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“Folded up in a Veil”: Sophia Hawthorne’s Familial Ekphrasis and the Antebellum Travelogue

CHRISTA HOLM VOGELIUS

Densely referential, Sophia Peabody Hawthorne’s *Notes in England and Italy* (1869) is an extended meditation on literary legibility, relying on allusion, insinuation, and suggestive imagery to consider what writers can, in good conscience, bring before the eyes of the public. A few pages from the end of the narrative, Hawthorne muses about the ways that her mid-life travels through Rome have altered her idealized, youthful image of the city and its history. In her early imagination, spurred on by schoolroom lessons of imperial domination, Romans “lived on glory ... My eyes were holden, so that I could not see the sin or the shame; or a prism was over them, through which the Empire flashed with the seven colors which light paints rainbows.”¹ The very experiences recounted in the course of *Notes*—the Hawthorne family’s residence in Rome, and their travels through England, France and Italy from 1853 to 1860—destroy these “fancies,” shading the vision of militaristic glory with a dark apparition of cruelty and destruction, and masking the natural and artistic beauties of the city in the constant threat of malarial death. Rome nonetheless maintains an indefinable allure: “What, then, is this Rome that *will* hold sway over mankind, whether or no, in past and present time? I have an idea, but it is folded up in a veil, and I cannot take this moment to answer my question” (544).



Rome. Baths of Caracalla. 1860-1890. Courtesy of Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. LC-USZ62-104897.

The interplay of revelation and concealment in this late, evasive passage is illustrative of the ways that *Notes* reflects on its author's well-known literary family and the position of mid-century literary celebrity. Sophia's musings about Rome point to a moment of personal, quasi-religious revelation that is only described through its absence ("my eyes were holden"), even as they demonstratively withhold a similar revelation from readers ("I cannot take this moment..."). The image that ultimately prevents the disclosure of Sophia's answer is "a veil," a symbol that echoes suggestively through Nathaniel Hawthorne's writings, and that has literary and historical significance as a symbol of the tensions between public and private life for the mid-nineteenth-century woman writer. The veil in these late pages indicates private life while concealing it, and flags Sophia's interiority (her "idea") while pointing up its inviolability—even by a first-person, apparently autobiographical narrative. *Notes* plays continuously with revelation and withholding, in relation to both Sophia and the private familial life of her very public family. Her glib, almost mocking last line ("I cannot take this moment...") and her allusion to an image most closely associated with Nathaniel's writing underscore not just the mysteries of Rome, but the mysteries of the Hawthorne family that the elusive text leaves unanswered.²

These allusions to and evasions of family life cluster particularly in the art descriptions that take up a large part of the travel narrative, knotting the familial and the aesthetic in a way that neither is independently intelligible. A painter who had earned the coup of exhibiting work at the Boston Athenaeum, Sophia presents her central aim in *Notes* as the dissemination of the "Great Masters in Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting" to a broader public.³ But her famous last name and the implied presence of family members give these ekphrastic descriptions a heightened charge of biographical revelation, which Sophia's own language encourages. In one fairly typical instance of description, for instance, Sophia proclaims of a Renaissance Madonna that "It is a MOTHER, with a perfect sense of all a mother's responsibilities," as

her own children hover on the border of the text, couched anonymously in first-person plural (209). Such descriptions are more than just abstract reflections on motherhood: they highlight a private space that readers never fully access, and recur throughout the travelogue in repeated comparisons between family and imagery. From Nathaniel's "comely person" to Una's Titian-like beauty, the Hawthornes are described in language that is resonant of—and sometimes directly allusive to—the artworks that dominate Sophia's text (185). Late in the narrative, she bemoans the incommunicability of art in relation to another painting: "My words seem poor rags, with which I endeavor to clothe the idea—heaps of rags—the more I try, the larger the heaps" (354-55). By this time, the complaint has come to resound equally with family life. Rather than revealing, Sophia's writing obscures, producing a creative but undefined space—a veil of rags—between the reader and the art object. And if ekphrasis fails to illustrate the essence of artwork, family life, embedded in this visual description, is one step further removed.

Notes is shadowed in such allusive descriptions by its history as a private document, a history that the editing and publication process never entirely effaces. The manuscript for Sophia's *Notes* was first composed as a personal journal during the Hawthorne family's travels in Europe from 1853 to 1860, and Sophia began revising the journals for publication in January 1869.⁴ Two passages from her British letters first appeared in the September and October 1869 *Putnam's Magazine*, and then the full *Notes in England and Italy* was released by the same publishing house later that year. Even after its publication, though, the text draws power from the history of its composition process. Like many antebellum women writers, Sophia had from an early age been raised in the practice of journal writing. Hundreds of pages of her writing circulated among an audience of family and friends, but none were formally published. This writing takes part in what Nolle Baker calls "a 'third sphere' of public discourse, a social realm that mediates 'private' and 'public' spheres."⁵ *Notes* succeeds by leveraging this "third sphere": the travelogue's allusions to private events through a public commentary

make of Sophia's text both a familial and an artistic record, both a private and public document.

Notes's ekphrastic descriptions are the textual spaces where this "third sphere" comes most fully into play. These descriptions serve as a middle ground between Hawthorne family members' private and public selves, but also as canvas for working out the author's preoccupation with the line between copied and original artwork. *Notes's* relation to the idea of originality, like that of publicity, is mixed. In her work as an artist, Sophia was best known for her copies of celebrated paintings, but exalted originally composed work. Her entries in the travelogue take explicit note of the museum copyists who surround displayed works, and her ekphrastic descriptions often assess the quality of their imitations. These deliberations, whether negative or positive, reflect equally on the creative potential of her descriptive text. The Madonna who elicits Sophia's account of her own words as "poor rags," for instance, also inspires the assessment that "Somewhere the drawing, the color, the life, fail in all copies" (354-5). Like *Notes's* preoccupation with the line between public and private utterances, the fixation with copies—copies that fall short of, copies that approach, and even in some cases copies that surpass their originals—showcases the creative concerns behind the text itself. Through the intermixture of originality and copying, public and private spaces, Sophia carves out a space for herself as an artist that embraces apparent dichotomies. The excessiveness of this space is—like Rome—alluring, mysterious, and at times simply baffling. Most significantly, though, it self-consciously questions limited notions of creativity and finds in the gaps between terms a comfortable aesthetic home.

