.

The story reminds very much of the biblical parable of Merciful Samaritan. The Samaritan sees a robbed and injured man on his way, and although he was of disrespectful origin, the Samaritan takes him to an inn and pays for his recovery. (Luke 10:33)

4.4.2.2. Public

After the adoption of Ibrahim, a problematic coexistence starts in the Puritan village. Very shortly Tobias and Dorothy begin to “experience a most bitter species of persecution: cold regards of friends, ... insults from an invisible speaker (in the forest)” (Hawthorne 52). The author also foreshadows the end of the story by saying that these insults work on the nature of Tobias towards a change.

At this point, Tobias and Dorothy still feel as a part of the Puritan community and decide to take Ibrahim with them to a public worship on Sunday. But on the way the people show them that they do not belong fully to the community – “people avoided them, and passed on the other side”, they had a “disapproving gaze” (Hawthorne 52). Inside the church, some seem to “dread contamination”, other thought as if “the sanctuary were polluted by his [Ibrahim’s] presence” (Hawthorne 53). Hawthorne sides with the boy by saying he was “sweet, quiet, lovely” (Hawthorne 52,3) and puts this in contrast with the behaviour of the inhabitants who “close up their impure hearts against him ... and said ‘We are holier than thou’” (Hawthorne 53).

The scene continues inside the meeting house by a sermon meant especially for Dorothy and Tobias. The minister describes the tenets of the Quakers: “he spoke of the danger of pity, in some cases a commendable and Christian virtue, but inapplicable to this pernicious sect” (Hawthorne 53). His warning was accepted by the majority of the Puritans by “an approving murmur” (Hawthorne 53).

However, as a response to this speech, a Quakeress takes the place in front of the whole gathering and accuses the Puritans that they listened to the devil and wishes “woe to them who shed the blood of saints [Quakers]” (Hawthorne 54). And she exclaims all the wrong they did to her husband and her child and that she is left with a broken heart. When the minister interrupts her, he in turn accuses her of “inspiration of the devil” (Hawthorne 55) and sentences her to death.

4.4.2.3. Personal

These series of various public encounters, disagreeable and severe to the Quakers, are interrupted by the dialogue between Dorothy and the Quakeress, still in the meeting house, but for this moment, the other Puritans do not intervene. Again the personal level is different and they both show much more understanding for the other. It is Dorothy who first declares an interesting ecumenical statement: “but we are Christians, looking upward to the same heaven with you. Doubt not that your boy shall meet you there...” (Hawthorne 56). Dorothy acts differently to both preceding sides – she does not try to quarrel, to find the faults of the other, but she emphasizes the common point; which is actually more important than anything else.

After a short debate, even the Quakeress seems persuaded that the difference is not impassable. She gives a final consent to Ibrahim’s adoption, but she still places her own belief higher: “I will believe that even thy imperfect lights may guide him to a better world” (Hawthorne 57).

4.4.2.4 Public

The dialogue, together with the realisation, that the Quakeress has a son and that she feels broken, work on the public opinion and for that moment “a general sentiment of pity overcame the virulence of religious hatred” (Hawthorne 57). So the Quakeress could leave unpunished.

However, the momentary pity did not last long and “the feelings of the neighbouring people did not undergo a favourable change” – the family experienced scorn and bitterness and the other children “were taught to hate him [Ibrahim]” (Hawthorne 59).

4.4.2.5. Children: Personal and Public

The individual encounters between the adults were peaceful, whereas the public ones were full of hatred and scorn. The same pattern appears in the encounter among the children. There was a boy who was injured and stayed under Tobias' roof and who got on well with Ibrahim; it seemed they became friends. However, later, in a group of children the boy pretended to invite Ibrahim closer and then struck him "so forcibly that the blood issued in a stream" (Hawthorne 60). Then the other children started to beat him.

4.4.3. Quakers' Feelings

In the story, there is no space for the Puritans' feelings; instead, Hawthorne describes the feelings of those who were persecuted. It is not done with sympathy to the Quakers but rather to show the horror of the persecution, how it hurts human feelings. For example when the children beat Ibrahim, Hawthorne adds that "the injury done to his sensitive spirit was more serious ... his heart became so miserably sore" (Hawthorne 60-61).

Towards the end of the story the reader learns that Tobias and Dorothy became Quakers. The feeling that appears most often is despair, because the persecution and the hardship of life are like a heavy burden on their shoulders. For example when Ibrahim is seriously ill Tobias' laments: "It is heavier than I can bear! ... I am an accursed man" (Hawthorne 62). When he and another Quaker hear the knocking on the door, Tobias "grew paler, for many visits of persecution had taught him what to dread" (Hawthorne 64). Yet the two Quakers go open the doors together saying "It is not fitting that thou or I should shrink" (Hawthorne 64).

They are not alone to experience the hopelessness – when Catherine (the mother of the Quaker boy) hears that her son (whom she abandoned) is almost dying she exclaims: "will He try me above my strength? I have been wounded sore: I have suffered so much" (Hawthorne 65).

Through the personal feelings of the persecuted sufferers, Hawthorne intensifies the tension between the Puritans and the Quakers, once again, at the end of the story, he criticises the Puritan behaviour as non-Christian – since only “in process of time a more Christian spirit began to pervade the land in regard to the persecuted sect” (Hawthorne 66). And only there starts the reconciliation of both sides – it concerns especially Catherine, because “the rigid old Pilgrims eyed her rather in pity” and she could return and make herself home at Tobias and Dorothy’s, and gradually her nature was softened.

