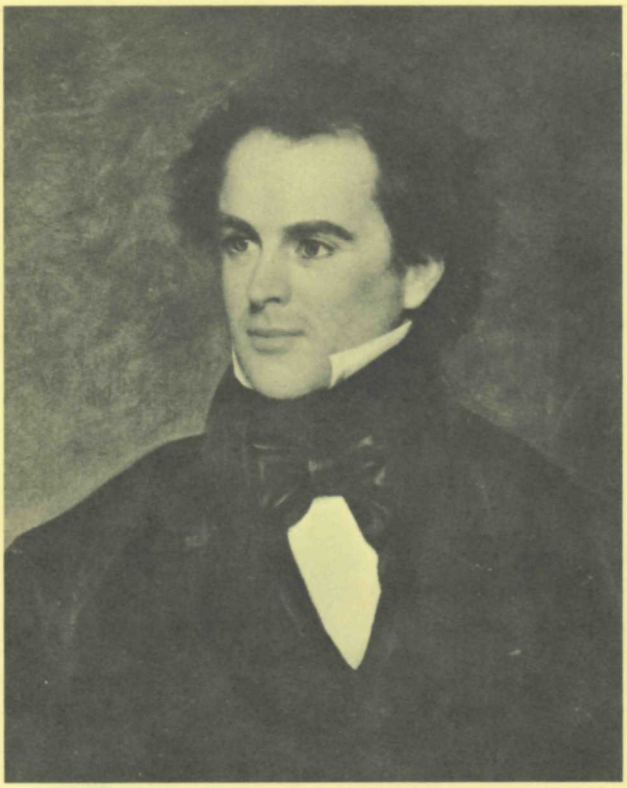
THE WAYSIDE

HOME OF AUTHORS



February 29, 1968

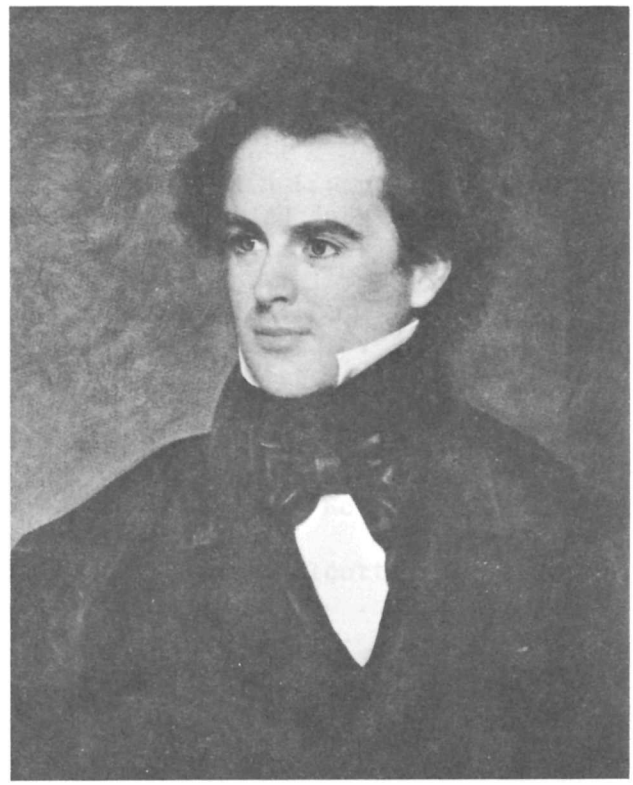
The Wayside

MINUTE MAN NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

Historic Structure Report
Part II
Historical Data Section

by

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DIVISION OF HISTORY
Office Of Archeology And Historic Preservation

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National Park Service

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Preface

The purpose of this study is to provide information to help with the preservation, rehabilitation, and interpretation of The Wayside. In 1775 it was the home of one of the political leaders of Concord, a man who was also the Muster Master of the Concord Minute Companies. Later it was the home of authors: Bronson Alcott and his family, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Margaret Sidney. The work was done under RSP no. MM-H-11.

Because of time limitations this report does not accomplish the research outlined in that RSP. The original sources of the Alcotts and Hawthornes were not examined except to check some references to Alcott manuscript. Fortunately, Miss Lothrop, a former owner, had made a thorough examination of this material in preparation for her book, The Wayside and made her notes available. Material acquired by various depositories since that time has not been examined. It is not even known, except those letters called to our attention by the kindness of Professor Norman Holmes Pearson.

Lothrop material, and they owned the house for a longer period than any family, has been collected only in part. It is not organized nor is it indexed. An attempt was made to

note relevant items which were given or loaned to the Park by Miss Lothrop in the last months of 1967. (This work was done by a work-study student.) As new information comes to light, it is hoped that the report will be corrected and amended.

It is obvious that there could not be a report without the work done by Miss Lothrop, her help in making materials available, and her other assistance. The Park's debt, and my personal debt, is great. Architect Carroll has also been of much help and generously made available his findings and conclusions. As his work went on at the time this section was being prepared, this section has been written to avoid unnecessary duplication of material. I also wish to thank those Student Assistants who helped: Mrs. Mary Harris Leto, Miss Christine Larson, and Mr. Richard Palermino. The conclusions and errors are my own.

Robert D. Ronsheim
Historian

THE WAYSIDE AND CONCORD IN HISTORY

The Wayside, so-named by Nathaniel Hawthorne after he purchased it, is one of four houses still standing in Concord, Massachusetts, where the ferment of the "American Renaissance" enlivened the conversations of Emerson, Thoreau, Ellery Channing, Margaret Fuller, Bronson Alcott, and Hawthorne himself. Located about three-quarters of a mile from town, on the British route to the North Bridge, the house was close enough to the center of affairs, yet it was far enough removed to protect the shy Hawthorne from unwanted company. The town itself went back as far in history as Hawthorne's novels. It was one of Middlesex County's meeting towns for the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and had developed as a trading center. By 1771 there were 4 potash plants, 2 saw mills, 3 grist mills, 2 tan houses and a slaughter house, a fulling mill, a warehouse, and 34 shops in town. Concord's minister, the Rev. William Emerson, reminded the people of their obligations under their covenant with God. And for six generations they had governed themselves.

The Provincial Congress looking for a place to meet in October 1774, picked Concord as a logical choice. The town was far enough from the British Army for safety, yet close enough

for Hancock and Adams to come out from Boston. And it was sure to give the Congress a friendly welcome. One member, Samuel Whitney, who lived in the house, worked on town committees and stored nearly seven tons of gunpowder in his warehouse.

In the next century Concord attracted people rather than governments. In 1834, after Ralph Waldo Emerson decided that he was a poet, he chose to live in Concord. Amos Bronson Alcott, who insisted that his first duty was to follow his genius and not to let a concern for money interfere, lived here and there in Concord. His family was young when he chose the house in 1845. After the death of Hawthorne and Emerson, Concord's past attracted persons active in the literary world. Mr. Daniel Lothrop, Boston publisher, bought The Wayside for his wife who wrote books for children under the pen name of Margaret Sidney.

THOSE WHO LIVED THERE

Farmers, Artisans, and Patriots

The Wayside is more than two hundred and fifty years old. As it stands today it is the product of many hands, minds, and considerable living. It was started by Nathaniel Ball, Sr., his namesake, Nathaniel, or his grandson, Caleb, all of whom

were Concord yeomen. Nathaniel, Sr., had a house in this area by 1688 and his grandson sold the house which became The Wayside in January of 1717. As Caleb sold but a part of the original houselot, and his father was living on the rest, The Wayside may have been new in 1717. Still that date gives it some antiquity.[1]

Samuel Fletcher, described as a "Glazer" when he bought the house in 1717, was listed as a housewright when he sold it in 1722. Ownership changed frequently and by 1769 another housewright, Nathaniel Coleburn, a worsted comber, John Farrar, and John Breede, a cordwainer had owned it. These trades were not exceptional for this area. A number of artisans occupied houses on either side during this period.[2]

Samuel Whitney, who bought the house from John Breede on April 11, 1769, had moved his storekeeping from Boston to Concord two years before. He purchased it and two others a little further

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1. The documentation for the entire chain of title and the abutters is to be found in a report in the Park files. This was prepared by Miss Christine Larson and the writer. In 1688 Nathaniel, Sr. gave half the houselot to his son, Nathaniel, Jr., who was living with him at the time. Their house could have become The Wayside.

2. Oliver Barret was a cooper, Kendall Briant a blacksmith, William Clark a cordwainer, Zachariah Davis a hatter, and Henry Euers a worsted weaver. This is not a complete listing. All of these artisans were not in the area at the same time.

east with a legacy of £400 or more from his mother's estate.[3] This expenditure gave him well over 100 acres of land, most of it near the road to Lexington and Boston and less than a mile from the Meeting House. An important figure in Concord's economic activities, in 1771 he was taxed for one house,

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3. The 1767 date of Whitney's coming to Concord is from Henry Austin Whitney, *Incidents in the Life of Samuel Whitney . . .* (Boston, 1860), p. 18, hereafter cited as Whitney. The date given is precise - April 1767 - and the author had access to documents. It is not known what evidence he had, but Whitney was a trader of Concord when he purchased another house in 1768. It is possible that this 1768 purchase was west of the house purchased from Breede. The description in the deed is impossible, however, and the deed from Breede puts Whitney to the east. His mother's probate record has not been examined, if it exists. He was to receive £400 and a share of money owed to his mother in 1761.

Whitney is placed in what became "The Wayside" for three reasons. First, his great-grandson Henry Austin Whitney placed him there in 1860. Ibid., 21. Second, Shattuck in his history which was published in 1835, placed Prof. John Winthrop at Darius Meriam's. Winthrop rented from Whitney. See below, fn. 7-8. Meriam owned the house from 1827 to 1832. He then moved to Lowell so the reference by Shattuck is certain. This does not prove that Winthrop rented the house in which Whitney was living, however. He stayed in Concord. Third, Whitney lost the other houses. The house to the east, perhaps the old Ball house, is not found in later deeds for the land, and when Whitney sold land which abutted his third house he no longer owned the land near the road, the land on which the house would have stood. This confirms his 1771 tax for but one house, although, he probably would not have paid taxes on a house which was rented to another. A study of the other persons near him on the 1771 tax list to see if they owned a house might throw light on this. The problems of where Whitney lived before 1768 and after he rented to Winthrop remain.

Concord's only warehouse, two "Servants for Life," a horse, four oxen, and £150 in stock in trade.[4]

Samuel and Abigail had seven children at the time he bought the house. Five of the six children born in the house before 1775 survived.[5] The twelve children must have filled the house.

In 1774, Whitney became important in town politics. In September, with a crisis at hand in the colony's relation to Britain, he was elected moderator of the Town Meeting.[6] This was an important position; the British government was punishing Boston for the Tea Party, and the people of Boston had to depend upon the country towns to see them through. Town meetings were so important in the resistance to British encroachments on old

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4. Concord tax Record for 1771, Massachusetts Archives, v. 132, p. 208, located in State House, Boston, Mass. There were a total of 14 "Servants for Life" in Concord. No one had more than two (Henry David Thoreau wrote of the tales told about Casey, Whitney's slave, by George Minot who was, according to Minot, born in Casey's house. This puts Casey in the house west of Whitney, a house not owned by Whitney, but which was vacant at the time so far as we can learn.) Fifteen persons had some stock in trade, but 8 of them had less than £30; only 2 persons had more than £150. Whitney must have invested all of his money in his land and goods for he had no money at interest.

5. See the genealogy in Whitney, pp. 53-56.

6, Concord Town Records, transcribed by David Pulsifer, v. 4, p. 407. Other references to positions Whitney held are v. 4, pp. 407, 408, 415, 416, 417, 422.

habits of self-government that one of the Intolerable Acts restricted action by town meetings to items approved by the Governor. In addition, they were to be held but once a year. Moderator Whitney and the town itself ignored the law. When the next meeting was held late in October, Whitney was returned to the chair.

That gave him three important positions, the others being a member of the Committee of Correspondence and one of the town's three representatives to the first Provincial Congress, then meeting in Concord. Other representatives included Samuel Adams, Dr. Joseph Warren, Benjamin Lincoln, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry, and Professor John Winthrop. John Hancock was chairman. The Congress also met without the Governor's permission. In fact, it and its committees were the government of the colony and they kept in touch with the other colonies. They heard a report from the members who had been at the Continental Congress and elected delegates to return to Philadelphia in May.[7]

In September Concord voted to recruit Minute Men. In January Samuel Whitney was made their Muster Master. During the same

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7. Information about the Provincial Congress is from William Lincoln, ed., *The Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts . . . (Boston, 1838).*

meeting he was one of five appointed to walk over to the town common and inspect the Minute Men then training there. After they reported back, the town also elected him to the Committee of Safety. In February he was one of eight elected to get signatures on the Association drawn up by the Continental Congress for the boycott of British goods. And the meeting assigned him to recruit ". . . the Remaining part of the men who . . . [were] to take the Care for the Cannon . . . ." The most remarkable aspect of Whitney's many positions is that until 1774 he had never held town office. The other revolutionary leaders of Concord were old faces.[8]

Gunpowder, Spies, and Redcoats

Whitney, performed another service in the patriot cause, one to which he was not elected and which it would have been better to have kept secret: military stores were hidden on his property. In a large hand and in French, perhaps chosen to throw off anyone who might accidentally see it, a spy reported on March 9 to the British General Gage: "Il-y-a quatres Canons de Cuivre et deux Coehorns où Mortiers, en depôt . . . ." Among other things he said

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8. Concord Town Records, v.4, p. 415, microfilm copies in Park files. See Park files on Concord leaders.

that the greater part of séven tons of gunpowder, guns, and other firearms were deposited at Whitney's near the entrance of Concord. The precious supplies were in stores or a warehouse adjoining the house.[9]

The British went to Concord on April 19 to seize and destroy the supplies collected there "For the Avowed Purpose of raising and supporting a Rebellion against his Majesty . . . ."[10]

They did seize and destroy, or attempted to destroy, some of the supplies. What about the gunpowder, at Whitney's, which, with the cannons, was nearly irreplaceable?

After 1775 stories were told about the behavior of the British in Concord. And there is a tale of a remarkable bullet which grazed the heads of four of the Whitney children without doing any harm. But there is nothing about a search for the better

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9. Intelligence, Dated 9 March 1775, Gage Papers, American Series, v. 126, William L. Clements Library. The portion about Whitney follows:

> Il-y-a *pour Le moins Sept* Toneaux de poudre à feu . . . dont Le plus grand parti, aussibien qu'une quantité des Fusils et àutres armes a feu, sont deposites chez un certain *nomme Whitney*, prés de L'éntre du Vilage *de Concord*, (dans une Maison Blanché Emplatrée, sur La Main droite, La Maison ayant une petite Coar devant entourée des palisades.) Il'est á Soupconner que Les armes, et La poudré sont places dans une Espece, de Magasin, or Boutique á coté de La Maison.

10. Thomas Gage to Francis Smith, 18 April 1775, Gage Papers, American Series, v. 127. This is the 10th item on the Park's microfilm copy and is the final order for the March.

part of seven tons of gunpowder at Whitney's.[11] The reason for this was as Gage's spy system, keeping him up to date, reported "The military stores are removed."[12]

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11. Whitney, pp. 26-27, has the British marching by in the morning, and says that the "house had been visited, but the furniture had not been disturbed," by the time the Whitneys returned in the afternoon. The author says that "most of the stores" at Whitney's house had been moved. The other accounts of the British search in Concord do not mention Whitney's, not even those which were first written in 1775. Whitney, pp. 27-28, tells what happened to the family that day. Mr. Whitney was busy in town and later at the fight at the Bridge. After the fight he hastened home to warn his family to leave. Mrs. Whitney and her four youngest then left the house in a chaise. They had gone a short distance "when a bullet passed through the top of the chaise, just grazing the heads of the children." The source of this remarkable bullet is not given. It could not be British for they did not retreat from Concord for some time after the fight. David, the oldest boy, against his mother's orders, followed the troops, saw the fight at the Bridge and did not realize "that there was danger until he heard the whistling of the bullets . . . ."

12. The draft orders for the march listed where stores were to be found and this would have brought a search: "A quantity of Provisions and Ammunition in other Places, the Principal Deposits are the houses of Messrs. Hubbard, . . . Butler, Jones the Jailor . . . two men of the name of Bond, and particularly at Mr. Whitney . . . a large Quantity of Powder and Ball is reported to be deposited in stores adjoining the House" (Three words marked through have been omitted.) Another report either written or received on the 18th informed Gage that "The Military Stores are removed." There are several clues as to the time the letter was written, but they have not been followed as far as possible. Somehow the latest espionage report must have gotten to the troops and Whitney's property was not searched. Redcoats cannot be placed in the house at all unless they starting looting very early. The numbers of the items cited in the Parks' microfilm copy of the Gage Papers are 12 and 11.

Another mystery about hidden stores is Shattuck's list in his *History of Concord* (Concord, 1835), which he said was based on a list of Colonel Barrett's. It differs considerably from the information in the Gage papers, and puts 82 barrels of flour at Whitney's.

A Center for Learning

During the winter of 1775-76 General George Washington's troops, using Harvard College as headquarters, bottled up the British in Boston. The College moved to Concord, and Professor and Mrs. John Winthrop lived in Whitney's house. Professor Winthrop was one of the leading scientists of colonial America. Many of his observations, chiefly on astronomy, were published by the Royal Society, of which he was a Fellow. He had the first laboratory for scientific experiments in the colonies. He also used it for classroom demonstrations.[13]

But for Mrs. Winthrop's desire for comfort, the house might have missed the honor of such an illustrious occupant. The Selectmen of Concord were responsible for finding housing for the College. She wrote Mercy Warren on November 5.

> we Travelled Safely to Concord to View the Spacious House as it was represented provided for us, & had it not been for Mrs. Halls description of it, I should have been disappointed in the appearance of it, which is in the humble Stile & has been the habitation of many Donation poor, & you may easily imagine not in the most Elegant Taste . . . .

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13. On Winthrop see Brooke Hindle, *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America, 1735-1789* (Chapel Hill, 1956) and Dirk J. Struik, *Yankee Science in the Making* (Boston, 1948), pp. 24-26. Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard* (Cambridge 1942, 1st printing 1936), pp. 92-93, says "Winthrop ruled over the first laboratory of experimental physics in this country."

We can imagine that Mrs. Winthrop imparted her feelings about the Selectmen's housing to Mr. Winthrop. On the 10th he went to Concord and on the 11th he noted in his diary "Hir'd Whitney's house for 1 year from yrday."[14] Perhaps Whitney and Winthrop had become well acquainted while serving together in the first Provincial Congress.

The College's library and scientific apparatus were near the Winthrops.[15] Did Whitney's warehouse become a college building?

The superior accommodations of Whitney's house should have pleased Mrs. Winthrop.[16] She did feel somewhat isolated, however,

> The peaceful Vale of Concord is my residance which we make a comfortable abode, where my dear Friend [Mercy Warren] your letters & intelligence of what is doing in the great world will always reanimate me . . . you must look upon it as an act of charity to communicate to me who am almost as retired as in a Cloyster.

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14. Mrs. Winthrop to Mercy Warren, Andover, Nov. 5, 1775, Mercy Warren Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, photocopy in Park files. Notes made by Miss Margaret Lothrop on Professor Winthrop's diary which was then in Widener Library, Harvard University. The entry is also given in a letter from Lawrence S. Mayo to Miss Lothrop dated March 4, 1944. It is in the Park files.

15. Shattuck, p. 120, Morison says that the "hegira to Concord separated him from the 'philosophical apparatus.'" and "Professor Winthrop complained of insufficient apparatus to conduct his experimental lectures." pp. 90, 150. Hindle, p. 228, says that "Most of this equipment found its way to Winthrop's Concord home . . . ."

16. Mrs. Winthrop to Mercy Warren, Concord, Dec. 13, 1775, Mercy Warren Papers, MHS.

Professor Winthrop was not so confined. Not only did he lecture to the students, and give public lectures, but he was also a member of the Provincial Council and attended meetings in Watertown.

Both were happy when General Washington drove the British from Boston and they could leave what she called a "corner of a Country Village."[17]

The Hoars and Other Wheelwrights

Samuel Whitney sold his home, now on a 3 1/2 acre piece, in May 1778 to Daniel Taylor, a Concord yeoman. Taylor held the house only a month before selling it to Daniel Hoar, a Concord farmer, who owned the house when he died in 1814.[18] In 1823 his son, Daniel, Jr., a wheelwright and blacksmith, drowned.[19]

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17. Mrs. Winthrop to Mercy Warren, Concord, April 2, 1776, Mercy Warren Papers, MHS.

18. Hoar sold the house and other land in 1778. The date and method by which he regained the house are not known. A 1789 deed for the land abutting The Wayside on the east listed him as the western abuttor.

19. Daniel Hoar, Jr., placed an ad in the Middlesex *Observer* for March 15, 1823, offering for sale much land, two yokes of oxen, a set of blacksmith tools, a number of chaise wheels, and five used one-horse wagons. Some of the land was three-fourths of a mile from Concord Meeting House, and this fit the house. The reason given for the sale was that he was closing his business of wheelwright and blacksmith.

When Daniel, Jr.'s heirs sold the property in 1827, it included but one acre of land, his two workshops, a small building occupied as a barn, and a dwelling house. The purchaser was Darius Meriam, a Concord wheelwright, as was the man who purchased it from him in 1832, Horatio Cogswell. Cogswell had sold and reacquired the house twice by 1839. One purchaser was Albert L. Bull, a cabinetmaker, and the brother of Cogswell's eastern neighbor Ephraim Wales Bull, the developer of the Concord grape. In 1842 another wheelwright, George Burt, was renting from Cogswell, who sold to Washington Allen of Brighton in September 1844. Within four months, the house was bought for the use of Amos Bronson Alcott and his family.[20]

The House Acquires A Name And Important Occupants

The purchasers were Samuel Sewell, a cousin of Mrs. Alcott, and Rev. Samuel J. May, her brother. They were acting as trustees under the will of Mrs. Alcott's father. The purchase of the house gave the family a place to go, and Mr. Alcott named it "Hillside." Amos Bronson Alcott was then 45, his wife a year younger. Their family was complete, but young: Anna would be

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20. The history of the house between the death of Daniel Hoar and the time the heirs of his son sold it in 1827 is somewhat confused. The paragraph is based on the chain of title work and on the Concord tax records for the period. There is no tax record for 1843.

14 by the time they moved into the house in April, Louisa May was 12, Elizabeth was 9, and Abba May had been born in Concord in 1840. Good ages for spirited adventures which might be used in a book.[21]

The Alcotts had been in Concord in 1840 after Mr. Alcott's Temple School in Boston had failed. They returned after the Fruitlands experiment in transcendental living also failed. Cogswell's old place was available and they purchased it. The deed made clear that it was for the benefit of Mrs. Alcott and that Bronson would not have any legal control in the property. Not only was he in debt, but he could not bring himself to care about it.[22]

Bronson Alcott was not a callous man. A story of a winter evening in Concord told by his daughter, Louisa, illustrates his trust in higher things.[23]

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21. The information about the Alcotts is from Odell Shepard's *Pedlar's Progress: The Life of Bronson Alcott* (Boston, 1937), hereafter cited as Shepard, and Margaret M. Lothrop, *The Wayside; Home of Authors* (Boston , 1940), hereafter cited as Lothrop. On the failure of the Temple School, see below page 16.

22, See Shepard, pp. 180-312, 397-401 and, especially, 426-343.

23, The story is in F. B. Sanborn and William T. Harris, *A. Bronson Alcott: His Life and Philosophy* (Boston, 1893), pp. 469-70.

> . . . One snowy Saturday night, when our wood was very low, a poor child came to beg a little, as the baby was sick and the father on a spree . . . . My mother hesitated at first, as we also had a baby. Very cold weather was upon us, and a Sunday to be got through before more wood could be had. My father said, 'Give half our stock, and trust in Providence; the weather will moderate, or wood will come.' Mother laughed, and answered in her cheery way, 'well, their need is greater than ours; and if our half gives out, we can go to bed and tell stories.'

The storm continued and the Alcotts were about to cover their fire when the farmer who usually supplied them with wood came to their door. He had started for Boston with a load, but had turned back. He asked the Alcotts to "accommodate" him by taking the load, and they need not be in a hurry to pay. After the load was in, Bronson

> turned to mother with a look that much impressed us children with his gifts as a seer. 'Didn't I tell you wood would come if the weather did not moderate?'