Notes's relation to originality and copying betrays its roots in a gendered model of artistic production. As Claire Badaracco writes, Sophia was part of "that last generation of the women of pre-industrial American society...where girls were educated in front parlors, 'reading' was commonly understood to mean *elocution*, 'composition' was *making copies*, and 'writing' was primarily an exercise in journals and copy-books" (emphasis in original).⁶ Antebellum women

writers—from Lydia Sigourney to Frances Osgood to Fanny Fern—were strongly associated with such mimicry and mimesis. Visual copyists were likewise feminized and women’s association with the private sphere of the family was another platitude of the era’s discourse.⁷ Sophia’s continuous assessments of the visual copy’s creative potential peels back implicit suggestions about the larger sphere of creative work in which her own text is situated. And her occasional insinuations that the copy can surpass the work that it imitates complicate the assumed hierarchy of copy and original, carving out a space for women’s creativity within the very term often used to denigrate their work.

The significance of Sophia’s re-evaluation of originality lies in its reframing of both recent critical reclamations of her own text, and the derivative traits commonly associated with women’s writing. While T. Walter Herbert’s 1993 statement that “Sophia Hawthorne is the most vilified wife in American literary history, after having been in her own time the most admired” no longer rings true, his emphasis on the position of “wife” still resonates.⁸ Hailed as the maternal ideal of America’s most celebrated writer during her own lifetime, Sophia has been reclaimed by critics including Julie Hall, Annamaria Elsdon and Rodrigo Lazo for the independent merits of her writing and art.⁹ But modern critics are in the awkward position of asserting the standalone value of her work, while conceding her sidekick status in the larger scheme of Hawthorne studies. Sophia can be difficult to locate critically: take away the familial connections that inspired initial attention to her work and little framework for reading her texts remains. Considering *Notes* in the context of a “third sphere” of discourse between public and private, original and copy, provides an alternate means of understanding references to family life. In this light, such references do more than inform criticism of her husband’s canon: they sketch an image of the conflicts endemic to mid-nineteenth century women’s writing.

The tension between Sophia’s familial ties and creative concerns is one of the central, if unstated, driving forces of *Notes*, and the text itself offers some guidance in navigating

this terrain. Sophia's familial associations provided her with a vehicle for considering her own creative process, and so rather than impeding an appreciation of her independent literary innovations, they can in fact help us to appreciate them. The published *Notes* becomes aesthetically 'original' precisely through its ability to transform the private family descriptions of the manuscript journals into the public ekphrastic passages of the travelogue. In the process of this transformation, *Notes* claims for ekphrasis a space that is both derivative and strikingly original, publicly anodized and privately allusive. The travelogue may conform to some of the conventions of travel writing, and may grapple with some of the same issues as Nathaniel's writing on art, but the conclusions that it reaches on these issues offer new possibilities for the position of the copyist, literary or visual. In the course of mapping out the specific points of Sophia's ideas on derivation and originality, ekphrasis, apparently the most derivative form of feminine writing, also takes on a new field of possibility.



THE BAGGAGE OF WOMEN'S TRAVEL WRITING

Critics have analyzed the place of public and private spaces in women's writing, and in women's travel writing more specifically, in ways that strikingly echo Sophia's own concerns about the role of the female author. Most notably, Richard Brodhead conceptualizes the opposing demands of the public and private spheres for mid-nineteenth century American authors through the symbol of the Veiled Lady. This popular antebellum performer was both "a creature of physical invisibility," completely hidden by her veil, and one of "pure exhibitionism," whose work on stage brought her continuously before the public, to answer its questions with apparent clairvoyance.¹⁰ Similarly, the rise of mass print brought female writers into the public sphere in unprecedented ways, even as sentimental novels broadcast an understanding of the women's sphere as "dephysicalized and deactivated domestic privacy."¹¹ The Veiled Lady is for

Brodhead a symbol for the best-selling authors and entertainers of mid-century, public figures like Harriet Beecher Stowe and Susan Warner, whose books both propagated and were enabled by a vision of the home as a private space of leisure. The audience for these celebrity figures was likewise entwined in this public and private space, as interest was built up in large part through a sense that these figures and their works represented "a public embodiment of a fascinating private life."¹²

Brodhead's starting point for analysis is Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Blithedale Romance*, a novel that furnished antebellum readers with their most famous literary Veiled Lady through the character of Priscilla. Critics have seen biographical echoes between Priscilla and Sophia; Sophia, like Priscilla as an anonymous veiled performer, certainly confronted the contradictory demands of a public existence.¹³ But unlike Nathaniel's representation of this figure, who as Brodhead writes, is talentless, "a victim of her display" exploited by handlers, Sophia makes her own (albeit conflicted) decisions about the extent of her public appearance.¹⁴ In her youth, she saw her older sister Elizabeth Palmer Peabody struggle to support the family through careers in teaching, writing, and publishing, all the while remaining in the shadow of the figures her writing promoted. Sophia, afflicted throughout her lifetime with debilitating migraines that had been exacerbated by childhood mercury "cures," was to a large extent freed from these financial demands.¹⁵ But in the literary circles that her family moved, and through her position as the wife of a celebrated author, publicity was never far away. When her sister Elizabeth read journal entries that Sophia sent home from Cuba to her wide circle of friends, Sophia chided her, and reported having the sensation that "the nation were feeling my pulse."¹⁶ Though the letters were never published, Elizabeth had encouraged Sophia to edit them for the *American Monthly*; they were eventually bound by the family into a three-volume, 785-page "Cuba Journal."¹⁷ After Nathaniel and Sophia first met, he borrowed the volumes for more than a month, copying passages into his own notebooks, and on their return pronounced Sophia "the

Queen of Journalizers."¹⁸ He nonetheless supported her reticence toward publication, praising her in 1856 for having "never prostituted thyself to the public" by appearing in print, and opining that authorship "seem[s] to me to deprive women of all delicacy."¹⁹ Inquiries by Nathaniel's editor James Fields to Sophia in 1859 about publishing her English and Italian letters and journals were met with the insistence that Nathaniel was "the Belleslettres portion" of the couple.²⁰ But published or not, Sophia was an undeniably public literary figure, and after her husband's death in 1864, she did publish sections from these travel notebooks—and then the full *Notes*—during the same period that she edited and published Nathaniel's American and European journals.²¹

Sophia's eventual publication through the burgeoning genre of the travelogue offers a salient context for her literary concerns, grounding her work in a set of conventions that she both incorporates and questions. If women writers found their public and private selves conflated, the travelogue exaggerated this conflation by purporting to publicize the autobiographical experience of an author in the very public context of the cities, monuments, and museums of international destinations. Whatever the limited public roles of their authors, these works were in large part studies of public space, and Sophia's participation in the genre marks her reflections on the distinction between public and private material as a part of a conventional conversation. Sophia's place in this discussion is from the outset complicated. Significantly more travelogues were published by nineteenth-century American women before the Civil War than thereafter—twenty-seven as compared to 168—and so Sophia's 1869 publication was part of an expanding literary category. But her work, written in the fifties and in some ways culturally traditional, has more in common with antebellum work than the professional newspaper or magazine correspondences that emerged later in the century.²² Like much early American women's travel, Sophia's trip to England, France, and Italy was what Mary Scriber terms "accidental," a voyage undertaken to accompany a male family member who, like Nathaniel at the Liverpool Consulate, was pursuing

a professional opportunity. The books of this earlier period are characterized by informality; they are “letters written by homemakers for private consumption, and later cobbled into travel books,”²³ a description that perfectly characterizes *Notes*, which was compiled both from letters written while in England and private journals kept in Italy.

