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AMERICAN ROMANTIC SUBJECT AND SYMBOL.

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A HOUSE DIVIDED: DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE AS
AMERICAN ROMANTIC SUBJECT AND SYMBOL

by

Joel Raymond Kehler

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Presented to the Graduate Committee

of Lehigh University

in Candidacy for the Degree of

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Abstract

This study analyzes the role of domestic architecture in selected works of Cooper, Poe, Hawthorne, and Thoreau. Each chapter is divided into two sections headed Subject and Symbol. The first section supplies brief resumes of architectural theories or movements relevant to the works studied and traces the conversion of historical matter into literary subject matter. The second section tries to give an accounting of the symbolic role domestic architecture plays in certain works or groups of works. A brief closing section combines an independent consideration of architectural symbolism in a large body of Melville's domestic short fiction with a retrospective on the writers treated in the previous chapters.

As a group, the American Romantics were knowledgeable about and very interested in contemporary architectural thought. Cooper's The Pioneers contains a thoroughgoing criticism of the unsuitability of architectural Classicism to American climate, character, and uses. Poe's landscape fiction, particularly "The Landscape Garden," "The Domain

of Arnheim," and "Landor's Cottage," makes extensive use of the vocabulary and theory of picturesque landscape architecture. The House of the Seven Gables is deeply informed by Hawthorne's awareness of the vogue in Neo-Gothic rural architecture and of the renewed interest in Colonial Gothic architecture which the vogue sparked. And Henry Thoreau's Walden gives systematic expression to transcendental architectonics which foreshadow the organic architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright.

Although the American Romantics treat a wide variety of architectural subjects, there is a discernible pattern to the way in which architectural subject matter is converted into literary symbol. This pattern reveals itself when architecture is viewed as an object with profound psychological significance. The concepts of house, hut, home, and dream house, which Gaston Bachelard develops in The Poetics of Space, become a kind of "Open sesame!" to the door of the American Romantic "house." The unbridgeable dichotomies in American Romantic writing between hut and palace, cottage and manor, home and dream house, serve as dynamic images for the self-rending psychic split Emerson called "double consciousness." One impulse demands

that a free rein be given to the outward-tending cosmic self, that this self be allowed to make a home within the House of Nature; the other impulse craves stasis, collective identity, and the traditional forms of the House of Man.

The American Romantics accepted this duality as unresolvable, as evidence of "fallen" man's inability to sustain a single psychic allegiance indefinitely. Though they lacked the terminology of modern psychology, they sensed to varying extents that civilized consciousness is necessarily divided consciousness. Cooper embodies this division spatially in the hut of Natty Bumppo and the house of Judge Temple, while Hawthorne embodies it temporally in Maule's hut and the Pyncheon house. Poe casts the split in terms of the contradictory demands of art (Arnheim) and life (Landor's cottage). Thoreau tries to shift the terms of the division from hut and house to hut and pond. The Melvillean protagonist, psychologically destroyed by perception of the division, finds a prescription for sanity in "staying at home."

Preface

Every literary age has characteristic images which give expression to its deepest preoccupations, and all great simple images reveal the deepest psychic states. With these truths held before me like a banner, I set out in pursuit of the American romantic literary house and its accoutrements. This prefatory word was originally to have served as an ambitious prelude to a subject that had long seemed to me, and still seems, as manifold in depth and direction as the root-system of a great plant. Having survived the counter-reaction attendant on all high ambitions--in this instance, to let the finished product explain itself and hope it does so--I have settled on a more practical expedient. If for no other reason than to head off a few obvious questions on the reader's part, I wish to say in brief what this study does and does not set out to do.

The succeeding chapters were originally planned as a series of independent essays on Cooper, Poe, Hawthorne,

Melville, and Thoreau, to be linked together by a thematic introductory chapter. The finished product, it now appears to me, lies somewhere between a series of related essays and a close-knit thematic study. Limbo is never a very comfortable place to be, but I console myself with the hope that I have made up in warp and woof whatever has been lost in symmetry. Acutely aware that I am neither architect nor psychologist, I have frequently found myself applying braking action when a more courageous soul would be working the throttle. I freely admit not having known a dormer from a doormat when I began this project and I doubt that I could build so much as a hut by Walden Pond now. I also plead guilty to a certain amount of jargoning in elementary Freudian and Jungian terminology, not because I feel any strength as a swimmer in the depths of depth psychology but because (as many, I suspect, have found) the terminology is so convenient and, besides, has some breadth of currency.

In its analysis of the American romantics' use of domestic architecture as literary subject and symbol, this study does not aspire or pretend to completeness. It does

not even attempt exhaustiveness in the case of the writers whose works are scrutinized. Notwithstanding the unavoidable necessity for speaking too often of "romanticism" and "the romantics," I have not attempted the hundredth comprehensive definition, nor have I tried to show to whom such terms should or should not be applied. Such biases as I have in regard to the most useful applications of the notion of romanticism will become obvious enough. What I have tried to do is to give some clear idea of the numerous ways in which contemporaneous architectural thought provided major writers with raw materials for delineating what, for shorthand purposes, I call the American House.

The criterion I have used in selecting the works for study is admittedly somewhat parochial. It is two-fold: (1) that each work or group of works employ domestic architecture as both subject and symbol; (2) that each treat at some length two or more specimens of domestic architecture and portray actual or metaphorical movement between them. I have tried to choose so that each work or group of works has as background for the subject a different architectural focus or body of thought. The application of

my dual standard has necessarily resulted in the conspicuous absence of certain notable American literary houses--the House of Usher, for instance. In the case of Melville, however, I have chosen to break my self-imposed pattern because, while no single, strong subject-tie in the arena of historical architectural thought presented itself, domestic architecture is absolutely central to the symbolism of at least nine closely related tales and sketches. In my treatment of Melville's domestic short fiction, therefore, I have relegated architecture as background and subject to the notes.¹

The method of this study is easily stated. The first chapter presents a rationale for my standards of selection and endeavors to give some coherence to a diverse body of material. Each of the subsequent chapters has been divided into sections headed Subject and Symbol. The first section supplies brief resumes of architectural ideas or movements relevant to the works studied and traces the conversion of historical matter into literary subject matter. The second section tries to give an accounting of the symbolic role domestic architecture plays in the work or

group of works. The postlude combines an independent consideration of Melville's domestic short fiction with a retrospective of broader applicability.

J. R. K.

Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

May, 1975

Chapter One: The American House

1.

When Emerson in one of his more sour moments wrote the epigrammatic fragment, "That each should in his house abide/Therefore was the world so wide," he was not merely being misanthropic. He was revealing a psychic state that strikes close to the core of romantic experience. On the one hand there is the awareness of a wide world to be known and experienced; on the other, the realization that the self cannot wholly possess that world but must dwell in the lesser world of its own "house." In another, related fragment Emerson becomes more explicit, the rhythm of quest and withdrawal more pointed: "Him strong Genius urged to roam,/Stronger custom brought him home."¹ Increasingly throughout his life, Emerson was to label this duality in human nature "double consciousness." The

transcendental self yearns to enter into cosmic relations, to become coincident with nature, "a crystal soul/Sphered and concentric with the whole."² But the forms of communal life have their claim to make as well; for the individual identity, Emerson believed, is a function of human and cosmic relations. Elsewhere, Emerson calls this self-rendering dualism Power and Fate. Nietzsche called it the Dionysian and Apollonian, Freud, the Id and Superego.

Still, Emerson had the perspicacity to realize that the self could not be described in terms of a simple, static dualism. The I is formed and constantly changed by interaction with the Not-I, and the Not-I cannot be known otherwise than through the I. The two dynamically interpenetrate each other. Thomas de Quincy once made the acute observation, "Isn't it true that a pleasant house makes winter more poetic, and doesn't winter add to the poetry of a house?"³ The house, that is, is neither a source of pleasure nor an object of significance when separated from its function, to keep out the hostile elements. Gaston Bachelard, in The Poetics of Space (a work to which this study is deeply indebted), notes that

the image of the house in the snowstorm is one of the most simplified examples of the self and the universe portrayed in spatial relations.⁴ Once a house becomes part of nature, the universe is no longer simply a universe but a non-house . Emerson's poem "The Snow-Storm" demonstrates this same truth in terms more profound than perhaps the poet himself realized. The farmhouse, which is veiled from end to end with "whited air" and which encloses the occupants gathered round the fireplace, pales as a piece of architecture before the "frolic architecture" of the demiurge. But only to the consciousness within the house can the snow be architecture, the architect of nature an "artificer." The supernal beauty of the snow is truly an artifice, for it is a human creation: the house's perception of the non-house invests nature with her beauty. The phrase "tumultuous privacy of storm" perfectly expresses the interpenetration of house and non-house. The sensation of privacy, of abiding in one's house, exists only because of the tumult; the wide world's tumult is awesome only because of the privacy.

The house and non-house are interrelated in one other obvious respect, namely that the house is built of

non-house. That may seem a fine piece of ingenuousness, for, as Lear says, nothing can come of nothing. The point is that the creation of a house is not simply an expression of the self, it is a self-building; for when the house is built, the builder (ideally) inhabits it. The turtle's shell not only expresses the turtleness of a turtle, it is the turtle. Where once there were slate quarries and trees and iron ore, now there are shingles and rafters and stoves. Man has changed and so has nature. Domestic architecture, then, is the most potentially satisfying of all creative activities because its practice results in the growth of the self. The finished house functions as a monument to the conquest of consciousness over stasis and circumstance. The builder can relive his triumph by exploring his house again and again. House-exploration is a therapeutic activity. Perhaps the perception of that fact accounts for Hawthorne's recording in his Notebook the sound piece of advice given to one Lady Pepperell by her father upon her marriage: "to visit every room daily from garret to cellar."⁵

Anyone who has ever built his own house, any boy who has ever built a tree-house, can discover what Lady

Pepperell's father wanted his daughter to discover: that the functions of building and inhabiting are mutually enriching. This creative interdependence is memorably recorded by E. T. A. Hoffmann in the story "The Cremona Violin." The eccentric rehabilitator of violins, Krespel, plans his house from moment to moment in order to accommodate the imagined requirements of inhabiting it. Refusing to allow his builders to follow any plans, he has them erect the walls until they "look right," has them punch windows and doors out of the walls where he visualizes them, and so forth. His house therefore never has a theoretical existence but conquers nature and circumstance in an eternal present of creativity. Like his house, his self is recreated from moment to moment by the interaction of consciousness and nature. When the house has been completed and building ceases to respond to the function of inhabiting, the builder can recreate his creative moments by exploring his house: now the function of inhabiting responds to the function of building.

The endurance of the house creates special complications, however, both for the builder and his descendants.