Hawthorne shows that force and hatred is not so powerful and that they only escalate the aggression in the behaviour of the Quakers – because at the end they are not persecuted any more, the pity and acceptance makes their actions milder and more decent; and they coexist with the Puritans as human beings.

4.5. Wilderness

This chapter discuss a topic concerning the incongruous group of rivals of the Puritans. In the previous chapters all “the others” whom the Puritans wanted to punish or banish, were humans of white skin, therefore of the same category as Puritans themselves, only with different beliefs. However, alongside there were co-habitants in New England, who were completely different – which made them even more dangerous enemies. Where could they be found? The answer, according to Hawthorne, and others (Johnson) is: anywhere outside the Puritan settlements, because there was the dark forest, “howling wilderness” (Hawthorne 207). In his stories (and novels), Hawthorne describes this physically and psychologically difficult environment. For example in “The gentle Boy” he displays the fear felt by the inhabitants of the village: “at that early period, when savages were wandering everywhere among the settlers, bold and bar were indispensable to the security of a dwelling” (Hawthorne 50). Furthermore, in his speech about the arrival to New England, Endicott stresses the difficulties with which the settlers struggled: “A howling wilderness it is! The wolf and the bear meet us within halloo of our dwellings.

The savage lieth in wait for us in the dismal shadow of the woods” (Hawthorne 207).

The first part of this chapter presents some historical facts about living in the wilderness, close to the Native Americans. The second part shows how Hawthorne used some of these facts in his stories to show the behaviour of his own ancestors.

4.5.1. Few Historical Remarks

4.5.1.1. Wilderness

Wilderness and native Americans were real dangers to the settlers, therefore, on one hand, we cannot wonder that Puritans have the ever-present feeling of necessity of self-defence. On the other hand they made an interesting use of these inhospitable conditions outside their settlements – they use it as a punishment – the banishment for those who were not in accord with them. Johnson points out how severe this punishment was: “the harshness of the surrounding area outside the town itself meant that the punishment of banishment was often a death sentence – survival was psychologically and physically impossible” (Johnson 11467).

Historically, Roger William, the minister of Salem, was banished from the society for his bold preaching and because he tried to “see the American’s Indians on their own terms”, and he was sent to Rhode Island (Moore, Jacob 354; Ruland and Bradbury 29); few years later the enthusiast Anne Hutchinson, after a formal trial was banished (Moore, Jacob 356), and the Quakers were banished too (Moore, Jacob 356). This was already demonstrated in Hawthorne’s, description of the Puritan procedure: the Quakeress was cast out “into the wilderness to perish there by hunger or wild beast” (Hawthorne 51).

Hawthorne does not mention many of these examples in his stories, but most likely he knew about them and they allow us to see where Hawthorne took the inspiration of how the wilderness was perceived in the Puritan times.

4.5.1.2. Native Americans and Puritans

Historically, there was a huge change in the attitude to the Native Americans during all the time of the settlement of the Europeans. According to Putna the first settlers found it difficult to survive the first winter and the Native Americans helped them and then “in autumn 1621 the Puritans celebrated their first ‘thanksgiving’ together with the Native Americans” (22). Putna also claims that today the Native Americans do not celebrate thanksgiving, but in the same day they have a “National Mourning Day” (24), since the day they helped the Puritans they started their own perdition.

From the beginning for years to come, mutual helpfulness and trade were fostered by both the early Massachusetts colonists and the Indian leader Massasoit, grand sachem of the Wampanoags (Britannica online. “King Philip’s Wars”). In the course of the years, however, as the settlers became more and more self sufficient, they became more self-confident and because their numbers grew, they needed more land and therefore they started to view the Native Americans as enemies which caused many conflicts. The first of them was the Pequot War in 1637, and later, King Philip’s War (1675–76) – the bloodiest conflict in 17th century New England. This conflict temporarily devastated the frontier communities, but it destroyed the native military resistance to the European colonization. (Britannica online. “King Philip’s War”)

Margaret B. Moore affirms that in Hawthorne’s times the Native Americans were viewed from quite a dispassionate perspective and that in the 1820s and 1830s there appeared several articles and a book about the “aborigines of New England”. However, the opinions about the Native Americans varied greatly – on one extreme there were people who defended them, published articles about the wrongs done to them, and the other extreme those who glorified King Philip. Hawthorne himself claimed that he was unable “to see any romance, or poetry or grandeur, or beauty in the Indian character” (Moore, Margaret). From that commentary Hawthorne’s view of the

Natives may be neutral; nevertheless, in his short stories he describes Native Americans from the perspective of the first settlers, whose point of view was not neutral at all.

4.4.2. Forest, Native Americans, Devils

There is not one story only about the Native Americans or about witches or devils – they are mentioned or represent minor themes of some of the stories – apart from one that mentions them most complexly: “Young Goodman Brown”.

In reality and in the stories, the forest and wilderness represented the place where the Puritan rules did not apply; symbolically it represented a step out of their routine. Although Johnson focuses on the role of wilderness in *The Scarlet Letter*, the general notion is similar in other Hawthorne’s short stories. Johnson describes wilderness and forest symbolically, as a place of “loneliness, terror, the unknown, rebellion, palpable evil, mystery, lawlessness, unbridled joy, pleasure, emotion, and sexuality” (Johnson 11468).