The very informality of *Notes* and other early travel writing highlights the intimacy of its writers with their initially curtailed audiences and heightens the voyeurism of more general readers in consuming private letters and journals. As if to mitigate this exposure, authors often prefaced these travelogues with modest protestations of their reluctance to publish and placed responsibility on friends and family members for engineering the step. Sophia’s *Notes*, for instance, begins its preface with a stock protestation of unwillingness to publish that ties the author’s voice firmly in the private sphere and suggests the extenuating circumstances of her publication:

I think it necessary to say that these “Notes,” written twelve years ago, were never meant for publication; but solely for my own reflection, and for a means of recalling to my friends what had especially interested me abroad. Many of these friends have repeatedly urged me to print them, from a too partial estimate of their value; and I have steadily resisted the suggestion, until now, when I reluctantly yield. (3)

This conventional statement offers a convenient explanation for Sophia’s delayed publication. But the prominence of the members of the family that *Notes* documents means that the common tensions around the private sphere in the travelogue genre as a whole are further exaggerated.

Nowhere is this exaggeration more readily apparent than in the actual circumstances surrounding *Notes*’s publication. Despite the work’s conventionalized preface, and despite Nathaniel’s insistence to William Ticknor that “Mrs. Hawthorne altogether excels me as a writer of travels,”²⁴ there is

evidence that it was Nathaniel, rather than Sophia, who most strongly "resisted" the publication of the narrative. When Fields proposed the publication in 1859, Sophia asserted dramatically that "nothing less than the immediate danger of starvation for my husband and children would induce me to put myself between a pair of book covers."²⁵ A contemporary letter to Elizabeth, however, points to Nathaniel as the source of resistance. In discussing Fields' proposal, Sophia writes to Elizabeth of her decision "not to argue the matter any further with Mr. Hawthorne" and to "postpone all my own possibilities in the way of art."²⁶ This deferral provides an answer to the open question of the preface: why, after twelve years, did Sophia's steady resistance to publication shift to reluctant yielding? Critics have traditionally pointed to the financial straights of the years after Nathaniel's death for an answer, and Sophia's ambiguity in the preface may have intended to hint in this direction.²⁷ But the letter to Elizabeth suggests that personal artistic fulfillment, deferred during Nathaniel's lifetime, was at least equally at stake.²⁸

In any case, the representation of private and public life in *Notes* was carefully curated to avoid personal exposition. Sophia's experience of every art object enfolded familial and personal trappings, but these trappings were curtailed for the travelogue's publication. The influence of family is clear from her manuscript journals, which record sketches of the children alongside of copies from great works, and which allow the children's small interruptions of the text. In the published edition of *Notes*, these private interruptions are reduced to the extent that Edwin Miller could complain that "her descriptions constitute a rather prosaic and impersonal travelogue...When Sophia was writing about the home, she was at her best" (202).

A close examination of the language in *Notes*, though, reveals that Sophia is precisely "writing about the home," even after her editorial emendations. Like many American women's travelogues from this era, *Notes* negotiates public space through the lens of domesticity. Travel writing was often a means of reflecting back on the "home"—both the private domestic circle and native country—from the luxury

of distance. Many antebellum women's works challenge the strict binaries between public and domestic, inserting reflections on home into descriptions of their destinations, and reflecting on the differences between foreign and native perceptions of private space.²⁹ Sophia takes part in such explicit comparisons, contrasting European moors and manners to American ones—almost always to the advantage of her native country. She also inserts a sense of the domestic in the public through repeated allusions to family ties. The volume is dedicated to “Elizabeth P. Peabody” from “her sister, S.H.,” and the name that appears on the title page is simply “Mrs. Hawthorne.” Familial references likewise get swallowed up in the descriptions of images themselves, haunting artworks in ways that point at the private significance of public works.

The last lines of the preface draw these connections out: “If [these *Notes*] will aid any one in the least to enjoy, as I have enjoyed, the illustrious works of the Great Masters in Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, I shall be well repaid for the pain it has cost me to appear before the public” (3). The focus of the text is on the “Great Masters,” but it is Sophia herself who feels exposed. Family makes only a secondary appearance in *Notes*, but it is to family that the work is dedicated and doubtless in part because of these connections that the travelogue gained its readership, going through eight editions in the fourteen years following its publication.³⁰ At the same time, Sophia's illumination of this private space primarily through artworks suggests that ekphrasis's seemingly narrow and mimetic function hides much broader goals.



THE ART OF THE TRAVELOGUE

Ekphrastic descriptions were a major component of antebellum travelogues, so much so that Catherine Maria Sedgwick could write in the preface to her 1841 travel narrative that “I was aware that our stayers-at-home had already something too much of churches, statues, and pictures, and yet they cannot well imagine how much they make up the



Art-Students and Copyists in the Louvre Gallery, Paris. Winslow Homer, 1836-1910. Courtesy of Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. LC-USZ62-130129.

existence of tourists in the Old World.”³¹ Sedgwick’s terming as “familiar things” the “churches, statues, and pictures” that by the forties an only elite minority of Americans had seen firsthand speaks both to the strong market presence of the travelogue and to the almost stock ekphrastic representation of these objects.