Mr. Alcott felt that his genius was for teaching. His neighbors in Concord's East Quarter did not want him as a teacher for their children in 1848, even though his fame as an educator was such that a few years before a newly established school in England was given his name.[24] His success in drawing out children was, in part, his undoing. When his conversations with his pupils

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24. Bronson Alcott's *Journal*, v. 23, pp. 581, 668, hereafter cited ABA *Journal*. The original *Journals* are in the Widener Library, Harvard University. Microfilm copies of most of these volumes are in Park files. The information is from Miss Lothrop's notes; time did not permit running down this information. The same condition prevails for all references to the Alcott manuscripts.

in the Temple School were published, the records of their serious talk about the Gospel and the birth of Jesus caused the school to fail, leaving him about $6,000 in debt.[25]

Later he would be the Superintendent of Schools in Concord. And a young man on whom he had had a profound influence, William T. Harris, went on to become a U. S. Commissioner for Education. But that was in the future. During the years at Hillside, he taught only his own children, and, on Sundays, the Emersons.[26]

The years were not without pleasure. That would scarcely have been possible in the Alcott family. These were the years described in *Little Women*. Mr. Alcott enjoyed working the land, which he could do because Ralph Waldo Emerson bought, for $500, eight acres suitable for farming which he turned over to his friend. Alcott was an enthusiastic landscaper and followed the works of A. J. Downing. He enjoyed the companionship of Thoreau who called at Hillside from time to time and returned the visits at Walden Pond. He had Thoreau's help in building an elaborate summer house for Emerson which was the talk of the town. There were other literary figures in town, including

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25. Shepard, pp. 180-210

26. Ibid., pp. 476-477, 467, 484, also ABA *Journal* for the years at Hillside.

Hawthorne at the Old Manse. But the most frequent visitor at Hillside was Emerson. It was his friendship which had drawn Alcott to Concord. His support and encouragement enabled Alcott to continue although many others helped the cause.[27]

Mr. Alcott had been so depressed with the failure of Fruitlands that he had had a strong wish to die, and nearly accomplished this wish. He had recovered the will to live, and the work at Hillside increased his strength. He had not given up the idea that he should live in a larger family than the natural one with which he was blessed. In October 1844, while living with friends in Concord, he had written to his brother Junius:[28]

> I hope to obtain space and dwelling for several families . . . . I cannot consent to live solely for one family. I would stand in neighborly relations to several, and institute a union and communion of families instead of drawing aside within the precincts of one's own acres and kindred by blood.

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27. Lothrop, Chap. III. See also Shepard, using the index, especially the chapter entitled "The Town of Agreeing Men." Shepard says of Alcott's move, "He had gone there to be near Emerson . . . ."

28. Quoted in Shepard, p. 389.

Junius was encouraged to come with his family, which perhaps included a child or two at the time.[29] Miss Ford was invited to come and take charge of a school the Alcotts hoped to have at Hillside. She accepted and stayed until it was clear that there would not be enough pupils and then went to Emerson's.[30]

Charles Lane, who had purchased Fruitlands and took part in that experiment, arrived in August and stayed six weeks. Soon after Lane left, Robert Owen, now an old man, but full of fame as a reformer, spent two days.[31] Others of lesser note were also at Hillside.[32]

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29. It is not known if Junius had any children at this time. He was married, for Mrs. Alcott mentions what a help his wife would be. When he died in 1852, at the age of 32, he had four small children. It seems unlikely that he had four children at the age of 25, and the same number at 32. ABA, *Journal* quoted in Shepard, p. 445.

30. Mrs. Alcott to S. J. May, August 9, 1845, September 19, 1845 and December 1845, Alcott Family Letters, located in Widener Library, Harvard University. Microfilm copies are in Park files.

31. ABA, *Journal*, Index, 1800-50, for the year 1845. This Index was prepared by Alcott and is a brief account of his life in short statements, listed chronologically. The *Journal* for 1845 has been lost, but this Index serves as a substitute. On Robert Owen, see Lothrop, p. 68.

32, ABA, *Journal*, Index 1800-1850 for the year 1845. Alcott to May, September 19, 1845. Perhaps the most trying guest was a fifteen year old girl, a mental case. The doctors had recommended that she be placed in a private home. Mrs. Alcott had the care of her beginning late in 1846. The four dollars a week paid for her care is one explanation for the extra burden. Mrs. Alcott to S.J. May, Nov. 2, 1846. Mrs. Alcott had the care of her in 1848. Alcott to May, Waterford, June 14, 1848.

Alcott, whose abolitionism prevented his using products of slave labor, while at Hillside helped a victim of the hated institution. He was a nameless guest whose visit Mrs. Alcott described this way.[33]

> We have had an interesting fugitive here for 2 weeks - right from Maryland. He was anxious to get to Canada and we have forwarded him the best way we could. His sufferings have been great, his intrepidity unparalleled. He agrees with us about Slave produce - he says it is the only way the Abolition of the Slave can ever be effected.

Alcott's comment on this illustrates that he never put aside the role of teacher.

> His stay with us has given image and a name to the dire entity of Slavery, and was an impressive lesson to my children, bringing before them the wrongs of the Black man, and his tale of woes.

The Alcotts with much work changed the house and landscape, but their labor did not provide for their subsistence. After three years' struggle they left for Boston where Mrs. Alcott found a poorly paid job doing charitable work. She realized the irony of her position.[34]

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33. Lothrop, p. 69-70.

34. Ibid., 76. Shepard, pp. 521-22. Shepard believes that "probably" the most important reason for going to Boston was the desire for "a warmer social environment and a greater stir of life." Mr. Alcott did write in 1848 that his wife was almost frantic at the thought of staying another winter in Concord. ABA, *Journal*, p. 22, for October 24.

Mr. Hawthorne Calls It "The Wayside"

The Alcotts left Hillside in November 1848. Nathaniel Hawthorne bought it March 8, 1852. In between it was sometimes vacant, sometimes rented. There was talk of selling the house as early as 1847, and conversations had been held with interested buyers before the Alcotts left. One of these was Horatio Cogswell of Brighton. He rented his old house for $30 per quarter early in 1849, hoping to buy it at the end of the year. He did not buy, for Mrs. Lauriat was renting Hillside before 1850 and signed for another year. After she left Mrs. Alcott wanted to return to the peace and quiet of the place. But, a tailor rented for six months.[35] Then the Hawthornes bought the house.

Hawthorne in 1852 was a very well established author with the success of *The Scarlet Letter* and *The House of Seven Gables* behind him and *Blithedale Romance*, his account of Brook Farm, just published. His family was young, Una being eight, Julian six, and Rose, called Rosebud, going on two. Hawthorne, although approaching forty-eight, was an exceedingly handsome

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35. On 1847 see: ABA, *Journal*, v. 21, p. 545 (April), 560 (May), 600 (July). On Cogswell see: Ibid., v. 22, October 24, 1848; Mrs. Alcott to S.J. May, Boston, January 29, 1849, Alcott Family Letters. On Mrs. Lauriat see ABA, *Journal*, v. 24, p. 479. She rented for 1849; perhaps Cogswell did not stay beyond the first quarter. On Mrs. Alcott see her letter to S.J. May, February 28, [1851]. On Weir, the tailor, see ABA, *Journal*, v. 26, p. 1142. (This entry is incorrectly dated 1850.) Weir was to pay $100 per year for half the house. S.J. May to Mrs. Alcott, March 12, 1852, Alcott Family Letters.

man. His wife, Sophia, five years younger, possessed artistic talent and considerable intellect. She belonged to the remarkable Peabody family of Salem. One sister, Mary, married Horace Mann; another Elizabeth an important educator, had become much involved with intellectual currents in Boston.[36]

Concord was not new to the Hawthornes; Sophia had visited there frequently when she made a medallion of Emerson's brother Charles. Hawthorne brought her as his bride to the Old Manse. They lived there until the fall of 1845.

The friendship of Emerson, Thoreau, and Ellery Channing increased the pleasure of the Hawthornes' memory of Concord. There had been financial pressures in those first years of marriage. In fact, both had fled Concord to their parents for a bit of relief.[37] The success of his novels now made it possible to buy a home; it was natural that he look to Concord.

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36. Information about the Hawthornes is from Lothrop, chap. IV; Randall Stewart, *Nathaniel Hawthorne; a biography* (New Haven, 1961. First printed 1948) pp. 116-47; Hubert H. Hoeltje, *Inward Sky, The Mind and Heart of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Durham, 1962) chap. IX. For Hawthorne's appearance in 1852 see the portrait by George P.A. Healey which was painted for Franklin Pierce.

37. Allan French, *Hawthorne at the Old Manse* (n.p., n.d.) is a delightful account of the years at the Old Manse with the emphasis on the joys. Hoeltje, pp. 226-27 tells of their flight from creditors for a short period.

In fact, Hawthorne had inquired about the Alcott place in December of 1851.[38]

In addition to its memories and the bonds of friendship, Concord offered a quiet, lovely landscape which was more refreshing because it was not so strong as to be indelibly printed in the mind. Concord was close enough to friends in Cambridge, and to publishers in Boston. The only thing it lacked was the sea, but Hawthorne was certainly a man who knew that reality imposed limits on life.

Political reality soon imposed on life at The Wayside, as Hawthorne renamed his home.[39] Hawthorne in the past had earned

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38. In the winter of 1851-52 the Hawthornes were renting the West Newton home of the Manns. It was temporary and miserable, the rent was high, and the thought of a permanent home had great appeal. Hawthorne looked for a place in Cambridge. He and Longfellow spent part of a day walking the streets of that city, but the search was fruitless. Hoeltje, pp. 359-60 has a good account of their reasons for picking Concord.

39. Hawthorne wrote at least two letters in which he explained his choice of names for the house. He wrote George William Curtis:

> The house stands within ten or fifteen yards of the old Boston road (along which the British marched and retreated) divided from it by a fence, and some trees and shrubbery of Mr. Alcott's setting out. Whereupon, I have called it 'The Wayside,' - which I think a better name, and more morally suggestive than that which, as Mr. Alcott has since told me, he bestowed on it - "The Hillside'

The letter was dated Concord, July 14th 1852 and a copy was furnished the Park by Mr. William Henry Harrison, Director of Fruitlands Museums. Stewart, pp. 123-24 quotes an account written to Duyckinck.

his living in political office. Now in 1852, General Franklin Pierce, a close friend and classmate from Bowdoin, was the surprise nominee of the Democrats. As soon as he heard that news Hawthorne wrote Pierce saying that he did not believe himself the person to write a campaign biography, but he would do what he could. Pierce thought that a biography was what Hawthorne could do and during the summer of 1852 Hawthorne collected material and wrote. He did not avoid the chief issue of the day, slavery, although Pierce's stand, or lack of stand, on this was not popular in the North. Hawthorne's friendship and services for Pierce did not endear him to his wife's abolitionist family, but Pierce was elected and Hawthorne received an appointment to the Consulship at Liverpool in March of 1853. Before the family left for the new post, *Tanglewood Tales* was published, with its introductory, "The Wayside," and the house had sheltered two distinguished guests, Franklin Pierce and Herman Melville, whose *Moby Dick* was dedicated to Hawthorne.[40]

The Wayside was left for Mrs. Hawthorne's brother, "Dr." Nathaniel Peabody and his family to use and care for.

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40. See Stewart, p. 127 for Pierce's visit; Jay Leyda, *The Melville Log; a Documentary Life* (New York, 1951), p. 464.

Nathaniel is obscured in the shadows cast by his three sisters.[41] While the Peabodys were there the Alcotts returned and spent some time at their old home. The Orchard House, the next house to the west, had been purchased for them. Late in September of 1857, Elizabeth, now fatally ill, found comfortable quarters at Hillside, as Alcott still called it. Early in October, she left and joined the family in a rented apartment. In March of 1858 they were back. Orchard House was nearly ready. The Alcotts had Hawthorne's study and the two adjacent rooms. Nathaniel found few of Hawthorne's books which suited him. The Alcotts moved to Orchard House in May and June.[42]

Meanwhile the Hawthornes changed their plans for return to this country. After his term as Consul, they visited Italy. They extended their stay when Una became seriously ill. The Peabodys,

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41. For information about Nathaniel Peabody see Louise Hall Tharp, *The Peabody Sisters of Salem* (Boston, 1950), using the index for Nathaniel Cranch Peabody, especially pp. 253, 274, and 307 for Concord information. The title "Doctor" was an honorary one bestowed by the people of Concord. His hopes to become an M.D. ended when he was asked to leave Harvard. He then sold drugs especially homeopathic remedies. He and his family evidently lived at The Wayside rent free. He was no exception to the Peabody tradition of being hard pressed for money.

42. Alcotts at Hillside: see ABA *Journal*, v. 32 (1857), 748, 749, 750, 760; v. 33 (1858), 145, 149, 155, (Hawthorne's books), 195, 216.

expecting their return in 1859, had moved to Watertown.[43] The house was available for Mrs. Hawthorne's sister, Mrs. Horace Mann, whose husband had died in the summer of 1859, in Yellow Springs, Ohio, while president of Antioch, a difficult job. Mann had been forced to buy the college at auction; there was no money for the faculty or president; the wells went dry; the orthodox attacked the liberal religious views of the president who came from the East. The Wayside offered the widow a place of retreat near home and friends. Alcott noted their arrival on the first of September. On June 27, 1860 the Manns spent the night at Orchard House, as the Hawthornes were expected the following day.[44]

While Mrs. Mann and her children were at The Wayside, the home sheltered another fugitive. Frank Sanborn, at whose school the Mann boys were being educated, had been closely involved with John Brown. When a Senate committee investigating the raid on Harpers Ferry sent U.S. Marshalls to arrest Sanborn, the whole town turned out and freed him. Afraid of being arrested again, Sanborn moved from house to house in Concord, spending one night in the attic at The Wayside.[45]

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43. ABA *Journal*, v. 34, 462.

44. On Horace Mann and Mary Mann see Tharp, pp. 232-47. The Manns moving in and out: see ABA *Journal*, v. 34, p. 506; v. 35, p. 224.

45. Lothrop, pp. 98-99.

Almost as soon as he arrived, Hawthorne began to discuss changes to be made in The Wayside. It was to be his home for the rest of his life. He had recalled it with affection while in England and the children were anxious to return to their home.[46]

The idyllic life of the years at the Old Manse were not to be recaptured, not that Hawthorne thought it possible. There were the joys of family life, the gay parties for the children, and the immense contentment and satisfaction of each others' company. Hawthorne was established as one of America's leading authors, and the savings from the consulship had been invested by his publishers.[47]

The new position was not an unmixed blessing. Fame brought an increased number of visitors, many of whom were attracted by it rather than friendship for the man. Hawthorne was a professional writer and resisted these intrusions. After his death, stories about his reluctance to sacrifice time at his desk to the rite of sociability were exaggerated until he was seen as a morbid

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46. Emerson gave a strawberry and cream party for Hawthorne. ABA *Journal*, v. 35, p. 226. For the changes see below. There are three references to The Wayside in Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The English Notebooks*, ed. Randall Stewart (New York, 1941), pp. 344, 390, 424.

47. On life at The Wayside after 1860 see Lothrop pp. 99-145. Hoeltje, pp. 516-46; Stewart, pp. 214-41; Tharp, chaps. XXII - XXIV contains much material, especially of the more difficult times.

recluse. Even his neighbor Alcott, whose best means of communication was conversation, not writing, forgot the number of neighborly contacts when speaking of Hawthorne after his death. Perhaps he sensed that just as Hawthorne's books did not suit him, his talk did not suit Hawthorne.

There were, of course, welcome visitors at The Wayside: Franklin Pierce, now an ex-President, the publishers Ticknor and Fields, old Salem friends, and friends from Concord. Hawthorne saw more of his literary and intellectual friends in Boston, however, than they saw of him in Concord.[48]

The children enjoyed their life in Concord. But Mrs. Hawthorne was concerned and protective. She worried about their education, although Rose seemed happy in the East Quarter School, Julian at Frank Sanborn's private school, and Una found her tutor delightful. Mrs. Hawthorne, who grew up as a sheltered semi-invalid, wanted to protect them from the problems of the world

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48. Stewart, pp. 221-22 and Lothrop, pp. 128-32 point out the hospitality at The Wayside. Stewart mentions the problem with Alcott. Alcott, in conversations on Concord authors given in Boston in 1878, was reported by some papers to have said that Hawthorne paid but two visits to the Orchard House and that they were to the Alcott girls. ABA *Journal* 56, p. 268. Hawthorne saw his Boston friends at meetings of the Saturday Club. Stewart, p. 218.

or even of growing up.[49]

This outlook on the world did not protect The Wayside from the grief brought on by the Civil War. This struck as close as the Alcotts next door. Louisa May Alcott had served in an army hospital at Georgetown, a task she and others shared with Dorothea Dix, Superintendent of Hospitals. She returned physically and emotionally exhausted. By chance, Una Hawthorne returned on the same train from Boston and held the shattered Louisa May in her arms. It took both some time to recover. Louisa was near death and delirious for days. Mrs. Hawthorne helped the Alcotts all she could. Later Mrs. Hawthorne and the children showed their awareness of other war-caused trouble when they used their artistic talents to make items for a sale to raise money for negro orphans.

Hawthorne's financial gains as consul did not free him from financial worries. His arrangements with his publishers were very informal, and he never knew whether he was within his income. The costs of the changes at The Wayside ran much higher than expected. Still, while he lived and could write, there was no cause for great concern.[50]

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49. For this and the following paragraphs, see fn. 46, especially Tharp.

50, On Hawthorne's financial condition, see Stewart pp. 234-240 and references given there.

Hawthorne found it difficult to write after he returned to The Wayside. There were distractions and he was ill. Still his literary production was considerable, and it would be more accurate to say that he could not write to satisfy himself. His publications came from his notebooks. He wrote English sketches for the *Atlantic*. These became part of a book, *Our Old Home*, which Hawthorne insisted on dedicating to Franklin Pierce, whom some were then denouncing as a traitor. He wrote, but did not publish, *Septimius Felton*, *Dr. Grimshaw's Secret*, and three chapters of *The Dolliver Romance*. There were two versions of *Septimius Felton* and it is of especial interest. The hero, Septimius owned The Wayside on April 19, 1775 and killed a British Officer on the hill back of the house. Hawthorne also wove in as part of one plot the story told him by Thoreau of an occupant of the house who believed that he would live forever.

Hawthorne died in Plymouth, New Hampshire, where he and Franklin Pierce had stopped to spend a night on a trip meant to recover his strength and health. His friends from Boston and Cambridge, Longfellow, Charles Eliot Norton, Agassiz, Lowell and Fields, joined those from Concord in procession to Sleepy Hollow Cemetery. Franklin Pierce escorted the family, and the heavens provided a lovely day in May.

Although Mrs. Hawthorne drew strength from her religious faith, life without her husband was difficult. She worked editing some of his manuscripts, especially the notebooks, and guiding her growing children. Unfortunately, her husband's estate had diminished. By 1868 Mrs. Hawthorne was hard pressed financially. She had thought of going to Europe in 1867, and the family did sail in 1868, leaving The Wayside in October. Mrs. Hawthorne and Una never returned to this country.[51]

Several Owners, Many Occupants, a Few Noted

It was difficult for the Hawthorne's to find a buyer for the house. The Wayside sat vacant with a "For Sale or Let" sign in the window during 1869.[52] In July 1870, Mrs. Hawthorne and her children, Julian and Una, now of Dresden in the Kingdom of Saxony sold their interest in The Wayside to Abby Gray.[53] Mrs. Gray was of Concord and her husband's name was George. The Grays did not occupy the house much over a year. Their son, Arthur, left his mark on the house: he painted scenes of the sea, with ships and ice, on the ceiling of the tower study in

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51. Sophia died in London in 1871, and Una in the same city in 1877.

52. ABA *Journal*, v. 44, pp. 380, 620, 622.

53. Rose's interest was sold by a guardian.

honor of Mr. Hawthorne.

In March 1871, a "family school for young ladies" moved from Charlestown, New Hampshire, to Concord, Massachusetts. The school, run by Miss Mary Pratt, occupied The Wayside, which she purchased in 1873. The school was there until 1879 and used the words "Wayside" in its various titles. This meant that for eight years there were about twenty "young misses" in the house. Other pupils, from Concord, including a few boys, were day students. Mr. Alcott lectured occasionally and at

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54. The paintings are still to be seen. See Lothrop, p. 145, on the new house and the painter. In 1875 George Gray was taxed for a house and land; George A. for a shop. The artist is identified as Mr. G. A. Gray in *The Concord Freeman* of March 16, 1876, and one scene is signed "G. A. Gray, Artist 1871." Miss Lothrop states that the Grays moved in 1872. A clipping in ABA *Journal* for 1871 states that Hawthorne's house was being used then as a children's boarding school. *Journal*, v. 46, p. 668. The clipping is dated Monday October 16, the proper date for 1871. The Grays were taxed for The Wayside from 1870 through 1872. (The assessment for the house and barn is higher than that against the Hawthorne estate, but Mary C. Pratt is assessed the same amount in 1873, and it is noted on the record that she bought Gray's land.)

Little is known about the Grays. They should be checked in the tax records before 1870, and after 1872, and in other town records, which might indicate when they moved to Concord.

Mr. Alcott's hostess in Quincy, Illinois, visited him in 1871 and was seriously interested in purchasing the house. Mr. Alcott talked with Mrs. Gray. *Journal*, v. 41, pp. 539-40, 542, 544. Mr. Alcott then had become a successful conversationalist, and a person who made close friends wherever he visited.

least twice gave the graduates their diplomas. Miss Pratt traveled in the summer when the house was sometimes rented.[55]

On March 1, 1879, The Wayside came back into the possession of a Hawthorne. George P. Lathrop, husband of Rose Hawthorne, purchased it from Mary C. Pratt, who moved her school to Belmont.[56] Lathrop had written a study on his father-in-law and had edited his works, discovering some early stories which had not been previously credited him. The Lathrops moved in with a two year old son, but did not spend much time in Rose's old house.[57] Julian Hawthorne's wife and seven children

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55. Information about the school is from *The Concord Freeman*, March 16, 1876. The school was founded in 1866. The article does not state that it moved into The Wayside when it first came to Concord in March 1871, but this is probable. Miss Pratt had first refusal on the purchase till March 1873, ABA *Journal*, v. 41, (1871), p. 542. It was there by October. See note 54. *The Concord Freeman* of March 16, 1876, stated there were about 20 regular pupils, the issue of May 18, said there had been 275 under tuition in 10 years. It is possible that the 20 includes the day pupils. Two of Mr. Alcott's grandsons were pupils, ABA *Journal*, 52, p. 317. Mr. Alcott's part, Lothrop, pp. 146-47, ABA *Journal*, v. 54, p. 289, and *The Concord Freeman*, June 19, 1879. Bronson Alcott took corn and apples to the Robbins family who spent the summer of 1876 in The Wayside. Ibid, p. 499.

56. *The Concord Freeman*, June 12, 1879.

57. On the Lathrops see Lothrop, pp. 147-49. The book was *A Study of Hawthorne* (Boston, 1876). See Stewart, p. 116. *The Concord Freeman*, February 10, 1881; March 31, 1881 (Rose attended the town meeting that week); June 9, 1881; July 28, 1881.

occupied the house late in 1881, and in April 1882 Julian joined them. The Lathrops were back in the summer of that year.[58]

The Lothrops Acquire It and Keep It

In May 1883, The Wayside changed hands again. It would not be sold for another 82 years. This speaks of the new owners' determination to keep alive the memory of Nathaniel Hawthorne. The sale was both fortunate and providential. Mr. Daniel Lothrop, a Boston publisher, while on his way to work, noticed an ad in his morning paper for the sale of the Hawthorne house. He interrupted his trip and got in touch with the real estate office. He received the key and first refusal just before a telegram arrived from a buyer in Chicago. The Lothrops made the preservation of the house their responsibility, and their daughter continued the work after them.[59]

D. Lothrop & Company had made its reputation as a publisher for children, although they also issued books for adults. Lothrop

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58. *The Concord Freeman*, November 10, 1881. ABA *Journal*, v. 58, p. 68. The *Freeman* story indicated that the Hawthornes would stay at the old Hawthorne Mansion, but Alcott would have been in a position to know which house they were in. Beginning in two small rooms on the East Side of New York, she established an order for the relief of those poor who had incurable cancer.

59. Lothrop p. 4.

published four magazines for children, *Wide Awake*, the one for older children, being the most important. He hired established artists; Childe Hassam is an example. Sarah Orne Jewett and Edward Everett Hale are two of the well known authors he paid to write for it. He felt the magazine was needed for the benefit of the children of the Nation and continued to publish it until his death although it lost about $10,000 a year.[60]

One of the authors whose stories he purchased lived in New Haven. She wrote about five small children with the name Pepper. Her name was Harriett Mulford Stone, but she used the pen name, Margaret Sidney. The publisher called on his author on his way to New York and found cause to repeat his calls. They were married in 1881; he was 50, she was 37. They looked for a home for more than a year.

Mr. Lothrop was on close terms with New England authors who did not live in Concord. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes was one of these; John Greenleaf Whittier was a special friend. Mrs. Lothrop would later write a small book called *Whittier and the Children*, and their daughter called him "My very dear

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60. For most of the material on the Lothrops in this and following paragraphs, see Lothrop, pp. 149-85. The loss on *Wide Awake* is told in a letter from James Lothrop to Mrs. Lothrop. It was written about 1894 and is in the Park files. (The Lothrop MSS are not yet indexed or arranged.)