In the short stories, it is sometimes only the wilderness of the nature, that is mentioned, and the difficulties to pass through it as in “Endicott and the Red Cross” the reverend “bore a staff ... recently cut in the forest, and his shoes were bemired as if he had been travelling on foot through the swamps of the wilderness” (Hawthorne 206). More often, however, the wilderness is mentioned as savage and dangerous – for example “heathen wilderness ... frightful sounds” (Hawthorne 252) or in “Roger Malvin’s Burial” the forest that is close to the frontier is described as “wild and lonely” (Hawthorne 378). The dread of the uninhabited land is enforced by the approaching end of Malvin’s life by the statement that “for after all it was a ghastly fate to be left expiring in the wilderness” (Hawthorne 379). The same place is later referred to as “tangled and gloomy forest” or as “a region of which savage beasts and savage men were as yet the sole possessors” (Hawthorne 385). In contrast to this unwelcoming wilderness, Dorcas imagined their future dwelling and was

singing a song about “a winter evening in a frontier cottage, when, secured from savage inroad by the high piled snow drifts, the family rejoiced by their own fireside” (Hawthorne 387).

These are limited examples of how Hawthorne refers to the wilderness, because mostly the notion of wilderness or forest is connected with its inhabitants: Native Americans or devils.

The expression that Hawthorne uses in connection with the Native Americans varies accordingly to the theme of the story – in “The Great stone face” they are mentioned only as the preceding inhabitants and also as a part of the continuous myth – “a story that even the Indians, who formerly inhabited this valley, had heard from their forefathers” (Hawthorne 462). In other stories, the Native Americans are usually referred to as “savage men” (Hawthorne 385) or a “son of the wilderness” (Hawthorne 178). But Hawthorne also shows, at least once, respect, “A few stately savages, in all the pomp and dignity of the primeval Indian, stood gazing at the spectacle” (Hawthorne 206), and he sees their vulnerability: “Their flint headed arrows were but childish weapons compared with the matchlocks of the Puritans, and would have rattled harmlessly against the steel caps and hammered iron breastplates which enclosed each soldier in an individual fortress” (Hawthorne 206).

However, in most of the stories Native Americans are mentioned, again, as the victims of the Puritans. This point of view is mainly connected with King Philip’s War when the Puritans were defending “their” frontier and destroyed many Native American’s villages. In “Roger Malvin’s Burial” is mentioned another fight that “broke the strength of a tribe ... and brought several years of peace” (Hawthorne 376). The wounded warriors in this story are seen as heroes (Hawthorne 377) and Native Americans as a danger to the settlers who were also threatened by being taken “captive by the Indians” (Hawthorne 379).

Also in other stories Hawthorne focuses on the negative role of the Puritans. It is again connected with his ancestors who were present during the fights against the Native Americans. Similarly to other descriptions of conflict, he puts in contrast the religious feeling of the holy purpose and the actual bloody deeds. In the short story “The Grey Champion” there were among the crowd also those who fought against Native Americans – “the veterans of King Philip’s war, who had burned villages and slaughtered young and old, with pious fierceness, while the godly souls throughout the land were helping them with prayer” (Hawthorne 22). Furthermore in “Young Goodman Brown” the fellow-traveller (devil) confirms that “it was I that brought your father a pitch-pine knot, kindled at my own hearth, to set fire to an Indian village, in King Philip’s war” (Hawthorne 249).

In “The Maypole of Merry Mount” a Native American is seen in the colony – that is yet more evidence that the settlers are bad, and probably close to the devil (Hawthorne 41). A few lines later is expressed the Puritans’ surprise by what kind of people the Merry Mount settlers meet: “perhaps [they are] teaching a bear to dance or striving to communicate their mirth to the grave Indian” (Hawthorne 44).

The perception of Native Americans as enemies and savages was nothing new after all – the French and other colonizers were of the same opinion. But there were other beings in the wilderness – those that the Puritan’s fantasy and imagination created: devils and witches. They were often associated with Indians, as in “Young Goodman Brown”: in the forest were “Indian powwow or priests who often scared their native forest with more hideous incantations than any known to English witchcraft” (Hawthorne 253). Also Johnson assumes that the Puritans imagined, that the “Indian was with the Black Man or the Devil” in the forest, and that the forest was seen as “the home of Satan and the meeting place of his disciples, the witches” (Johnson 11468).

4.4.3. Devils, Witches

The last of the dangers hid in the forest is connected to what the Puritans imagined because of their “superstitious fears” (Hawthorne 383). Hawthorne describes this process best in “The Maypole of Merrymount”: “[Puritans] compared the masques to those devils and ruined souls with whom their superstition peopled the black wilderness” (Hawthorne 41). What else they imagined in the wild forest, is best presented in one of Hawthorne’s best stories “Young Goodman Brown”.

Goodman Brown goes to the forest because of “his present evil purpose” (Hawthorne 247). In the forest he meets all the possible enemies that the Puritans believed to dwell there. At first, because there is a “dreary road, darkened by all the gloomiest trees of the forest”, he is afraid that there might be “a devilish Indian behind every tree” (Hawthorne 248) and later he hears “the yell of Indians” (Hawthorne 252). Further on down the road, he meets the devil and they talk and walk together. He tries to prove to the devil that he comes from “a race of honest men and good Christians” (Hawthorne 248) and in New England they are all “people of prayer and good works” (Hawthorne 249). He then learns from the devil the dark side of his ancestors – with the help of the devil, one of them “lashed the Quaker woman through the streets of Salem” (Hawthorne 248) and the devil boasts that it was him who helped Brown’s father to “set fire to an Indian village” (Hawthorne 249). This part is referred to as a link to Hawthorne’s own ancestors (Johnson 11467).