As the experience of the original creative impulse fades, the house ceases to be a source of self-building. The eternal present of creativity gives way to the desire for stasis. Now the house becomes a means for the builder to anchor himself in time, past and future. As the house is lived in, space increasingly takes on the function of objectifying and memorializing time. Where once the builder looked to his house for the literal task of ex-expression, of moving out of his static self, he now looks to it for preservation of the old self. The flight of time and the process of change, which he once took joy in mastering, become a source of fear. The house becomes a promise to the builder that he will endure after his corporeal existence has ceased. This kind of conquest over time is much different from that achieved by creativity, one to which subsequent generations are expected to contribute. These succeeding generations, however, have never known the house as an instrument of self-building. As one generation succeeds another, the space which the house has appropriated becomes more and more laden with time. The house, proportionately to the infirmity of the building-material, begins to decay, to become undeniably

subject to the kingdom of time and flux. It no longer performs its stabilizing function. As the vigor of the house wanes, so wanes the vigor of the occupants, their entrapment in a solidified past rendering them unable to adapt to changing circumstance and a changing world.

What we have been considering in this rather melodramatic scenario is the close connection between domestic architecture and identity. The issue of identity is the "Open sesame!" to the door of the American House. America of the post-revolutionary era was still largely a virgin continent in search of an identity, and while it was generally agreed that that identity should be a distinctively American one, no one seemed to be able to say with any certainty of what an American identity might consist. That the actual architecture of the post-colonial years in America was, as we shall see, such a potpourri of styles suggests that there was no unanimity of response as to how the American House should be built. The literary response, as one commentator has noted, was "something like an obsession in American literature with plans and efforts to build houses, to appropriate space to one's desires,

perhaps to inaugurate therein a dynasty that shapes time to the dimensions of personal and familial history."⁶

The scenario for the rise and the fall of the house which has already been rehearsed would not have been greeted with indifference by young America. From the first Puritans who wanted to establish the New Jerusalem in Massachusetts to the classicists of the late-colonial and early-federal periods, Americans had unanimously agreed that the houses of the New World must not endure the same fate as those of the old. Yet despite the unconquerable ambition of American consciousness to escape time and history, the "doctrine of progress," as one scholar has said, "had not yet weaned Americans generally . . . from a cyclical view of history, history as the perpetual rise and fall of empires and civilizations."⁷ The need to build a house that would last and the suspicion that such a house could not be built, coexisted in the American consciousness from the start. The fact that the responsibility for the national destiny had passed from the builder of the City on a Hill to the American Adam did not alter its weight. How, in view of the inevitable course of the

fall of houses, could the construction of an enduring American House be managed?

2.

The fact that stasis is not the hard and fast rule of habitation is due to a most fortunate safety valve in the human psyche: that spontaneous, meliorative impulse that the mind expresses in dream and fantasy. "House and space are not simply two juxtaposed elements of space," says Gaston Bachelard. "In the reign of the imagination, they awaken daydreams in each other, they are opposed."⁸ To put the matter differently, each generation has a home and a dream house. The dream house of one generation, should it happen to get built, becomes merely the home of the next, which possesses psychic mechanisms for dreaming its own house. The dialectics of home and dream house, then, alleviate individual and society from the absolute necessity of stagnation and decay.

What is more, the nature of the home is itself a partial determinant of the nature of the dream house; so that dream house and home are dynamically interrelated in the same way as house and non-house:

Sometimes the house of the future is better built, lighter and larger than all the houses of the past, so that the image of the dream house is opposed to that of the childhood home. . . . Maybe it is a good thing for us to keep a few dreams of a house that we shall live in later, so much later, in fact, that we shall not have time to achieve it. For a house that was final, one that stood in symmetrical relation to the house we were born in, would lead to thoughts--serious, sad thoughts--and not to dreams. It is better to live in a state of impermanence than in one of finality.⁹

The peasant locates his dream house in the manor house of his lord. The garret-dweller longs for the country cottage. The farm boy dreams of an apartment in the city. Space and consciousness refuse to remain enclosed. And for a considerable number of dreamers the dream house itself is not a static concept. George Sand once claimed that people could be classified according to whether they aspired to live in a cottage or a palace. But the issue, as Bachelard notes, is more complex. The creative intellect especially has its cottage and palace moments. "And when reading has given us countless inhabited places, we know how to let the dialectics of cottage and manor sound inside us."¹⁰

Home and dream house proved invaluable images for the American writer. In an era of consuming interest in the workings of the human mind, the discovery of a spatial dialectic which could express a more profound psychological dialecticism was bound to be exploited with alacrity; and in an era of rampant nationalism it was probably inevitable that home and dream house should become instruments for exploring the discrepancy between national mythos and national fact as a problem of identity. The dream house took on the burden of wish-fulfillment, imaging America as it had always been dreamed and as it appealed most powerfully to the human fantasy-apparatus; home became the reality of American experience, a reality with which it was necessary to come to terms and which always lay a hair's breadth from nightmare. The spatial dialectics of home and dream house possessed the further advantage of suggesting the presence of an area between. This area, real or metaphorical, could be made to complement other middle landscapes which were proving of value to the American writer in his investigation of the labyrinth of national identity.

The middle landscape created by architectural dialectics has, for instance, an affinity with the romance-form, so often described in spatial terms. Cooper called the landscape of romance "the Neutral ground," Hawthorne "Faery Land," Poe "Dream Land." Both architectural dialectics and the conventions of romance, like points on a line in geometry, helped to contain an area, in Hawthorne's words, "so like the real world, that, in a suitable remoteness, one cannot well tell the difference, but with an atmosphere of strange enchantment, beheld through which the inhabitants have a propriety of their own . . . an available foothold between fiction and reality."¹¹ The houses in the American romance, partaking equally of the fantastic and the recognizably real, provided, along with the middle landscape they created, a refuge from the oppressing thinness of American life. Richard Poirier has argued that American romancers often used the complaint of the thinness of American life as camouflage for their experimentation with new forms. But he grants as well that the American literary house provided a middle ground, a neutral territory of "unhampered freedom of consciousness."¹²

Another middle landscape with which architectural dialectics have an affinity is that of the pastoral mode. In The Machine in the Garden, an important study of the pastoral mode in America, Leo Marx makes a distinction between the primitive and pastoral ideals that considerably clarifies the nature of this middle landscape. The primitivist, he notes, seeks a resolution of his disaffection with contemporary life by locating his values as far as possible from those of organized society. Pastoralism aspires only to a semi-primitivism. It "is located in a middle ground somewhere 'between,' yet in a transcendent relation to, the opposing forces of civilization and nature."¹³ The delicate balance of the pastoral environment is maintained by the failure of either opposing force to eradicate the other. On the one hand there is the desire for simplicity, for a way of life without the complexity of civilized life; the simplicity is inevitably located in the rural environment. The other force, the one that distinguishes the pastoral from the primitive, is what Marx calls the "counterforce," the veiled threat posed by some representative of civilization toward the continued

existence of the rural paradise.¹⁴ The "counterforce," one may deduce, is a sublimation of the dreamer's lack of total commitment to the ideal of simplicity. He wants to simplify his life, but he is also unwilling to repudiate all of the sophistications of civilized life. So he resolves the conflict by projecting the paradise into the timeless world of art. Like Keats's urn with its lover whose kiss will never quite be planted and whose passion therefore will never wane, the pastoral middle landscape is poised on the precipice of change but never takes the plunge.

The pastoral middle landscape, like the landscape between home and dream house or between alternative dream houses, is the arena in which a divided consciousness attempts to bring its problem into stasis. An instructive coalescence of the pastoral and architectural may be found in Thomas Buchanan Read's poem The New Pastoral (1855). Read speaks of America's entering

. . .that pastoral phase
Where man is native to his sphere,
which shows
The simple light of nature, fresh
from God!--
That middle life, between the hut
and palace,
'Twixt squalid ignorance and
splendid vice;--

Above, by many roods of moral moves,
The Indian's want, and happily below--
If the superior may be called below--
The purple and fine linen. . . .¹⁵

The ease with which pastoral and architectural dialectics can be politicized is illustrated by the thinly disguised evocation of medieval aristocracy in Read's opposition of palace and hut. A similar evocation can be seen in a passage from Crèvecoeur's Letters from an American Farmer (1782). The traveller in America, says Crèvecoeur, "views not the hostile castle and the haughty mansion, contrasted with the clay-built hut and miserable cabin, where cattle and men help to keep each other warm and dwell in meanness, smoke, and indigence. A pleasing uniformity of decent competence appears throughout our habitations."¹⁶ The middle ground appealed powerfully to the Classicist's love of the via media and, later, to the leveling ambitions of Jacksonian democracy.

Even more attractive than its political appeal was the refuge pastoral and architectural dialectics offered from a characteristic problem of American theorists. Leo Marx quotes an illuminating passage from Robert Beverley's

The History and Present State of Virginia (1705) in which, having just characterized the New World as a garden, Beverley goes on to complain that the country hasn't many gardens "fit to bear the name."¹⁷ The insufficiency of either nature or civilization as a ground for American values runs like a subterranean stream through eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American writing. Crèvecoeur's American Farmer finds an insoluble contradiction in the benevolent orderliness and the mindless savagery that he finds in both man and nature. Charles Brockden Brown's Arthur Mervyn finds that self-interest dominates both the man who lives close to nature and the man who does not. Washington Irving pokes genial fun at the impassiveness of the Dutchman in the New Eden to the influence of Nature, at his mania for reproducing the civilization of the Old World in the New. If nature could not supply a comprehensive system of values, and if the precedent of European ideas offered no escape from the cycle of rise and decay, what is to become of the New World man? The retreat into the pastoral landscape offered, if not a solution, at least an escape from the dilemma. John Bartram's farm in Crèvecoeur's Letters is such a

pastoral retreat, as are the villages of Irving's Sketchbook. But for Cooper and for the generation of Hawthorne and Thoreau, the pastoral idyl became increasingly less able to reconcile the strains and stresses of the American Adam's problem of values. One of the ways in which they gave new literary embodiment to old American problems and sharpened the definition of opposing forces, was by polarizing the pastoral landscape with literary houses, by embodying in them the pastoral promise and the menacing counterforce.

3.

The American House is defined by the interaction of three variables. the first is location, which, though not an element of the house proper, nevertheless is of considerable importance in determining the nature of the house. Location also helps to define the poles in architectural dialectics and the topography of the middle landscape. The second variable is style. Not infrequently, architectural styles and locations influence one another, as, for instance, when a rural location suggests a certain style thought to be particularly appropriate to a country

environment; or when a rural environment is "urbanized," or an urban environment "ruralized," by a style at variance with the location. The third variable is building material, an architectural element of especial importance in a new nation, obsessed with the likelihood of its endurance. The symbolism of the American House is, thus, a function of the significance, popular and private, attached to certain traditional antitheses of location, style, and materials in domestic architecture.

City and country is by far the most significant and literarily traditional antithesis of location. Long before there was such a thing as American literature, the debat over the relative merits of city and country life had solidified into a literary convention. By the eighteenth century in England it had become one of the more trifling literary games. Two circumstances conspired, however, to invest the old issue with new importance. One was the Industrial Revolution, a phenomenon native not only to America but to a good slice of the western world. The second and peculiarly American circumstance was the feeling (which weighed far more heavily after the Revolution) of responsibility for the direction

of the national destiny. An anonymous reviewer in The American Review, though his language and outlook are utterly conventional, spoke nevertheless for the entire nation when he posed the question: "Are we to be as a people, lovers of cities, with their festivities, their crowds, their habits, their dissipations, or are our stronger desires to rest in the open country, beautified by our hands and knit to our hearts by that dearest of all English words--home?"¹⁸ Certainly the preponderant response of the notables in American letters was on the side of the conviction that the future of the nation lay in the cultivation of a rural destiny.