Mr. Whittier."[61] In fact, the Lothrops had a wide circle of friends; Edward Everett Hale, Samuel Francis Smith (author of "America"), General and Mrs. John Logan, President Harrison, Justice and Mrs. White, Lord Aberdeen and Termir, Governor General of Canada and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and his lady were among them.[62] They became friends of persons who had lived in The Wayside, Julian and Rose Hawthorne among them.[63]

The Lothrops purchased The Wayside as a summer home, although after having a central heating system installed, they stayed after the start of winter. Their only child, Margaret, was

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61. Lothrop p. 166, and the files on Whittier in the Lothrop MSS.

62. Lord Aberdeen and Termir was the grandson of Lord Aberdeen, British Prime Minister, 1852-55. He was lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1886 and 1905-15, and governor general of Canada, 1893-98. His wife was active in social work and promoting public health in Ireland. *Encylopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition and supplement.

63. Alcott called upon Lothrop in 1878 when Lothrop planned to publish an article of his on the *Dial*. ABA, *Journal* v. 54, p. 165. By the time the Lothrops purchased The Wayside, Alcott had moved from the Orchard House. He suffered a stroke in 1882 from which he never completely recovered.

There were also Concord friends of note including their neighbor, Ephraim Wales Bull, Frank Sanborn, and Miss Ellen Emerson. The documentation for most of the friends is to be found in the Lothrop MSS. Miss Lothrop has spoken of Mr. Smith as a frequent dinner guest, of being taught how to swim by Justice White, and of riding on President Harrison's back with his grandchildren in the White House. Mrs. Harrison was entertained at The Wayside and given a tour of Concord by the Lothrops. *Concord Enterprise*, October 2, 1891.

born in the house in 1884. Her mother wrote poems for her birthday. The dancing in the barn at her fifth birthday party was led by Miss Ellen Emerson, daughter of the author who,

> "in her own childhood, some forty years earlier, had been taught by Louisa Alcott."[64]

The adults had their social affairs. In 1890, for example, a reception was held for the wife of General Logan, and a luncheon was given for Mrs. Benjamin Harrison in 1891.

Mr. Lothrop died in 1892. Mrs. Lothrop managed the firm for two years and continued writing of the adventures of the Peppers. She was busy with the D.A.R., and in 1895 organized the Children of the American Revolution.[65] Mrs. Lothrop and her daughter spent more time at The Wayside around the turn of the century. The winter of 1896-97 was the first one passed there.

Social affairs continued in Hawthorne's old home. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, who had known the novelist, was the guest on April 19, 1897. From July 4th through the 7th, 1904, a celebration was

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64. Lothrop p. 166.

65. Although the C.A.R. is formed on an exclusive basis, Mrs. Lothrop's motive was to teach and lead. hereditary basis would be furthered by extending the values, rather than by assuming that some would not appreciate them.

held at The Wayside in honor of Hawthorne's birth 100 years before.[66]

Mrs. Lothrop played an important role in historical preservation in Concord. She bought the Orchard House from William T. Harris and kept it until an organization was able to purchase it and take the responsibility for its preservation. She was instrumental in the purchase by the D.A.R. of a pre-Revolutionary house in Concord Center for use as a chapter house.

In the spring of 1899, The Wayside was leased, an arrangement which would be made frequently after that. The Lothrops did return for the winter of 1900-01 and the following two years. In January of 1904, the house was closed again for the winter. In 1911 the house was rented for two years. Miss Lothrop received an appointment to the faculty of Stanford and her mother frequently wintered in California. She spent part of the summers in Concord, usually at the Colonial Inn. The Wayside was sometimes leased, sometimes used by the Lothrops. As the years went on, it was more frequently leased. Mrs. Lothrop died in California in 1924.

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66. The information in this and the following paragraphs is based on the Concord newspapers. Many of the items were collected by Architect Carroll. The Lothrops MSS when arranged and indexed will fill in many of the blanks in our knowledge, and give more detail.

The dates on the occupancy of The Wayside have not been worked out. Until the Lothrop MSS are organized, the major source for information is the newspaper accounts.

Miss Lothrop was teaching in California and had the responsibility for The Wayside. In 1928 the house was opened to the public on a trial basis by a committee composed of members of two historical organizations in Concord. Finally, Miss Lothrop returned, made it her home, and took over the complete management, from maintenance through interpretation and research. With the advancing years, she was forced to curtail the showing of The Wayside. However, teachers or students, or anyone with a special interest, who knocked on the door were sure to be invited in to hear of the house from one who had known the friends of the Alcotts and who herself had been a friend of the Hawthorne children. In 1965, the National Park Service acquired responsibility for the house which is so much a part of American history.

THE HOUSE THAT GREW LIKE TOPSY

The Beginnings

The Wayside was built to be lived in and was changed to meet new needs and tastes. Any architectural distinction which it possesses today is accidental. The present confused interior is reflected in its exterior appearance.

The most important features of Samuel Whitney's home still exist, and, although there is no documentation about the interior of the house, it can be described. It had at least four rooms. The ordinary 1775 Massachusetts farm house had that many rooms, and most homes in Concord, including Whitney's,[67] were built on that pre-Revolutionary pattern. Whitney, with twelve children and two slaves,[68] had more than the normal needs for space, and was well-to-do by Concord standards. He also had his pick of the three houses he bought.

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67. The size of houses in Middlesex County in and around Concord in 1775 has not been firmly established. Pictorial material is very scarce. The best tax record for Concord is the Federal Tax of 1798. Using only the values of identified houses, it seems that most houses had four rooms, if there is any relationship between the size of the house and the tax. At one time more detailed information on the 1798 Woburn taxes was available. The remaining houses within the Park area are all four room houses. The probate records indicate that four room houses were the usual type. Of course, both of these samples favor the larger houses.

68. Whitney was assessed for two slaves in 1771. Thoreau places one of these, Casey, in the house to the west of Whitney, a house he did not own. Thoreau's identification seems valid: he had the story from George Minott who was born there. Thoreau, *Journals* (New York, 1962. Reprint of 1906 edition), v. 9, p. 22; v. 10, p. 284, 285. Park research shows that the house was vacant at the time the Whitneys were in Concord, although the evidence is quite vague.

Or it is possible that Whitney added what the Alcotts knew as the kitchen and little bedroom, using the bedroom as slave quarters. Architect Carroll says that the physical evidence does not rule out that the little bedroom existed before 1775.

It was usual to build houses facing south, with their backs to the north wind. In Concord along the road to Boston they built the houses against the ridge north of the road for added protection. Whitney's was no exception.

Whitney's house, like the others, was built around a central chimney.[69] The front door centered on the north side of the chimney and opened into a small hall as wide as the chimney. The stairs to the second floor took up about half of the hall. Rooms about 13' x 18', were on the east and west sides of the chimney. Each had a fireplace. The Whitneys used at least one of these rooms for sleeping. The other might have served as the best room and as Whitney's office. The central stairs led to another small hall off of which were two chambers of the same size as the rooms below. The chambers had fireplaces and closets.

The stairs to the attic were against the north side of the chimney. A door opened off the upstairs hall to block the cold attic air. If Whitney had cellar stairs inside the house they were also against the north side of the chimney, but any such stairs

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69. See Illustration No. 1. Some of the best drawings of such houses are to be found in J. Frederick Kelly, *Early Domestic Architecture of Connecticut* (New York, 1963, reprint of 1924 edition). There is no direct evidence on the Whitney's use of the rooms. The statements in the text are based upon what is considered to have been normal practice and the Whitneys' needs.

disappeared before the Alcotts arrived.[70] Families living in a house such as described above cooked in one of the downstairs room. The Whitneys had a kitchen on the back (north) side of the house. It might have been there when they moved in[71] or Whitney made additions to the house he chose to live in. What the Alcotts knew as the kitchen and little bedroom

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70. Such a stairway is normal for the houses in this area which have been examined. It is the logical location for a stairway. There is no such stairway today. Alcott changed the outside entrance to the cellar from the east side of the house to the north side. (See below, pp. 45-46) It does not seem that he would have gone to the expense if there had been an inside stairway.

71. It is impossible to prove that the Whitneys had a kitchen on the north side of the house. There was a fireplace on the north side of the central chimney when the Lothrops bought the house, and it was well used. (See below, fn. 94) The north wall of the house was so close when the Alcotts got it in 1845 that the fireplace could not have been used. There is no reason for anyone between the Alcotts and the Lothrops to have built it. Thus it is assumed that it dates before 1845 and before the 1845 kitchen was added. This, plus some indicated use, puts it back to 1775. This does not establish that Whitney used it.

The size of the Whitney family was such that they needed all the space possible, including at least one of the downstairs rooms, for sleeping. The other downstairs room would have been needed as a best room, and perhaps as an office. The possibility that the Whitneys built the kitchen which was there in 1845 does exist. When it was built the fireplace on the north side of the chimney probably would not have been used. See Illustration Nos. 2, 3, and 4, and discussions there.

It is not known if the kitchen which existed in 1845 had a stove or fireplace for cooking. Mr. Croft, who did carpentry for Miss Lothrop and helped her explore the fabric of the house, reported that there had been a hearth under the floor at the northeast corner of the kitchen. It is possible that this relates to some of the artisans who lived in the house.

are possible Whitney additions;[72] however, enough time passed between the Whitneys and the Alcotts - seventy years - for much to have happened to the house, even for the removal of Whitney additions.

What the Spy Reported

There is information about the exterior appearance of the Whitney home. General Gage's spy, who wrote in French, not only reported on the gunpowder stored at Whitney's on March 9th, he also described the house. As it was the only house he described, he obviously thought it important that the British not miss it if they marched to Concord. He reported it as *"Blanché Emplatrée,"* a phrase translated as "plaistered white" by the person who drafted the orders for the troops sent to Concord. Whitewashed fits the description and the evidence, and was distinctive enough to identify a house. The spy also reported "une petite Coar devant entourée des palisades," which the writer of the draft orders translated as "a small yard in front and a railed Fence."[73]

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72. See footnotes 68 and 71.

73. Gage Papers, cited in fns. 9 and 12.

The Years Between

No subsequent family matched the Whitney's need for space measured in terms of children, but the families were not small. The census returns from 1790 through 1830 show the following numbers in the house: 7 in 1790, 8 in 1800 and 1820, 9 in 1810 and only 5 in 1830.

Preparations for Plain Living and High Thinking

The house provided for the Alcotts needed repairs. Mr. and Mrs. Alcott said so. Mr. May, after its sale to Hawthorne, wrote that the house was so old it was continually getting out of repair. George Curtis called it a "miserable house of two peaked gables." Later stories about its use by a hog drover, however, are unfounded.[74]

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74. Mr. and Mrs. Alcott to Junius Alcott, Concord January 28, 1845; S. J. May to Mrs. Alcott, Syracuse, March 12, 1852, in Alcott Family Letters. George William Curtis "Nathaniel Hawthorne." ed., [E. Hubbard], *Little Journeys to the Homes of American Authors* (New York, 1896. Reprinted from 1853 edition), p. 223. Sanborn is the source for the hog drover story. F. B. Sanborn and William T. Harris, *A Bronson Alcott His Life and Philosophy* (Boston, 1893), p. 429. The tax records show George Burt in Hillside in 1842. There is no tax record for 1843. George Burt was in Concord in January 1844 and was described as a Wheelwright. (Middlesex County Registry of Deeds, Bk. 440: 94, 95. Lophronia Osgood to George E. Burt). In 1844 Cogswell was a non-resident and was taxed for Hillside. This indicates that he was not renting it. In addition, the time between Burt's leaving, sometime after January 9, 1844, and the purchase for the Alcotts in January 1845, or, more realistically, Cogswell's sale of it to Allen in September 1844, does not leave much time for hogs. No occupant was taxed for a large number of swine. Finally, Sanborn is not generally regarded as the most trustworthy authority. He was not in Concord in 1844.

The house was essentially the same house the Whitneys had left, with the possible exception of a little bedroom and a different kitchen in back, and that the cellar stairs had been put outside the house.[75] Bronson Alcott's sketches (Illustrations Nos. 4-6), minus the addition on east and west, show this house. The kitchen was in a room built flush with the east side of the house and extended west about fourteen feet, not far enough to reach the central chimney. It probably had a cook stove in it. The fireplace on the north side of the central chimney was no longer used.[76] It was confined in a closet.

The little bedroom probably adjoined the kitchen on the east when the Alcotts purchased the house.[77] A bulkhead on the east provided entrance to the cellar.

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75. See above, p. 30.

76. For the existence of the fireplace in 1845 see note 71. When the Alcotts moved in, the exterior north wall of the house west of the kitchen stood but a few feet north of the chimney. There was access to this space from the west room through the door which still exists, and perhaps there was a door from the east room. The space was available for use as a closet. Mrs. Alcott said they "threw down the partition to the closet" after adding the little bedroom on to the west of the kitchen to make it all one large room. The only partition to a closet that could have been removed for such a purpose is the western part of the north wall of the house. The problems of this interpretation are obvious, but the existing evidence requires it.

77. See below, pp. 35-36.

Alcott's desire to provide accommodations for more than one family at Hillside has been noted.[78] The earliest general descriptions of the building are those Bronson and his wife wrote to his brother, Junius, attempting to get him to come to live with them. They wanted to both assure him that the house was, or could be, suitable for two families, and at the same time convince him that they needed his help to make it so. Alcott wrote that the house had two stories and large parlors and chambers, and that as the "apartments" were large and distinct, two families could live comfortably in it. Three or four hundred dollars of work would put it into repair and do other needed jobs. There was also a shop which could be converted into a "good cottage house . . . ."[79]

What the Alcotts Needed in a Home

It was not certain whether Alcott would realize his desire for another family on the property when they moved into the house, but

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78. See above, p. 13.

79. ABA to Junius Alcott, January 1, 1845, January 28, 1845, April 6, 1845. Mrs. Alcott to same, January 1, 1845.

It was necessary to assume so when planning improvements. By April, Alcott realized that, even though Hillside's parlors and chambers were large, the house would scarcely do for two families. Nor were Junius and family the only planned additions to the family. Miss Ford was invited to live at Hillside and conduct a school in the house. By July at least two other long term guests had arrived.

Then there were the family needs. Daily bathing required a bathing room. Alcott needed a study where he could write, talk with his friends, and work. The girls would be taught at home whether the plans for a school with Miss Ford materialized or not.

Rooms were needed for the girls. Anna and Louisa were old enough to want rooms of their own.[80] There would be guests, for the Alcotts had a wide circle of friends who traveled. Finally, Mrs. Alcott must have had some hopes for this house. The home she grew up in must have been spacious. The family quarters at Hosmer's, where they were waiting until they could

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80. For the plans and needs discussed in the preceding paragraphs see pp. 13, 36 and 41. Louisa got a room in March 1846, as did Anna. Louisa had asked for a room of her own. See below p. 62.

move into Hillside, were cramped.[81] Perhaps now they owned a house, she would have a chance to make it a proper home. At the least, faced with the necessary household tasks required by such an extended family, she wanted her working area to be convenient.

What the Alcotts Had to Work with to Enlarge Hillside

Money for improvements would have to come from Mrs. Alcott's inheritance or friends, but out buildings were in plentiful supply on the property. There were two shops probably those mentioned in the Meriam to Cogswell deed of 1832, a woodshed, and a building being used as a barn. The wheelwright shop probably was in good condition.[82]

What the Alcotts Did

The Alcotts began to make plans for improving their new home before they moved in. On February 21, Mrs. Alcott wrote her brother, Samuel J. May, that Mr. Buttrick and Mr. Alcott had passed an afternoon examing the structures. She reported

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81. Mrs. Alcott's father, Col. May, was well-to-do and of an old Boston family. His probate record in Suffolk County should be checked. On his family, see Shepard, p. 107. Shepard, p. 391, says the Alcotts had a few rooms at Hosmer's before they moved to Hillside.

82. A wheelwright occupied the house in 1842, probably until January 1844. See the last paragraph of note 74.

Buttrick's estimate at $150 for labor and another $50 for stock. This was low enough but she worried about its accuracy.[83]

Work did not begin until the Alcotts moved in on April 1 and went on into September or October.[84] During this time, the Alcotts made three major changes.

Additions to the East

A shop was cut in two and attached to the kitchen and the east room on the east side of the house. Mrs. Alcott said

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83. She wrote "he is an industrious worthy man and I should feel more confidence in his honesty and estimate." Mrs. Alcott to S.J. May, Concord, February 21, 1845. In fact the estimate was close; Hosmer did the work and charged about $180. Mrs. Alcott to S. J. May, June 8, 1845.

84. Bronson Alcott to Junius Alcott, Concord, April 6, 1845: "Carpenter begins in a few days . . . ." Mrs. Alcott to S. J. May, Concord, Sept. 19, 1845: "Our repairs are all done and paid for . . . White washing and other cleaning processes . . . ." Mrs. Alcott's entry for his Index to his *Journal*, 1800-50 for October 1845 was "House repairs completed."

the "best half of the shop" was used.[85] The portion added was used to make a bath house and a wood house.

Additions to the West

Alcott wrote that "the shop" was set to the end of the house, "making a neat house of itself." When Alcott had written Junius in January he indicated that the shop could be used as

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85. Mrs. Alcott to S.J. May, June 8, 1845. Mrs. Alcott was not necessarily being precise when she used the word "half."

It is possible that the rest of the shop was used for the addition on the west. Only one shop was mentioned in the letters of early 1845, and the tax records from 1833 through 1842 list but one shop, after using "shops" for 1830 and 1832. However, the weight of the evidence indicates that two shops were used in the changes to the house. First, although the description of the real estate in the tax records changed from 1832 in 1833, the assessment did not. The 1844 assessment listed house, barn and shed, rather than "shop." Junius was taxed for Hillside in 1845 when the word "shop" was used once again. Clearly, the tax descriptions are not precise. Second, the Alcotts were not complete in their listing of buildings. They did not mention the little bedroom or the kitchen. Third, it does not seem likely that the better part of the shop would be used for bathing room and wood shed and the rest for a study and bedrooms. The explanation seems to be that the shop cut in two was in such poor condition that it had been dropped from the description in the tax assessment. The Alcotts had made plans to use it for a bathing room and wood shed and thus did not mention it to Junius. Mrs. Alcott to S. J. May, Concord. February 21, 1845.

a "good cottage home," evidently standing free from the house. Now that it adjoined the house it was still available for Junius, but he did not come. Alcott appropriated the front (south) portion of it for his study. They partitioned the back part to make two rooms. The shop had a garret.[86]

The Moving Bedroom

Mrs. Alcott wrote that they "moved round the little bedroom to the west side of it [the kitchen] . . ." It is not clear where the bedroom was before being moved. Mrs. Alcotts language "moved round . . . to the west side . . ." seems to indicate that it started on the east.[87]

The Results

All the Conveniences Under One Roof

Moving and adding pieces to the house created difficulties for Mrs. Alcott, but it was worth it. Friends who came to call were

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86. For the garret see pp 42-44. The Alcotts' sketches 1845, 1847 show the height; see Illustrations No. 5, 6, and 7.

87. Mrs. Alcott to S.J. May, Concord, June 8, 1845. If the bedroom had been attached to the west room of the basic house it also would have been necessary to move it around the northwest corner of the house to get it to the kitchen. When it was first attached to the house, what was above the first floor, or what sort of roof it had is not known.

one problem, for she held "the rites of hospitality" sacred and performed them. Still, even early in June she was beginning "to find a comfort which I had not realized in my most sanguine hopes."[88] The house was now much more than a colonial house with two rooms up and two rooms down, a kitchen in back, and a little bedroom somewhere.

A bath house and wood house must have been a comfort to Mrs. Alcott.[89] The bath house had a tub and a shower, with the shower arranged, probably by Alcott who had been more than handy with Tools on his father's farm, with weights and pulleys so that Elizabeth, aged nine, could "give herself a bath without help."[90] That would be a comfort to a mother.

These conveniences had been planned for some time; Mrs. Alcott wrote in February about a bathing room and wood house: "I am anxious to have a wash-Boiler set and the bathing room in some way connected with the heater--perhaps a tap and fasset

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88. Mrs. Alcott to S.J. May, Concord, June 8, 1845, Alcott Family Letters.

89. These had been planned in February, indicating that they were of high priority. In the past Mrs. Alcott had been burdened by the responsibilities brought on by her husband's families. She had no sons to help with the harder work about the house. The added convenience of the wood shed must have been appreciated.

90. Mrs. Alcott to S.J. May, Concord, June 8, 1845, Alcott Family Letters.

[faucet] -- put in the side of the wood house."[91] Another door led from the kitchen into the wood house. How nice it was to be able to get wood for the stoves without going outside into the cold and rain.

A Spacious Kitchen - "No More Burnt Elbows and Sides."

Much of our knowledge of the kitchen comes from an 1852 description by Mrs. Hawthorne.[92] Joining the little bedroom to the old kitchen resulted in a rather odd single room. (Mrs. Hawthorne said it was eighteen feet or more long. The HABS team has it nearly twenty-two and one-half feet. The proportions are nearly the same in Mrs. Hawthorne's sketch as the HABS drawing.) She said it was of irregular widths and so it was. In the old kitchen, the north wall ran about 14 feet with a door near the west end. (The doorway is still there.) The south wall ran parallel to it, but a closet against the south wall under a stairway made the eastern end of the room the narrowest, about 8 feet wide. The closet was about 2 feet deep so the old kitchen to the west of the closet had that much

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91. Mrs. Alcott to S.J. May, Concord, Feb. 21, 1845, Alcott Family Letters.

92. Mrs. Hawthorne to her mother, Concord, June 13, 1852. So identified in Miss Margaret M. Lothop's notes, photocopied parts of which she gave to the park. The original is in the Berg Collection, New York Public Library.

additional space, which Mrs. Hawthorne used for a table. The addition of the little bedroom extended the kitchen on the west in a very irregular way. Although Mrs. Hawthorne does not show it, the little bedroom in its new location was further north than the old kitchen by slightly more than the thickness of the wall. This western portion of the kitchen also ran further south because of the space gained by removing the north wall of this portion of the basic house.[93] The space gained was strangely shaped. It gave this part of the kitchen three different widths. Mrs. Hawthorne, in 1852, showed a stove in the eastern part, the narrowest part of the added portion. Then the room was even wider (ran further south) for a short distance, creating a small space marked as a closet, a closet which might have been just a recess in the chimney. This was abutted on the west by a closet with wooden sides which is still there. This, the Westernmost portion of the enlarged kitchen was not as wide as the kitchen immediately

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93. See Mrs. Hawthorne's letter, reproduced below, p. 70. Mrs. Alcott said they "threw down the partition to the closet and making it all one room." Mrs. Alcott to S.J. May, June 8, 1845. The closet was between the north side of the chimney, where the unused fireplace was, and the north wall of the basic house west of the little kitchen. There may be objections to this interpretation, especially Mrs. Alcott's use of "partition," but it appears to be the best explanation.

east (or left facing the fireplace) of the built-in wooden closet.[94]

The southern end of the west wall of the new kitchen abutted the western lower room of the main house for a short distance. A door in that room, far enough south to have been an entrance into the closet north of the chimney, led into the enlarged kitchen now that the closet had been destroyed by the removal of wall of the house (the wall Mrs. Alcott called a partition).

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94. The closet Mrs. Hawthorne shows between the stove and the still existing closet, by the door to the Hawthorne dining room, is difficult to interpret. The sides and front of the closet are shown on her sketch. It runs back to the chimney, and is not very deep - about three feet on the Historic American Buildings Survey drawing. Thus the narrow closet, now gone, could not be back or south of the location of the "c" on Mrs. Hawthorne's sketch, because that area is in the chimney. The closet must be where she wrote the "c", but as the sketch does not show any door or partition one wonders. It seems that Mrs. Hawthorne is indicating a recess used for storage. Mrs. Hawthorne said that one of the four closets in the room was "moveable," but this must be the one against the west wall.

In discussing these problems Architect Carroll has pointed out that the rather cramped area for a fireplace and oven of the present size in the space between the existing closet and the Lothrop dining room fireplace as the weak points of this explanation. The alternative is to assume that there was no fireplace in 1845. This goes against the evidence of the oven door discussed on p. 55 and in the notes, Miss Lothrop's very positive recollection of the fireplace, and the type of work Mrs. Lothrop had done in the house. Nor do we know that the new fireplace was built to the size of the old one. There are no known photographs of the fireplace before it was changed. See Illustrations 2 and 3 and discussion there.