As they walk, they meet an old pious woman, the minister and the deacon; he heard his wife, Faith, being forced to go along with other townspeople; there is the wife of the governor, and many members of the Salem church “famous for their especial sanctity” (Hawthorne 253). As a result Brown began to see people in a different light – although Hawthorne later suggest that the story was just a dream, Brown was changed as if it all had really happened. According to Jamil, this was an experience leading “from naiveté to scepticism” (144), but Brown did not recognize it and traps himself in despair – Brown chooses to take the virtue as a “dream”, not the evil (Jamil

145). Brown thus became “a stern, a sad, a darkly meditative, a distrustful, if not desperate man” (Hawthorne 255).

In “Young Goodman Brown” at the forest meeting, there are hints that some of the ladies are witches. Brown sees Martha Carrier who “received the devil’s promise to be the queen of hell” (Hawthorne 254 – she is mentioned also in the sketch “Main Street”). Another example would be the pious Goody Cloyse who is talking with the devil about a very special recipe and complains that her broomstick was probably stolen by “that unhangd witch, Goody Cory” (Hawthorne 250).

Because Hawthorne plays with the reader’s imagination and it is hard to tell whether the story was a dream or not, these images of witches may seem harmless or even cheerful. However, in “Alice Doane’s Appeal” the witches are mentioned in a more serious tone. The narrator of the story is standing at Gallows Hill and tries to bring to mind of his two listeners the historical circumstances of this dismal place. He speaks about “the witchcraft delusion” (Hawthorne 557). First he describes some of the victims

“a woman in her dotage, knowing neither the crime imputed her, nor its punishment, there another, distracted by the universal madness ... till she almost believed her guilt. One, a proud man once, was so broken down by the intolerable hatred heaped upon him, that he seemed to hasten his steps, eager to hide himself in the grave hastily dug at the foot of the gallows...” (Hawthorne 563).

And then he scorns those responsible for this situation – all the on-looking Puritans: “the afflicted, a guilty and miserable band; villains who had thus avenged themselves on their enemies, and viler wretches, whose cowardice had destroyed their friends ... and dipped a people’s hands in blood” (Hawthorne 563). He also chooses to picture one representative in particular “so sternly triumphant... Cotton Mather, proud of his well-won dignity, as the representative of all the hateful features of his time” (Hawthorne 564).

Outside the Puritan settlement lay the wilderness, an unexplored forest, the Puritans did not know what might be there and they were scared of it, because they imagined powerful beings. The word devil represented everything they did not want or understand. That is why the approach to Native Americans is similar to the treatment of Quakers or the Merry Mount settlers.

In Hawthorne's short stories, the forest is the opposite to their daily life – it is as the dark, innermost part of one's soul or personality, where there are emotions, spontaneity, lawlessness in the stories it is reflected in the settlement of Merry Mount: dance, music, laughter – all that was prohibited in the Puritan settlements and neither should it appear outside their settlements.

The character of Young Goodman Brown could be read as an essence of Puritanism: the superstitiousness together with imagination and fantasy influences his relationship to others and to the world. The most characteristic features are suspicion and incapability of love. Whether it was a dream or not, the choice to believe to the worse side of the reality damages Brown's life.

5. The Effects of Sin

In the previous part of this thesis, the main theme is the Puritan life. Chiefly it deals with ideal and exemplary life and with the punishment the people were exposed to when they do not follow the rules set by the Puritan society. The sub-theme in this chapter is sin. In Hawthorne's tales, sin is the theme the most visible: almost in every tale there is a sin – but the aim of this work is not to make the list of what was sinful for the Puritans – it rather concerns with the consequences – what happened to the people who were or felt guilty, and what was the result in their private lives, their feelings and their relationships. This is not Puritan point of view (repentance or punishment in the Puritan colonies is best described in “Endicott and the Red Cross”), but Hawthorne's.

To see how Hawthorne meant and expressed the notion of sin may serve as an explanation of his Puritan topics in his stories and, furthermore it may clarify why he despised Puritans. Therefore, even if the stories are not directly linked with Puritanism, it seems necessary to mention them and see what Hawthorne considered sinful.

The first part focuses on a sin that is secret and somehow troubles the person who tries to hide it; the second part deals with stories that refer to what Hawthorne calls unpardonable sin.

5.2. Secret Sin

Three stories were chosen for this chapter to show how Hawthorne perceives sin. In all three the sin or guilt is hidden, although in one story it may not be a real sin, but only Original sin. The theme of the two stories is similar, the secret sin can be demonstrated on Reuben (in “Roger Malvin's Burial”) and on Mr. Forester (in “The New England Village”). Another example is Arthur Dimesdale in *The Scarlet Letter* – the secret is so onerous that in the end it destroys him.

5.2.1. Mr. Forester and Reuben

The sin of Mr. Forester and Reuben is not something that would make their wives hate them, but the fact that the men think so, make their guilt unspeakable, secret, and therefore a burden for the relationship. Although they try to hide the sin, they cannot live with it – it affects their whole lives, they cannot live in peace. In these two cases Hawthorne also demonstrates that it is not possible to run away from the sin: Mr. Forester runs several times and Reuben is in the end brought back to the place where he should have buried Dorca's father. The difference between Mr. Forester and Reuben is that Forester at the end confesses his secret, whereas Reuben does not, his sin is expiated by the death of his son, whom he had killed.

In the first story "Roger Malvin's Burial", Reuben left his fellow-fighter from the "Indian war" (Hawthorne 379) wounded in the forest, because he was asked to do so; and by this Reuben probably saved his own life. Later he feels guilty because he promised to come back and bury him, but he did not do it. His situation was made worse by his cowardice to explain the situation to his wife (the daughter of the dead fighter).