The agrarian thinkers of the late eighteenth century laid the groundwork for attitudes in the following century by vigorously plumping for the rural. Jefferson advised that the work-shops remain in Europe. "The mobs of great cities," he argued, "add just so much to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the human body." Thus, nature, which Rousseau had given a democratic tinge, received another stroke of the democratic brush from Jefferson. Farmers he calls "the chosen people of God," thereby suggesting a typological consecration of the

nation to a rural destiny. "Corruption of morals in the mass of cultivators," he concludes, "is a phaenomenon of which no age nor nation has furnished an example."¹⁹ The revealing appeal to morals intimates that Jefferson, like Thoreau a half century later, is more moralist than economist. Crèvecoeur, the emotional voice of agrarianism, adds his voice to Jefferson's by asserting that we "are a people of cultivators," and by counseling his prototypical New Man, Andrew the Hebridean, to "work and till" in order to prosper.²⁰

Compared to the writers of the next century, the agrarians, as Morton and Lucia White observe in The Intellectual Versus the City, are mild in their opposition to urbanism. Part of the reason for their mildness, the Whites suggest, is that the eighteenth-century American city had developed few of the objectionable qualities which were to characterize its counterpart of the nineteenth. By the 1830's Tocqueville had already remarked the squalor and vice in sections of Philadelphia and New York and pronounced them a threat to democratic society.²¹ Opposition to the city ceased more and more to pretend to economic or political grounds and became

increasingly moral and aesthetic. Americans such as Melville, Hawthorne, Cooper, and Poe, who had seen the decaying cities of Europe, would naturally have feared that the same thing was happening in America. It is an American city, we might remember, which drives Ishmael to sea. More usual, however, were the fictional attacks on European cities. Venice in Cooper's The Bravo is a labyrinth of treachery. The London of Israel Potter is "The City of Dis," and the Liverpool of Redburn is a sinkhole. The Rome of Hawthorne's The Marble Faun symbolizes the ravages of time, and Robin Molineux's infernal "little metropolis of a New England colony" raises images of London. Poe's "man of the crowd" in London is called the "type and genius of deep crime."

Adding to the preoccupation of the nineteenth century with the city-country dichotomy was an absolute fervor for what Perry Miller calls "the cult of the rural."²²

Growing out of no particular sociological situation, this cult probably stemmed from the popularity of eighteenth-century "picturesque" poetry and from the tremendous success of The Sketchbook of Irving, who had portrayed London

as "calculated to make men selfish" and the country as giving "the Englishman . . . scope to his natural feelings."²³ A scan of American periodicals of the age shows the cult well established by the 1820's. Every issue of a popular magazine was bound to contain at least one piece entitled "Our Country Home," "A Village Sketch," "Cottage Life," or something of the sort, accompanied frequently by bathetic engravings of idealized rural life.

By 1840 the diatribe against the city was a minor uproar. It was a rare man who would caution, as Evert Duyckinck did in the Knickerbocker Review, that nature is not enough, that men need cities.²⁴ More typical was the writer who counseled those who would be learned and wise to flee the cities' "pent up vapors," "atmosphere of vice," and "glare" that "blinds the eye to truth."²⁵ "All sensible men," said Andrew Jackson Downing, one of the foci of the back-to-nature movement in architecture, "gladly escape, earlier or later, and partially or wholly, from the turmoil of the cities."²⁶ In the 1850's Harper's and The Atlantic Monthly began a veritable campaign for ruralism, uniting romantic sentimentalism with agrarian

economics to promulgate "the myth of an Arcadia beyond the trolley line."²⁷

One final factor in the nineteenth century rural orientation was the vogue, which had been gathering force since the second decade of the century, of wilderness life. Popular novels such as Caroline Kirkland's Forest Life (1842) and A New Home (1839) propounded the nobility of farm life on the frontier and of the farmer himself, with his sacred plow.²⁸ This vogue affected all of the major American writers to a greater or lesser extent between 1840 and 1860. Cooper took up the Leatherstocking saga by popular demand. Poe wrote a long serial adventure of a Kentucky trapping expedition up the Missouri, called "The Journal of Julius Rodman." Melville debunked the entire frontier myth in The Confidence-Man, and Thoreau fused frontier adventure and pastoral idyl perfectly in Walden. The frontier vogue gave new support to the argument for America's rural destiny by offering a limitless garden as the locus of national mythology and, as Henry Nash Smith notes, by giving new promise of a democratic society in which class stratification was of minor importance.²⁹

The tendency of the romantic consciousness to attach symbolic significance to historical architecture reached its fullest expression in the criticism of styles and orders. It was axiomatic to the nineteenth century (as indeed it still is today) that the character and ethos of a people could be read in their architecture. The Classical styles, it was said, reflect the rationality and serene regularity of the Classical mind, the Gothic the exuberance and other-worldliness of medieval Christianity. The ornateness of the Corinthian order could be taken as evidence of the falling away from the stern dignity of an earlier age, as reflected in the Doric order. The re-appearance of Classical forms in the Palladian architecture of Renaissance tradition could be read as evidence of lack of originality or of vulgar subservience to an alien Zeitgeist. Or the late Gothic style could be read by such as Ruskin as evidence of degeneration in late Medieval culture.

The tendency in post-Revolutionary America to polarize political and social issues resolved the criticism of styles into elemental and predictable dichotomies, such as America

and Europe, democracy and aristocracy, past and present. It is remarkable that such dichotomies could be imported to the subject of architecture at all, since there was no native American style of architecture in the nineteenth century. This unalterable fact made any argument against subservience to derivative styles ring rather hollowly. The result was a sort of "second-best" approach of arguing that one style or another was most native to American culture. The touchstones could be the length of time the style had spent on American shores, the amount of change it had undergone, or its appropriateness to native climate, character, or uses. Among the most frequently cited candidates were the old New England meeting house and the old stone farm-houses of the Jerseys and along the Hudson. For a prospering young nation with money to spend, however, the comparatively rude dwellings of the colonial past were more rhetorical ideals than real ones.

In an era of belligerent nationalism it is not surprising that many chose a different course in the politicizing of styles by announcing that nothing less than a new style would do. In The Raven and the Whale Perry Miller has described how throughout the 1840's the Young America axis

of literary nationalists waged war in the periodicals for the cultivation of a distinctively American literature. During the same period a new stridency begins to appear in the architectural criticism in the periodicals. One writer in The North American Review rhapsodizes, "Now, then, is the time for the man to arise, who will give originality and power to the creations of the architect, and new direction and influence to these symptoms of dawning luxury." Such a "genius," the writer says, would peruse all the international styles, then "return to America, coming not like a pupil . . . but confident in his own light, braced by nature and study to the noble task of writing in stone and marble, all over the country, the imperishable record of our condition, so new, so fresh, so unexpressed."³⁰ Another writer in the Democratic Review argues that "our domestic architecture must grow directly out of the wants and the position of the people; not of some other people, but of this people."³¹

Concomitant with this new tendency to oppose European styles and distinctively American style (located either in the past or the future) was the irresistible temptation to view architectural styles as expressions of democratic and

aristocratic sentiments. Successively, as subsequent chapters will note, the Classical Revival and the cottage vogue became the foci for the exercise of democratic rhetoric. Again, the absence of a native American style lent a note of emptiness and over-ingeniousness to these identifications. But it is well to keep in mind that when, in our own century, Frank Lloyd Wright set out to create an architecture that "will make democracy not something upside down or leave it something merely on the lips, but make it an actual way of life"; when he searched for "something natural to the change that was 'America' herself";³² he was responding to more than his well-known admiration of Whitman. Wright was attempting to fulfill an ambition in American writing that considerably antedates the democratic rhetoric of Leaves of Grass and Democratic Vistas.

More influential perhaps on the literary than on the architectural mind was the way in which criticism of the styles lent itself to criticism of the past. What R. W. B. Lewis has called "the case against the past"³³ in nineteenth-century America had its roots not only in democratic nationalism but in the advice of writers like

Jefferson and Paine that man must go back to nature for information rather than to the lessons of the past. The present became everything, and history itself became superfluous before the benevolence of nature. As Henry Nash Smith states the Classicist's case, "If the earth is the final arbiter of human destinies, then the student of society should direct his gaze toward nature rather than history."³⁴ Domestic architecture, by virtue of its very conspicuousness, could become a continuing reminder to the reform-minded successors to Jefferson and Paine of the influence of the past upon the present. The mad zeal of the reformers in Hawthorne's story, "Earth's Holocaust," dramatizes one writer's reaction to such wholesale contempt for the past. Though Hawthorne was himself highly ambivalent about the tyranny of the past, he was, in spite of himself, an inveterate lover of the pastness of old houses, as to varying extents were Cooper, Poe, and Melville. A "new house unassociated with the past is exceedingly unsatisfactory," Hawthorne observed under the impact of his first exposure to English architecture.³⁵ Like Washington Irving before him, Hawthorne was captivated by the aura of tradition in English houses, and he must mightily have

appreciated Irving's description in The Sketchbook of John Bull's character in an extended architectural metaphor.³⁶

A third and final factor governing the American writer's conception of the American House was building materials. The question of what material to use in building American houses was not always a matter of choice. The local availability of stone, brick-clay, and timber is the chief determinant of building materials in a rude, young society. But once that young society achieves greater affluence and mobility, choice in the matter of materials becomes freer. Jefferson claims that something of a bias against brick and stone had grown up in American society by 1800. It is a popular notion, he says, that the dews precipitated on the inside of brick and stone walls during damp or rainy weather are unhealthy. In fact, the scarcity and expense of lime for mortar and the inexperience of the colonists in building with stone, must have been equally decisive factors in the popular preference for wood. Jefferson insists, however, that "all we shall do . . . will produce no permanent improvement to our country, while the unhappy prejudice prevails that houses of brick or stone are less wholesome than those of wood."³⁷

Jefferson's antipathy to wood, one begins to suspect, has more behind it than the practicality of the architect or the grumpiness of the rationalist in the face of irrational prejudice. His views strike directly to the core of the anxiety of many in post-Revolutionary America about the possibility of social stability and institutional permanence in a democratic society. "A country whose buildings are of wood," Jefferson says, "can never increase in its improvements to any considerable degree. Their duration is highly estimated at 50 years. Every half century then our country becomes a tabula rasa, whereon we have to set out anew, as in the first moment of seating it. Whereas when buildings are of durable materials, every new edifice is an actual and permanent acquisition of the state, adding to its value as well as to its ornament."³⁸ There is an irony here that ought perhaps to be savored. Why is the man who believed that no generation could be bound by the compacts of the former generation so solicitous of the endurance of abodes from one generation to the next?