Information telling how the Alcotts cooked in the kitchen is yet to be found. (The March family in *Little Women* used a stove.) There are three pieces of evidence about their cooking. The first piece is Alcott's purchase, in the spring of 1846, of a coal burning "furnace" for cooking. This was put outside back of the house.[95]

The second piece of evidence is the door to the bake oven by the fireplace in the old room the Lothrop's name for the Alcott kitchen. The door is marked "Cutler and Robinson, Boston." From 1845 through the 1848-49 Boston Directory, Cutler and Robinson was listed as dealing in domestic hardware and stoves. In 1849-50, the listing was only for stoves, and in 1851, the firm was not listed at all.[96] As the Alcotts owned the house all the time Cutler and Robinson were stove dealers, it is concluded that Alcott bought the stove door.[97]

The third piece of evidence is that Alcott selected some stoves for the parlor, kitchen, and chamber on October 5, 1846. He may not have purchased the stove for the kitchen, but why did he

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95. ABA's *Journal*, v. 20 (1846), p. 135. The date is between May 28 and June 10. "Furnace"has been checked without result in the *Dictionary of Americanisms*. Hardware catalogs of the period should be checked, but there is no doubt that the furnace was used for cooking. On June 13, Alcott wrote that he fitted an awning behind the door over the furnace to protect it and the "Baker" from the sun and rain and to make the preparation of food more agreeable. *Ibid.*, 144.

think about buying one.[98]

The fireplace on the north side of the central chimney existed before 1845, but could not be used at that time with the wall so close. Nor was it associated with the kitchen which was entirely east of the chimney.[99]

When the Alcotts changed the kitchen, Mr. Alcott had the bake oven repaired and put on a new door and used it in the winter time. In the summer, the Alcotts used the outdoor baker, and from 1846, the furnace or cook stove.

The kitchen as changed by the Alcotts is a large room and faces north. Cooking activities did not keep it warm and, therefore, the family considered buying a stove. Mrs. Alcott

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98. ABA, *Journal*, v. 20, entry for October 5. He set up a stove in his chamber on October 25, but made no mention of a stove for the kitchen in his journal. *Ibid.*, v. 20, p. 302.

99. This raises the question of cooking in that small kitchen. An old chimney exists in the Lothrop kitchen, that is the Alcott's bathing room. It is near the location of the boiler as shown by Mrs. Hawthorne's diagram. Also Miss Lothrop reports that Mr. Frank Croft, who did carpentry and exploratory work for her, discovered what appeared to be a hearth under the old room (Alcott kitchen) near the chimney. The construction of the chimney and hearth might be connected with one of the craftsmen who owned the house.

liked a warm house.[100] Such, at least, is one possible explanation of the known facts.

A Study for Bronson Alcott

Having given Mrs. Alcott a bathing room, indoor woodshed, and a kitchen where there would be "no burnt elbows and sides," it is time to examine the addition of an entire shop on the west.[101] Alcott mentioned his study when describing the order of his day for January 1846. The evenings from 7 to 9 were devoted to reading, writing, and study in that room.[102]

100. When they moved into Orchard House she wrote that the only thing she coveted about The Wayside was its warmth. Mrs. Alcott to her brother December 13, 1860.

101. It is impossible to say if this was the wheelwright or blacksmith shop. Size is one consideration. The wheelwright shop should have been in better repair. It is impossible to establish any connection between either of the shops and the warehouse of Samuel Whitney, as desirable as that would be for interpretation.

102. To pinpoint the study as the room added on the west it is necessary to go to 1858 when the Alcotts stayed with the Peabodys in The Wayside while the Orchard House was being repaired. Alcott said they had the use of Hawthorne's study and the two adjoining rooms for sleeping. The study had been his before and it brought back memories. The location of Hawthorne's study is established below, p. 73.

Mr. Alcott took some pains with his study. In May of 1846, he removed the stove and disposed the pictures and furniture more to his convenience and taste. He sometimes read to his children there, and this is where he talked with his friends. Here, on December 31, 1846, Henry David Thoreau read to him from *A Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers*. In January 1848, Thoreau came and read his new essay on "Friendship."[103]

More Sleeping Space

Hillside would have been crowded by August unless bedrooms had been added. In addition to the six Alcotts, there were Miss Ford, Sidney Southworth, Charles Lane and son, and in September a George Leach arrived.[104]

The Alcotts did add bedrooms. Mrs. Alcott wrote her brother on August 9th that they had two bedrooms "done off."[105]

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103. Lothrop, pp. 63-64.

104. See above, pp. 18-46. On Lane's son see Mrs. Alcott to S.J. May, August 9, 1845 where she mentions the possibility that Lane will leave his son William with the Alcotts if he returns to England in October. George Leach appears in Mrs. Alcott's letter of September 19, 1845 to S. J. May. He was merely "with them." He has not been identified, nor is it known how long he stayed.

105. "Done off" means fitted out or prepared according to the *Dictionary of Americanisms*. An example cited is "the little room . . . was . . . the only room 'done off' upstairs." Mrs. Alcott to S.J. May, Concord, Aug. 9, 1845, Alcott Family Letters.

These were probably the several convenient rooms Alcott told Junius were partitioned off in the shop added on the west.[106] The fact that Mrs. Alcott calls the new rooms "bedrooms" puts them on the first floor.[107]

Mrs. Alcott told her brother that these two rooms provided all the sleeping room they needed. Unfortunately she did not explain how this was possible. Little evidence has been found on the sleeping arrangements. The west chamber had been considered as Mr. and Mrs. Alcott's room. Also according to tradition the four girls had the east chamber during the Alcotts first year at Hillside.[108] There is some evidence and logic for this. To put the four together would save on rooms and it would require a larger room. In the letter describing

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106. Bronson Alcott to Junius Alcott, Concord, July 27, 1845, Alcott Family Papers. I owe this suggestion to Mr. Carroll.

107. Mr. Alcott followed the standard usage of "parlor" for downstairs rooms and chambers upstairs in his letter to Junius on January 1st. The other Alcotts appear to do the same in their letters and journals. It is assumed, therefore, that Mrs. Alcott did the same in this letter.

108. All conversations with Miss Lothrop have assumed the parents had the west chamber. They did have a chamber. For references to the Mother's Chamber, see Elizabeth's 1846 diary entries for April 21, 22, 23, 24, May 5, 15, and June 7. Bronson Alcott wrote about putting a stove in "our chamber," *Journal*, v. 20 (1846), p. 302.

Miss Lothrop wrote in 1961 that the east chamber was the Alcott girls' room, meaning before March 1846 when Louisa got her own room. (This also was the story in an American Automobile Association publication, now in Park files, in 1933). Miss Lothrop says that she was always told this by her mother and assumes that her mother heard it from the Hosmer girls, Concord residents who were friends of the Alcott children. See also Lothrop, pp. 47-48.

the enlarged kitchen Mrs. Alcott wrote that they built a stairway to the girls' room. The statement immediately follows the account of kitchen changes. Today a stairway starts in the southeast corner of the kitchen and goes up to the hall between the east chamber and the rooms over the Alcott kitchen. With a door in the back, or north side, of the east chamber, this is a stairway leading to the room.

A literal reading of Mrs. Alcott's letter, however, does not lead to this conclusion. The stairs go to the space over the kitchen. This could have been the Alcott girls' room. It was low, but about twenty-two feet long. The floor would have been warmed by the heat rising from the kitchen and radiating from the chimney flue. In addition, the east chamber could be entered by the central stairs. If it was the girls' room there was no justification for the expense of a second entrance.[109]

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109. It is possible that the door in the north wall of the east chamber was there before the Alcotts arrived. It has been suggested that the stairs would have made a more direct route from the east chamber to the privy. That is true, but the central stairs route was just as direct from the east as from the west chamber.

There are two other possibilities for the stairs to the children's room. One is the stairs which today run from the southwest corner of the kitchen to the little bathroom. This assumes that the little bathroom was the children's room, an assumption which is very unlikely given the size of the room. The other possibility is the stairs which went to the garret over the study. This garret was isolated from the rest of the house in 1845, and is not a likely room for the children.

If the girls were over the kitchen, this would free the east chamber for either guests or Miss Ford, or as a schoolroom.[110]

After completion of the work on the house the other available bedrooms were the two rooms back or north or the study, probably the garret over the study, and perhaps the garret over the woodshed.[111] Miss Ford was the only female guest, so two of the male guests can be assigned the isolated room off the study. The garret over the study, also isolated from the older house, was also unsuited for Miss Ford. The east chamber and the garret over the woodshed are left for Miss Ford, the teacher of the Alcott children and the proposed teacher for the school the Alcotts hoped to have at Hillside. The woodshed garret seems an unlikely room for her.

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110. For the possibility that the schoolroom was in the east chamber, see below, p. 64 and note 115.

111. The garret over the study has been considered the location of rooms for the younger Alcott girls. See below p. 63, and especially note 113. The garret over the woodshed is not a very promising sleeping room as long as others were available. It is well above the ceiling of the existing kitchen and thus is smaller than other garrets. Although the existing room has been cut down by the addition of walls on the north and south, the space cut off is very low and of little use. Thus the size of the present room, a little more than 9' x 8', is near the maximum usable size. The attic of the basic house was used for storage and play. Elizabeth's Diary, May 17 and June 5, 1846. Clara Gowing, a childhood friend, wrote that the attic has a "quantity" of clothes which were used in the children's plays. *The Alcotts as I Knew Them* (Boston, 1909), p. 13.

Separate Rooms

Louisa wanted a room of her own and wrote notes to her mother about this desire.[112]

> I have been thinking about my little room, which I suppose I never shall have. I should want to be there about all the time, and I should go there and sing and think.
>
> But I'll be contented
> With what I have got;
> Of folly repented
> Then sweet is my lot.
>
> From your trying daughter,

In March 1846 she wrote in her diary

> I have at last got the little room I have wanted so long, and am very happy about it. It does me good to be alone, and mother has made it very pretty and neat for me. My work-basket and desk are by the window, and my closet is full of dried herbs that smell very nice. The door that opens into the garden will be very pretty in summer, and I can run off to the woods when I like.

Louisa had the eastern room back of the study. Anna also had a room of her own, probably the other one back of the study. Elizabeth had her little garret chamber. It is not known whether she

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112. This and the following quotation are from Edna D. Cheney, *Louisa May Alcott: Her Life, Letters, and Journals* (Boston, 1889), pp. 46-48. The first quotation is not dated. The second is dated March 1846, Fruitlands. The "Fruitlands" is obviously an error. It is not known whether the Louisa May Alcott letters and journals are with the rest of the Alcott manuscripts at Houghton Library. Miss Lothrop cited the Cheney book and she worked in the Alcott manuscripts.

shared it with Abba or whether Abba had her own room. One of the garrets could have been divided into two small rooms. According to tradition, the two youngest did sleep in separate rooms over the study.[113]

Other Rooms

The use of all the rooms has been identified, except for the two "parlors." Even though the Alcotts ate frugal meals by necessity, and Mr. Alcott by choice ate no meat, cheese, eggs, or

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113. Miss Lothrop by exploring the depth of the nail holes in the present front hall and piazza room was able to establish the location of the bedrooms back of the study. (The present lower hall occupies a portion of the old study and back rooms.) She also located the partitions for the back room in use as floor boards in the Hawthorne attic over Una's room. She found that there was an outside door at the northeast corner of the Alcott's western addition. These findings have been confirmed by Mr. Carroll. This doorway locates Louisa's room. Anna was older than Louisa and thus in line for a room of her own. Also Elizabeth noted that she slept with Anna on several occasions and this indicates a separate room for her. Diary, April 25, 26, 1846. On April 27, Elizabeth said she slept alone. She also wrote of her attic chamber, and "my little chamber" which points to her own room. Miss Lothrop wrote that "It is thought that four small rooms in the western addition . . . two in the attic, were arranged for the children . . . ." *Wayside*, p. 57. In 1961, after making the discoveries noted above, she was more certain of this. Once again, information from Mrs. Lothrop, presumably based on recollections of the childhood friends of the Alcott girls, was the basis of the tradition.

butter for fifty-three years, they did need a dining room. Mrs. Hawthorne's 1852 sketch shows that the door on the west of the kitchen led to the dining room but shows no connection between the kitchen and the east parlor. The eating arrangements must have been the same for the Alcotts. In addition, Alcott identified the parlor when he wrote that he closed the bulkhead under the east window of the parlor. Thus the parlor must have been the east room.[114] The Alcotts also had a schoolroom.[115] It was not in the study.[116] It was probably the dining room.

Other Changes

In October and November of 1846 a new entrance into the cellar was made. Alcott helped with the cellar wall and the new bulkhead. A new entrance was excavated, the cellar wall changed, a new bulkhead built, and the bulkhead on the east closed.

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114. ABA *Journal*, v. 20 (1846), p. 301. Entry for October 22.

115. Elizabeth frequently mentioned the schoolroom in her diary, including times she played in it. If the school moved from room to room she would not have used this term in connection with anything but actual school sessions in it.

116. ABA *Journal*, v. 22 (1848), p. 4, January 3. Mr. Alcott noted that the children studied in his room, an activity which would, it seems, normally take place in the schoolroom. It is assumed that his room was his study.

Elizabeth swept a sitting room which had a fireplace, Diary for August 27, 1846. This must be the parlor. She did not call it the schoolroom, and on this basis the parlor is ruled out as the schoolroom. For April 28 she wrote that she went upstairs and sat before school. This could indicate that the school was in the east chamber.

There are two entrances into the cellar today: the east bulkhead, closed in 1846, and one from the Alcott woodshed, the present kitchen. This latter entry is completely inside the house. A bulkhead by definition, however, is an exterior entrance. And Alcott's journal indicates that it was an exterior opening. ". . . the Bulkhead behind the House is almost finished."

Alcott said the new entrance was on the north side of the house. There is no cellar under the kitchen so the entrance was west of it, behind the dining room. Work on the Hawthorne 1860 addition might have removed all traces of Mr. Alcott's new entrance. It certainly would have closed the entrance, unless a door had been put in the floor of Mrs. Hawthorne's new parlor.[117]

Dressing It up to Sell It

When the Alcotts decided to leave Hillside, Samuel Sewall advised them that they could get a good return on money invested in repairing and fixing the house. They thought it could command

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117. ABA *Journal*, v. 20 (1846), p. 310 for the quotation, and pp. 300, 301, 316, 329 for the other mentions of the work.

Mrs. Snow, the archeologist for The Wayside, reports that the artifacts found by architects working in the crawl space under the Hawthorne additions date from the Alcott occupancy of Hillside. Conversation December 14, 1967. Mrs. Hawthorne wrote Mrs. Mann on September 25, 1859, that there was a gymnasium to be found "behind the dining room, over the cellar door" and suggested that it be moved to the barn. This description fits an entrance to the cellar north of the Hawthorne dining room.

$3,000 if in good order, painted a dark color, with blinds outside and clean paint and paper inside. Alcott thought that $150 to $200 in repairs and other work would make the difference. They did the work, but the hoped for price rise did not follow.[118] Alcott talked with Hosmer about repairing the house on October 6th. On November 3rd, Mrs. Alcott wrote that she was pulling her house to pieces for the carpenter and painter. Actual work began at the end of November, and went on into February. The painters and paperers were at work and the carpenters and the mason as well.[119]

Little is known about what was done. Mrs. Alcott said it made Hillside more comfortable and neat than it had ever been. Some work was done in the study,[120] and the carpenters worked on a

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118. Mrs. Alcott's letter to S.J. May, October 22, 1847. Sewell and May had paid $850 for the house, other buildings, and one acre. Emerson had paid $500 for the eight acres across the road. Hawthorne paid $1000 for the house, buildings, and one acre. Middlesex County Deeds Bks., v. 454, pp. 477-48; v. 643, pp. 42-44. Tenants in the house and its standing vacant between 1848 and 1852 would not have helped the price.

119. ABA, *Journal*, v. 21 (1847), p. 631. Mrs. Alcott to S.J. May. ABA, *Journal*, v. 22, (1848), p. 100.

120. Mrs. Alcott to S.J. May, January 10, 1848. ABA, *Journal*, v. 21, (1847), pp. 632, 676, 680, 683, 691, 694; v. 22 (1848), pp. 1, 4, 37, 100 for references to work done. In the last Alcott noted that he put his books and pictures in order in his study. During January 1848 the children studied in his room. Possibly the schoolroom was undergoing changes.

porch. Both the eastern and western 1845 additions had porches and there also was a little porch at the front door. (See Illustrations Nos. 4-6). Alcott collected the shingles and fragments from the roof of the porch and put them in the woodshed. It is certain that the kindling resulted from changes to the front porch.[121] Ellery Channing wrote Emerson about it:[122]

> The elephantine Alcott is patching up that old Cogswell shell in which he lives, by clapping a dormer-window into the roof, - like Miss Potter's false curls.

This dormer was over the front door, or rather where the front door has been for the bay which is now a distinctive feature of the house was added at this time. A sketch made in 1852 shows the bay as built by Alcott. (See Illustration No. 7).[123] The sketch also shows blinds which hide the front door.

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121. *Ibid.*, v. 22 (1848), p. 37. Outside work of some importance was planned. In October Alcott drew before and after pictures for his wife. *Ibid.*, v. 20, p. 632.

122. Quoted in F.B. Sanborn, *Bronson Alcott At Alcott House . . . .* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1908), p. 78. Based on MML's notes.

123. Several accounts of the house in 1852 mention a front entrance. Mrs. Hawthorne's letter to her mother describing how the news of Louisa Hawthorne's death was brought to The Wayside is clear about the front door: "I said, 'Go to the western piazza, for the front door is locked.'" Letter of July 30, 1852, quoted in Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife . . . . (Boston, 1885), 1: 455.*

Home - The Raggedest Place in the World

In a letter dated June 15, 1852, ten days after he moved into his new home, Hawthorne wrote that he found the place much neglected, "the raggedest in the world." Several tenants and periods of vacancy had undone the improvements the Alcotts made five years before. Mrs. Hawthorne and the girls had preceded her husband and son to prepare the house. Perhaps it was their touch which gave the author the hope that it someday could be "a comfortable and sufficiently pleasant home."[124]

Hawthorne's standards of comfort differed from Alcott's. He expected more. The "sufficiently pleasant" indicates that. Nevertheless, he wrote that he felt at home "for the first time in my life."[125]

Hawthorne immediately experienced some of the tribulations of a home owner. In June the painters, paperers, and carpenters were

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124. Hawthorne to Duyckinck. Stewart, p. 123, identifies Duyckinck as the recipient. The Park has a photocopy of the first page with the date. Stewart quotes from this page. Hawthorne said that Alcott had wasted money fixing the house to his own taste, and that he paid little or nothing for these improvements. Mrs. Hawthorne wrote a letter, dated June 6, 1852, to her mother about the work she and Una did before Hawthorne came. It is quoted in Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, *Memories of Hawthorne* (Boston, 1897), pp. 189-92.

125. Hawthorne to Duyckinck, June 15, 1852.

at work. Mrs. Hawthorne said they wrought "magical changes" in the "horrible old house." She especially mentioned that the "woodwork downstairs is all painted in oak . . . and is quite in keeping with the antiquity of the dwelling." Her letters describe great activity, which she directed, in furnishing the house. It had never before received such loving and tasteful care.[126]

The Hawthornes did not change the basic structure left by the Alcotts. Perhaps, even in 1852, Mr. Hawthorne was uncertain how long he would keep the old house, and did not wish to spend beyond that necessary to make it a pleasant home.[127] The house had some good features. Mrs. Hawthorne found an "excellent pantry and wash room" in the space described as a woodshed by Mrs. Alcott in 1845. (The Alcotts might have made the change

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126. For information about the June work see Mrs. Hawthorne to her mother June 6, 1852. Mrs. Hawthorne mentioned a Mr. Hunt, a mason, working on the house at this time, and that the painters did the door sills. This is from notes in Miss Lothrop's notebook, "SH-XI," on a letter of Mrs. Hawthorne to her mother. Miss Lothrop said the letter was incomplete and dated it as Concord, 1852. All items noted in "SH-XI" were in the New York Public Library. This item was numbered 229912B.

127. Alcott wrote in May 1853 that Hawthorne was considering building a new house when he returned from England. The Peabodys told him the same four years later. ABA, *Journal*, v. 28, p. 304; v. 32, p. 409. In 1857 Hawthorne considered The Wayside inadequate for his family's needs, but was uncertain what he would do about it. He considered buying a new home. Notes on letters to Ticknor, January 31, 1857, July 30, 1857, November 5, 1857, to Pike, March 27, 1857, and to Emerson, September 24, 1857, compiled by Mr. Christopher K. Lohmann and made available by Professor Norman Holmes Pearson.

in 1846.)

Mrs. Hawthorne found the kitchen more than pleasant. She wrote her mother in detail about the refurnishing of other rooms, but it was the kitchen room itself which caught her fancy.[129]

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128. Mrs. Hawthorne to her mother, June 13, 1852, photocopy of this portion in the Park files. Miss Lothrop had two pages of this letter copied; neither page indicates the date, writer or recipient. In her notebook "SH-XI" she identified the letter as one in the Berg Collection, New York Public Library and supplies the missing information.

The change from woodshed to pantry might have taken place as early as 1846. A ground plan of the Alcott property in Elizabeth's Diary for April 1846 shows an extension beyond the Alcott eastern addition. Bronson Alcott's sketches, Illustration Nos. 5 and 6 dated c 1847 and c 1848 also show this. It is assumed that the extension was the woodshed, certainly it was by 1852.

129. Mrs. Hawthorne to her mother, June 13, 1852. See note x-1. The text follows: "We have put a nice straw carpet on Ellen's chamber, & I have bought her a pretty, new wash stand & table, & hung up some pictures round the walls, & with the mosquito nets for the other rooms, there was one made to fit her window also, so she can have it open night & day, & never be annoied by mosquitos or other flying insects. & she is really quite comfortably & prettily established there. And her kitchen is perfectly sumptuous. It is eighteen feet long or more & of different breadths. of this queer shape It is painted slate color, papered with pretty paper & has four closets - one movable. & has a nice painted yellow floor. There is a new pump of excellent water in it, which goes more easily than any pump I ever pumped. The boiler is close by the pump, in the corner of the kitchen. It is marked b. C means closet. d. door p. pump. s. sink. w. window in my plan. The long ottoman at the window holds the children's sacks & what we wish to put on to go out. The bureau, an old mahogany one, that Louisa gave me, holds all the rest of the children's clothes. No 1. door leads into the dining room: 2. leads out of doors, on to the terraces. 3. leads into a treasure of a bathing room. 4. into an excellent pantry & wash room. & from that into the wood shed. & all the offices are under one cover. The old oil cloth carpet, with patient cutting & oiling & fitting makes the floor of the bathing room look very nice. The wood work (& it is all wood work) is painted slate color, the long tub at, one end also. In a little nook is an excellent cast-iron stove. The room is of very convenient size, & we shall have no burnt elbows & sides there as at Newton."

Hawthorne's memory of his home as it filtered through seven years of English and European living convinced him that the old house was too small. In addition to the rooms provided by The Wayside he believed he needed a drawing room, two bed chambers and two chambers for servants. But he did not know whether to build, alter, or buy a new house. He wrote to his friends in America for advice.[130] When the Hawthornes arrived in America he still was uncertain. An addition would be the cheapest way to get more space, however, and the entire family liked their home.[131]

Hawthorne was not delayed by his indecision. Perhaps he merely enjoyed speculating about a new home. The very day he returned, June 28, he talked with Alcott about repairs, and he asked his neighbor for suggestions about improving the grounds. On July 7, Alcott took a carpenter, Wetherbee, to consult with Hawthorne. Wetherbee advised that a three-story addition on the back would be best and promised an estimate and drawing.

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130. See fn. 127. In 1859 Hawthorne wrote Fields (February 3), and Ticknor (March 4, October 6, December 1 and April 6, 1860). Lohmann's notes. The Hawthornes were attached to the location more than the house. Hawthorne wrote Ticknor on April 6, 1860, "we all have an attachment to the spot, and have looked upon it always as our ultimate home . . . ." Hawthorne's attitude toward the house varied.

131. Hawthorne wrote to Fields on February 3, 1859 that he liked his "little old cottage." Mrs. Hawthorne wrote in 1852. "We find The Wayside prettier and prettier." Lathrop, *Memories*, p. 197. For herself she wrote "This is the sweetest place -- I really cannot bear to leave it." *Ibid.*, p. 211. Both of these refer to the grounds as much as to the house.

Hawthorne decided that Wetherbee should build such an addition. By the 8th of August, the men were at work. Alcott kept track of the progress: August 17th, carpenters raise the new part; 22nd, carpenters put on the gables; August 29th, carpenters nearly finish the outside of the upper story; September 5th, Alcott supervises the chimney top, while painters paint the roof, and the tinmen tin it; September 11th, the joiners at work; October 31st, chimneys completed and the joiners doing off the rooms; December 8th, Hawthorne and Alcott sit in the tower.[132]

The three rooms behind the house were the grandest addition during the long history of the structure. The addition was built against the western portion of the north side of the house, fitted between the Alcott addition on the west and the little bedroom which had been moved and made a part of the kitchen. The rooms were about the size of the rooms of the basic house, but a little longer. The ceilings were higher so that despite the rather flat gables, the study rises about fourteen feet above the ridge of the old house.