In spite of this ubiquity, and in spite of the extensive critical treatment of the travel writing phenomenon, ekphrasis as a component of early American travelogues has received little extended theoretical treatment. Critics have tended to see ekphrasis, following Sedgwick’s terms, as a more or less transparent (and often somewhat boring) description of objects. This description, by nature of its transparency, does not demand the theorization of more complex issues such as nationalism or gender.³² Meanwhile, the accounts of ekphrasis that exist outside of the travelogue, however well they may apply to the Romantic and Modernist works that are their principle focus, map awkwardly onto women’s travel writing. Ekphrasis, as theorized by critics such as W.J.T. Mitchell and James Heffernan, is a gendered competition between the representative powers of the (masculine) text and the (feminine) art object. This formula is unlikely to elucidate the situation of women writers, or writers who see in visual work an object to be translated for a broader public. As Mitchell writes of his own framework, “All this would look quite different...if my emphasis had been on ekphrastic poetry by women.”³³

Sophia’s art-centered travelogue can help us to formulate the nature of this difference. There is a strong preservationist streak to the work, apparent in the prefatory aim to “aid any one in the least to enjoy, as I have enjoyed, the illustrious works of the Great Masters” (3). Similarly, Sophia’s frequent commentary on the poor state of the preservation of Old Master works and her recurrent allusions to the work of visual copyists suggests that one goal of her artistic descriptions is simply to maintain a record of these delicate works. While her judgment of painted copies of original works is often severe, in cases where copies are faithful, Sophia embraces their utility in the task of dissemination. As

she writes of one frescoed room in Perugia: "A young artist was sitting there, copying the groups and single figures with a lead pencil, in an extraordinary manner, and with the utmost fidelity. He, and others as accomplished and faithful, should be commissioned to save in imperishable lines the vanishing masterpieces of fresco-painting" (320). The fragility of fresco in particular, and primitiveness of nineteenth-century preservation techniques in general, made the good copy the most reliable means of salvaging painted works that often appeared to be disappearing before viewers' eyes.³⁴

For these "faithful" artists, dedication to the task of preservation should be such that personal volition is consumed by channeling the spirit of the original work. The good copyist in Sophia's text "should be informed with the feeling and the secret of the soul that wrought the wonder, or they only hide the masterpiece they pretend to repeat" (260). Much like the copyist Hilda in Nathaniel's *The Marble Faun*—a novel that Sophia read and copy-edited during the time that she was composing her own journals—Sophia's successful copyist "felt through and through a picture" before painting it and "viewed it, as it were, with [the master's] own eyes."³⁵ In functioning as a medium for the artist's original emotions, Hilda is able to reproduce not the superficial outline of the work, but its emotional essence. Similarly, Sophia's good copyists are conduits voided of personal ego, such as one young man that she describes as "four-fifths soul" (479). Like Hilda, they interpret feeling rather than simple form.³⁶

Considering Sophia's work as an artist and copyist, it seems particularly fitting to think of her written text as taking on the same preservationist function as good visual copies. This parallel, however, is complicated by Sophia's struggles with the terms original and copy, both in her own artistic production and within the text of *Notes*. In Sophia's life, the seeds for her pilgrimage to Italy were planted thirty years before, when the then-unmarried aspiring artist completed a copy of a landscape painting by Washington Allston. Declaring it the first time she had "felt *satisfied* with a copy" Sophia described the process of this painting as not simply

a reproduction of forms, but as a “bodying forth the poet’s dream—*Creation!*”³⁷ The work made the twenty-six-year-old Sophia a minor celebrity in Boston, and eventually brought even Allston to her home studio. The wise old man of American painting praised the copy and laid out for Sophia his advice for a young artist’s education, which took as its model his youthful apprenticeship in England and Italy, and included both drawing from nature and from other artworks. But for Allston, steeped in a Neoclassical tradition that valued history painting as the highest form of the medium, the advice to copy other works was only the means to the end of creating ‘original’ compositions.³⁸ Sophia generally shared in this idea. Most of the works she produced in her lifetime were copies, but she held the creation of ‘original’ work—images that she had seen neither in nature or in other works—up as an aesthetic ideal. When Sophia painted eight small landscapes for an 1833 Salem fundraiser, she wrote to her sisters proudly that “Four of them I created!!!!!!”—meaning that she had improvised the compositions, rather than copying them.³⁹ At the same time, her exclamation that the Allston copy embodied “the poet’s dream—*Creation!*” implies a distinction between copy and original significantly more conflicted than Allston’s. Rather than seeing the copy as simply a stage in the progression toward mature artistic work, Sophia appreciated gradations of quality within the category, and understood the copy as capable of expressing a form of originality.

This conflict is readily apparent in *Notes*. Copyists haunt Sophia’s museum setting as they do the settings of many nineteenth-century museum accounts, but in her hands the shadowy figures are never twice the same. Some fail utterly at their task, like the copyist imitating Michelangelo’s *Three Fates* “badly,” creating a copy that “will deceive somebody” who has not seen the original work (369). Others Sophia damns with faint praise, as one copyist emulating Guido’s *Archangel* in the Church of the Capuchins who “has entirely missed the face and the sway of the attitude, but had succeeded pretty well with the right foot and limb” (258). Some, as we have seen, copy “with the utmost fidelity,” and so “should be

commissioned to save in imperishable lines the vanishing masterpieces" (320). But most compellingly, some artists outperform the originals that they set out to imitate, and in so doing, create a work that transcends its descriptive qualities. Sophia encounters several such artists, including one at a large Nativity scene by Gherardo della Notte whose copy "had the depth of an abyss in it" with a light that "was truly spiritual, far finer in effect than that of the original picture" (479). All of these varied assessments of copyists present more than an overview of the potential of visual mimesis: they suggest the range of aesthetic failure or success for Sophia's own text.

Sophia holds her own prose in the travelogue to the same standards that she applies to the works of visual copyists. The analogy between the visual and the textual copy is, in her manuscript journals, very literal: her descriptions of images are often accompanied by, and explicitly refer to, sketches that also copy some detail of the artwork.⁴⁰ That these textual descriptions are complicated by some of the same problems that Sophia lays out for the visual copy, then, is not surprising. *Notes* is, in the most basic sense, conservationist, recording descriptions of works that often seemed on the verge of disappearance; as Annamaria Elsdon suggests, "the written word of Sophia's text may be her attempt to transcend time's destructive power and offer to a reading public 'lines' that will not fade."⁴¹ As part of the task of conservation, these descriptions are voided of their obvious personal apparatus, much as "faithful" visual copies channel the works that they emulate at the expense of individual expression. At the same time, Sophia's writing aspires to something like the "*Creation*" that she saw in her Allston copy, a personal intervention that distinguishes the copy from its source. For Sophia, this intervention lies, somewhat ironically, in the very familial details that she explicitly voids from her larger textual descriptions.