In this Jeffersonian paradox we are, in fact, faced with a larger, national paradox; more than that, we are afforded a revealing glimpse at the foundation-stones of

the American House. For Jefferson's solicitude smacks powerfully of compensation. If the bedrock of Jeffersonian principle could betray a perceptible fault, how much more fissure-ridden were the substrata of others' democratic certainty? It was a virtual commonplace of the criticism of democratic principles to argue that no system could survive which is forever open to the whim of passing fashions and passions and which dare not demand allegiance to the past in order to carry it over the momentary rough spots. Is Jefferson's American House of durable stone to assume the burden of compensating not merely for the political but for the psychological vulnerability of a democratically based social system? Memory (i.e., the function of memorializing) Ruskin called one of the Seven Lamps, or indispensable truths, of architecture, and that the American "City on a Hill" should not endure in the universal memory was unthinkable. But a tabula rasa has no memory.

As subject and symbol, then, domestic architecture offered manifold opportunities for exploring not simply individual or national consciousness, but those gray areas between in which individual and national consciousness are no longer distinguishable--in which the former becomes a

version of the latter new writ. Because contemporary discourse had invested architectural styles, locations, and materials with many-faceted significance, American writers could make architectural subject matter implicitly symbolic; they could explore matters of individual and corporate import by manipulating the architectural characteristics of their literary houses. Antitheses in style, location, and materials could express symbolically the painful polarities of American consciousness.

4.

In his seminal Studies in Classic American Literature, D. H. Lawrence called the New World man a "torn and divided monster." In doing so he became the first observer to catch both the systole and diastole of the national heartbeat. American artists from Franklin to Melville, Lawrence believed, had reflected in their writing the larger schism in American consciousness: the inability to wholly repudiate the old European consciousness or to give up the dream of an Adamic American consciousness. The slough clings, and the new skin struggles in vain to reveal itself.³⁹ More recently, a number of critics have

followed Lawrence's lead in taking division as the keynote of American literature. Marius Bewley cites "an opposition between tradition and progress, between democratic faith and disillusion, between the past and the present and the future; between Europe and America, liberalism and conservatism, aggressive acquisitive economics and benevolent wealth."⁴⁰ The oppositions, Bewley believes, are at bottom political in origin. Richard Chase concurs with Bewley's analysis, dissenting only in that he sees disunity as a source of energy and artistic originality in American literature, not as an insuperable artistic problem.⁴¹

The divided house--that is, the polarized houses--which functions as the title of this study is foremost but not exclusively an American House. The insights of modern psychology have taught us that all civilized consciousness is divided consciousness, that this division is the price which civilization exacts of us, and that we must recognize this fact if we are ever to leave what Keats called the Chamber of Maiden Thought, where the innocent ideals of man seek insulation from the limitations imposed by empirical reality. But in the American House, as an unavoidable result of an incredible circumstance, the problem

of divided consciousness attained a bald, almost mythic clarity. In America, for the first time in uncounted centuries, a civilized man faced a virgin continent and posed to himself the questions which plagued Robert Beverly: Shall I make America my Garden or make gardens in America? Shall I ground my values in nature or historical continuity? in organic process or in artifice? in id or super-ego? The schism in American consciousness is not really political in character, as Bewley suggests, but, like all human problems, universal in scope and psychological in origin. It is simply that circumstances had rarely conspired to make the issues so clear, the split so irresolvable, the houses so polarized, the landscape between so difficult to bridge.

If, however, the problem of divided consciousness had never been more stark and insoluble than in America, the will to endure that division has seldom been stronger. The impulse to overcome contradiction by synthesis rather than to remove it by explanation served the romantic consciousness as a powerful and fortuitous tool. To a man, the writers to whom this study is devoted found by rough strife that the problem of divided consciousness could not

be solved by choice, that in fact the question had been wrongly posed. In the language of a later time, one cannot choose between id and superego, one can only try to make a separate peace by striking some sort of balance between them. In the eyes of a modern psychologist, the refusal to choose is the only right and possible course. Though they lacked the precise arithmetic to describe the dynamic process called today, variously, adjustment or individuation, the American romantics sensed to greater and lesser extents that civilized consciousness is necessarily divided consciousness. That, of course, did not lessen the agony of internal strife, but it could make that strife more bearable.

One striking way which we shall encounter of making the unbearable momentarily bearable is through the mechanism of what I shall call "fantasy-reconciliation": the imaging of a house which combines not only the elements but the symbolic force of opposing houses. The locus classicus of fantasy-reconciliation may well have been provided by the French poet, Saint-Pol Roux, who lived first in a cottage, then in a manor house, and who finally, with

the help of an architect friend, drew up plans for a manor house with a cottage at its center.⁴² The failure to recognize or appreciate this psychic mechanism can render unfathomable, for instance, Thoreau's dream of a great hut-like house by Walden Pond or Holgrave's dream in The House of the Seven Gables of a house with a durable exterior and a plastic interior. Fantasy-reconciliation without intellectual content is, of course, simple fantasy, a form of daydreaming. But when a fully realized ideological and psychological context is supplied, fantasy-reconciliation becomes a unique means of embodying the vision of a better future (as with Thoreau) or the tragic disparity between the ideal and the real (as with Hawthorne).

If fantasy-reconciliation occasionally takes over the foreground of American romantic house-philosophy, the dialecticism of the American House dominates the broad background. In The Poetic of Space, Gaston Bachelard explains that the extreme realities of cottage and manor, hut and palace, provide a "rhythmanalysis of the function of inhabiting," taking "into account our need for retreat and expansion, for simplicity and magnificence."⁴³ In their architectural dialecticism, the American romantics attempt

to describe in concrete image and action this same expansion and contraction, which they took to be the necessary organic rhythm of a living mind reacting to life. Their dialecticism recognizes that without the factor of movement, the house has no meaning, just as, for instance, the concept of "home" has no meaning until one has left home or imagined what leaving would be like. The leaving is quest, the archetypal romantic activity. But without the house the quest has no boundary and becomes the pursuit of an ignis fatuus; lacking a point of reference, it becomes a destructive, unquenchable yearning. The house and the quest, therefore, are mutually inclusive, and the middle landscape through which the quest is pursued is the neutral territory of pastoral or romance--the territory, that is, of art, in which the drama can be played out and resolved only by the sort of resolution that artistic form can give to artist and audience.

Chapter Two: Cooper's

The Pioneers

In the "decrecendo of reality" which D. H. Lawrence noted in the five Leather-Stocking novels,¹ The Pioneers (1823) stands at one extreme of the scale. The earliest of the series, The Pioneers is also the most fully saturated with concrete detail and the one about which Cooper was most defensive. To the mind of the author and many of his critics, the first of the Leather-Stocking Tales is technically the weakest. More than half of the novel fully justifies Cooper's characterization, "a descriptive tale." The pace of the opening sections is not only leisurely but discursive and digressive--so much so that Cooper felt constrained to assure his publisher that more action would be forthcoming in later chapters.²

What is not often remarked is that The Pioneers is also Cooper's most profound novel and perhaps his most personal. Lawrence was exquisitely acute in seeing Natty Bumppo as Cooper's fantasy alterego.³ In the hut of the aged

Leather-Stocking, Cooper embodied all the noble simplicity of the life of the natural man. But he also knew that, for better or for worse, the American destiny lay in Templeton. The static quality of the opening sections of the novel is symptomatic of the seriousness of Cooper's literary purpose, for essential to this purpose is the fully realized rendering of a prototypical town at the furthest reaches of genuine civilization. In laborious detail he colors in for us not only the character of Templeton's inhabitants but of their dwellings. For the topography of Templeton is the topography of the American mind as Cooper saw it in the early 1820's. He did not entirely like what he saw, and what he didn't like he represented symbolically in the architecture of the town, particularly of Judge Temple's manor house. The Judge's house and Natty's hut comprise between them one of the earliest fictional explorations of the divided American House.

1. Subject

It is generally acknowledged that of all the Leather-Stocking Tales, The Pioneers adheres most

concretely to the scenes of Cooper's own youth. Cooper admits as much in a letter to John Murray of 1822,⁴ and sometime later he tells another correspondent that the Templeton of his novel "contains a pretty faithful description of Cooperstown in its infancy, and as I knew it when a child."⁵ Among the recollections of the novelist's youth which found their way into The Pioneers was Otsego Hall, the manor house built by his father in 1796. As Cooper conclusively demonstrated at a later date, Judge Temple's house in The Pioneers differs in many particulars from Cooper's ancestral home. But that Judge Temple himself is at least a partial portrait of Cooper's father is generally accepted by Cooper's biographers,⁶ and it should not, therefore, be surprising that the Temple house and Otsego Hall share some features. Chief among the resemblances are the dates of construction (the Temple house supposedly having been erected in 1793) and the fact that both manor houses were preceded by wooden edifices of a temporary nature. Judge Temple's first home becomes a wing of the manor house. Cooper's father's first home was moved from its original site (on which Otsego Hall was built) to a new one nearby.

A full-scale comparison of real and fictional houses, however, is difficult to make for several reasons. One is that no portrait of the original Otsego Hall exists.⁷ In the summer of 1835, Cooper, recently returned from Europe, undertook the renovation of the ancestral residence he had inherited. Working along much the same lines as John Effingham in Home as Found (1838), Cooper changed the character of Otsego Hall considerably, adding such Gothic trappings as an entrance-tower and a castellated roof. Another stumbling block to comparison of real and fictional houses is that after the publication of Home as Found, Cooper made a habit of denying an autobiographical basis to novels inspired by Cooperstown. Reviewers who had taken umbrage at the sharp criticism of the New York scene in the 1838 novel accused Cooper of, among other things, describing himself in the character of Edward Effingham in order to create the impression that he was descended from a noble family. Cooper understandably denied this absurd charge, denying also any compelling relation between Judge Temple and his father, between Templeton and Cooperstown, and between Judge Temple's house and Otsego Hall.⁸ The Pioneers was drawn into

the controversy surrounding Home as Found because, as Cooper acknowledged, "The scene of Home as Found is transferred to the Templeton of the Pioneers, in order to show the difference which half a century has made in the appearance and usages of an American village."⁹

A useful clue to Cooper's focus in his treatment of architectural subject matter in The Pioneers is provided by his detailed demonstration in the Brother Jonathan Letters of 1842 of the difference between Judge Temple's manor house and his father's:

The description of the "house" in the Pioneers, is to be found p.p. 48, 49, 50, vol 1. It tells the reader that this dwelling was square; of stone; had a four-sided high roof, with a heavy balustrade, ornamented with urns around the plat-form, etc. etc.; and that it had been preceded by a tall, gaunt edifice of wood, with the gable to the street, in which the family resided previously to the erection of the stone dwelling. No part of this answers to the house of my father. The house in which he lived previously to the construction of the present abode, was several hundred feet distant, and so far from being tall and gaunt, with a gable to the street, it was low and straggling. . . . My father's [later manor] house was not square, but a parallelogram. It had no such roof, as that described in the

Pioneers, no four sides, no plat-
form, no urns, etc.etc., but had a
plain, common, low, straight roof
of the usual form; precisely as
it is to-day, though an exceedingly
light balustrade had been replaced
by me, with brick battlements. The
house is not of stone, but of bricks.
Here, then, it is seen, that these
two houses have not a common history,
a common shape, nor the same materi-
als!¹⁰

Now the hub of the architectural subject matter in The
Pioneers is the "composite order" espoused by the archi-
tects of Judge Temple's house, Richard Jones and Hiram
Doolittle. The term is Cooper's own, and nowhere does he
openly connect his "composite order" with a historical
architectural style. But virtually all of the particulars
of dissimilarity between the original Otsego Hall and
Judge Temple's manor house of the "composite order" demon-
strate the latter's architectural Classicism. That is,
although the Temple house was loosely based on the manor
house of Cooper's father, Cooper in The Pioneers changed
a number of features of the real house in order to make
his fictional house more Classical in character. The stone
walls, square shape, four-sided roof, heavy roof-top
balustrade and ornamental urns, and flat, central

roof-platform, are all characteristic of architectural Classicism. A brief comparison of the Temple house with Palladio's Villa Rotondo of the sixteenth century, long thought to be the triumph of the Classical influence in the domestic architecture of the western world, confirms the relation of the "composite order" to Classicism. The Villa Rotondo also has a square shape, four-sided roof (with a central dome instead of a central platform), and free-standing sculpture and ornamental urns on the wings and portico-ends.