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132. ABA *Journal*, v. 35, pp. 225, 240, 246, 247, 260, 279, 283, 285, 291, 299, 303, 327, 338, 369.

Three entrances were made into the addition, all of them from the Alcott western addition. Mrs. Hawthorne's parlor is entered from the lower front hall by a door made in the eastern wall of the Alcott addition near the northeast corner. It is nearly centered in the west wall of the parlor. The guests' room is entered by a door from the upper hall, directly above the door to the parlor. Steps lead up to the door. Hawthorne's tower study is reached by a narrow steep flight of stairs. The door to the stairs is south of the door to the guest room near the middle of the hall. There is no attic.

The three-story addition did not provide all the rooms Hawthorne wanted in 1859, only a drawing room and another bed chamber. That left another bedroom and two chambers for maids. One bedroom was gained by putting a second floor over the study and bedrooms in the Alcott western addition. This provided a full-sized bedroom for Una. In the process, the lower front hall was made larger by moving the eastern wall of the study westward. This cut into the easternmost of the small bedrooms back of the study and what remained of it was thrown in with the other to make a moderate-sized guest room.[133]

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133. Hawthorne to Bennoch, December 17, 1860. Lohmann's notes. Hawthorne called the little library and adjacent sleeping room one of the additions to his house. Julian Hawthorne identified the library as the former study in *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* . . . . (3rd. ed., Boston, 1885), v. 2, p. 269. Theodore Wolfe, *Literary Shrines, The Haunts of Some Famous American Authors* (Philadelphia, 1896), pp. 60-61, discusses the rooms of the house. He incorrectly locates the 1852 Hawthorne study, but locates the 1860 library to the left of the front door and Una's room over it.

The third major change is described by Julian Hawthorne in two places and in two ways. First he said two rooms were added in the rear, and later "a large room was placed over the kitchen." It had an arched roof to please Mrs. Hawthorne and overlooked the terraces. If but one room was built over the kitchen, replacing the garret chamber, it was large, about 11 1/2' x 22'. There are two rooms there today, but that probably is because of a later division. The room in the garret over the pantry, the Alcott woodshed, might be the second room Julian mentioned. These two rooms would provide the maids' chambers Hawthorne desired.[134]

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134. Julian wrote in *Hawthorne and His Wife*, v. 2, p. 263. "A good many alterations have been made . . . the tower was built up behind, and two other rooms were put on in the rear." Another description of Julian's in the same work is not so clear: " . . . built in two large rooms behind, and surmounted the whole with the 'tower,' in the top of which is the study where 'Our Old Home' was written." *Ibid.*, v. 1, p. 452 It seems clear that "tower" in this sentence refers to all three rooms, and thus the "two large rooms" refers to two rooms in addition to those in the tower. The adjective "large" is difficult to understand. If there was but one room over the Hawthorne kitchen it would have been large. This would require that the second room be over the pantry, but that would not have been large. If the room over the kitchen was divided, the two rooms would not have been large, although they would have had high ceilings.

In his paper, "Hawthorne's Last Years" given at the Hawthorne Centenary in 1904, Julian described the work in this manner:

> A room was added over the library; another in the rear of the dining-room; another above that, and above that still one more, the three constituting the tower, and the top room being my father's study. Besides these a large room was placed over the kitchen, with its outlook on the terraces of the hill; it had an arched roof, devised to please my mother; and the walls were painted with a color which the painter described as'a kind of blue pink.'

[Thomas Wentworth Higginson, ed.], *The Hawthorne Centenary Celebration at The Wayside, Concord, Massachusetts, July 4-7, 1904.* (Boston, 1905), pp. 111-12.

One other change deserves mention: the front entrance was altered. Alcott had built a bay around the original front door in 1847, but put a door in the bay. The Hawthornes changed the door to windows and used a door which entered the lower front hall as the main entrance. It might have been an existing door. The bay window and the space before the central stairs became a small room which Mrs. Hawthorne called her chapel.[135]

How the Hawthornes Used Their Rooms

What had been Hawthorne's place of work became their library, although they had more shelf space than books. The room behind it, named the Bennoch room in honor of an English merchant whose kindness, hospitality, and friendship made it possible for Hawthorne to know and enjoy much of England, was for guests. Una used the chamber over these rooms and an attic was over that. The uses of the three-story tower have been discussed. The dining room remained the same, the western room of the old

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135. " . . . in the place of the main entrance, which had been under the gable in the centre of the house-front, a bow window was devised, and the entrance was put to the west, and covered with a pretty gable porch." Julian Hawthorne, p. 112. Mrs. Hawthorne to Mrs. Fields, June 29, 1862: "We took every rag of furniture out of the dining room and Julian's room on each side the chapel . . . ." Quoted in Miss Lothrop's notebook, S III. Randall Stewart also quotes the letter in "The Hawthornes at the Wayside, 1860-1864," *More Books*, v. 19 (1944), pp. 268-71. Stewart adds the word "of" between "side" and "the". Miss Lothrop had noted the omission and indicated that she had rechecked the original.

house. The kitchen, bathing room, and pantry did not change. Julian had the first floor eastern room of the old house. (This was probably the drawing room in 1852.) The Hawthorne chamber was the one on the west. A narrow door probably was cut from the upper front hall into the room. The eastern chamber was Rose's. The rooms over the kitchen and over the pantry were the maid's chambers.[136]

The Cost of the Changes

One price Hawthorne paid for the addition was being unable to write while the workmen were about the house. Sometimes he would watch, and sometimes he would flee up the hill. In the evenings he read the Waverly novels to his family, and this

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136. The library and Una's room have been identified and located above. Hawthorne named Bennoch's room in a letter to Bennoch dated December 17, 1860. On Bennoch's help to Hawthorne, see Hoeltje, p. 426. On the lack of books see Mrs. Hawthorne to Mrs. Fields quoted in Stewart, p. 263. The letter is dated January 21, 1861 by Miss Lothrop.

The dining room is located by Julian's statement that the tower was built behind it in the paper, "Hawthorne's Last Years." See note 134. Mrs. Hawthorne's chapel, the bay window, was between the dining room and Julian's room, thus Julian's room was the east room. See note 135. In describint Julian's room in 1852, Mrs. Hawthorne called it a chamber. Mrs. Hawthorne to her mother, June 6, 1852, photocopied page in Park files.

seemed to prepare all for another day. The work went on and on.[137] And so did the expenses. Hawthorne drew on his credit with Ticknor, his publisher: $200 in September, $484 for building materials in October, two bills for marble fireplaces, one of them for $60. Near the end of the year he could foresee a total of over $2000, although the original

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137. Julian in "Hawthorne's Last Years," pp. 111-113, wrote:

> My father watched the operations with his hands folded behind him and his soft felt hat pulled down on his forehead; or he ascended the hill, to escape the hammering and sawing; but during that year there could be no studious repose for him in which to evolve literary imaginings . . . . He attempted no writing, but in the evenings, after the uproar was done for the day, we would gather in the library, and he would read aloud to us; the greater part of that year was occupied with the Waverley Novels . . . . I cannot overestimate either the enjoyment or the profit that I got from those readings . . . . I doubt not that the reader, too, was happy in these evenings.

See above p. 72 for work through December 1860. Mrs. Hawthorne wrote Mrs. Fields on January 21, 1861, that she escaped the chaos of an unfinished house by wandering to Charles Street. This was an imaginary trip, the Fields lived on Charles Street. Miss Lothrop's notebook, S-I. The earliest document which indicates that the work was finished is a letter from Una Hawthorne to Elizabeth Peabody, dated June 5, 1861, quoted by Maude M. Martin, "Hawthorne's Wayside," *Yankee* (October 1949). It is also quoted in Miss Lothrop's notebook, Yale IV. Mrs. Hawthorne wrote Mrs. Fields on May 12, 1861: "Painters, paperhangers and gardeners still molest us, and I have to look three ways at once. But we verge to a conclusion and begin to bud and bloom . . . ." Miss Lothrop's notebook, S-I, also quoted in Stewart, p. 264.

estimate was $500.[138] Later he asked for still more credit. Hawthorne wondered "What will be the use of having a house, if it costs me all my means of living in it?" Finally in May he reported that the work was done and that it made "a very pretty appearance."[139] Even after the additions, his

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138. On expenses: $200, Hawthorne to Fields, September 21, 1860, Miss Lothrop's notebook, Hunt I; $484, letter to Ticknor, quoted in Caroline Ticknor, *Hawthorne and His Publisher* (Boston, 1913), p. 245. (Dated Oct. 29, 1860 by Miss Lothrop in the margin of the page in the copy of the book she gave to the Park.) In the same letter he asked for another $500. There is nothing to tie these sums with the alterations to The Wayside. A marble fireplace was mentioned in a letter to Ticknor written in November. *Ibid.*, p. 246. (Dated in the margin by Miss Lothrop.) The $60 fireplace was mentioned in a letter of December 9, 1860. *Ibid.*,p. 247. (Miss Lothrop's date.) Early in December he wrote Ticknor that his bank balance was low and asked for $500 as he had payments to make on account of "the new house . . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 247. (Miss Lothrop dates this as December 8, 1860.) On December 28, 1860, he wrote Ticknor of the $500 unpaid on building expenses and gave the total at over $2000 and the original estimate of $500. He continued, "Well, I suppose I am fortunate in getting off so cheap; but if I had known how much it was to cost me, I think I should have sold the old house and bought a better one." *Ibid.*, p. 253.

139. Hawthorne was still paying after December 28. In January 30, 1861, he asked Ticknor for $300 or $400. In this letter he questioned the use of having the house. The May letter is also to Ticknor, *Ibid.*, pp. 255-257. (Dated by Miss Lothrop.) He wrote Bridge on May 26, 1861, that he was making the final disbursements on account of the house. (He said in that letter it cost three times what he planned.) Although it made him feel "considerably like a fool," he said "the result is a pretty convenient house enough, no larger than was necessary for my family and an occasional friend, and no finer than a modest position in life demands." Quoted in Miss Lothrop's notebook, Yale III.

attitude toward The Wayside varied. Perhaps it reflected his mood.[140] In January 1864 he wrote

> I have been equally unsuccessful in my architectural projects, and have transformed a simple and small farm-house into the absurdist anomaly you ever saw; but I really was not so much to blame here as the village carpenter, who took the matter into his own hands, and produced an unimaginable sort of thing instead of what I asked for. If it would only burn down! But I have no such luck.

He was sick when he wrote that. Writing had been difficult. The awful war continued.[141] Mrs. Alcott had at one time dreaded the thought of another winter in the house, yet after leaving she missed it. It had a place in the affections of the Hawthornes as well. It was old, comfortable, and easy to live with. And it was where the family had lived, where, after a grand party,[142]

> my lord came down from his high estate in the Tower, and looked in . . . like a grand Olympian, descended to a 'Paradise of Children' in a golden age. Many of them had never seen him, and were glad enough, and greatly surprised - and at the end, they tried to get up courage to go and bid him good night . . . . one young lady . . . [said] 'Oh how I want to shake hands with Mr. Hawthorne but I am afraid' Judge Hoar's son said 'Oh don't be afraid - I am going to. It is proper and he is not a bear. He will not bite.' . . . they all got hospitable smiles and seemed hugely pleased.

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140. Letter to Donald Grant Mitchel. Notes of Lohmann.

141. Hoeltje, pp. 518-27.

142. The attitude of the children and Mrs. Hawthorne also varied but their general attitude toward The Wayside was one of attachment. A letter of Una's, which at this writing cannot be located for reference, expressed this very well. The passage about Hawthorne and the party is from the June 29, 1862, letter of Mrs. Hawthorne to Mrs. Fields discussed in note 135.

The Wayside School and Others

The girls at the school used the tower and the Hawthorne bedroom for sleeping rooms. They must have had other sleeping rooms as well. The kitchen was their dining room, and unless they changed the bathing room and pantry, it remained their kitchen.[143] With the added number in the house, it seems probable that the doorway between the kitchen, now dining room, and the eastern room was reopened.

It is not known what, if any, changes were made by the Lothrops. It is fortunate that so many of the major changes in the house were made by literary persons who wrote a journal or many letters.

The Lothrop Changes

One reason the Lothrops purchased The Wayside was to preserve Hawthorne's home, and certainly they did that. Yet more is known of their alterations than those of any other family. The explanation is simple: they lived in the house much longer than other families, and they did so at a time when important changes were taking place in domestic living; what they did

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143. ABA *Journal*, v. 49 (1874), p. 676; v. 55 (1875), pp. 143-60. The first is a clipping from the *New York Tribune*, the second is an article from *Harpers*. Miss Lothrop talked with a former student of The Wayside School who had slept in a Hawthorne chamber. Notes on "Upper Front Hall, Stove" written February 1, 1958. The use of the Hawthorne-Alcott kitchen as a dining room is from Miss Lothrop, probably based on her talk with a former student. The record of the interview cannot be found at this time.

still exists and thus is known; they left other records about what they did; and over the years, some of the fabric of the house wore out and had to be repaired or replaced.

The bulk of the known changes will be dealt with in Appendix I on a room-by-room basis. The important ones are described here.

In 1885, the year the Lothrops acquired the house, town water was brought into it.[144] This led to two changes in the interior shape of the Wayside. The large room over the kitchen was divided and the western part was made into a bathroom. To provide access from Una's room and the guest room in the tower to the bath,

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144. The Water Commissioners of Concord in 1884 reported that they had made a contract to lay a mile of pipe on Lexington Street from the corner near Mr. George Gray's to the house of Frank Smith. Mr. Gray was the former owner of The Wayside and had built a house on the eight acres across the road from the house. Lothrop, p. 145. The construction record of the Water Commissioners for 1883 indicates the same, locating it from Hawthorne [Lane] to a dead end. Hawthorne Lane is the road across from The Wayside. Water went into Concord in 1874 and as it went down Hawthorne Lane it is possible that The Wayside would have been connected before 1883. The service numbers are of no help. They run consecutively down Lexington Road starting west of Hawthorne Lane and running well beyond it to the east. The numbering, therefore, took place after the line was extended. Concord Water Works Inspection Reports, copies in Park files. These were obtained by Architect Carroll. The date, 1883, is the most logical date. Architect Carroll reports that an 1884 "Plan of Concord Water Works' in the Concord Department of Public Works office shows that The Wayside was hooked in.

a corridor was made north of the western chamber.[145]

In 1887 a piazza was added on the western part of the house.[146] The following year central heat was installed.[147] Before July 1898, the fireplace in the old room was rebuilt in a slightly different location.[148] The fireplace in the Lothrop dining room, the east room, was made smaller.[149] At about

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145. It is assumed that the bathroom was put in when water was available. There is no evidence for this. The back corridor's chief function is to provide access to the bathroom from the west chamber and the western addition.

It is possible that the large room over the kitchen was divided before the bathroom was installed. Architect Carroll believes that the physical evidence indicates, but does not prove, this. The doorway in the partition, now closed off by boards on the east wall of the bathroom which are probably a part of the bathroom installation, is especially strong evidence.

146. Story in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, July 27, 1887. I owe this reference to Architect Carroll.

147. "Proposal for Steam Heating Apparatus, from Rufus G. Brown & Co." dated September 12, 1888. In Park files. The work was done that year. Luther H. Preston worked on it, evidently for Brown, and took legal action to collect from Daniel Lothrop. His work was completed October 31, 1888. Middlesex County Registry Book of Deeds, 1882, pp. 442-43.

148. Miss Lothrop, notes made January 16 and 17, 1958. In Park files. She dates the work as about 1897. The information is in other places, for example, *The Springfield Sunday Union and Republican*, June 12, 1932. No date is given in that story.

149. *Ibid.*, see also interview with Miss Lothrop, winter 1965-66, typescript, pp. 1-2. The date given there is 1883 which is an obvious error. See the photographs of the room.

this time the porch on the east was enclosed to provide a room for the ice box where the melted ice could be permitted to drip through a hole in the floor.[150]

More important were two changes in the interior of the house. Two doors were cut through the north wall of the sitting room, the west room, into Mrs. Hawthorne's parlor.[151] The partition between the Hawthorne library and the Bennoch room was removed making one large room off the piazza.[152] Electricity was put in The Wayside in 1906. Additional electrical work was done in 1914.[153]

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150. No change in the fireplace in the west room can be seen in the photographs. The reason given for enclosing the east porch is from an interview with Miss Lothrop.

151. Miss Lothrop's "Progress Report," January 17, 1958, dates the cutting of the doors at 1908 or earlier. In interviews she has expressed the opinion that they might have been cut for the Hawthorne Centenary.

152. Miss Lothrop interview, winter 1965-66, p. 35. No date is given.

153. *Concord Enterprise*, May 9, 1906. I owe this reference to Mr. Carroll. Hagerty & Nye to Mrs. Lothrop, November 9, 1914. Park files.

APPENDIX I

This is a chronoligical listing of the uses and changes of each of the rooms and the exterior of the house.

It is based, chiefly, on documented information; deductions and guesses have been kept to a minimum. Thus, there are many gaps in the lists. Detailed accounts of the changes prior to the Lothrops are not included; the reader can get detail relating to them from the body of the report.

Undocumented changes which can be detected by examination are generally not listed. The architect has worked on these, and, unless there was a difference of opinion about them, there did not seem to be any reason to include them. Reading architectural and construction evidence is his speciality.

Some changes made by the Lothrops are documented by reference to "conversations" with Miss Lothrop. Either notes were not made on these, or they have not yet been indexed. The architect did interview Miss Lothrop extensively about changes in the house. There has been no attempt to use the information he gathered in this section; he has entered it in his part of the report.

Unspecified Changes and Repairs

1845: Alcott repairs.

1847-48: Alcott repairs and changes (carpenters, masons, painters) in hopes of selling the house for more money.

1852: Hawthorne letters indicate more work than can be specifically accounted for.

1883: Town water into the house.

1888: Central heating. (See Architectural Section for copy of proposal and rooms which were to be heated.) by 1890; holes for circulation of warm air closed.

1906: Electricity installed.

1914: Electrical work done.

1922: More electrical work.

by 1922: Radiators changed.

Exterior Changes

1845: Alcott put porches on the front (south) side of the eastern and western additions. The girls used one or both of them as a stage. (Gowing, *The Alcotts as I Knew Them* (Boston, 1909), p. 13.)

1847-48: Alcott enclosed porch for front entrance with a parapet; central dormer over the central porch. Blinds put on windows.

1846: Alcott closed bulkhead on east side of house, made one back of Dining Room.

1860: Alcott west piazza removed; porch built in front of new front entrance. Central chimney built higher.

c1883-86: Western chimney cap changed. (See illustrations nos.

1887: Lothrop piazza built.

c1885:	Screen put on parapet.
by 1901:	Top of tower chimney changed.
1902 or 1903:	East porch enclosed.
1901-03:	Screen removed from parapet.
by 1910 (?)	Parapet and pilasters removed over Bay Window.
c1932-35:	Tower chimney rebuilt.

Exterior Color

1847:	Proposed to paint house a dark color. (Mrs. Alcott to S. J. May, 10/22/1847.)
1851:	"The memory and sight of this brown house and barn . . . is pleasant to me." (ABA *Journal*, 26 (1851), 586.)
1853:	"a neat house of a 'rusty olive hue,'" (G.W. Curtis, "Nathaniel Hawthorne.")
1869:	"the large, fantastic, rambling, yellow colored house . . . ." Clipping in ABA *Journal*, 44, 380.
1883:	Lothrops paint it.
1899:	Painted two coats of "colonial yellow." (Letter of Mrs. Lothrop, later dated 1899.)
1932 on:	Painted several times.
1939	Two coats. (Miss Lothrop report on check books stubs, 1968.)

West Addition, first floor: Study, Library, Bedrooms, Bennoch's Room, Piazza Room

A shop added to the western portion of the original house in 1845 by the Alcotts.

Alcott Use: Southern part, Alcott's Study. Northern part, two bedrooms, guest rooms at first, then Anna in western and Louisa in eastern in March 1846. (See also Lower Front Hall.)

Alcott Changes:

1845: Assume that they altered it from a shop to the uses given above.

1848: Alcott noted in *Journal* that he put his study in order, the paperer, painter, and carpenter having done their work within and without. (It is probable that some of this work was done elsewhere in the house.)

1858 use: Alcotts used this portion while Orchard House was being repaired.

Hawthorne Use:

1852: Study as study. No information on the two bedrooms, although it seems likely that at least one would have been used for a child.

1860: Study as library with book shelves, and sometimes as study for Hawthorne. Back room after change, as guest room. (Bennoch's Room.)

Hawthorne Changes: East wall moved west; chimney moved west; back rooms converted into single guest room. (Part of the western room became a part of the Lower Front Hall.)

Lothrop Use: South room, library; north room, uncertain (it was not heated in 1888). After change (c 1906) as a summer parlor (Piazza Room).

Lothrop Changes:

1887: When the piazza was built, the west window was changed to a double glass door, as was the south window.

c1906: Partition between rooms removed by Mrs. Lothrop. Wider beam added, boxed, and casing grained (MML interview, 1965-66).

Window from East Chamber put in west wall (same source).

Between 1932 and the end of 1937. Floor painted (MML notes, 8/3/61, and information from her check book stubs, phone conversation, 1968.)

1950's: Floor sanded. (MML interview 1965.)

Lower Front Hall

Not part of the original house. Was part of the shop added on the west by the Alcotts in 1845.

Alcott Use: Southern part as a hall with stairs, closet under the stairs; northern part as a portion of a bedroom.

Alcott Changes: See West Parlor.

Hawthorne Use:	
1852-1860:	Same as Alcotts.
1860:	As a hall.
Hawthorne Changes:	
1860:	Moved the western wall further west, used the northern part as hall. Door in the north wall to the outside probably closed then; stairs changed; doorway cut in the east wall into the lower floor of the Hawthorne Tower; south door in the Hall became front entrance to house.
Lothrop Use:	Hall
Lothrop Changes:	
1899:	New front door put on. (Mrs. Lothrop letter, later dated 1899.)
Between 1932 and end of 1937:	Floor painted (MML notes, 8/3/1961 and information from check book stubs received by phone, 1968.)
	Floor sanded (MML notes, 8/3/1961.)

West Parlor

Part of the original house.

Probably two windows on south, two doors on east, one door on west. (Mrs. Alcott said 12 shades were enough for the house in 1845; this would be 9 in front, 2 on the east and 1 in west chamber. It is likely that there was an opening on the west of this parlor, i.e. a door.)

Original Use:	Probably as parlor, bedroom when needed.
Alcott use:	Dining Room (process of elimination; Mrs. Hawthorne's June 1852 letter); probably as School Room as well.
Alcott changes:	None documented; possible addition of doorway into his Western Addition.
Hawthorne Use:	Dining Room (Mrs. Hawthorne letter) in 1852 at least through 1862. (Mrs. Hawthorne's letters, 1852, 1862; so remembered by Julian in 1904. Sign of Mrs. Lothrop ca. 1900 puts the Hawthorne Dining Room in East Parlor, but there is no other indication of this.)

Hawthorne Changes: Perhaps papered with "handsome paper having a silvery sheen . . . ." (Mrs. Hawthorne June 6, 1852). Perhaps grained the wood work. (The casing of the summer beam is grained.)

West Parlor

Lothrop Use: Sitting Room. (A Sitting Room listed as early as 1888.)

Lothrop Changes:

1883 or soon after: Paint probably changed from gray to green (MML 1/29/58); shelves over mantel put up (MML 1/29/58).

Prior to 1898: Mrs. Lothrop removed and replaced ceiling north of summer beam. (See Illustration no. 18, probably of 1888, before the change)

c1904-08: Two doors cut through north wall making passages into Mrs. Hawthorne's Parlor. (MML notes 1/29/58 saying ca. 1908; 1904 is possible as preparation for the Hawthorne Centenary of that year.) At the same time, the door to the Lothrop Old Room was rehung so that it would not interfere with the new door.

1922: Oak floor installed. (Receipted invoices)

Lothrop Changes:

c1885: Stairs enclosed or shut off from Bay Window by vertical boards. (MML's notes 1/29/1958; see also below, 1899.)

By 1891: Telephone on west wall (MML's notes 1/30/1958).

1899: Papered the steps and entry, i.e., the upper entry. (Letter of Mrs. Lothrop, later dated as 1899.)

1900-01:	Removed the boards which shut off the steps (MML's notes 1/29/1958.)
1922:	Oak floor (Receipt, 1922).
1922 (?):	Papered by Mrs. Lothrop with Peacock pattern (After 1901). This fits amount and cost of 1922 receipt. Miss Lothrop believes it was earlier.
Between 1922 and c1932:	Picture moulding changed (Illustration no. 19). Perhaps when Wurtzes repapered a portion.
c1940:	Miss Lothrop replaced southern portion of ceiling leaving it a little higher. (Her notes, 1/29/1958)

Bay Window

Originally a small front entry, with stairs going up, and doors to both parlors.