The tie between the most successful visual copies in *Notes* and in Sophia's writing itself is fruitful for considering the larger ambitions of the travelogue. If the best copies can be "far finer in effect than the original picture," this

improvement is achieved by some slight moderation or addition. Looking at the alterations of Sophia's text, both her deviations from a 'straight' ekphrastic description and the changes she made from manuscript to print volume, provides a sense of the means to her own originality. Such an examination reveals the extent to which the private life of *Notes* seeps into its ekphrastic passages, and Sophia's adept manipulation and incorporation of family life—a life that the Hawthornes had explicitly sought to withhold from the public eye—into the space of her ekphrastic description. By highlighting with ellipses and other markers her decisions about what to make public from the private journal, she signals her acute awareness of both the public/private and original/copy divides. *Notes* is a record of the “works of the Great Masters” for the general public, but it is equally a record of family life couched and made consumable for a public audience, a “record for my children's sake, hereafter,” as Sophia confesses near the end of the travelogue (346–7). Ekphrasis is for Sophia a conventionalized means of confronting both public and private spaces, copied and original works, and staking out a place for herself as a writer and artist that is inclusive of both ends of this spectrum. Inhabiting in *Notes* an aesthetic “third sphere,” Sophia directly challenges the notion that aesthetic questions must be phrased in divisive terms.



SOPHIA'S “FAMILIAR” EKPHRASIS

After Nathaniel's death, publisher James Fields encouraged Sophia to write her husband's biography. Sophia's response reveals her perception of the family's relation to the public: “I can neither write a book, nor would I, if able, so entirely set in opposition to my husband's express wish and opinion as to do so... The veil he drew around him no one should lift.”⁴² She went on to edit and publish his notebooks, specifically, she wrote in the 1870 preface to *Passages*

from the *English Note-books*, to assuage such demands from the public.⁴³ But her formulation of Nathaniel as veiled—a formulation that she used on several other occasions—is telling.⁴⁴ Nathaniel is, like his own characters Priscilla or the Reverend Hooper, both in the public eye and apart from it. In *Notes* Sophia again picks up on the trope of the veil, and we find the biography of the Hawthorne family that she resisted crafting outright. In Sophia's hands, the "churches, statues, and pictures" that Catherine Sedgwick in 1841 had termed as "familiar," become etymologically so, reflecting family in ways that transform mimesis into original description. The aestheticized family descriptions that result—Una as a Titianesque beauty, Julian as British lord, Nathaniel as a comely portrait—are a manner of exploring the veil rather than purporting to lift it, all the while creating a work that everywhere betrays the marks of its 'originality.'

Notes goes to pains to signal its reliance on an earlier, unpublished document, seeming to underline the distinction between private and public revelations, original and copied works. But the inconsistency of Sophia's editorial marks implies that she is more invested in pointing out this distinction than in upholding it. For instance, some excisions from the journals and letters on which *Notes* is based are marked with ellipses or a series of asterisks in the published text, but many other excised passages are not. An examination of the journals reveals that most of the differences between the print and the manuscript texts are minor, consisting often of extended descriptions of friends or family whose inclusion in the published document Sophia likely saw as too personal or capable of embarrassing their subjects. For instance, a passage from the manuscript journal describing Sophia's first meeting with Robert Browning in Florence displays editorial marks around text that was excised from the published journal:

At noon Mr. Browning called to see us and
I was charmed with him. He has a delightful
face—and beautiful eyes. He is not tall but
of a pleasant figure, with great nobility of

manner, very vivid and animated and warm.
 His grasp of the hand gives a new value to
 life, revealing so much fervor and sincerity
of nature. He invited us most cordially to go
 at eight and spend the evening. It would have
been impossible to refuse him. He is like
a fast rushing river, and carried all before
him. He talks rapidly and cannot sit still a
moment. At eight o'clock my husband, Ada,
 and I went to the memorable Casa Guidi."⁴⁵

In the published *Notes*, the underlined passages are replaced by the editorial marks * * * * and * * * * *, though other changes (for instance, the replacement of the phrase "my husband, Ada, and I" with the generic "we") are not indicated.⁴⁶

Because of the inconsistency with which Sophia flags these minor differences, her editorial marks demonstrate not an ingrained respect for the line between original and copy, but rather a desire to make this line visible. As she was editing Nathaniel's journals in 1866, Sophia wrote to James Fields that "what I cannot copy at all is still sweeter than the rest. The stars in their courses do not cover such treasures in Space—as do the dots I substitute for words sometimes."⁴⁷ The primary function of such occasional "dots" in *Notes* is to signal the existence of this "sweeter" space, a personal terrain into which readers are not invited. At the same time, as Marta Werner and Nicholas Lawrence have argued in the context of Nathaniel's edited journals, these ellipses "point to aporias in the text that are themselves figures for her understanding of the soul."⁴⁸ Ellipses, like the veil, reveal an understanding of selfhood in which "the self, an occulted mystery, is readable only through signs of absence."⁴⁹ Sophia's editorial gestures, insofar as they are guides to readers, are self-conscious markers of the terms—private/public, original/copy—at stake in consuming the work.⁵⁰

These terms are readily apparent in Sophia's presentation of family. The Hawthornes populate the pages of *Notes* only fleetingly; they appear as single initials (or in the case of

Nathaniel as "Papa" or "Mr. H.") making occasional commentary on aesthetic objects, but for the most part following as silent companions on Sophia's artistic pilgrimages.⁵¹ Though each of the family members plays only a small supporting role in the travelogue as a whole, they strain constantly in couched forms at the borders of the text.

Embedded references to Nathaniel are particularly prevalent. Some passages point specifically to "papa's" celebrity and the types of access that this celebrity grants the family—and, by extension, Sophia's readership. In Lincolnshire, for instance, Nathaniel gives an antique bookseller his card, after which this man insists on guiding the family through a formidable personal collection of relics and art objects that includes several drawings by Raphael, Rembrandt and Cellini. The opening of this private collection and the recognition of Nathaniel's standing are entwined, as an exchange between Sophia and the bookseller's wife hints: "I asked Mrs. P whether she were as much interested as her husband in these [art objects], and she said she was not, but preferred to read. And then she remarked, pointing to a brilliant red-bird in a missal that I was turning over: 'That bird is almost as red as the Scarlet Letter!' She said this in a private, confidential little way, and made no other allusion to the authorship" (61). While Sophia's text never openly broadcasts its privileged space, it doesn't need to: her allusions in a "private confidential little way" are, like those of the bookseller's wife, more than clear enough. These allusions complicate the idea that the travelogue is a purely public document of generally accessible spaces, and in highlighting these private collections, makes its own claims for what it can provide of 'original' content for its readers. At the same time, the use of visual cues in this passage provides an analogy for Sophia's own transformative ekphrasis. Just as the bookseller's wife gestures from the "brilliant red-bird" to the "Scarlet Letter" to its author, Sophia uses the visual description of *Notes* to point toward family, enmeshing her own 'originals' into the space of the ekphrastic copy.