The term "Classicism" covers a large territory, even when applied solely to American architecture. In order fully to understand Cooper's fictional purpose in creating the "composite order," it is necessary to know something of the stages by which the Classical influence was felt in American architecture up until Cooper's day. A highly simplified account might isolate three broad stages, which I shall call Georgian Classicism, Transitional Classicism, and Revival Classicism.¹¹

A significant Classical influence begins in American architecture early in the eighteenth century with what is today called the Colonial, or Georgian, style. The ultimate

though distant, source of Georgian style is the Renaissance Classicism usually associated with the sixteenth-century Italian architect, Andreas Palladio. Palladio insisted that architecture must be governed by certain universal rules exemplified in the buildings of the ancients, that the arithmetical ratios determining musical harmony, since they recur throughout the universe and are thus Divine in origin, must also govern architecture.¹² Palladian Classicism, thus, aspired to be a truly "scientific" style. The material result of the Palladian influence was an unprecedented emphasis on symmetry, regularity, and massiveness. The Palladian influence transmitted itself to America largely through the enormous popularity of the English Classicists, James Gibbs and Sir Christopher Wren. Provincial builders either copied their designs from handbooks and plates or, as one observer suggests, copied the copyists.¹³ The Georgian buildings of America, though they bore little actual resemblance to those of Palladio, nevertheless were governed by the same emphases: mathematical regularity, blockish massiveness, and symmetry.

Late in the Georgian period in America, around 1760, new elements of Classical influence began to appear in American buildings. No longer content merely to apply the rules of Classical architecture (as deduced by Renaissance architects), architectural designers began to emphasize the actual features of Greek and Roman buildings. Georgian houses began to sport prominent Classical porticos with large entablatures. Roofs became flatter, and balustrades and ornamental urns began to appear on them. Initially, these features were gleaned by architects who looked closely for the first time at the designs of Palladio instead of at the English architects who had transmitted his influence. But by the final two decades of the eighteenth century, architects began to look backward much further. The archeological excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum and the publication of Stuart's Antiquities of Athens (1762) spurred a new interest in the actual architecture of the Greeks and the Romans.

During the final two decades of the century a new, Transitional Classicism began to appear, transitional because it betrays a divided loyalty to the architecture of the ancients and the architecture of the Renaissance.

The most significant example of American Transitional Classicism is the architecture of Thomas Jefferson. The "scientist" in Jefferson was drawn to Palladio. "His mind delighted," says Oliver Larkin, "in the Palladian theory that the proportions of good building are derived from laws of nature, and his own drawings were as carefully calculated as the Italian's."¹⁴ The politician in Jefferson was ineluctably attracted to the architecture of the ancients. The reason for this attraction is of enormous cultural importance. Jefferson believed that no architectural style could be more suited to the new democratic republic of the United States than that which originated with Greek "democracy" and Roman "republicanism." Thus was born what one commentator has called "the Classical Myth" in American architecture,¹⁵ a myth which may be seen in operation today on the facades of most of the banks in America and, of course, in the architecture of the national capitol.

The final stage of the Classical influence in American architecture begins in the 1820's with what is usually called the Classical Revival. The architecture of the Revival shows a complete dependence on the buildings of

the ancients as a basis for design. The architect's ambition became, quite simply, to turn every factory, bank, or home he worked on into as near a replica of an ancient temple as he could manage. The Revival also made Jefferson's "Classical Myth" a permanent part of the national culture. A timely assist was provided in this regard by the Greek war for independence in the 1820's, which provided powerful fuel for the expression of democratic sentiments.

Concomitant with the veneration for all things Greek and Roman was a new contempt for Renaissance Classicism, a circumstance of great importance to an understanding of Cooper's architectural subject matter. Such contempt was becoming a commonplace by 1820. A writer in the North American Review calls St. Peter's "mechanics" not architecture,¹⁶ closely paralleling Cooper's characterization of his Templeton architect, Hiram Doolittle, as a "wandering eastern mechanic."¹⁷ Another writer in the Analectic Magazine calls the best of Renaissance architecture mere "ponderous stateliness," while the ancient monuments have "simple greatness." Striking an increasingly familiar "republican" note, the writer continues,

"There is scarcely any single circumstance which contributes more powerfully towards elevating the reputation of any people, than the grandeur of public edifices; nor is there any way in which a republican government can with so much propriety display its munificence."¹⁸ Reading between the lines, we may surmise that the stern simplicity of antique architecture offers a way for America to parade her imposing prosperity without, as the writer puts it, the "tinsel trappings" of Renaissance architecture, which was, of course, subsidized by aristocratic, monarchical societies.

It is important to note in this brief recapitulation of the Classical influence in American architecture that two different strains of Classicism were at work. The signal feature of Renaissance Classicism is its rationalism, its pretensions to "scientific" status. The signal feature of Revival Classicism is the way in which it attempted to adapt architectural style to national politics. This distinction is crucial for our purposes because Cooper's two books which deal most widely with architectural subjects, The Pioneers and Home as Found, are usually cited collectively as significant

landmarks in the reaction against American architectural Classicism.¹⁹ This much is true. What is not recognized, however, is that the two books address themselves to entirely different strains of Classicism in order to make two entirely different points.

The architectural subject matter in Home as Found gives early voice to the reaction against the Revival that began in the mid 1830's. Two years before Cooper's novel appeared, H. R. Cleveland launched the first full-scale attack in the periodicals on America's imitation temples "of strange ornament and all that 'white and yellow paint can make them.'"²⁰ Soon the reviews were flooded with scorn for the "shingle palaces," the "timber and plaster imitations" of "tropical temples" on "the bleak shores of New England," and the "staring white" houses with "composition urns or wooden statues."²¹ Cooper's novel gives ample evidence that he shared this distaste for the "mushroom temples" that caught his eye as he journeyed up the Hudson on his return from Europe. It is the "Classical Myth" with which the Grecophiles and Romanists justified their imitativeness, however, that gives the architectural subject a genuine literary

interest. Aristabulus Bragg, Cooper's archetypal Jacksonian democrat, chastizes John Effingham for his Gothic bent, reminding him that "most people think that Grecian or Roman architecture, which is so much in use in America, would be more republican."²² When Eve Effingham expresses doubt that this political significance is generally attached to what she regards as a mere fashion, Bragg exclaims, "To what else can it be owing, Miss Eve?" Cooper's fictional strategy throughout the novel is to oppose the Gothic and Classical styles, representing in the former the backward-looking, traditionalist orientation of a John Effingham, in the latter the obnoxious republicanism of an Aristabulus Bragg, the new New World man.

The "composite order" of The Pioneers, however, is not a variety of Revival Classicism. The Pioneers, published in 1823, was written several years before the first domestic dwelling employing the antiquarian features of Revival Classicism appeared in the United States; Cooper, as yet, had no reason to dip his pen in acid for that target.²³ His subject in The Pioneers is rather the Renaissance-derived Classicism that had entered American architecture in the Georgian style

and that made its influence felt into the nineteenth century in the Transitional Classicism of architects such as Jefferson. In fact, Cooper's well known antipathy to Jefferson as theorist and politician suggests that perhaps the characterizations of the architects Jones and Doolittle were drawn with half an eye to him. The two are as composite in their professional lives as in their architectural ideas. Jones is a sheriff, amateur scientist, and animal breeder, as well as an architect, and Doolittle, in addition to being a "notorious Palladio" (as he is called in Home as Found),²⁴ is a carpenter, justice of the peace, and would-be prospector. In short, they are, like Jefferson, professional amateurs, jacks of all trades, and devout "scientists."

The terms in which Cooper treats the "composite order" are the same in which those harbingers of the Revival in the Analectic Magazine and the North American Review criticized Renaissance-derived Classicism. Cooper does not share the antiquarian bias of these writers, who may have had their tastes formed by familiarity with the Classical Revival that was in full career in England by

1790.²⁵ He does, however, adopt their antipathy to the "mechanics" and "tinsel trappings" of Renaissance-derived Classicism.

Nothing, for instance, could be more "mechanical" than the "square rule," which is the guiding principle of Jones's and Doolittle's architectural procedure. The "square rule" places the method of the Templeton architects firmly in the tradition of the Renaissance, for it undoubtedly refers to the square unit method of design which originated with the cathedral architecture of Brunelleschi at the beginning of the fifteenth century and was made gospel by Palladio.²⁶ According to this method, the design of any piece of architecture should be reduced to a uniform series of squares standing in various proportions to one another. The square rule is one of the keys to the function of the composite order in The Pioneers because as part of the Renaissance attachment to symmetry and regularity in architectural design, it accords perfectly with the mentality of the "perfect empiric" (35), Doolittle, and of Jones, who believes that everything "depends on system" (167).