Alcott changes:

1847-48:	Extended southward by adding an enclosed Bay Window. Front door put in the bay. (Illustrations nos. 7 and 8)
Hawthorne Use:	Mrs. Hawthorne's chapel (Her Sunday School classes are believed to have met there).
Hawthorne change:	Door removed from Bay Window (Julian Hawthorne, 1904).
Lothrop Use:	Playroom (1888 heating proposal, deduction.) By 1891: Telephone room. (MML's notes, 1/30/1958 and newspaper account of Mrs. Harrison's visit)

Lothrop Changes:

c1885:	Stairs enclosed or shut off from Bay Window by vertical boards. (MML's notes 1/29/1958; see also below, 1899.
By 1891:	Telephone on west wall (MML's notes 1/30/1958).

1899:	Papered the steps and entry, i.e., the upper entry. (Letter of Mrs. Lothrop, later dated as 1899.)
1900-01:	Removed the boards which shut off the steps (MML's notes 1/29/1958.)
1922 :	Oak floor (Receipt, 1922).
1922 (?):	Papered by Mrs. Lothrop with Peacock pattern (After 1901). This fits amount and cost of 1922 receipt. Miss Lothrop believes it was earlier.
Between 1922 and c 1932:	Picture moulding changed (Illustration no. 19.) Perhaps when Wurtzes repapered a portion.
ca 1926:	Wurtzes, tenants, repaper a portion with same pattern. (MML notes 11/11/1961, of conversation with Mrs. Wurtz.)
ca 1952:	Miss Lothrop repapered a portion of the walls with a new edition of the paper. (MML's notes, 1/29/1958.

East Parlor

Part of Original House.

Original Use:	As parlor or bedroom or both, and perhaps as kitchen.
Alcott Use:	As parlor or sitting room.
Alcott Changes:	Closed door to Little Kitchen in the rear, if not done before.

Hawthorne Use

1852:	Probably as Parlor. (Mrs. Hawthorne's letter April 1853 mentions Julian's west window so this probably was not his room then.)
1860:	Julian's bedroom.

Unknown Change:

Before 1883:	Perhaps Wayside School change: Door in north wall reopened.
Lothrop Use:	As Dining Room.

Lothrop Changes:	About 1890 or later: Fireplace rebuilt. (MML interview 3/4/1965)
1899:	Blue closet (the one south of the fireplace) repainted (Mrs. Lothrop letter, later marked 1899).
1902 or 1903:	A closet made of western portion of newly enclosed east porch with access through existing east door.
c1904:	Door cut in east wall to landing at foot of stairs to provide direct passage between Dining Room and Lothrop Kitchen (MML interview).
after 1922:	Wurtzes remove ceiling, new ceiling is higher; summer beam and wall girts boxed. Freshened room with paint and paper of same shade and pattern. (MML notes on interview with Wurtzes, 11/11/1961. See illustration no 21. Wurtzes install lamp from summer beam (MML conversations).

From ca. 1958: Miss Lothrop conducts exploration of fabric, especially around fireplace and closet to the north and the walls 1961; Miss Lothrop removed light from summer beam. (MML notes, 11/1/1961.)

Alcott-Hawthorne Kitchen; Lothrop Old Room (Colonial Room, Music Room, etc.)

Construction date uncertain. Standing and of some age in 1845.

Alcott Use 1845: After adding "the little bedroom to the west side," as kitchen.

Alcott Change: Removed floor and sides and added little bedroom; brought in water; put in a new pump. (Mrs. Alcott's letter, 6/8/1845.) Put a stair in the southeast corner, the stair to the children's room, and put closet under it.

Repaired a bake oven. (This is based on the existing bake oven door which is not conclusive.)

Hawthorne Use: Kitchen.

Wayside School Use:	Dining Room (Miss Lothrop's interview with former student.)
Wayside School Changes:	(All based on assumption that it was used as a dining room.) Door opened to East Parlor; space on east lost to pantry for the new kitchen in the Alcott Eastern Addition. Closet built back of new kitchen pantry. (The closet existed when Lothrops owned.) Boiler and sink removed.
Lothrop Changes:	
c1897:	Fireplace, oven, and hearth rebuilt as they exist today. Previous fireplace had been nearly parallel with the north wall of the house, ending several inches north of the back (south) wall of the small corner cubboard, and a little further north on the east end. The bake oven was in the same relative position to the previous fireplace as it occupies today and has the same door. (Miss Lothrop has firm memories of all of

these details. Also see the drawing with her 1928 *Old Time New England* article; MML's notes 1/16-17/1958 and several conversations since 1962.) The fireplace was said to have been dangerous. (The same reason was given for changing the East Parlor fireplace.) Some old bricks were said to have been used in the rebuilding.

A new ceiling, and a new floor, perhaps at this time. (MML notes, 12/23/1961; 8/5/1961; 12/8/1962.)

After July 1898: Water pipes removed from floor of room above and put under the ceiling of this room and boxed. (See illustration no. 24.

1899: Change doors of closet on east. (Mrs. Lothrop letter, later dated 1899.)

1940's: Radiator from Una's Room installed (MML notes, 11/12/1961.)

1961: North door repaired. (MML notes 8/5/1961.)

Eastern Addition, First Floor

Added to house in 1845 by Alcotts - had been one half of a shop. Was divided into northern and southern rooms.

Alcott Use:	Northern room as Bathing Room, with shower arranged by Alcott and a tub. Southern room as Woodshed in 1845. By 1852 was a pantry and Wash Room.
Alcott Change:	Addition of a shed to east by 1847 probably made it possible to change Woodshed to Pantry and Wash Room.
Hawthorne Use:	Northern room as Bathing Room; southern as Pantry and Wash Room (Mrs. Hawthorne Letter June 1852).
Wayside School Use:	Perhaps as Kitchen because the previous Kitchen became a Dining Room.
Wayside School Change:	If used as Kitchen, the partition probably removed and other necessary adjustments made, including perhaps building a pantry west of the northern door in the west wall, that is in the former kitchen.

Lothrop Use: Kitchen.

Lothrop Changes:

1883: With water in the house some changes would have been made in the kitchen.

1899: Coal bin built outside north window with opening into the Kitchen beneath the window, linoleum put down; new door, ex-front door of the old Minott House with old knocker from the Wayside front door. (Illustration Nos. 22 and 23) (Mrs. Lothrop letter, later marked 1899.)

1922: Zinc coverings on soapstone tubs (receipt).

1937: New sink (MML check book, conversation 1968).

Mrs. Hawthorne's Parlor

Built in 1860 as first floor of Hawthorne addition.

Hawthorne Use: Drawing Room

Hawthorne Changes: None known.

Lothrop Use: Parlor; room for memorial to Mr. Lothrop (ca. 1900 - letters of Mrs. Lothrop in Park files); Library (letter from John Smith to Mrs. Lothrop ca. 1900, Park files).

Lothrop Changes:

ca. 1908: Doors cut into West Parlor. (See West Parlor)

Stairs

In Front Hall: Miss Lothrop added to the rails on the second floor to prevent anyone from falling over.

From Alcott Kitchen to Northeast Corridor: Miss Lothrop had new treads put on and then put the old treads back on top.

Una's Room

Built for Hawthorne in 1860

Hawthorne Use: As Una's room.

Lothrop Use: As guest room.

Lothrop Changes:

1922: Brick floor put on. (Receipt.)

1940's: Radiator removed (MML's notes 11/12/1961).

Upper Front Hall

Built in 1860 when Hawthorne added the second floor to the western addition. Built with doors to Hawthorne Guest Room, in the tower and the Tower Study, and probably to the West Chamber.

Use: As hall.

Changes:

Before or during period of Wayside School:	Stove put in the hall between the doors to Tower Study and the West Chamber. (MML notes, 2/1/1958, recording information given some time before by a student.)
After 1873:	Door installed at Northwest Corridor and later removed. (See part of door frame, so labelled, at The Wayside.)

Hawthorne Guest Room

Built in 1860 as second floor of tower.

Hawthorne Use:	Guest room. (Probably used by ex-President Pierce.)
Lothrop Use:	Guest room.
ca. 1906:	Mrs. Lothrop's room (MML interview, 1965).
Lothrop Changes:	Post 1932: Rail added by the steps to the room (MML conversation).

West Chamber

Part of the original house.

Original Use:	As chamber.
Alcott Use:	Mr. and Mrs. Alcott's chamber (tradition)
Hawthorne Use:	Mr. and Mrs. Hawthorne's chamber (tradition).

Hawthorne Changes:

1860:	Put door in west wall into Upper Front Hall (probable).
Wayside School Use:	Room for at least two girls. (MML notes on conversation with a former student, 2/1/1958.)
Lothrop Use:	Miss Lothrop's room when a child (MML notes).

Lothrop Changes:

1883 or 1884:	North portion put into a North-west Corridor, and closet changed. (Assuming that this was done when water was brought into the house.)

c 1942: Additional floor joists added; floor painted gray (MML notes, 2/1/1958).

Upper Central Hall (Over the Original Front Entry)

Part of the original house.

Use: As a hall.

Changed:

After 1847-48: Window changed to a door, perhaps when Alcott built a central dormer, 1847-48.

1899: New wall paper (Letter of Mrs. Lothrop, later dated 1899).

East Chamber

Part of original house.

Original Use: As chamber.

Alcott Use: Probably as guest room, perhaps for Miss Ford in 1845 (tradition puts the Alcott girls in it); certainly a guest room after March 1846.

Hawthorne Use

1852:	Perhaps as room for Rose or Una, or as guest room.
1860:	Probably as Rose's room.

Lothrop Use:

1883:	Mr. and Mrs. Lothrop's Room (MML notes on room use).
Post 1892:	Mrs. Lothrop's Room (same source).
by 1905:	Miss Lothrop's room (See below).

Lothrop Changes:

1899:	A pink and white window box put in the room, if this was then Miss Lothrop's room. (Mrs. Lothrop letter, later dated 1899.)
c1905:	(no earlier than the summer of 1905 - see SE 3): East window replaced by double window.

December 1957: Ceiling removed (not the earliest, an older one left in place) and new ceiling installed, except for a strip along the northern edge. (MML notes, 12/31/1957.)

Room Over Eastern Addition; Small Bath Room

Added as part of Eastern Addition in 1845.

Alcott Use: Uncertain if any; possibly a last choice guest room.

Hawthorne Use: Possibly a room for maid or cook, but no evidence for this.

Lothrop Use: The Man's Room, later as Bath Room.

Lothrop Changes: Bathroom fixtures installed.

Room Over the Kitchen - Maid's Room-Dressing Room

Construction: See Alcott Kitchen, Northeast Corridor, and below.

Alcott Use: Probably for Alcott girls, 1845-46 (see text).

Hawthorne Use: Probably as Maid's Room (Ellen, Mrs. Hawthorne letter June 1852).

Hawthorne Changes:

1860: Made one or two large rooms with arched ceiling. (Julian says both one and two; see text.)

Lothrop Uses: Maid's Room; later as a dressing room.

Lothrop Changes: Doorway into Small Bathroom.

Maid's Room, Large Bathroom (See Room Over Alcott Kitchen)

Original Use: Maid's Room, assuming that Hawthorne divided the room over the Kitchen in 1860.

Lothrop Use: As Bathroom (probably put in, in 1884).

Northwest Corridor

Built by cutting a doorway in the west wall, north corner, of the West Chamber and by putting a partition wall running east and west in the northern part of the West Chamber. Is within

the original house. Probably built 1883 or 1884 to make it possible to go from the Upper Front Hall to the Large Bathroom, which, it is assumed, was built at the same time.

Use: Corridor

Northeast Corridor

Changes: 1950's Ramp installed over steps at west end of corridor. (MML conversations.)

Originally part of the room over Alcott Kitchen. There is no documentation on when the corridor was separated from the room, but the only use before 1860 would have been to provide a way from the East Chamber to the stairs to the Kitchen without entering the room over the Kitchen.

In 1860, if the room over the Kitchen was divided then, the corridor would have provided access to the western room without going through the other portion.

Later it provided access to the Large Bathroom.

Uses: As corridor.

Tower Study

Built in 1860, third floor of tower.

Hawthorne Use:	Study.
Wayside School:	
Use:	Room for two girls. (Clippings in ABA *Journals*, 49, 676; 55, 143-60.)
Gray Changes:	
1871:	G. A. Gray painted murals on the ceiling walls (paintings are dated).
Lothrop Changes:	
1914:	Electrical "heating circuit" installed. (Letter of John Hagerty to Mrs. Lothrop, November 1914.)
Post 1932:	Hand rail added on stairs (Conversations with MML).

Old Attic

Part of original house.

Alcott Use: Girls played in it, clothes stored there. (Gowing, *The Alcotts*, p. 13.) Staged plays there. (Lothrop, *The Wayside*, p. 50.)

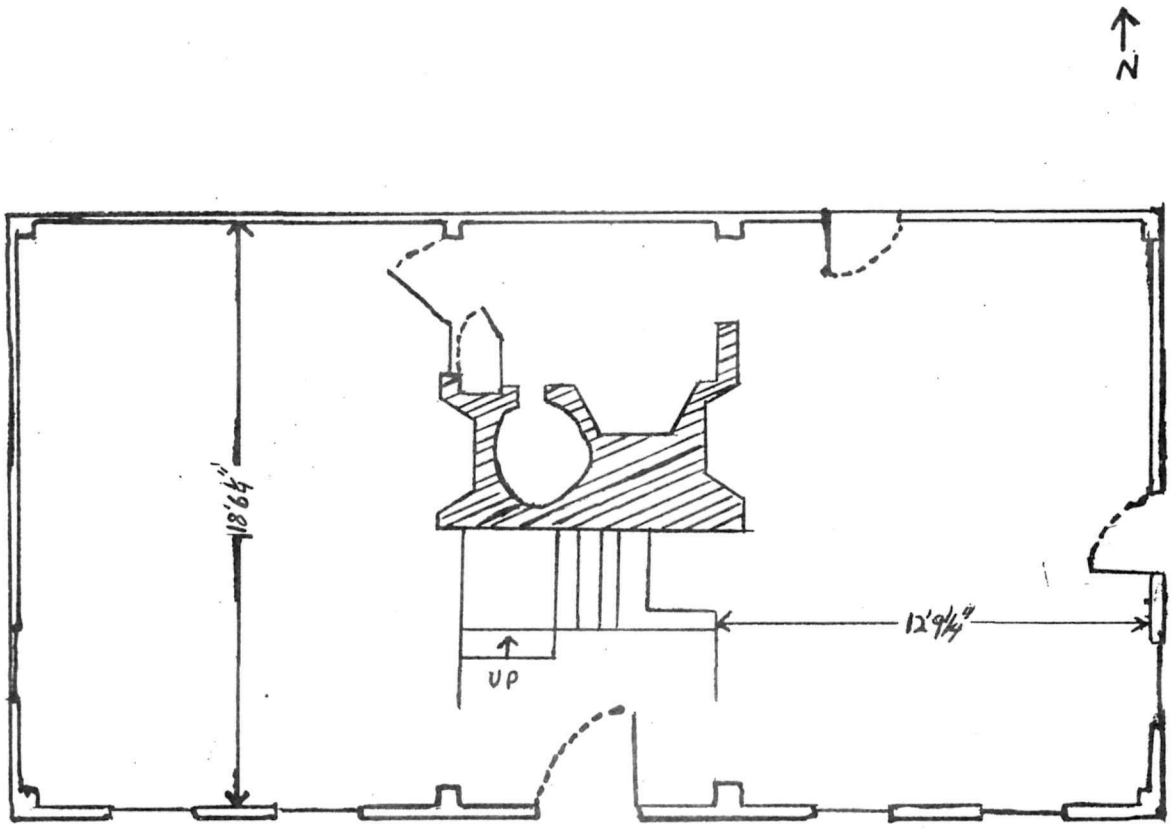
Lothrop Changes: Mrs. Lothrop added a clothes closet (Conversations with MML).

1. Simplified drawing, possible first floor plan of Wayside in 1775, based on HABS drawing. Doorways are conjectured. North fireplace drawn to represent Miss Lothrop's memory of its arrangement before changed by her mother. Available information indicates that a rear fireplace was normally built even with the back wall with the kitchen in a lean-to at the rear of the house. The advantages are obvious.

Architect Carroll reports that the physical evidence does not provide an answer to what has happened on the north side of the chimney. There have been changes. It appears that a flue went to the east parlor, probably for a bake oven. The projection in the room back of the stove in Mrs. Hawthorne's sketch might be such a bake oven.

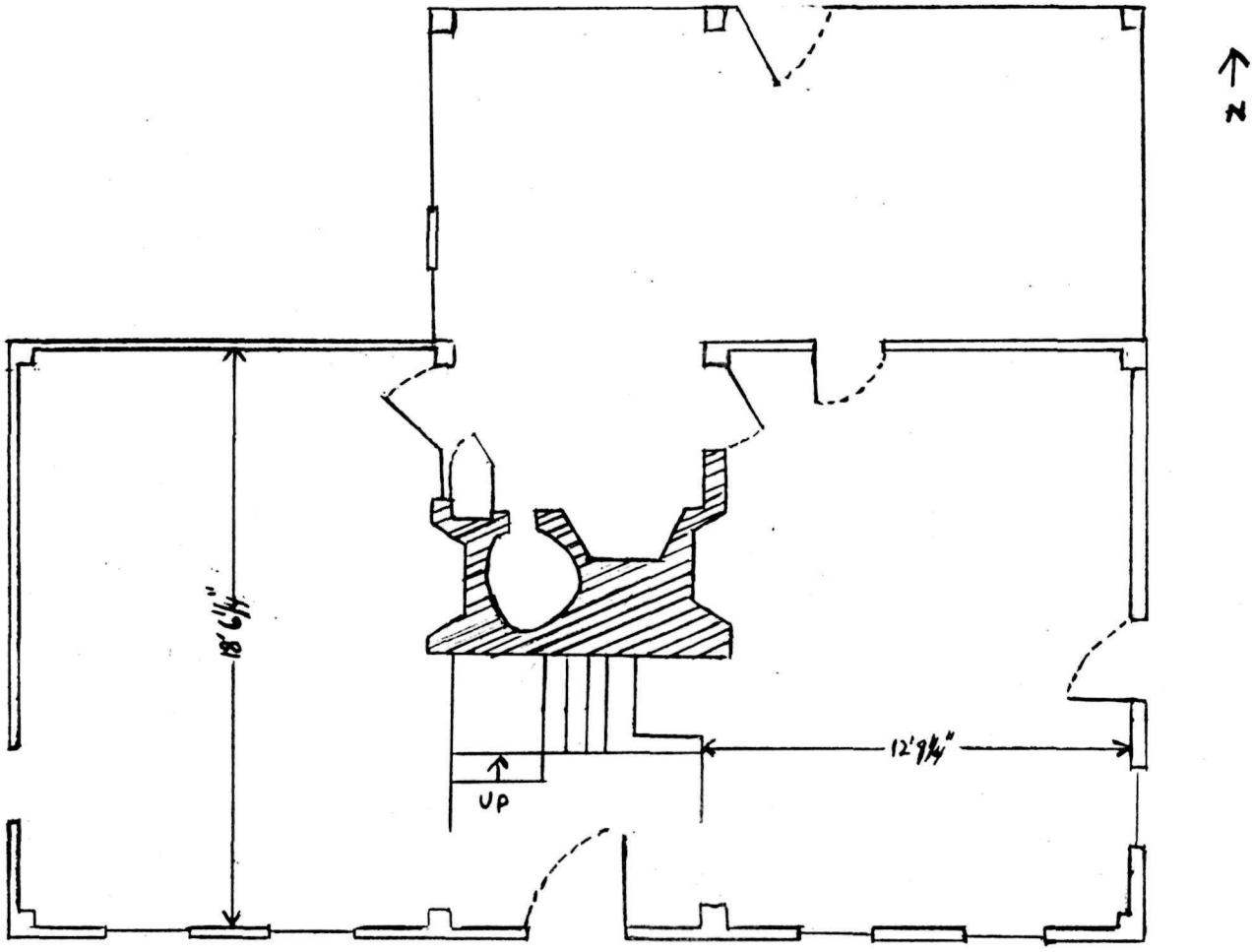
Prepared by R. D. Ronsheim, 1968.

#1



2. Simplified drawing, possible first floor plan 1775, with kitchen in a lean-to on the north side. Again there is the problem of the north fireplace not being even with the north wall of the main house. A larger chimney would have allowed a larger fireplace. Prepared by R. D. Ronsheim, 1968.

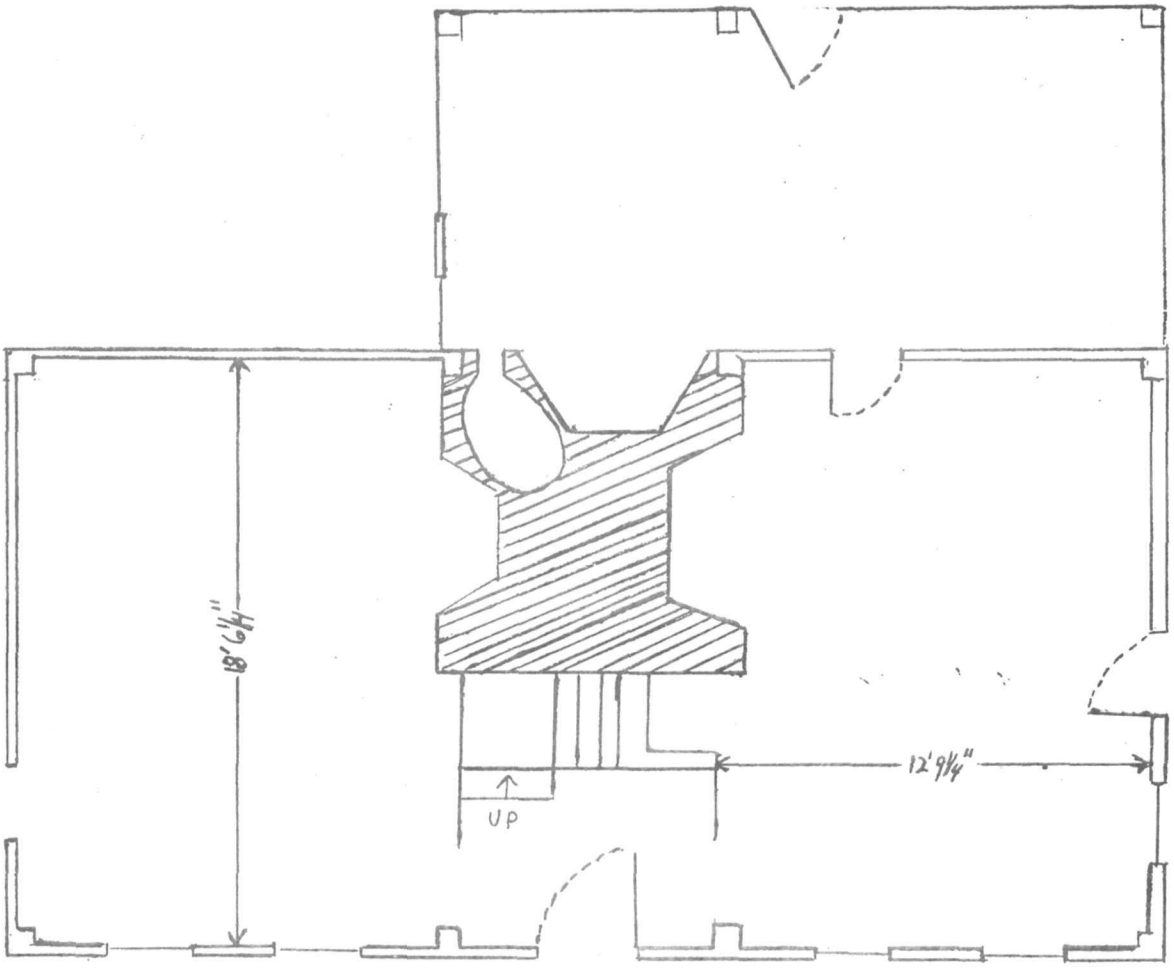
#2



3. Same as illustration no. 2 except that chimney is extended to the north wall, a more common method of construction. Prepared by R. D. Ronsheim, 1968.