In the second story, Mr. Forester led a very dissipated early life, he was often at the gambling table and later, to pay his debts he committed "fraud and treachery ... and was sentenced to two years, but for good conduct was pardoned" (Hawthorne 590). He then moved far away, started a new life and was living quite happily until a fellow convict appeared and demanded a bribe for keeping his secret. (Hawthorne 591)

5.2.1.1. Failure to Communicate

Both these men chose to keep their secret "incommunicable thought" (Hawthorne 382) out of fear. Reuben later "regretted, deeply and bitterly, the moral cowardice" (Hawthorne 383) that he did not tell the truth, but he was unable to confess it later because of "pride, the fear of losing her [his wife's] affection and the dread of universal scorn" (Hawthorne 383).

Mr. Forester chose different solution to hide his secret – to move from one place to another in the attempt to run away, but he “declined all explanation” to his wife (Hawthorne 588). Later, urged by a priest, he admitted he had a “secret source of calamity”, but did not speak about it since he considered it “beyond human power to mitigate it” (Hawthorne 589).

5.2.1.2.The Effect – Family Relationships

The effect this secret produces in both cases is psychological or physical deterioration and change of their personalities. Reuben’s secret “become like a chain binding down his spirit” (Hawthorne 383), he suffered “mental horrors ... a haunting and torturing fancy” (Hawthorne 383), and he has “a continual impulse, a voice audible only to himself, commanding him to go forth and redeem his vow” (Hawthorne 383). Furthermore, his inability to communicate this thought “transformed [him] into a sad and downcast yet irritable man” (Hawthorne 383). It also interfered his family relations since he became “neglectful husband” (Hawthorne 383) and a “selfish man, and he could no longer love deeply except where he saw or imagined some reflection or likeness of his own mind” (Hawthorne 384) – that would be his son Cyrus.

In the end, in Hawthorne’s way it is shown that the expiation freed his heart: “Then Reuben’s heart was stricken, and the tears gushed out like water” (Hawthorne 389).

Similarly, Mr. Forester, when his fellow-convict came to threaten him that he would speak about his past, changes his attitude to life, he “grew melancholy and abstracted ... subject of low spirits” (Hawthorne 587-8). Also a pastor comments on his altered appearance and nervous agitation (Hawthorne 588). In this story, it is also the wife, who suffers with her husband, changes greatly and is made wretched by his mysterious conduct: “her pale cheek and wasted form” (Hawthorne 589). She is aware of this horrible condition and of the alienation of her husband, therefore she pleaded that “there is nothing he can reveal so dreadful as this suspense. I can endure it no longer” (Hawthorne

590). He felt relieved when he finally confessed to his wife and the pastor and “his confession had rendered the scourge of his persecutor powerless” (Hawthorne 591).

These two examples show the overall negative influence of secret sin or secret feeling of guilt not only to the person itself, but also on his relationships with his family.

5.2.2. Black Veil

The third story mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, is “The Minister’s Black Veil” and it is different from the previous two, because Hawthorne leaves the reader hesitate whether there was any secret guilt or whether the minister’s veil points out only at the Original sin.

One day Minister Hooper puts on his face a black veil “which entirely concealed his features, except the mouth and chin, but probably did not intercept his sight, further than to give a darkened aspect to all” (Hawthorne 32), and he wears it until his death and to the grave. He does not give an explanation as to what it means. According to Bloome, there is the irony of the veil – its function is concealment, but in reality, it exposes the potential sin (Bloome 167). Exactly in this way works the imagination of the people of his parish and makes the veil the symbol of a sin, that Minister Hooper must have committed: “whispers that you hide you face under the consciousness of secret sin” (Hawthorne 36) or that “conscience tortured him [Minister] for some great crime” (Hawthorne 37).

The veil is a mystery, even among the critics there are various theories on what the veil suppose to mean. Some literary critics attribute to the Minister some unnamed crime with the young woman whose funeral Minister Hooper conducted the first day with the veil, others consider it as his warning to callous sinners (Voigt 338). Bloome sees the Minister as the one who takes on

the sins of the entire community; he sees him as a scapegoat, exiled from the community” (Bloome 168).

Whether he took on the sins of others or not, by taking his veil, he deeply affected the relationships he had – the veil creates solitude, distance between him and other people. Hawthorne says that “love or sympathy could never reach him” (Hawthorne 37) and he defines him as a “kind and loving, though unloved, and dimly feared, a man apart from men” (Hawthorne 38). This self-punishment by solitude classify him among other Hawthorne’s villains who dissociate themselves from human relationships (Bloome 170).

This story also bears a great resemblance with the situation of Young Goodman Brown – the key idea in the story is the supposed sin, that the other(s) hide. This is expressed in Minister’s last words: “Tremble also at each other! I look around me and lo! on every visage a black Veil!” (Hawthorne 39). That may be the reason why some critics consider the Minister as “so tragically obsessed with a sin that he can no longer perceive the normal and the good aspects of human life” (Voigt 338). Goodman Brown was in the same situation – and he trembled at everybody.

The non-confessed sin or secret guilt may be symbolically understood as a black veil that separates one from the others and from the real world. In Hawthorne’s short stories generally, sin creates obstacles in the people’s life, separates, widens the gap, and affects negatively their relationships – interestingly, this happens regardless whether the guilt is real or imaginary (Minister Hooper, Goodman Brown –dream or reality). It works both ways – it changes the approach to others and the approach of others to the person.