The composite order's most distinguished practitioner in The Pioneers is Hiram Doolittle, who has made a disciple of Richard Jones by "exhibiting a few soiled plates of English architecture, and talking learnedly of friezes, entablatures, and particularly of the composite order" (35). At whose knee Doolittle learned the gospel of compositeness we never learn. Cooper's choice of the term "composite order" is undoubtedly an oblique reference to Renaissance Classicism, for in Renaissance terminology the "Composite Order" was applied to the fifth and most elaborate of the Roman Orders (the others being Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian). The Roman Composite Order was an engrafting of the Ionic Order on the Corinthian, and hence provides a useful analogue for the style of Jones and Doolittle, which rings some fascinating changes on the more orthodox notions of Classicism.²⁷ Doolittle's topsy-turvy theorizing has managed to make a forte of what is, in fact, the hopeless weakness of his architectural style. He believes his composite order to be a flexible form of Classicism, adaptable to whatever "convenience or circumstance might require" (36). But Cooper shows, in his account of how Doolittle and Jones

apply their principles to Judge Temple's house, that the composite order is at bottom the narrowest of Classicisms, shorn up by a few inflexible rules. The flexibility is not part of the theory, as the architects think, but of the practice. They are endlessly compelled to make all manner of absurd alterations in their designs because their dogmatic beliefs and limited knowledge are unequal to all but the most narrow range of circumstances. When in Home as Found Cooper has Grace Van Cortlandt tell Aristabulus Bragg that Classicism in architecture is "unsuited to the materials, the climate, and the uses" of America,²⁸ he is making explicit a criticism that is implicit in the composite order of The Pioneers.²⁹ For the endeavors of Doolittle and Jones come to grief precisely because of the unsuitability of their theories to American materials, climate, and uses.

Materials present a problem from the start because of Judge Temple's one adamant prescription for his future house: that it be made of stone. The architects, unfortunately, have neither the proper tools nor the proper stone to give shape to their Classical pretensions. The extra

effort and expense involved in working with stone have always been a source of frustration to those who want the opulence of a Greek temple or a Roman villa on a modest budget. The common expedient is to build with wood, which can then be painted temple-white. The village of Templeton, which has taken the Judge's manor house as a model for imitation, has adopted that expedient. The white paint being rather on the expensive side, however, only the fronts of the buildings are painted white; the rest is a dingy red. Doolittle and Jones are denied even this expedient, for the Judge will have a stone house. Consequently, driven "from the faces of the house by the obduracy of the material, they took refuge in the porch and on the roof" (36), which are necessarily of wood and therefore more malleable. To maximize their ability to embellish, the architects choose a pine wood so soft that it is commonly used, Cooper notes with his tongue firmly in his cheek, for pillows by the hunters of the region. The porch, it is decided, shall be "severely classical," the roof flattish and four-faced in the best Palladian manner.

No sooner have the architects circumvented the problem of materials than the problem of climate frustrates their art. The New York winters, Marmaduke Temple points out, frequently leave snows to the depth of three or four feet. If the roof doesn't collapse, it will surely leak like a sieve. The climate, it seems, requires a rather un-Classical sloped and shingled roof. Happily, the composite order admits of compromise, and the roof, it is decided, shall be given a gentle slope by the lengthening of the rafters. But Doolittle's beloved "square rule" proves unequal to the task. The beams, "in defiance of all rule" (37), emerge too long, and the gentle slope takes on more of the character of a precipitous plunge. Now the least prominent element in a Classical dwelling has become the most prominent, and the architects must resort to concealment: paint to hide the ugly shingles and "divers urns and mouldings" to camouflage the slope. The composite order hath no limits.

The Classical portico proves even more unsuited to the climate, though the inadequacy takes longer to demonstrate itself. The "portico" is, in fact, a small

stone platform supporting four wooden columns and an "architrave" consisting of a shingled roof. The portico is the reductio ad absurdum of an already incongruous exterior. The frosts native to the climate gradually move the stepping stones from their symmetrical relation, and as the steps move the platform falls, leaving the columns hanging from the portico-roof. Now that "the pillars, for the want of a foundation, were no longer of service to support the roof, the roof was able to uphold the pillars" (52). The composite order rushes to the rescue with larger, more elaborate bases (perhaps of the Composite Order!) for the columns, but the ever-widening gap outstrips all ingenuity.

Use, or function, also demands the ministrations of the composite order. There is no need for chimneys in the sunny climates of Greece and Italy, and the low, Classical roof makes no effort to accommodate them. Hence chimneys are a perpetual problem to the architects of northern climes with Classical pretensions. Now the added problem of the sloping roof means the chimney also has to rise so that the smoke is carried off properly and the roof not befouled by soot or scorched by heat. The four chimneys

of the Judge's house thus become "four extremely conspicuous objects in the view" (37).

Among the other masterpieces of the composite order are the Templeton academy and the still unfinished "church of St. Paul's." Significantly, the academy serves as school, courtroom, and church, empiricism being the measure of both justice and divinity for Jones and Doolittle. Constructed of wood and sporting the inevitable painted white facade, the academy is the veriest "temple of Minerva" (92). But being "more than half windows" it is a very "comfortless open place, through which the daylight shone with natural facility" (90). A steeple, apparently of the wedding-cake variety, tops the affair. A small cupola stands on four wooden pillars "fluted with a gouge," and soaring up through the center is a spire with a weathervane attached. The unfinished church promises to be a worthy successor to this Wren-ish delight. Richard Jones, soloing in the design of this particular work, "boldly" ~~determines~~ to give the windows a Roman arch (presumably in the manner of London's St. Paul's). He also underscores his High Church leanings by choosing New St.

Paul's for the church's name. Jones's schooling for his task apparently consists of the ownership of a print of the London cathedral. The pièce de résistance is a steeple (modeled, of course, on St. Paul's) bearing a "striking resemblance to a vinegar-cruet" with a tin cupola that, to Richard's eye, outshines the dome of the "other" St. Paul's. All in all, he believes, New St. Paul's will be "the handsomest and the most scientific country church in America" (47).

The thematic significance of the architectural subject matter in The Pioneers stands in sharper relief when compared with the criticism of the Classical Revival in Home as Found. The "Classical Myth" plays no part in The Pioneers, and, in fact, Richard Jones and Marmaduke Temple are not in the least inclined to the expression of republican sentiments. The primary role of the composite order is to dramatize a frame of mind. Adaptability is the cardinal rule of nature, and although the "pioneers" have made some inroads, the New York interior of The Pioneers is still very much the province of nature. But the composite order is only superficially adaptable. At the core it is

rigid and inflexible, and when it is forced to adapt all manner of absurdities result. The old ways, when applied slavishly and unimaginatively, are out of place in the New World.

Here, then, is the real tragedy of The Pioneers. Like the Dutch builders of Irving's Knickerbocker History of New York, the architects of Templeton--indeed the entire citizenry of Templeton--are bent on reproducing the Old World in the New. In the early 1820's, when The Pioneers was written, Cooper was not yet obsessed with the provincialism that made America the hub of the universe and the republican will a better test of truth than the lessons of five thousand years of civilization. He was more concerned with the reverse tendency--the tendency of Americans to accept too readily the example of Europe and the European past as a ground for values and a model for living. What was the promise of such dependence except to assure that the cycle of rise and decay would begin anew?

2. Symbol

Although the first and the last of the Leather-Stocking Tales differ markedly in conception and execution, they

share a technical quality which is one of the hallmarks of Cooper's fictional craftsmanship: the almost rhythmical circumscription of action by mise-en-scène. The Deerslayer (1841) contains, essentially, but two loci of action: Floating Tom Hutter's houseboat and the Indian camp along the shore of Glimmerglass. The action of the novel consists of continual movement back and forth between the two locales by characters alone or in pairs. Although The Pioneers is by conception less an "adventure story" than the later novel, its action is also controlled by the dialectical movement between points: the village of Templeton and Natty Bumppo's hut. The difference in the dialectical construction of the two novels is that in the earlier the middle ground between the polar geographical points is more clearly defined and plays a more important role.

A brief look at the broad movements of action in The Pioneers offers some insight to the importance of the middle ground. Significantly, the incidents with which the novel opens occur between the houses of the principals. Natty and Edward Oliver live about three miles off in Natty's hut, and Judge Temple and Elizabeth, his daughter,

are about a mile from home. The scene shifts for awhile to Templeton then returns to the middle ground for the incidents involving the gathering of sap from the sugar maples, fishing, and shooting of birds. Not until well past the mid-point of the novel do we get our first glimpse of Natty's hut. Thereafter, the action centers largely on the hut and on the middle ground nearby, until Natty is returned to the village for trial and imprisonment. The last major pieces of action, involving the fire and the rescue of Elizabeth, return us to the middle ground where the story began. In the overall design of the novel, then, the middle ground is the place where lessons are learned and where truths are revealed. Each of the polar locales has a matrix of major characters indented with it. Natty and Indian John are creatures of the hut. Richard Jones and Marmaduke Temple belong to the village and the manor house. Elizabeth Temple and Oliver Edwards are symbolically the creatures of the middle ground. Each is progressively driven into the alien territory of the other almost without volition. Oliver becomes the secretary of the man he hates, and the growing fragmentation of his allegiance is expressed symbolically at the mid-point

of the novel by his spending his days at Judge Temple's house, his nights in the hut of Natty Bumppo. Elizabeth's growing attachment to alien territory is dramatized by persistent comparison of her self-confidence in the face of dangerous animals and hostile terrain with the trepidation of the foiling character, Louisa Grant. By the later stages of the novel, Elizabeth has gathered sufficient courage to venture forth alone into the middle ground in order to help Natty. It is the destiny of both Oliver and Elizabeth to learn to respond sympathetically to the element of the other; so that, while no true synthesis of polar houses is possible at story's end, the marriage of Elizabeth and Oliver may at least represent a psychological synthesis and offer new hope for the middle ground, the meeting place of man and nature.

The middle landscape, as we have noted before, is the province of the pastoral, and the pastoral character is especially central to The Pioneers. William Cullen Bryant noted as far back as 1852 that the first of the Leather-Stocking Tales is distinguished from the rest by its strong evocation of pastoral mode and mood.³⁰ More recently, several commentators have argued that Cooper's

treatment of the genre is ironic, expressing doubt, as one says, not whether a "simple world ever existed but whether men ever liked it."³¹ A primitive paradise is available in Natty's hut any time the Templetonians care to have it. But none of the civilized folk, not even Oliver who lives for a time with Natty, wants an Eden of this sort. A paradise of another sort, however, seems just within reach, if the felicities of the "beautiful and thriving villages" of New York evoked at the beginning of the novel are an actuality. Alas, the idyllic village of Templeton proves to be a hornet's-nest of "bickering and baiting, grudges and grumbling."³² As if that deflating discovery were not enough, we soon find that the Templetonians are squandering at an alarming rate the very abundance of natural resources that makes their "idyllic" existence possible. Judge Temple, ardent conservationist that he is, does not seem to be able to reverse the process.³³ If the pastoral promise is to be kept from evaporating, someone else is going to have to set the Templeton "house" in order.

Judge Temple's house is a synecdoche for the Templeton "house" not only because its architecture is

a model for other builders but because the Judge himself is a model frontier man: enterprising, equitable, and forward-looking. In the conflict of natural and civilized values that makes up the overall thematic concern, the Judge is a worthy antagonist for Natty Bumppo. The Pioneers is the only one of the Leather-Stocking Tales in which there is any room for doubt about Natty's rightness in all things. For the Judge hasn't merely the right of might on his side, as Natty insists; his belief that abstract law must take precedence over individual interest has genuine moral and intellectual force. Marmaduke Temple is the new American man, and embodied in the location, building material, and style of his house is a clear statement of the course this new man has set for himself.