#3

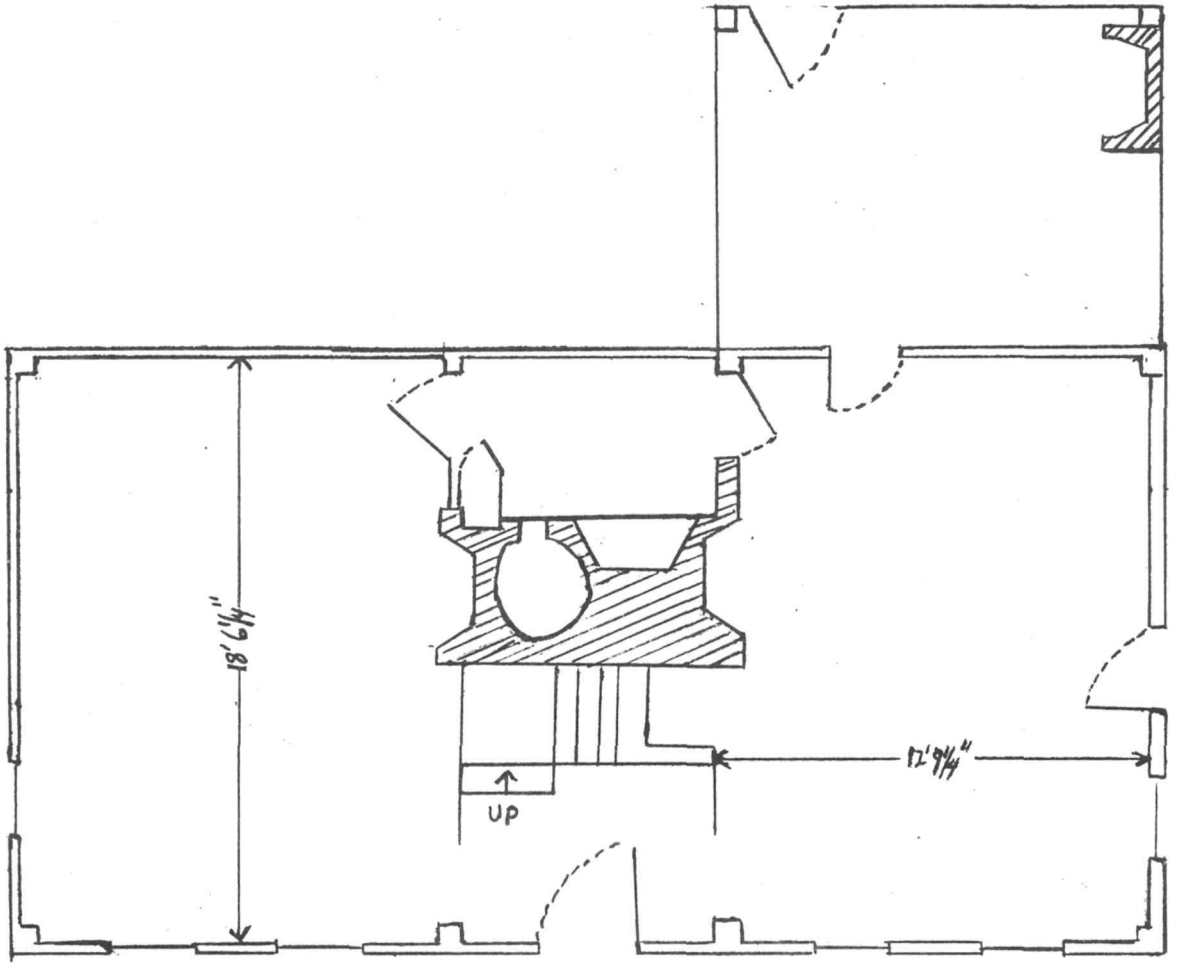
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4. Simplified drawing, possible first floor plan 1775, with the little kitchen added, the north fireplace blocked. Prepared by R. D. Ronsheim, 1968.

#4

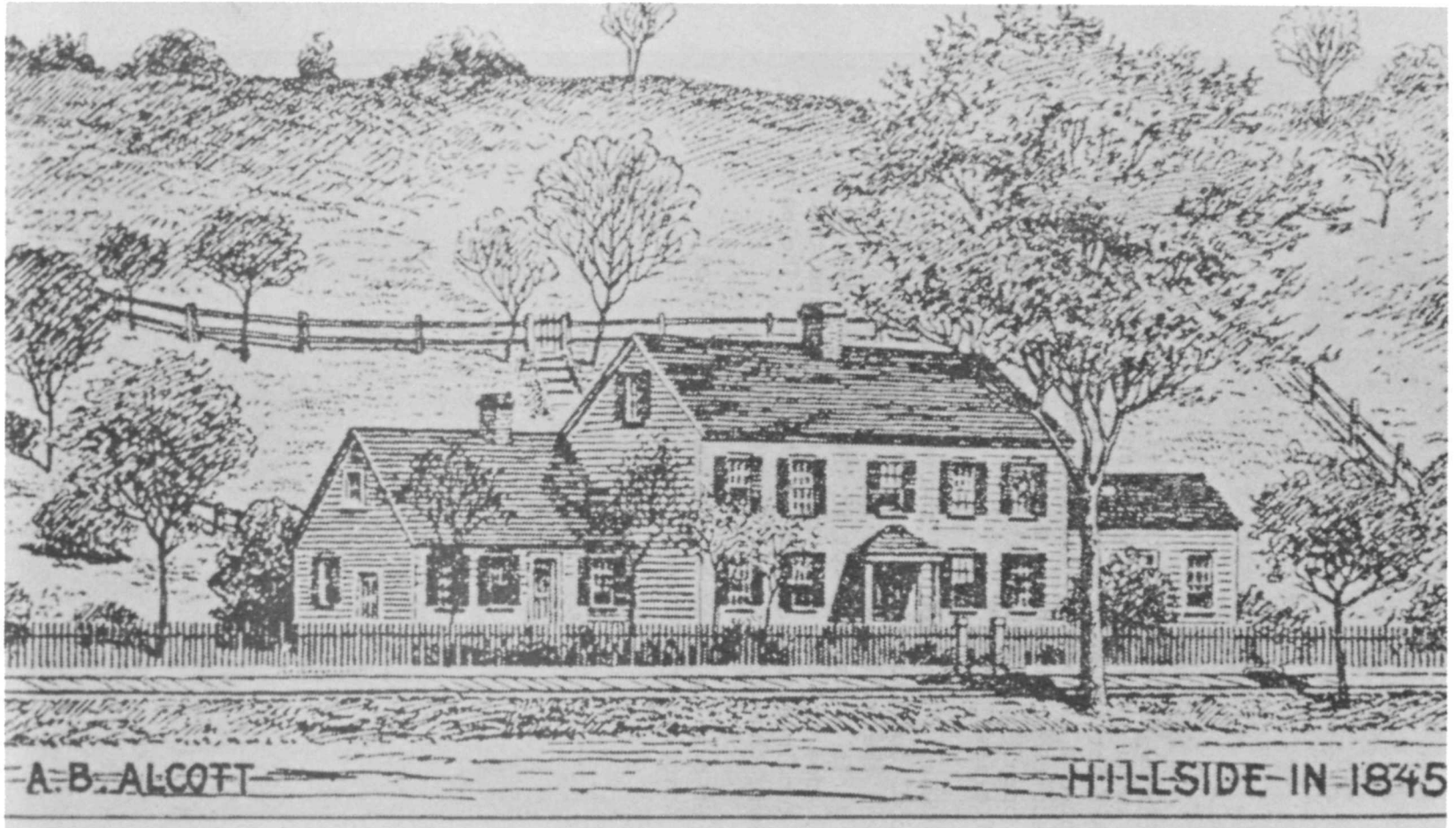
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5. Some of the modifications in the drawing are obviously based on post-1845 changes. The style is obviously not that of the two Alcott sketches which follow. The western and eastern additions are shown, but without their porches. The trees in front of the western addition are unlikely. The doors and west window of that addition, are doubtful. The west door is very unlikely. The blinds are also probably in error, for in 1847 Mrs. Alcott spoke of the addition of blinds as one method of increasing the price of the house.

On the same page with the sketch in Sanborn, is an illustration "from" a sketch of May Alcott. It follows the original, very closely.

From F. B. Sanborn, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Boston, 1909), 2, 320.

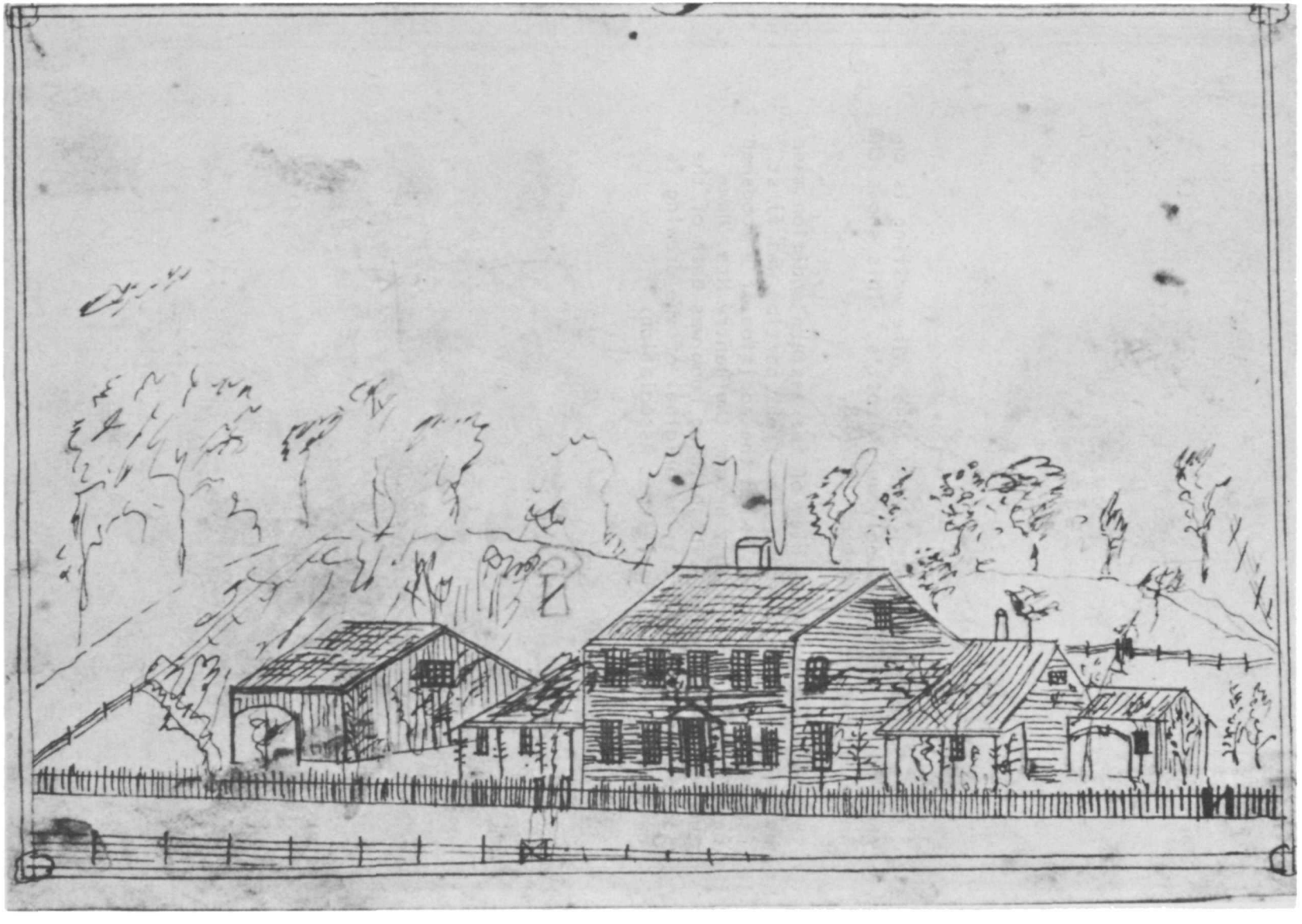


From a drawing by A. Bronson Alcott

6. Drawing by Alcott, dated 1847. The writing is not on the drawing and is probably later. The changes of 1847-48 are not shown. The barn is to the left. An addition, probably a woodshed, has been added to the 1845 eastern addition. It has an arched opening. There appears to be an open front porch with a door having à number of lights of glass.

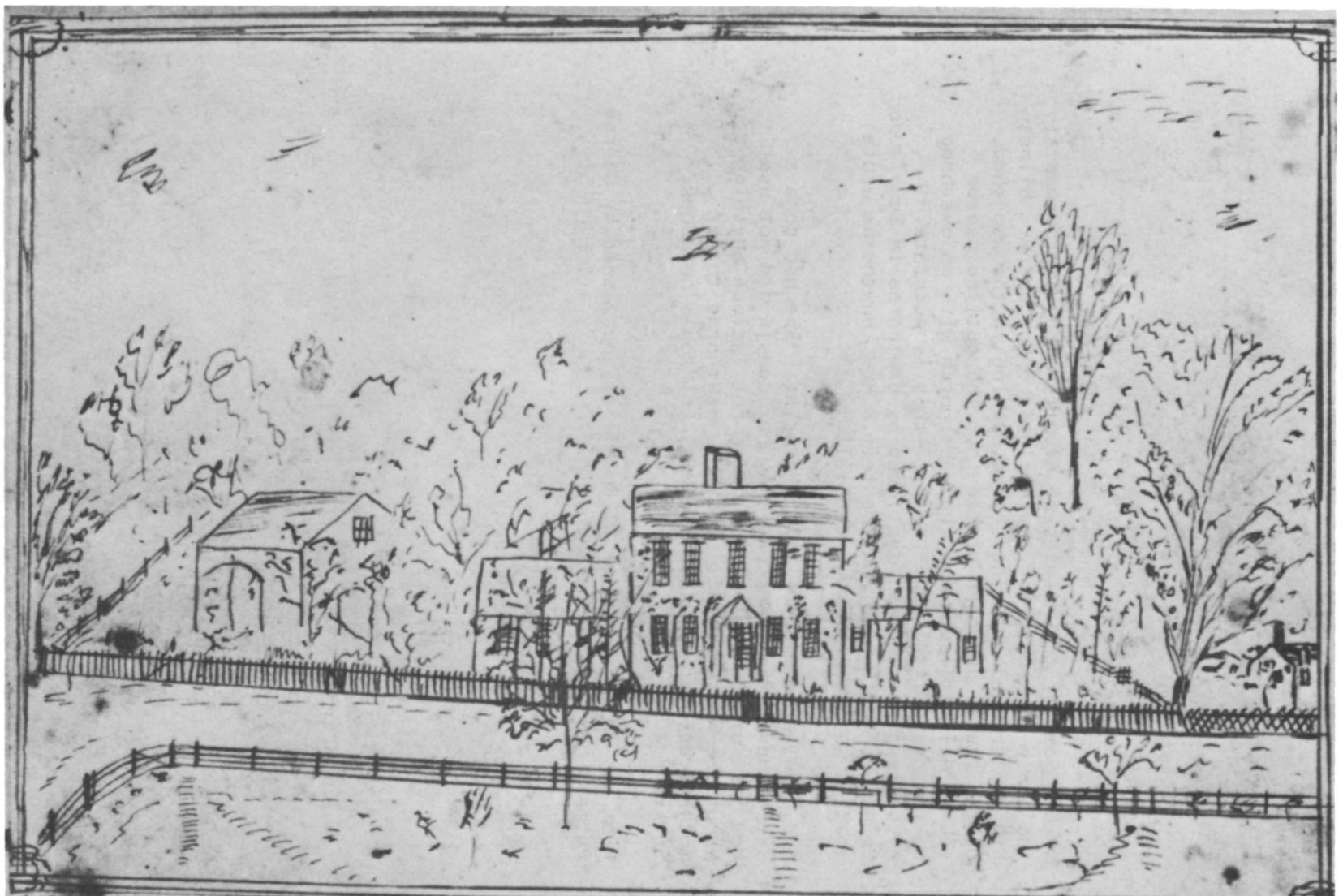
The study was in the front of the western addition, the dining room, and probably the school room was in the west parlor, and the parlor was to the right of the front door. The four girls probably slept in the western addition, certainly Anna and Louisa on the first floor and the youngest two in separate rooms in the garret. The parents had the west chamber over the dining room.

Original of drawing owned by the Louisa May Alcott Memorial Association, Concord.



7. Drawing by Alcott, dated 1848. The writing is on the backing and is probably not Alcott's. This shows the house before the changes of 1847-48.

This provides a better view of the eastern addition made by moving half of a shop. The front portion was first used as a woodshed, but, with the addition of a woodshed on the right, it probably became the pantry Mrs. Hawthorne found in 1852. The bathing room was back of the woodshed, later pantry. The original of the drawing is owned by the Louisa May Alcott Association.



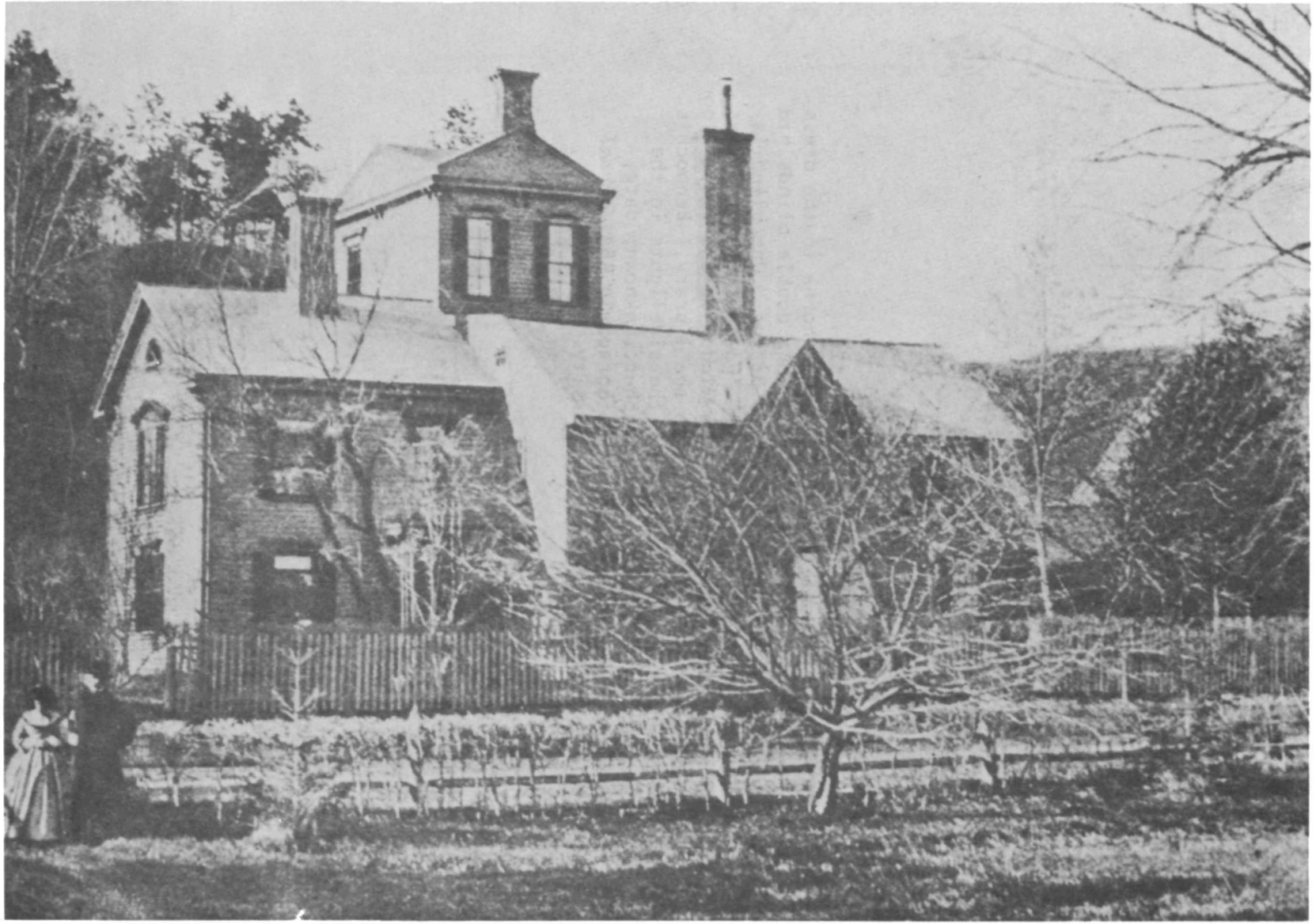
8. Some of the results of Alcott's 1847 improvements; the gable in front, and the enclosed front entry. Blinds hid the front door. The arched opening in the woodshed, on the right, has been closed in. The outline can be seen. Miller also shows the east porch with an overhang on the east. It is not known if this is accurate. Alcott's summer house, mentioned by Hawthorne in *Tanglewood Tales*, is to the rear on the left. Mrs. Hawthorne wrote that it was too far down the hill.

Mrs. Hawthorne did not like the print. She had done a sketch herself and wondered why her cousin did not use it. Her list of errors, however, does not include anything about the house itself. See Mrs. Hawthorne to her mother, October 31, 1852, in Miss Lothrop's notebook, SH XI.

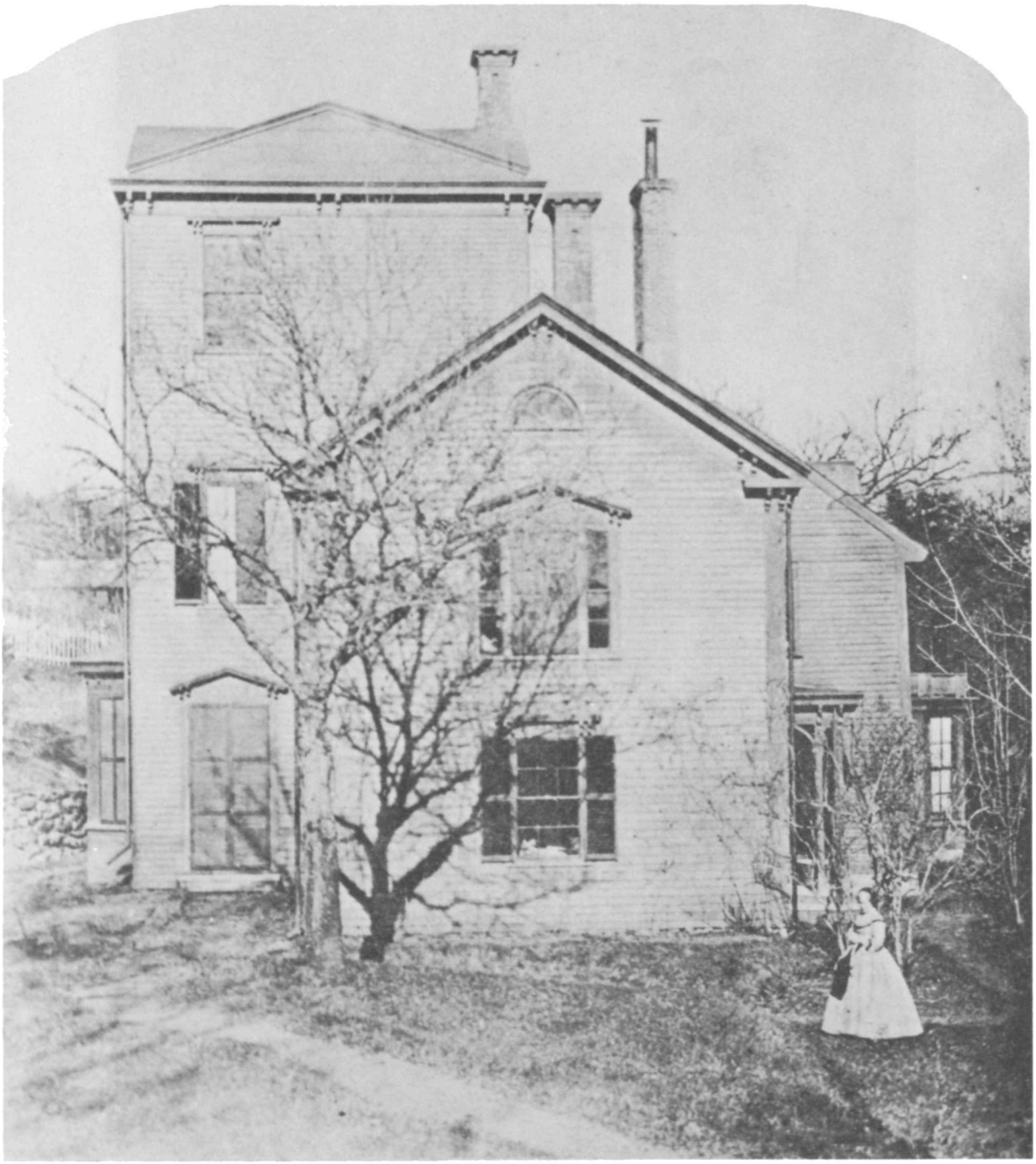
From an 1852 drawing of W. R. Miller, published by George Putman, Mrs. Hawthorne's cousin.