Nathaniel as a character is similarly objectified: he is rarely given voice in the course of *Notes* the narrative, but his

appearance is often the subject of commentary. In one passage describing diners at a Scottish boarding house, Sophia compares their aesthetic merits much as she might compare a series of portraits: "The table was exactly full, and I saw hardly one comely person. Two young gentlemen in gray, and a young clergyman at the top of the table, were good-looking, but only one individual in the room was eminently handsome" (185). This "one individual" is almost certainly Nathaniel, to whom Sophia turns next in conversation. The passing reference seems almost gratuitous, but serves to rally readers together around the famous—and famously beautiful—figure who likely inspired much of the text's readership, at the same time as it establishes a knowing connection between Sophia and these same readers. Nathaniel's representation as "handsome," or on another occasion, "an Artist of the Beautiful," also readies the ground for the even more explicit aestheticization of other family members (185; 337).

The Hawthorne children, like Nathaniel, appear much more prominently in the manuscript journals than in the publicized text. In many cases, this presence takes the form simply of a specification of appearance, as in this entry from 25 March 1858 describing the family's visit to the Villa Ludovico in Rome: "Upon entering the gate, avenues and enchanting vistas opened on every side, but we went first to the Casino of Sculpture. [We were six—my husband, Una, Miss Shepherd, Julian, and Bud.]"⁵² Sophia's brackets, presumably added to the document during its editing stages, mark the text that is cut from the published *Notes*. The first-person plural pronoun that remains after the excision of the specific subjects in the second line echoes vaguely throughout the travelogue, a general "we" that rarely specifies its precise participants. The children take much more embodied form in the original manuscripts. In the second Roman manuscript journal, a full-page pencil drawing of a young girl in a knee-length dress figures on the cover page of the book, subtitled "Rose in Rome/ Palazzo Lazarani/ Percean Hill."⁵³ On the other side of the page, the faint outline of a pencil drawing of a young boy, perhaps Julian, remains, the vestiges of a concerted erasure. Another entry is interrupted



Beatrice Cenci. Currier & Ives, 1856-1907. Courtesy of Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. LC-USZC-1992.

by the name "Rose," written in a slightly unsteady and juvenile hand. Sophia's parenthetical comment follows: "(Mademoiselle Bouton de Rose just requested to insert her name, and here it is for all who are interested in her little autograph.)"⁵⁴

These remnants of family life are effaced from *Notes*, replaced by artworks that betray some tangential evidence of the children's lives. The recurrent descriptions of Madonna and Child artworks that populate *Notes* can be seen as reflections on Sophia's own maternity, but such passages also betray more specific descriptions of individual family members. Sophia's children are, in fact, only described in relation to the aesthetic objects that the travelogue takes as its central focus. For instance, we have a general outline of Julian's size from his fitting of an antique vest: "Lord Burleigh must have been slender, for J could not button it round his waist" (58). Una, meanwhile, is described in relation to Titian's *Bella Donna* on a visit to the Sciarra palace: "A folded mass of auburn hair crowns the head, and falls behind the throat. As U. stood near I perceived what artists have meant when they called U.'s hair 'Titian hair,' for it was precisely like the *Bella Donna*'s" (263). The painting helps to image Una, rather than the other way around. The primacy of ekphrasis is clear: when Sophia goes on with her description after the reference to Una ("The eyes are dark and rather small, and their expression and that of the perfect mouth are not amiable") we assume that she has moved back to a discussion of the artwork, though the subject is never specified. Moments such as these allow for Sophia's 'originality,' enabling her to revel in both the artwork and her own creation.

Rose is similarly aestheticized. In the published text, she appears only as "R.," but in the manuscripts, her name is the subject of Sophia's concentrated maternal whimsy: she is alternately Rose, Rosebud, Bud, Baby, and Bouton de Rose. The variations on "rosebud" suggest that she was the inspiration for Sophia's representation of her children as rose "portraits" when describing a meadow scene in England: "We gathered here from a wild eglantine three roses—one a shut-bud, but showing the lovely pink petals—another not

quite half opened, and a third just ready to unfold, but curved over the stamens. We named them after three children we know, and they are the prettiest of portraits" (184). This nickname also recalls Sophia's extended description of Guido's Beatrice Cenci portrait, particularly its fixation on the "rose-bud lips, sweet and tender," that betray "no cry, nor power to utter a word" (213). The silence of the painted innocent neatly echoes the speechless artistry of Sophia's own children: described only through works of art, their speech is curtailed in the text to the snippets of childish commentary on the works that are at the center of Sophia's travelogue.

These transformations demonstrate the extent to which ekphrasis for Sophia moves beyond rote description and into "familiar things." Ekphrasis is not merely the reiteration of well-worn territory, as Catherine Sedgwick implies, but the creative transformation of the public art object into a space that likewise can function as a private family record in the "hereafter" (347). Through these moments of transformation, it becomes apparent that *Notes's* preoccupation with copy and original is tied up precisely in the creative power of ekphrasis. The domestic backdrop of *Notes's* ekphrastic moments forms the subtext for thinking about how the textual and visual copy in Sophia's travelogue can take on the characteristics of originality. The use of ekphrasis as a means of masking family also seems to acknowledge Sophia's earlier injunction to James Fields that the "veil" not be lifted from Nathaniel. This insistence is, as becomes apparent in the course of *Notes*, both a creative and a protective act.



CONCLUSION

In a section from the Roman journals describing a Domenichino fresco, Sophia comments that "over every rare and famous masterpiece in the churches these Romans hang a veil, so as to get a paul [coin] for removing it; though I

should like to think it were to preserve the painting from dust and light, which might fade the colors" (203). Sophia presents two possible understandings of the veil here: the one (cynical) view that it exists only to bring profit to those who have placed it there, the other (more optimistic) possibility that it is placed to protect from the damage of exposure.

Sophia's own travelogue could be read according to these same terms of exploitation and protection. In some senses, *Notes* shows its author as both keeping the veil intact and profiting from its removal. The popularity of the volume depended heavily on its thinly-veiled familial subtext, but its publication did little to offer any personal revelations. The barrier that Sophia cast over her private space, then, acted simultaneously to compel a readership and to protect the members of an inner circle. Here again, Sophia manages to have it both ways. The most significant aspect of this binary, though, is not her text's tenuous existence in the space between exploitation and protection, but the role that she as an author has in creating this space. In the passage detailing the Domenichino fresco, Sophia summons the unveiling priest by "pulling at the curtain" herself (203). While *Notes* continuously insists on its author's inability to unveil the people, places and objects of her Roman encounters, this tugging at the edges suggests an awareness of her role in initiating revelation. Unlike Nathaniel's passively unveiled Priscilla, Sophia is the agent, however hesitant, of unveiling.