One place the new American clearly wants to go is to the city. The Judge and the people of Templeton have chosen not to accommodate the character of their village to nature but to subjugate nature, to shape it into regular, geometric configurations. The fifty odd buildings of Templeton "were grouped in a manner that aped the streets of a city, and were evidently so arranged by the direction of one who looked to the wants of posterity

rather than to the convenience of the present incumbents" (34). That "one" is surely the Judge, whose house, standing at the center of the village, has the other houses ranged about it like courtiers around a throne. The streets are laid out into "blocks that resembled a city" (89), and the Templetonians obviously share the Judge's ambitions for a metropolis in the wilderness. "To them the road, that made the most rapid approaches to the condition of the old, or, as they expressed it, the down countries, was the most pleasant; and surely, nothing could look more like civilization than a city, even if it lay in the wilderness" (50). That Cooper believes urbanism to be a persistent strain in American life is indicated by its recurrence as a subject in Home as Found. The Templeton of the 1830's has the same aspirations as the Templeton of 1793.³⁴ The interior of the renovated old manor house, it is said, is "furnished too much like a town residence," and like all of Templeton, the exterior tries to "imitate the towns" and shows "too little feeling for country life."³⁵

The Pioneers is not, however, simply another voice in the stale debate over the merits of city and country life.

The urbanism of the Templetonians is symptomatic of a condition which has never received enough attention in criticism of the novel. The desire to appear "civilized," which is to say, Europeanized, is almost a mania in Templeton. Richard Jones is the most blatant of the Templetonians in his admiration for all things European. Not only does his architecture aspire to the imitation of European buildings, he also prides himself on reading European books, on practicing European (Episcopalian) religious forms, and on exercising the aristocrat's prerogatives over his bond-servant. Judge Temple, though less obvious in his imitativeness, nevertheless displays similar tendencies. He has devastated the native growth around his house and substituted poplars imported from Europe. And he has splashed the interior of his house with a vigorous coat of culture, highlighted by diverse busts of Homer, Shakespeare, Franklin, Washington, and what may be either Julius Caesar or Dr. Faustus. Complementing this mixed bag is an urn said to represent itself as holding the ashes of Dido and a wallpaper depicting Britannia weeping over the tomb of Wolfe.³⁶

One comes to sense, however, that Judge Temple and Richard Jones are admirers of European culture for different reasons, and nothing better illustrates this difference than the former's insistence on a stone house and the latter's desire for less sturdy, more plastic materials with which to work. Richard relishes the role of the English gentleman and the veneer of culture that he associates with it. He is a creature of surfaces. Judge Temple's ambitions are more substantial. He wants no less than to build that enduring American House of stone which Jefferson thought so necessary to the national destiny. He despises a man like Jotham Riddel not on moral grounds, because he is a scoundrel, but on social grounds, because he is a "shiftless, lazy, speculating" lout "who changes his county every three years, his farm every six months, and his occupation every season" (293). The Judge is groping for an idea of permanency, and almost instinctively he gravitates to the trappings and institutions of Europe as a way of realizing that idea. The whole texture of his relation to Templeton looks to the stable feudal life of the European past. Though ostensibly a thriving democratic

community, Templeton is, in fact, the feudal domain of Marmaduke Temple. His house, "in the common parlance," is called "the castle" (36), and Richard's habit of shortening Marmaduke to Duke only emphasizes the obvious. The occupants of the better houses of the village are "the nobles of Templeton, as Marmaduke was its king" (35). Laying about him with energetic abandon, King Marmaduke has tried to produce in five years "greater changes than a century would produce in countries where time and labor have given permanency to the works of man" (39). The irony is that Judge Temple's efforts in the cause of permanence only serve to set loose counterproductive forces. On the western margin of the plain on which Templeton sits grows an oak tree which "released . . . from the thralldom that a growth of centuries had imposed on the branches of the surrounding forest trees . . . threw its gnarled and fantastic arms abroad, in the wildness of liberty" (33). Like this symbolic oak, America, Cooper believes, has begun to grow wild since the shadow of European political domination has retreated; but the growth is distorted, uncongenial to the forming of enduring institutions.

The anxiety for permanence is a stream in American life that follows strange, subterranean channels. It is common to Puritan and Jeffersonian ideology, and in the decade following the appearance of The Pioneers it burst openly to the surface. Home as Found provides ample evidence that what frightened Cooper so thoroughly about the evolving American way of life was not its vulgarity but its transience. Although the restlessness of what Aristabulus Bragg calls "the movers" was an inevitable result of social and economic force, necessity could easily be converted to a virtue, particularly in helping the nineteenth century to make its case against the past. "A nation is much to be pitied," says Bragg, "that is weighed down by the past . . . since its industry and enterprise are constantly impeded by obstacles that grow out of its recollections."³⁷ He speaks with pride of the fact that the house of his birth and its successor have been pulled down. Jack Effingham, on the other hand, speaks a language that Marmaduke Temple would understand when he laments, "Our towns pass away in generations like their people. . . . It is getting to be a predominant feeling in the American nature, I fear, to love change."³⁸

The Templeton of 1793 has yet to experience the woes of the Templeton of the 1830's. The problem of permanence is seen less in terms of social and economic forces than of universal human forces which bring about the fall of "houses" in a way very like that rehearsed in the first chapter of this study. The second chapter of The Pioneers is the most important of all, for without it neither Judge Temple's character nor Cooper's intention is fully explicable. The brief account of the history of the Temple and Effingham families provides a basis for testing out alternative sources of New World values. Both families start out in America as European-type houses, "hereditary possessions rather than . . . their own powers" (24) providing access to rank and position on the social scale. Edward Effingham had high court connections, and the original Marmaduke Temple deduced his origins from the prosperous, middle class Quaker friends of William Penn. The indolence consequent on inherited wealth sent the house of Temple into decline first. The house of Effingham lasted somewhat longer, having kept aloof from matters of money and commerce. The subtle dry rot in the familial timber is made manifest only gradually: by

Major Effingham's giving himself over (like King Lear) to the care of a child and entering into secret commercial transactions with Marmaduke (i.e., Judge) Temple.

If we view this ancestral history as a symbolic account of the bankruptcy of the Old World house in the New, then the next matter to be considered is obviously, How shall the house be rebuilt? In the Temple family, it is Judge Temple's father who "began to reascend in the scale of society" (24). All the pride and energy of the family is now channeled into erecting the new Temple temple in the New Jerusalem of a (by now) free democratic America. Judge Temple has the clairvoyance to understand that the way to reascend is not by rebuilding the old house but by building a new one to the west, as a "pioneer." First he acquires power and influence, then he moves the locus of his activities from Pennsylvania to New York where "interest" can be pursued in the less regulated mechanism of a pioneer society. Interest also requires him to sever his connection with the Quaker past, so that profiting from the Revolution won't subject him to compromising criticism. Eventually, the dream of a new home for the Temple family becomes a reality in the settlement of Templeton.

The irony here, which must not be allowed to pass unnoticed, is that the ambition of permanency has been achieved through its opposite--by apostasy to the old in the interest of the new. The Effingham family has stuck tenaciously to its old house: the European, Tory values of chivalry, pride, and noblesse oblige. Its fidelity to the old permanency insures that the family will lose out in the Revolution and arrive at the dead end symbolized by the senile iddocy of Major Effingham at novel's end--faintly suggesting, perhaps, the inevitable course of aristocratic consanguinity. The Temple house, which has "won out," is now faced, however, with a new problem: namely, how to keep the original process of decline from repeating itself. If money can corrupt once, if change in the name of "interest" can once be embraced, can the same not occur again and again and again?

Restated in different terms, Cooper's fictional strategy in following the course of the two families is the testing out of the relative merits of aristocracies of birth and worth. An aristocracy of birth proves a failure in America because it cannot adapt to rapidly changing social and economic circumstances and because succeeding

generations are corrupted into indolence when birth alone guarantees position. Even in Templeton the appeal of fixed social gradations has not gone unfelt. Squire Richard stoutly maintains that virtues are transmitted in families, and undoubtedly he sees himself as the worthy product of just such a descent. Judge Temple's spectacular rise in the world amply demonstrates the advantages of an aristocracy of worth in a growing nation. But the price of that success promises to be the forgoing of a stable house, the one virtue to which an aristocracy of birth can lay claim.

One essential ingredient in stabilizing an aristocracy of worth, Cooper believed, was property. In The American Democrat (1838) he maintains that property is the basis of all civilization. Cooper saw in the rights to keep property inviolable and to transmit it to heirs the only guarantee that people would not be satisfied with only so much improvement as to supply their immediate wants, but would exert themselves in order to obtain advantage for their later years and for future generations.³⁹ Here is the very core of Judge Temple's obstinate adherence to the letter

of his property rights and the source of his inevitable conflict with Natty Bumppo. "The rights of property," Cooper reasons in The American Democrat, "become artificial and extended, as society becomes civilized. In the savage state the land is without owners, property consisting in the hut, the food, and the arms used in war and the chase The child that is properly impressed in infancy, with the rights of property, is in little danger of committing theft in after life, or, in any other manner of invading that which is the just possession of another."⁴⁰ This is exactly the situation of Natty Bumppo, nature's "child" thrust into a civilized society. He cannot comprehend how abstract laws protecting property rights can take precedence over his own interest. For him, "property" consists of hut, food, and weapon, and to claim more than these he regards as unfair. His habit of calling the Judge's manor house a "shanty" is not only an unintentional judgment on its aesthetic merits, it is a mark of Natty's own modest instinct for what rightly constitutes property. That land besides that upon which one's "shanty" is built can be claimed as property passes all his understanding.

As the story progresses, Cooper increasingly tries to shift the basis of the conflict between Natty and the Judge from the social and legal to the psychological--an opposition of head and heart. The attempt is not particularly well-advised, for if Natty were a less admirable person or had less depth of feeling, the social questions would remain the same, and the difficulty in resolving them would be unabated. But it is in this area that the architectural style of Judge Temple's house serves to heighten symbolically the contrast between himself and Natty. The composite order, as we have already noted, is at bottom a "scientific" style, bound by the rigid application of squares, ratios, and other mathematical elements to the materials of nature. The composite order symbolizes the empirical mentality of Templeton, a mentality totally foreign to the Leather-Stocking. A series of episodes throughout the novel pits the "science" of Templetonians such as Dr. Todd and Richard Jones (the scientific marksman) against the native sagacity of Natty and Indian John. The comparatively narrow issue of property rights is only part of the larger one of nature's incommensurability with civilization. Natty is governed by his feelings (in

the more generalized sense not of sentiment but of native instinct), while Judge Temple believes that feelings must often be opposed, that, especially in his capacity as a judge, feelings must not enter into his determinations. In this he puts himself on the side of "science" in the broadest sense: the abstraction and formalization of knowledge. The pretentious dogmatism of a Richard Jones is easy enough to dismiss, but the Judge's position strikes to the core of what civilization is all about.