5.2. Unpardonable Sin

Sin is an ever-present theme in Hawthorne. Apart from the understanding of sin depicted on the preceding lines, there is another type present in Hawthorne’s stories about the scientist who struggle against the

Nature. The scientist pursues his task to perfect the nature, to create something more beautiful than nature did, to improve an imperfection that was left on the creation. In these stories, reason and science are placed as opposites to Nature.

5.2.1. "The Birthmark"

In "The Birthmark", Aylmer, a man of science, left his laboratory and married a beautiful woman, Georgiana. (Hawthorne 227) He then realized that his wife was "so nearly perfect" that the "slightest possible defect" (Hawthorne 227) could be removed and she would be truly a perfect creation. This idea awoke in him the old love for science and he decides to remove the crimson mark on his wife's cheek – thus he "shall correct what Nature left imperfect" (Hawthorne 230). Under the pressure of his regards and his shudders, his wife agrees with the removal "at whatever risk", although with a suspicion that "perhaps its removal may cause cureless deformity" (Hawthorne 229).

Aylmer carries out the scientific experiment. At the end, Aylmer is said to be the "richest, happiest, most favored", because he considers his experiment successful. However, he seems not to notice that Georgiana is dying as she tries to communicate it: "Do not repent that with so high and pure a feeling, you have rejected the best the earth could offer." (Hawthorne 237).

Aylmer is playing a high game, he is not only trying to interfere with the Nature, but he also manipulates Georgina to be the "thing" he would experiment with. He does not take Georgiana as his wife or partner, but as a scientific object.

5.2.2. "Rappaccini's Daughter"

The second example is quite similar to the previous one, although the short story "Rappaccini's Daughter" is set in another country – Italy. It tells a story of a scientist Rappaccini and his daughter, Beatrice, who is "beautiful as the day, redundant with life, health, and energy" (Hawthorne 259). However,

Beatrice does not come out of their garden and does not meet other people; gradually, the reader learns that she looks beautiful and full of life, but is herself an object of a scientific experiment of her father. She is nourished by the poison of the most beautiful flower in the garden, since her father believes that “all medicinal virtues are comprised within those substances we term vegetable poisons” (Hawthorne 261). Whatever she touches, dies, ordinary flowers fade under her breath. A rival scientist confirms, that Rappaccini “cares infinitely more for science than for mankind... others are only subjects for some new experiment,” and he warns that he “would sacrifice human life” (Hawthorne 260). Beatrice’s lover, Giovanni, whose breath grew poisonous as well after several meetings with Beatrice, decides to save her and brings her back “within the limits of ordinary nature” (Hawthorne 271). He brings her an antidote, unfortunately, instead of bringing her back to ordinary, the antidote kills her. She was a “poor victim of man’s ingenuity and of thwarted fatality that attends all such efforts of perverted wisdom” (Hawthorne 276).

In both these stories, the “subjects of the experiment” die in the end, and before they die, they admit, that the death is better than the suffering: for Georgiana the life is made terribly insupportable because Aylmer shudders at the sight of her cheek. For Beatrice, it is terrible to hear Giovanni’s words that she is “hideous monstrosity” (Hawthorne 274). Beatrice’s reaction is similar to Georgiana’s – they cannot bear the horror that they cause to those who they love and Beatrice says: “Oh, what is a death after such words as thine” (Hawthorne 274).

These stories again show what is the most terrible consequence of this kind of experimentation – the loss of contact between Aylmer and Georgiana in “The Birthmark” and the distance and separation from all the society in “Rappaccini’s Daughter” – Beatrice is aware of her awful doom, that “the effect of my father’s fatal love of science estranged me from all society” (Hawthorne 273); and the consequence is similar for Giovanni: “Thou hast severed me likewise from all the warmth of life” (Hawthorne 273).

5.2.3. "Ethan Brand"

It seems that Hawthorne summed up his views of sin most plainly in the short story "Ethan Brand", about a man who went into the world seeking Unpardonable Sin. It seems as an explanation, so that there are no doubts concerning why all the scientists and their "perverted wisdom" (Hawthorne 276) were wrong. After searching in all the world, and after an experiment on a poor girl (Hawthorne 480) "With a cold and remorseless purpose, he had made her the subject of a psychological experiment, and waste, absorbed and perhaps annihilated her soul, in the process" (Hawthorne 480), he finds out: "The sin of an intellect that triumphed over the sense of brotherhood with man and reverence for God, and sacrificed everything to its own mighty claims" (Hawthorne 480).

Nor Rappaccini, nor Aylmer were capable of the understanding that they have done something wrong. Only Ethan is burdened with this kind of comprehension, that is difficult to explain to the others and impossible to live with – as shows the ending of the story. Hawthorne's work is more complex than to be reduced to Ethan Brand, but this short story offers partly a key to his other stories or better to say to his most obsessive thoughts because in almost every story there is a character *connected* to the sin, isolation, love.

From all the stories in this chapter the reader learns that it is unpardonable to pursue scientific project, an idea or ideological purpose and for that reason disregard the human element, lose the humanity, the warmth of feeling towards others; it is forbidden to "use" other people for any kind of experiments.

6. Conclusion

In this last part of this thesis I would like to summarize how the themes concerning Puritanism and sin are connected and why Hawthorne was so obsessed with these themes. The conclusion is divided into two parts: the first presents the partial results from the analysis of the stories chosen for this work; and the second part shows how Hawthorne valued relationship and what was his approach to the Puritans.