The difference that Sophia's perspective makes for conceptions of her own writing and women's writing more generally is subtle but important. Sophia saw her own undertaking as both derivative and potentially original, both copy and singular, both public and private. This undefined place in the literary landscape could be—and continues to be—troubling. One contemporary review of the travelogue praises Sophia for covering "with originality" many of the topics that Nathaniel himself had documented, but is clearly uncomfortable with the execution of this innovation in Sophia's descriptions of art, taking to task the "poetical" embroidery surrounding Guido's Beatrice Cenci: "To see

in the Cenci's 'white, smooth brow, without cloud or furrow of pain,' the hovering of 'a wild, endless despair,' is to see much more than is evidently visible on the canvas, or than is certainly apparent in the description."⁵⁵ Sophia's ekphrasis, in other words, moves out of the bounds of the literal description that a reader anticipates from a travel narrative, into the more nebulous realm of the "poetical." *Notes*, which relies on strict dichotomies at the same time that it thrives in the spaces between them, invites such confusion. But so too does ekphrasis more generally, which exists by its very nature in the undefined "third sphere" between the perfect copy and the freestanding work, never entirely able to attain either extreme. Ekphrasis is, in this sense, the ideal medium for an ambivalent author. That it should be such a popular one at precisely the time when publication summoned ever more ordinary citizens—many of them women—is no coincidence.

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NOTES

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1. Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, *Notes in England and Italy* (New York: Putnam, 1869), 543; hereafter cited parenthetically.
2. Hawthorne family members are referred to by their first names to avoid confusion. Annamaria Formichella Elsdén, "Watery Angels: Sophia Peabody Hawthorne's Artistic Argument in *Notes in England and Italy*," in *Reinventing the Peabody Sisters*, ed. Monika Elbert, Julie Hall and Katharine Rodier (Iowa City: Univ. of Iowa Press, 2006), 129-145. My reading here picks up and expands on Elsdén's point that "the veil itself, rather than what it covers, is the answer. By leaving the veil unlifted, Sophia points toward the representation—the veil in which she envelops her Italian experience in order to share it with readers—rather than the experience" (142-43).

3. Megan Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters: Three Women Who Ignited American Romanticism* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 269-70.
4. Julie Hall, "'Coming to Europe,' Coming to Authorship: Sophia Hawthorne and Her *Notes in England and Italy*," *Legacy* 19, no. 2 (2002): 141.
5. Noelle Baker, "'Let me do nothing smale': Mary Moody Emerson and Women's 'Talking' Manuscripts," *ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance* 57, no. 1-2 (2011): 24.
6. Claire Badaracco, "Pitfalls and Rewards of the Solo Editor: Sophia Peabody Hawthorne," *Resources for American Literary Study* 11, no. 1 (1981): 96.
7. For a discussion of mimesis and women's writing, see Eliza Richards, *Gender and the Poetics of Reception in Poe's Circle* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004), 1-28; Lara Langer Cohen, *The Fabrication of American Literature: Fraudulence and Antebellum Print Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 130-161. For the gendering of the copyist in the nineteenth century see Aviva Briefel, *The Deceivers: Art Forgery and Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2006), 19-53.
8. T. Walter Herbert, *Dearest Beloved: The Hawthornes and the Making of the Middle-Class Family* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1993), 37.
9. See Monika Elbert, Julie Hall, and Katherine Rodier, eds., *Reinventing the Peabody Sisters* (Iowa City: Univ. of Iowa Press, 2006) for essays by Hall, Elsdon and Lazo. The critical perspective on Sophia's loyal self-sacrifice began with Julian Hawthorne's consideration of his mother as having "lived for her husband" and continues even into Nina Baym's assertion that "had given up whatever public ambition she might have had in exchange for drawing her life's meaning from Hawthorne's life." For an overview of this work, see Hall, "Coming to Europe," 137-138.
10. Richard Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth Century America* (Chicago and London: The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1993), 51.
11. Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters*, 53.
12. Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters*, 63.
13. See for instance Sandra Whipple Spanier, "Two Foursomes in *The Blithedale Romance* and 'Women in Love,'" *Comparative Literary Studies* 16, no. 1 (1979): 59.

14. Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters*, 55.
15. Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*, 73-4.
16. Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*, 280.
17. Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*, 280-81.
18. Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*, 362.
19. Julie Hall, "'Coming to Europe,' Coming to Authorship: Sophia Hawthorne and Her *Notes in England and Italy*," *Legacy: A Journal of American Women Writers* 19, no. 2 (2002), 139.
20. Hall, "Coming to Europe," 138.
21. See Hall, "Coming to Europe," 141 for the timeline of Sophia's editorial work. For more on Sophia's revisions in Hawthorne's *The English Notebooks*, see Randall Stewart, introduction to *The English Notebooks*, by Nathaniel Hawthorne (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962), ix-xxi. See Marta Werner and Nicholas Lawrence, *Ordinary Mysteries: The Common Journal of Nathaniel and Sophia Hawthorne, 1842-1843* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2006) for a more sympathetic treatment of Sophia's editing practices in their analysis of her work on the common journal.
22. Mary Schriber, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830-1920* (Charlottesville and London: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1997), 2-3.
23. Schriber, *Writing Home*, 3.
24. Hall, "Coming to Europe," 138.
25. Hall, "Coming to Europe," 138.
26. Hall, "Coming to Europe," 139.
27. See for instance Schriber, *Writing Home*, 122-23; Thomas Woodson, "Historical Commentary," in *The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, ed. Thomas Woodson and Bill Ellis (Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Press, 1997), 21:733-734.
28. For an extended analysis of Sophia's aesthetic commitment to *Notes*, including an examination of the family's financial situation in the late 1860s, see Julie Hall, "Coming to Europe," 140-41.
29. Schriber sees women's travel writing, through Nina Baym, as a means of breaking down "whatever imaginative and intellectual boundaries their culture may have been trying to maintain between domestic and public worlds" and argues that "from the beginning to the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, writing home from abroad meant writing—and rewriting—'home,'" 8; 9. See also Susan Robertson, "American Women and Travel Writing," in *The Cambridge Companion to American Travel Writing*, eds. Alfred Bendixen and Judith Hamera