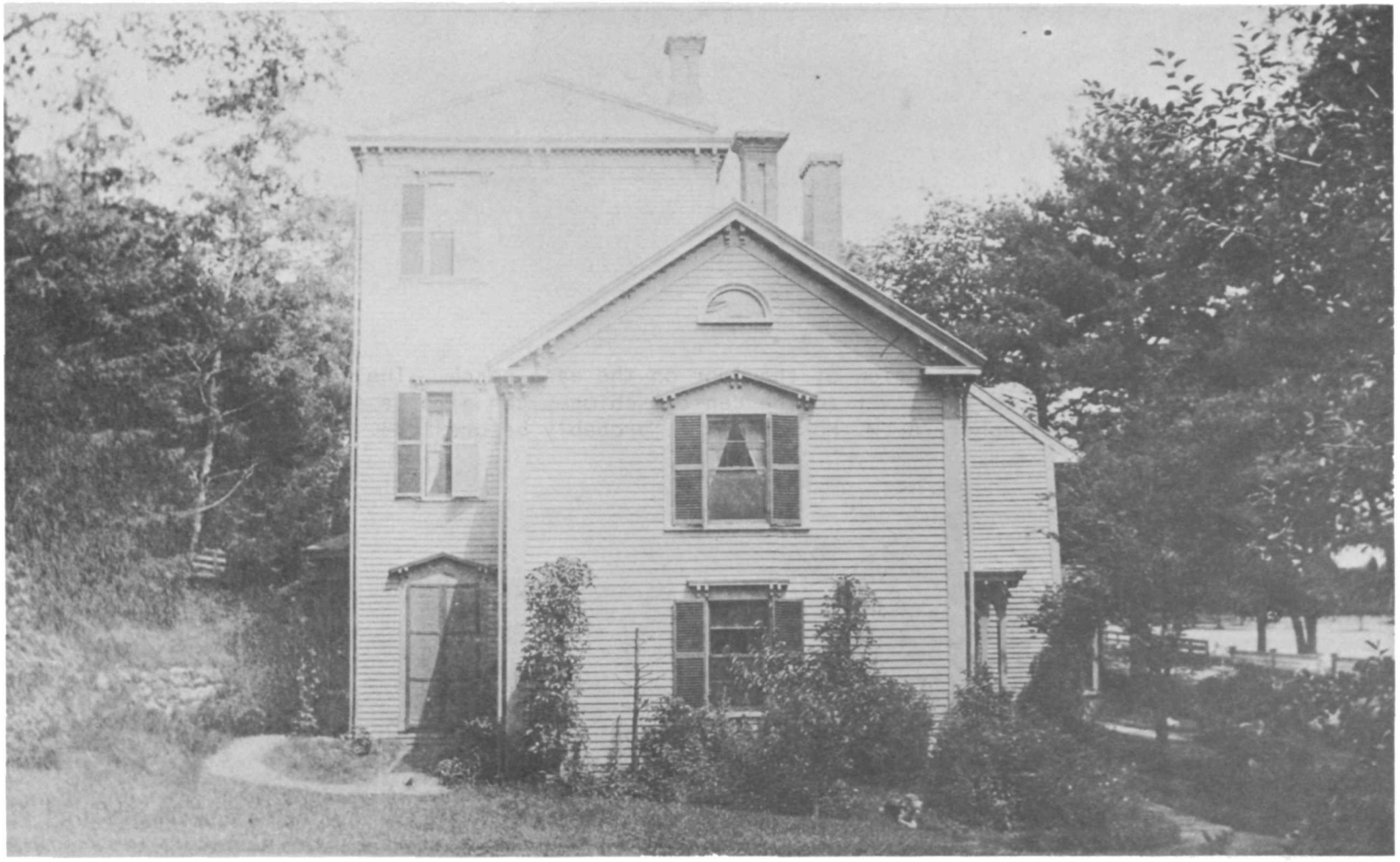
9. The 1860 changes have been completed. They include: the tower in the back (only the study is visible); the extra story on the western addition (used as Una's chamber); the chimney tops which Alcott supervised and perhaps designed. The Hawthornes are standing in the eight acres across the road. Notice that the barn has been moved to the east side of the house. Photographer, unknown; date, between 1861 and 1864.



10. From the west, showing Mrs. Hawthorne in the dress worn in illustration number 9. The long double blinds hid the glass doors in Mrs. Hawthorne's parlor. One blind is closed in the guest room above. Mr. Hawthorne's study has no blinds on the west window. The window in the first floor of the western addition opens into the library. Bennoch's room is behind the library. Note the sidelights in the window in Una's chamber. Photographer, unknown; date, between 1861 and 1864. From a photograph in ABA *Journal* at Houghton Library, Harvard University.



11. A good view of the chimney caps. Shrubs and bushes have been planted. Downspout has been replaced on the northwest corner. An earlier photograph than illustration no. 13, and thus perhaps prior to 1879. The vines, and trees which look like hat racks establish its relation to other views from the west. Photographer, A. W. Hosmer of Concord; date, probably before 1878.



12. A good view of the door on the east porch. The support wire from the tower to the central chimney can also be seen. Photographer, A. W. Hosmer; date, probably before 1883.



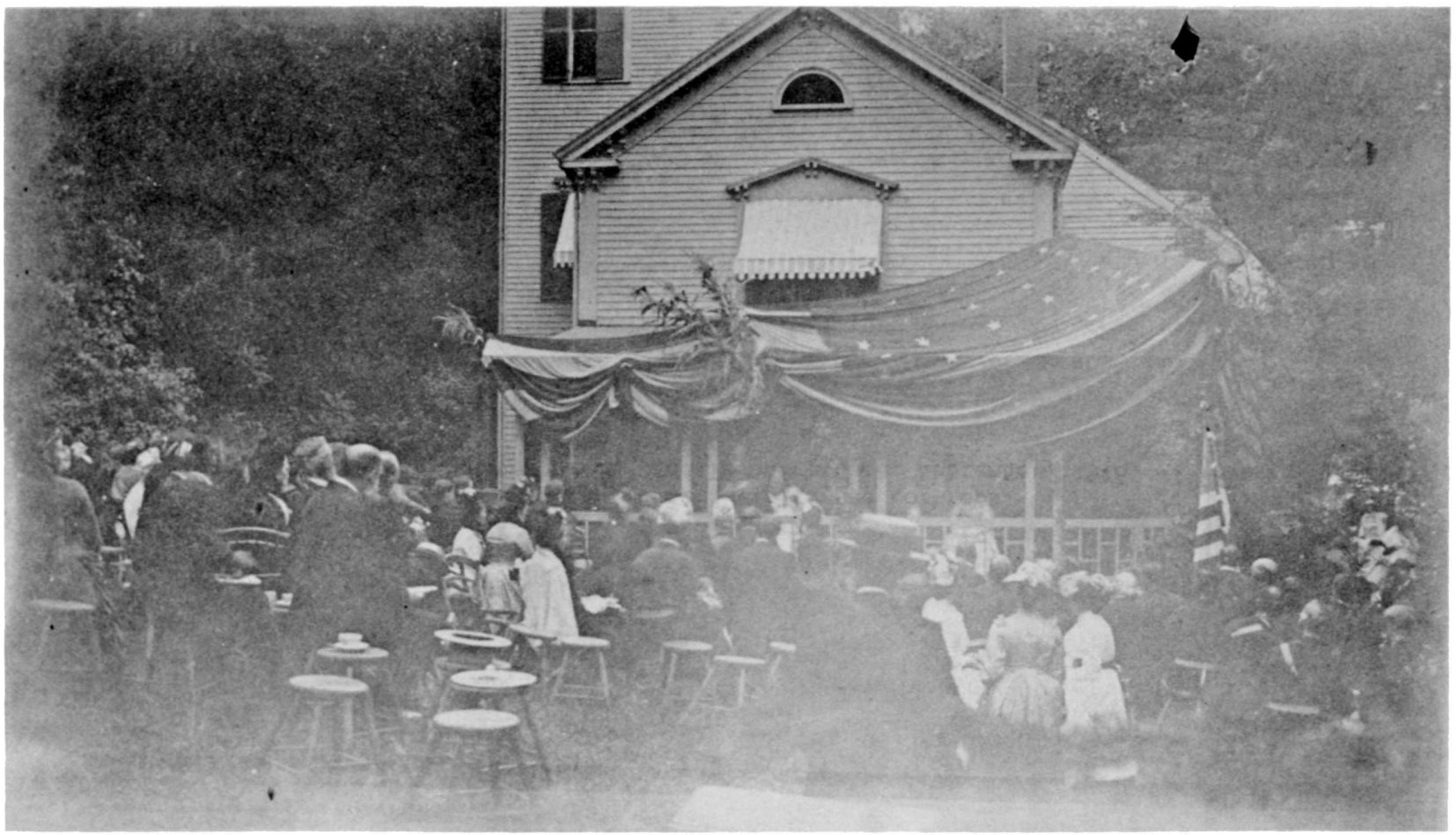
13. The Wayside from the west before addition of porch. People not identified. Photographer, H. L. Whitcomb; date, probably before 1883.



14. The Lothrops and Elizabeth Palmer Peabody (Mrs. Hawthorne's sister). The awnings are new, and the blind on the west window of the west chamber has been repaired. Miss Lothrop was born in 1884 so this is perhaps 1886. Photographer, A. W. Hosmer; date, ca. 1886.



15. Reception for Mrs. John A. Logan. Photograph attributed to A. W. Hosmer; date, August 1890.



16. Lord Aberdeen and Termair visits the Lothrops.
Photographer, Lady Aberdeen and Termair; date, September, 1916.



With the compliments of the photographer

Isbel Aberdeen & Ormaie

17. Note the coal bin, put in by Mrs. Lothrop in 1899, under the kitchen window. Photographer unknown; date, unknown.



18. Northeast corner showing the door into the Alcott-Hawthorne Kitchen, now called the Old Room. The shelves over the fireplace were designed by Mrs. Lothrop. Notice the opening to permit circulation of warm air, the molding on the summer beam, and the wide floor boards. Published by Frank Cousins' Bee-Hive, Salem; date, probably 1888.



19. Bay Window Room showing colonial stairs. Door to the left is to the Sitting Room, that to the right is to the Dining Room. Used for a "Defender" postcard. Note that the picture molding has been removed by the stairs and raised on the west wall. Photographer, probably Maynard; date, 1932 or earlier.

20. The ceiling is beneath and hides the summer beam. Shows the closet, the fireplace, before it was changed, and the door into the Old Room (Alcott-Hawthorne Kitchen). Note the silverware in the closet indicating the closet is for functional storage rather than display. Published by Frank Cousins' Bee-Hive; date, c1888.



21. Dining Room, facing northwest. There are electrified candles on the mantle. The fireplace has been rebuilt. Photographer, probably Shepard; if so, 1922.



22. The old Minott House, Lexington Road, Concord. The front door of this house was used by Mrs. Lothrop as the outside door for the Lothrop Kitchen in 1899. (See Illustration No. 23) Henry David Thoreau had many talks with George Minott here; he said the frame of the house was built on the western tip of the land Alcott and Hawthorne owned north of the road. The photograph was the gift of R. R. Wheeler to Minute Man National Historical Park. Photographer, A. Munroe; date, before 1899.



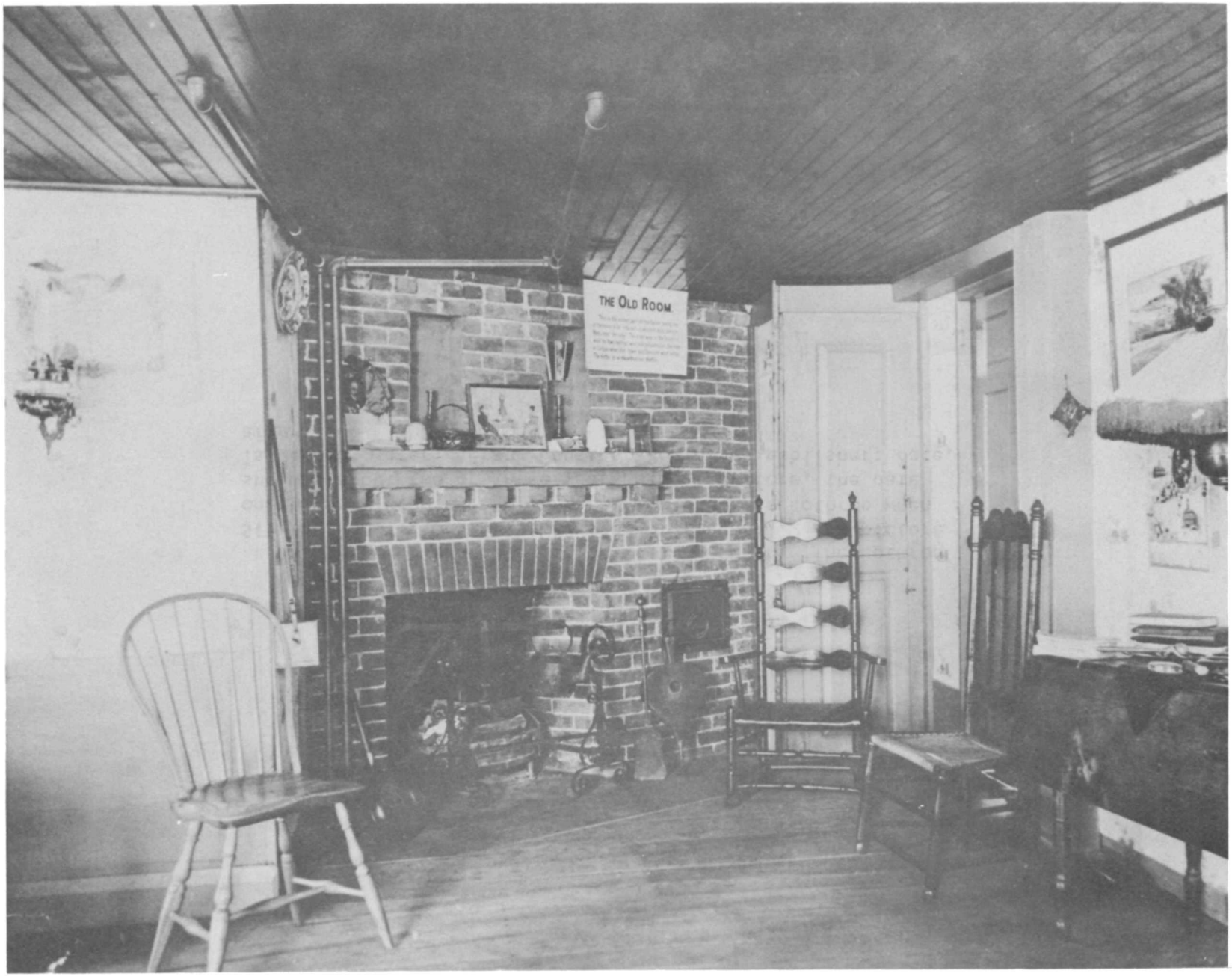
23. Kitchen door. (See preceding photograph.) The knocker had been on the front door of The Wayside. Photographer, O. W. Carroll; date, October 11, 1967.



24. Alcott-Hawthorne Kitchen, looking south. The fireplace as rebuilt and relocated on a diagonal by Mrs. Lothrop. The door to the bake oven is marked "Cutler and Robinson," Boston. It probably was installed on a bake oven by Alcott. Miss Lothrop says that the relation of the bake oven to the fireplace was the same as shown here.

The closet with two doors in the southwest corner is shown in Mrs. Hawthorne's 1852 drawing. The boxed rear chimney post is to the right, north of the door into the Sitting Room. The wall to the left was the wall of the Little Kitchen of 1845. The partition which the Alcotts threw down ran from right of it to the rear chimney post and was an outside wall. The fireplace, if it existed, was parallel to it. Note the exposed pipes, the camera hanging by a strap, the planter hanging from the pipe, and the plate high on the wall.

Photographer, unknown; date, July 1898.


THE OLD ROOM

25. Mrs. Hawthorne's parlor looking south. The Lothrop Sitting Room is on the other side of the wall. The picture on the small table is of Mr. Lothrop and Miss Lothrop when she was about two or three years old; therefore, the date is 1886 or later. Frank Cousins' Bee-Hive, publisher; date, after 1888.



26. Lower Front Hall looking north. Light is coming from Mrs. Hawthorne's Parlor. The door from Louisa May Alcott's room to the out-of-doors was to the right of the window. Photographer, M. Witherell; date, 1937.



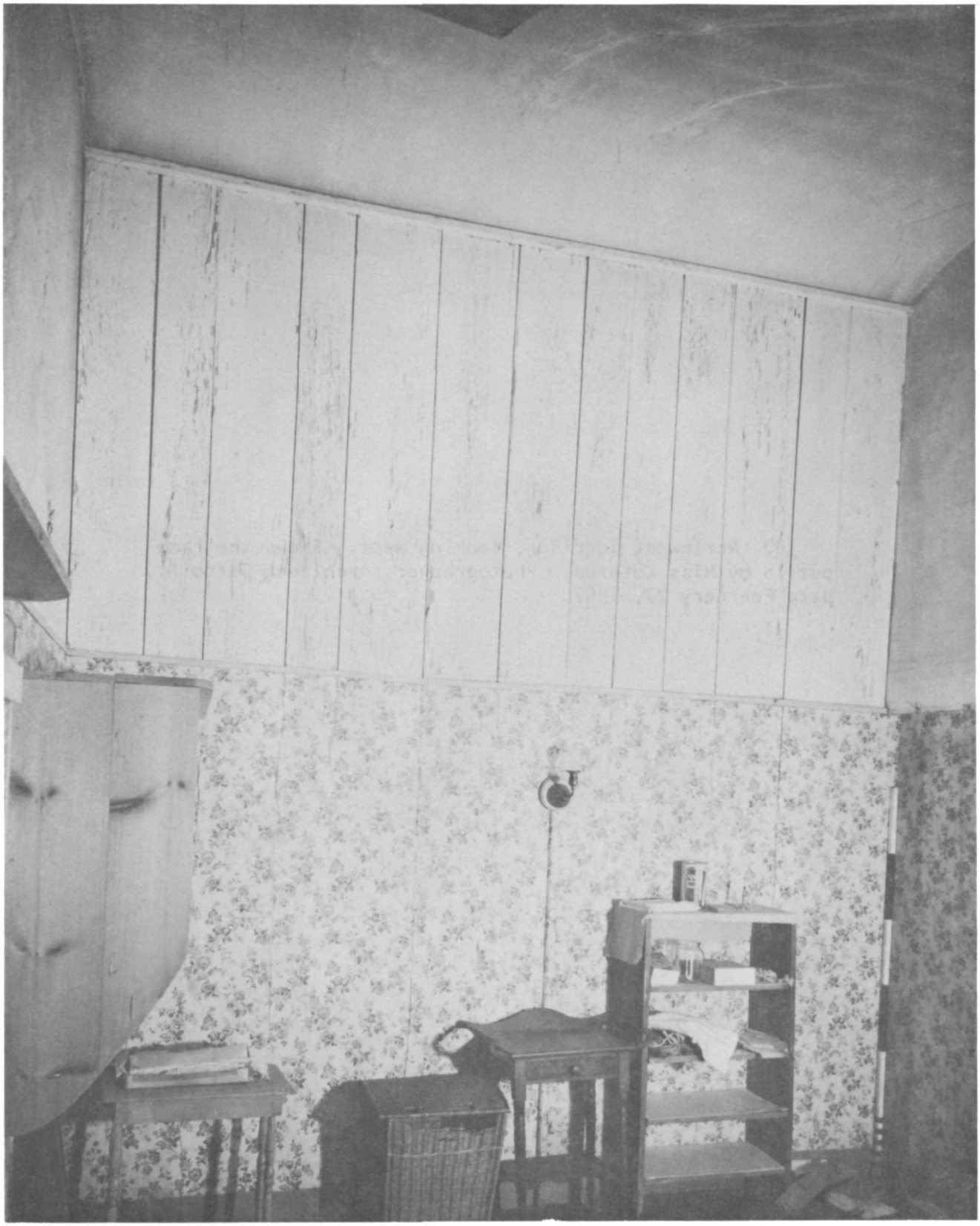
27. Southeast corner, Piazza Room. The door leads into the Lower Front Hall. There is no fireplace. Photographer, M. Witherell; date, 1937.



28. West wall and northwest corner of West Chamber. Note the narrow door to the Upper Front Hall, cut probably in 1860. Photographer, Keith Martin; date, ca. 1948.



29. West Wall of Maid's Room. Partition was built perhaps at time Hawthorne built the rooms, or at the time the Large Bath was put in. Photographer, Architect Carroll; date, February 22, 1967.

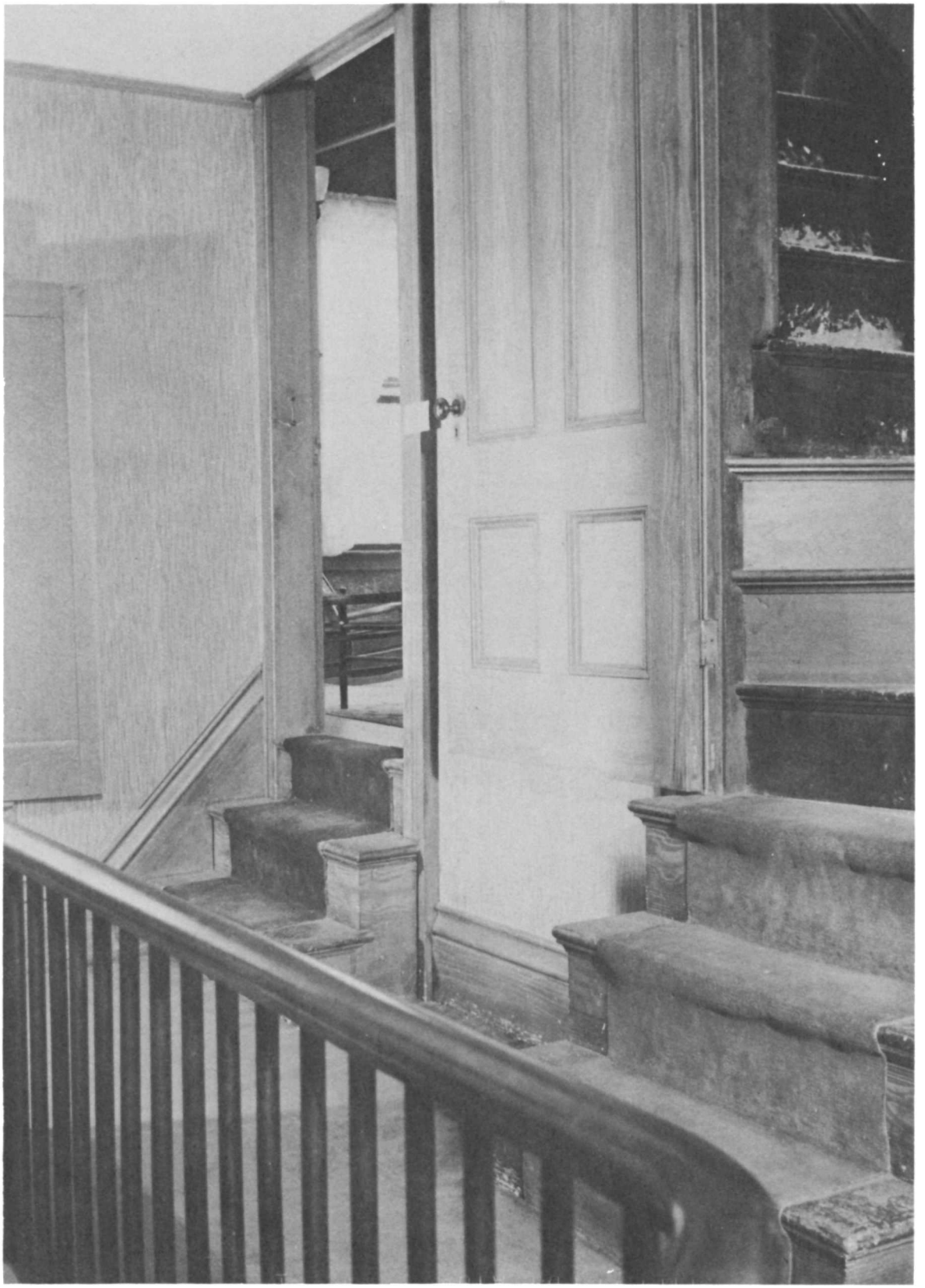


30. Northwest Corridor, looking west. Shows the ramp put in by Miss Lothrop. Photographer, Architect Carroll; date February 27, 1967.

31. Una's Room, looking south. There is no fireplace. Note the radiator; therefore, it was taken after October 1888. The opening to the left, on the east wall, is a closet. There is also a closet on the far left of the photograph. Frank Cousins' Bee-Hive, publisher, date, after October 1888.



32. Northeast corner of Upper Front Hall. Steps to the Tower Study and to Hawthorne Guest Room. Photographer, M. Witherell; date, 1937.



33. Hawthorne's Tower Study, looking southwest. Entrance to stairs. Photographer, Architect Carroll; date, February 1, 1967.