6.1. Partial Results

Firstly, Hawthorne, although a nineteenth century writer, was greatly influenced, by his family's history, because his ancestors were pious Puritans and gained high position in the society. This enabled them to make several deeds, later considered as huge mistakes, such as persecuting Quakers or sentencing witches. Secondly, this work tried to familiarize with the bases of the Puritan movement and their beliefs, in order to understand better why these excesses happened.

Furthermore, the familiarity with the origins of Puritanism provides deeper understanding of Puritan constant struggle against their oppressors – first the Church of England, later even in their new home in New England – against the wild nature and, as Hawthorne shows, against other groups of inhabitants. The irony of this conduct is in the fact that they left England to gain liberty to worship God and in New England they did not allow others to enjoy this liberty. The formerly persecuted started persecuting others.

The unity and the feeling of exclusivity was important for the Puritans in the historical perspective as well as in Hawthorne's stories. However, as Hawthorne shows their effort to maintain the unity caused exclusion of certain other people – who were seen as danger to their society. This fear nourished their imagination, and resulted in the fight against supernatural creatures as it is seen in Hawthorne's "Alice Doane's Appeal" or "Young Goodman Brown". It seems that everything that the Puritans could not control was dangerous, a

potential threat to their religion and society and therefore should be eliminated – heretics, Quakers, settlers of Merry Mount, witches.

This kind of behaviour could be classified as tribal thinking and it often appears when there is external pressure on a group of people (Puritan's situation in England), and it was intensified by the Puritan identification with Israel in the Old Testament: the chosen people and their Promised Land in the first chapters of the Bible (Ruland and Bradbury 9). Foster also suggests that the Puritans also tended more than other people to see things in bipolar terms: "He who is not with the Lord is against him" (Foster 33). This is the point that Hawthorne noticed and repeatedly mentioned in his stories.

6.2. Relationships

The analysis of the short stories showed that relations to other people were of great importance to Hawthorne. Although the themes of the stories are Puritanism and the other is sin, all the stories are about relationships to other people and about the danger of breaking this relationship.

Whether the sin is secret or somehow demonstrated (black veil) its effect is a broken relationship and the alienation of the individual from the whole society and especially from the close friends and family. This was the case of Mr. Forester, Reuben, Minister Hooper and Goodman Brown. Whereas Mr. Forester and Reuben were guilty, Minister Hooper and Goodman Brown chose their alienation. Hawthorne shows that this alienation or disregard of others grows from distrust and suspicion – Young Goodman Brown only supposed that his neighbours were sinners. It is also deepened by Puritan focus on the bad instead of focusing attention on what is good. Hawthorne wrote a detailed description of various kinds of punishments in "Endicott and the Red Cross" to show that this focus on the negative and wrong aspects of others was general Puritan attitude.

The alienation is harmful because it may lead even to a more serious sin – to see other people as objects. Hawthorne described these sinners in his

stories about scientists. They were immersed in their objective, that they did not see the other person as a human being, but as an object that serves as a thing to be experimented with. This extremity is considered by Hawthorne as unpardonable sin in his short story "Ethan Brand". However, it is not only science that can trap a man inside his own purposes – it might as well be religion, as it is in the short story "The Man of Adamant" – the man used himself in the experiment, dissociated with the rest of the society, regarded himself superior than everybody. It is very similar to holy experiments that the Puritans in other Hawthorne's stories did: witches were hanged for "holy cause" (Hawthorne 564), Native Americans were killed "with pious fierceness" (Hawthorne 22); later, their experiment came to extremity in the Shakers' communities (Martha is the victim in "The Shaker Bridal" and the two runaway lovers in "Canterbury Pilgrims").

Since the relationship was an important theme for Hawthorne, there is quite often, but from different perspectives mentioned human heart and warmth of feeling in his stories. On one hand Rappaccini could never "express much warmth of heart" (Hawthorne 258) and Ethan's heart was made of stone. On the other hand, in "The Gentle Boy" Tobias is presented entirely positively, because he had a heart which "not even religious prejudice could harden into stone" (Hawthorne 49) and he showed "warmth of his feelings" (Hawthorne 50), and his wife as well showed "tenderness" (Hawthorne 51).

To conclude, the reason for which Hawthorne scorned his Puritan ancestors was their behaviour which he identified with unpardonable sin. The relationship that he valued can be characterised in the terms that Martin Buber used: the true and complete relationship consists between Me and You. The false relationship, not complete, that is so often present in Hawthorne's stories, as Me and It. (Buber 38). Today, this is considered as general Christian attitude, which shows that from today's point of view the Puritans perverted fundamental Christian values.

Hawthorne was aware of the wrongs that not only his ancestors committed and was troubled by the fact that he cannot take it back. In “Alice Doane’s Appeal” he regretted that there is not much that would remind us of this period of history. He suggests to “rise another monument, sadly commemorative of the errors of an earlier race, and not to be cast down, while the human heart has one infirmity that may result in crime”(564).

I believe that by his stories, Hawthorne built this monument to all those “innocent who died so wrongfully” (Hawthorne 557), so that Salem could finally become place of “peace” as its name, taken from Hebrew word *shalom* “peace” (Britannica.com “John Endecott”), suggests.

6.3. Final Word

This work is aware of its many limitations; it is selective and restrictive concerning the choice and depth of examples and explanations. This is due to the nature and limited length of this work. It could be expanded to include more works, such as the two short stories about Shaker community “The Shaker Bridal” and “Canterbury Pilgrims”, or the sketch “Main Street” where Hawthorne shows whole historical development of the place where Salem was built; possibly some longer works, such as *The Scarlet Letter*. Other option would be the notion of sin in *Marble Faun* and *The House of the Seven Gables*. Or there could be other perspectives on the same work, or relation to Hawthorne’s life – since he was said to be quite unsocial.