- (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009), 214-227. Robertson similarly reads women's travel writing as "a negotiation" struck "between new freedoms and traditional ideas and practices of feminine comportment, between the road and home," 218.
30. Julie Hall, "'Coming to Europe,'" 137. The extent to which familial associations were responsible for the success of Sophia's book is difficult to track precisely. Sophia's contemporaries, though, were direct about this familial appeal. As a review of the second edition in 1870 begins, "That the magic of Hawthorne's name would attract many readers to this volume, and that some passages would acquire especial interest through him, might be expected; but the individual and intrinsic merit of the book will be a real surprise to those who learn, for the first time, of the intellectual companionship he must have found in his wife." "Current Literature," *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine*. 4, no. 3 (1870): 294.
 31. Catherine Maria Sedgwick, *Letters from Abroad to Kindred at Home*, (New York: Harper, 1841) I: viii.
 32. Alfred Bendixen and Terry Caesar both see nationalism as the central preoccupation of American travelers. See Alfred Bendixen, "American Travel Books about Europe before the Civil War," in *The Cambridge Companion to American Travel Writing*, eds. Alfred Bendixen and Judith Hamera (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009), 103-126; Terry Caesar, *Forgiving the Boundaries*. Mary Schriber and Susan Robertson, in their work on 19th century American women's travelogues, represent domesticity and relations to the home as the primary concern. See Mary Schriber, *Writing Home*; Susan Robertson, "American Women and Travel Writing."
 33. W.J.T. Mitchell, "Ekphrasis and the Other," in *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1994), 181. For a similarly gendered discussion of ekphrasis, see also James Heffernan, *Museum of Words: The Poetics of Ekphrasis from Homer to Ashbery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).
 34. Sophia occasionally comments in the course of *Notes* on botched attempts at artistic preservation, as with this Raphael self-portrait: "It is said that Raphael's eyes in this picture were once blue and the hair fair, and that the cleaners have retouched them and made them dark... Picture cleaners are often the destruction instead of the restorers of works of art" (375).

35. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, ed. William Charvat et al. (Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Press, 1968), 4:56-7.
36. For a discussion of Sophia's role in editing the *The Marble Faun* manuscript, see Claude Simpson, "Introduction to *The Marble Faun*," in *The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, ed. William Charvat et al. (Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Press, 1968), 4: xxv; Fredson Bowers, "Textual Introduction: *The Marble Faun*," in *The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, ed. William Charvat et al. (Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Press, 1968), 4: lvi, lxx-lxx.
37. Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*, 228.
38. Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*, 229-231.
39. Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*, 265.
40. Sophia at times attempts to maintain this explicit connection between text and image in the published text, as in the 25 March 1858 entry in the first volume of the Roman manuscript journal. In this manuscript entry, she writes of two sculptures: "Marc Anthony has a strong head and face with a great force of will in it—Lepidus is very weak—with small features, a profile tending thus — " After the "thus," on the edge of the sheet is a pen drawing about the size of a nickel, showing a man with curly hair's profile, a triangle superimposed on his profiled features to emphasize his weak chin and forehead. This gesturing "thus," as well as the accompanying image is edited out of the published *Notes*, but later in the same passage, Sophia is able to approximate some of the imagistic properties of her original text. Considering the relation between three sculptures, Sophia writes in the manuscript journal that Lepidus "stands opposite the powerful Marc Antony—in the transept of the Braccio Nuovo—in the Vatican, and Augustus in the center of the curve—the triumvirate—There they are—perfectly lifelike." Between the final "are" and "perfectly" is a gap of about two inches lengthwise, in which Sophia has drawn a semi-circle with "Lepidus" penned in on the left end, "M A" on the right, and "Augustus" in the apex. Journal, vol. I, March 25 1858, Sophia Hawthorne Papers, Berg Collection of English and American Literature, New York Public Library (hereafter cited as Journal). This layout is approximated in the print publication with a careful spacing of text:

AUGUSTUS

LEPIDUS

MARC ANTONY

- (276). In passages such as this one, Sophia is able to gesture toward the existence of her sketches, which are not reproduced in *Notes*.
41. Elsdon, *Roman Fever*, 87.
 42. Werner and Lawrence, *Ordinary Mysteries*, 317.
 43. Sophia Hawthorne, preface to *The English Notebooks*, by Nathaniel Hawthorne (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962), vii.
 44. For instance, in writing to Annie Fields on Nathaniel's death in May 1864: "In the most retired privacy it was the same as in the presence of men. The sacred veil of his eyelids he scarcely lifted to himself. Such an unviolated sanctuary as was his nature, I his inmost wife never conceived nor knew." Randall Stewart, "Editing Hawthorne's Notebooks: Selections from Mrs. Hawthorne's Letters to Mr. and Mrs. Fields," *More Books* 20 (Sept. 1945): 299.
 45. Journal, vol. 3, 8 June 1858.
 46. The published passage reads: "June 8th.—This day has been memorable by my seeing Mr. and Mrs. Browning for the first time. At noon Mr. Browning called upon us. * * * * His grasp of the hand gives a new value to life, revealing so much fervor and sincerity of nature. He invited us most cordially to go at eight and spend the evening, ***** and so at eight we went to the illustrious Casa Guidi" (344).
 47. Randall Stewart, "Editing Hawthorne's Notebooks: Selections from Mrs. Hawthorne's Letters to Mr. and Mrs. Fields," *More Books* 20 (Sept. 1945): 308.
 48. Marta Werner and Nicholas Lawrence, "'This Is His—This is My Mystery': The Common Journal of Nathaniel and Sophia Hawthorne, 1842-1843" in *Reinventing the Peabody Sisters*, ed. Monika Elbert, Julie Hall and Katharine Rodier (Iowa City: Univ. of Iowa Press, 2006), 15.
 49. Werner and Lawrence, "This is His," 15.
 50. The published text's occasional and inconsistent use of footnotes to correct or add statements has a similar effect as ellipses in signaling the existence of an 'original' manuscript. See for instance Mary Schriber, *Writing Home*, III-III2 for Sophia's use of footnotes and bracketing in *Notes*.
 51. The focus, even in the manuscript journals, on art objects, likely made the excision of family circumstances in the published volume relatively simple. Other personal writings were more difficult to adjust. In June 1869, for instance, Sophia reviewed her "Cuba Journal"

entries as possible candidates for publication but determined against it, writing to her sister, "There is so much about people in them." Julie Hall, "Coming to Europe," 141.

52. Journal, vol. 1, 25 March 1858.
53. Journal, vol. 1.
54. Journal, vol. 5, 9-21 October 1858.
55. "Current Literature," 295.