Notes

¹ „Concord (32 km west of Boston) was the first rural artist’s colony, and the first place to offer a spiritual and cultural alternative to American materialism.“ (Vanspackeren et al., 27)

² „The Brook Farm – an experimental utopian community, was at 10 kilometres from Boston. A group of intellectuals lead by George Ripley tried to practice social, political and religious reforms. Everybody worked manually, teach at school, got the same salary. It was based on equality and utopian socialism.“ (Vančura et al. 299)

³ He signed his early works as “Oberon”, or “Ashley Allen Royce” or “The Rev. A. A. Royce”. (van Doren 64, Martin 23)

⁴ Originally a village founded on a place designed by Ann Lee, the Mother of Shakers. Shakers were a religious community, who separated from Quakers (see chapter Puritanism). (Putna 150)

⁵ Martin says that during this first visit Hawthorne was impressed and amused by Shaker’s customs; but when he revisited the village in 1851 he described it in terms of disgust and disdain: for example he found intolerable the “utter and systematic lack of privacy”. (Martin, 22)

⁶ According to Doren, Hawthorne was never to be a Unitarian or Transcendentalist; he was to go with “no fashion in religion or philosophy, just as he never repudiated a political party” (van Doren 29).

⁷ Poe objected to the allegory and the lack of originality in *Mosses from an Old Manse*, but praised *Twice Told Tales*; Melville’s opinion was exactly the opposite (Martin 30).

⁸ According to Martin, Hawthorne admired Emerson “as a poet of deep beauty and austere tenderness, but sough nothing from him as a philosopher”. He liked Thoreau more, because his intimacy with nature impressed him and Thoreau had his “essential respect as a literary man” (Martin 33).

⁹ Martin adds that Melville’s views on the darkness of the human condition complemented those of Hawthorne. The deepness of the friendship was mutual – Melville even dedicated *Moby Dick* to Hawthorne “As token of my admiration for his genius” (Ruland and Bradbury 156, Martin 33).

¹⁰ The work of a consul brought him into direct contact with distress and inhumanity (Martin 34). His job there was to solve the conflict of captains and soldiers. The problem of the captains was that the soldiers were often drunk – as he wrote in his notebook: “...but then what would be murder on shore, is almost a natural occurrence when done in such a hell on earth as one of these ships, in the first hour of her voyage. The men are then all drunk; and the captain feels no safety for his life, except making himself as terrible as a fiend” (van Doren 204-206). Hawthorne wanted to change these conditions, but there was no response to his letters. (van Doren 206)

¹¹ Among others the description of Lincoln (whom Hawthorne met in Washington) – according to Hawthorne, that was the sole passage worth publishing. (van Doren 251)

¹² Cotton Mather's *The Wonders of the Invisible World, Magnalia Christi*; Mather's *Remarkable Providence*; Felt's *Annals of Salem*; John Winthrop's *Journal or Diary* of Samuel Sewell (Martin 31).

¹³ Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758 USA) had in 1721 mystical spiritual conversion that brought him to overvalue the religious sense over the reason. He returned to gloomy dogmatic severity spread by the Calvinist theology of the first Puritan colonist in the 17th century. Edwards was a main voice of "Great Awakening", but he does not represent the whole diversity of Puritan experience. His famous sermon "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" (1741) describes the horrors of torture in hell. (Vančura et al. 220-221, Ruland and Bradbury 17)

¹⁴ There were other groups of Puritans (less strict) who stayed in England and were successful in the revolutionary year 1641. However, after the death of Cromwell, during the English Restoration of 1660, the Church of England returns to more moderate version, where there was no place for Puritans. But till today, there could be found "descendants" of Puritans in the Church of England – so called "Low Church", that emphasize personal piety, moral seriousness, the simplicity of church service and application of Christianity in public and social life. (Filipi 142-3)

¹⁵ The name New England was given to the northeast region of today's in 1616 by English explorer John Smith. (Britannica.com)

¹⁶ Ruland and Bradbury see the escape to the New world as Puritan's „exceptionalist belief in the powerful recovery of history“ and they say that it „lingers yet in American culture“ (Ruland and Bradbury 32).

¹⁷ John Winthrop is an important man not only as a leader of Massachusetts Bay Colony, but also for his *Journal*, which shows many Puritan ideas and ways of thinking, that would otherwise remain forgotten.

¹⁸ Jeremiad is "an interpretative account of hardships and troubles and anguish call for return to the lost purity of earlier times" (Ruland and Bradbury 11).

¹⁹ Foster claims that Puritan believed that "God has rules for civil policy as well as for ecclesiastical, and Puritans intended to follow all of them" (Foster 4).

²⁰ Foster remarks that there were similar "theocracies" in Swiss and Germany, but there the suffrage was not restricted to those who belong to the church. (Foster 46)

²¹ The active public life and interest in politics is characteristic for Calvinist churches. German sociologist Max Weber thought that capitalism developed first in the countries with Calvinistic way of life thanks to their special kind of asceticism: the believers are encouraged to hard work (to prove their sacred life) and on the other hand they are lead to be modest. These attitudes together create an "ideal of disciplined, tough, parsimonious and restrained businessman" (Filipi 133).

²² "For the Puritan, word and world alike were a shadowing forth of divine things, coherent systems of transcendental meaning. In this Puritan thought anticipated many aspect of romanticism, especially that branch that we call transcendentalism" (Ruland and Bradbury 19).

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