If the matter ended here, with the Judge's firm stand on the underlying principles of culture and civilization, the basis for choice would be relatively simple and Cooper's own ambivalence would not be what it is. The line of demarcation between the Joneses and the Temples is anything but clear, and the composite order is also an architecture of facades, of painted roofs that fail to give a convincing illusion of harmony with nature, and of distortions created by the too rigid application of narrow rule to circumstances requiring flexibility. Civilization exacts its price on the human psychology: guilt, pretense, hypocrisy. That part of the Judge's personality which accords with the failure of the composite order as an

architectural style is, wisely, only hinted at by Cooper, never spelled out. The neatness with which the Judge circumvents the Quaker opposition to slavery, his de facto Episcopalianism which he will not acknowledge in name, his instinctive resort to the dollar to settle questions of skill and honor--all suggest depths of Yankee sharpness, whiffs of amorality, which are allowed to lurk in obscurity. One of Cooper's better touches is the characterization of the Judge's "Templar smile" (30), which suggests a certain kinship with the militant religious order of knights who were the great financiers of the Middle Ages, who supposedly practiced secret rites of doubtful orthodoxy, and who lived by the elaborately legalistic Règle du Temple, the governing constitution of the order.

Standing against Templeton and all that it represents is the hut of Natty Bumppo, the density of which as a symbol has never really been done full justice. Natty's hut is a padlocked sanctum sanctorum, and its interior is never seen throughout the story. It is both revealing and characteristic that the Temple-Jones-Doolittle axis should regard it as a repository of material wealth, mistakenly believing that Natty has been mining valuable

minerals from the land which the Judge claims as his property. Hiram Doolittle is Natty's most persistent antagonist, if not his most powerful, and the escalation of Doolittle throughout the novel from fool to sharpster to knave to demon is one of Cooper's best effects. Doolittle's desire to penetrate the inner sanctum of Natty's hut is almost metaphysical in its intensity; he "craves dreadfully" (268), as Natty put it. Like that arch-rationalist Mephistopheles haggling with Faust, Doolittle tries to trick Natty into letting him enter under one legalistic pretext or another. And though later plot developments reveal practical reasons for Natty's refusal, a penumbra of metaphysical antipathy always surrounds the terms of Natty's refusal. "Away with ye--away with ye!" Natty conjures, "you may be formed in the image of the Maker, but Satan dwells in your heart" (350). Natty would rather have "died on the spot" than have the Judge's "wasty ways brought into my hut" (311).

Natty's hut is one in a long line of primitive literary dream-refuges stretching back through the eighteenth century. Gaston Bachelard has called the fantasy of hut-living "the tap-root of the function of

inhabiting,"⁴¹ expressing as it does the primal impulse in every personality for centralized solitude and infantile retreat from complexity. In Cooper's treatment one senses a conscious understanding of the psychological significance of the hut. That is, in a strange way, the bustling, burgeoning, progressive community of Templeton feels impelled to get inside the hut of Natty Bumppo, to learn its secrets if only to despoil them. Psychologically, Templeton can't go home again to the hut, and in fact it never does. For when Sheriff Jones arrives to arrest the defier of a lawful magistrate (Doolittle), he finds to "his amazement, in place of the hut . . . only its smouldering ruins" (330). Natty's destruction of his own hut, a symbolic self-immolation, marks the victory of civilization over nature in America, but it also shows that Templeton is cut off for all time from the psychological ground of simple spontaneity the hut represents; Natty would rather burn his hut to the ground than allow Templeton admittance. When he returns "to see the last brand of his hut" (331), Natty mourns like a monk over the ruins of his monastery, then, as if cut off from the source of his strength, allows himself to be led off docilely to jail. When Elizabeth

Temple, visiting Natty in prison, offers to rebuild the hut "better than before," Natty replies, "Can you raise the dead, child?" When she suggests, instead, having "a house prepared," Natty exclaims, "Ease and plenty! house" (358-9). Both are foreign not only to Natty's experience but to his psychology. Natty's mental orientation, disguised by the idealizing conventions of the romance form, is to the Paleolithic past. It is appropriate that his final defiance of the law is fought not in defense of his house but before the barricaded mouth of a cave, as if to emphasize Natty's dispossession from time as well as space.

It is also fitting that Natty's hut-site eventually becomes a monument and a grave, the eternal presentness which signifies the way of life of the natural man becoming legendary, subject to the kingdom of time. In the graves lie Indian John and Major Effingham, both representing the last remnants of ways of life that have passed into history and of aristocratic traditions rooted in reverence for birth and ancestry. Their values of honor, bravery, chivalry, and loyalty to tradition have given way to "modern" values of energy, improvement, pragmatism, and dollar-diplomacy. The two old warriors shared the inner

sanctum of Natty's hut when it stood, and in death they inhabit the ground on which it stood.⁴²

It has become almost a commonplace of recent criticism that Cooper was unable to give his allegiance entirely to either Natty or Judge Temple. The opening chapter of the novel poses the issue clearly, and the remaining chapters turn it slowly before the light, examining facets, adding perspective, but providing no resolution. Is the law of nature or the law of man to rule the New World? Henry Nash Smith has characterized Cooper's attitude as "genuine ambivalence," arguing that Cooper's repeated insistence on Natty's special rights in the Temple patent represents Cooper's "unwillingness or inability to accept the full implications of the conflict he has stated."⁴³ One may nevertheless ask whether Cooper, in posing the question, has not done as much as can be asked of him in that regard. The middle landscapes of pastoral and romance are best suited to the posing of questions which have no solution in the world of actuality, and were Cooper fully prepared to make a choice there would have been no reason for him to have written a pastoral romance. If Natty were not a special case, neither Cooper nor Judge Temple would have any cause

to agonize over him.

It is, moreover, inaccurate to argue that Cooper does not attempt to resolve the conflict he has stated. If his resolution is not very convincing, he may take his place alongside the authors of Hamlet and Crime and Punishment, greater artists than Cooper but no better able to resolve the deepest tragedies of the human condition. In the short-run covered by the span of the novel's action, the houses of Natty Bumppo and Marmaduke Temple are irreparably divided.⁴⁴ Natty's is the dream house, representing a contraction of the romantic consciousness back upon the Id, the Dionysian ground, or whatever one cares to call it. The Judge's manor is "home," Cooper's home, seen honestly in many of its most repellent aspects; it is a perversion of the best ideals of civilization which yet must be reckoned with. The marriage of Elizabeth and Oliver offers a superficial reclamation of the middle ground, but marriage, as a resolver in itself, inevitably has a hollow ring-- Hawthorne's House of the Seven Gables and Howells' Rise of Silas Lapham are equally culpable in this regard. The marriage also serves to give a certain legal justification to the union of the houses of birth and worth by restoring

the patent to a fully legitimized ownership. The Judge's explanation of his unintentional usurpation of Effingham land is satisfactory enough, and the new sharing of the land offers a foothold for what Cooper was later to call "the American gentlemen," a role for which Oliver's breeding and wealth qualify him. Still, Oliver has a difficult task, and Cooper gives no hint of undue optimism. There is no reason to believe that he must prevail or that he will set the Templeton house in order.

Another attempt at resolution, again of doubtful merit, is the enlistment of Natty at novel's end in the cause of civilization. He shall be "the foremost in that band of pioneers who are opening the way for the march of the nation across the continent" (424). Not only does it remain to be proven that that march is a desirable thing, Natty is not really necessary in that role--the enterprise of Templeton will find a way or make one. There is, in fact, no substantial evidence that Natty was important even in the establishing of Templeton. In any case, Cooper undercuts his own optimism by pointedly noting that Hiram Doolittle has also moved westward as the Johnny Appleseed of "science." The implication is clear. What happened in

Templeton will happen again; the cycle will go on.

The most elaborate subsumption of the division symbolized by the polar houses is provided by nature itself, an agency Natty might perhaps understand better than the Judge. The Pioneers is a winter's tale for the Leather-Stocking, beginning in winter and ending on the verge of winter. The descriptive passages of the novel call attention repeatedly to the universal process of change embedded in the fabric of nature. Natty's way of life has passed as the seasons pass. But the novel's end bodes ill for Templeton, as well. The fire on the hill, a larger version of the one which burned Natty's hut to the ground, is described in almost apocalyptic tones. Its cause is directly attributable to the indiscriminate ravages of the settlers in the woodlands surrounding Templeton, and the way in which "the flames seemed to dart from heap to heap, as the fabulous fire of the temple" (377) is almost magical. Cooper gives us a brief, brilliant picture of the Judge, a tiny dot on a vast landscape, standing on his small plot of ground and looking off helplessly at the conflagration enveloping his daughter. The lesson is that he is quite as helpless as

Natty Bumppo before the iron rule of nature and the ceaseless tide of change. Is he not, are all men not, "pioneers" in the grand procession of nature, and is that not perhaps Cooper's final meaning?

During one episode at the middle of the novel, a tree suddenly falls down for no apparent reason, almost killing some or all of the principals of the story. Richard Jones predictably sets out to explain by abstract science and mathematics why there is nothing strange in the occurrence. He draws imaginary lines through centers of gravity, speaks of the effects of age, decay, frost, and so forth. "I should like to know," he boasts, "what greater compulsion there can be for anything than a mathematical certainty" (222)? This is the spirit of Templeton and of the composite order. Judge Temple counters by inquiring how mathematical certainty helps one to guard against the danger, an observation for which Richard has no effective rejoinder. In the long-run, Cooper seems to say, it is irrelevant who was "right," Natty or the Judge. Does might make right? Natty opines early on. Yes, Cooper says, at bottom it does. Nature is the eroder of all houses, the subsumer of all right, and a sterner judge than Judge Temple will ever be.

Chapter Three: Poe's

Landscape Fiction

Few writers of any age or country have been quite so captivated by the literary possibilities inherent in domestic architecture as Edgar Allan Poe. Roderick Usher's is probably the world's best known literary house, and most of the rest of Poe's more famous stories ("Ligeia," "William Wilson," "The Black Cat," "The Tell-Tale Heart," to name a very few) exhibit what can only be called an obsession with the interiors of houses. Poe's early fiction of the 1830's already shows a fully realized sense of the house as representative of the mind of its inhabitant. Poe's literary logic is almost syllogistic. If a house is a mind, and a mind can be haunted, then a house can be haunted in a way that goes quite beyond the antics of "ghosties and ghoulies" in popular Gothic fiction. How better, then, to portray the haunting sensation of entrapment by one's own mind and conscience than by entrapment within one's own house? Sooner or later, most of Poe's

best known protagonists find themselves isolated, or isolate themselves, in one room of their gloomy, old houses and gradually suffocate from the atmosphere of confinement.

In radical contrast to Poe's famous literary houses are the lesser known houses of his so-called "landscape fiction" of the 1840's. Gone is the oppression of confinement, gone the Gothic gloom. Nightmare gives way to pleasant (and ultimately pathetic) dream. Arnheim and Landor's Cottage loom like oases in a desert of despair. Poe's landscape fiction is also notable in several other respects. It represents one of the few examples of Poe's treatment of domestic architecture as both subject and symbol. And it provides one of the few instances in which Poe's literary houses impinge, however tangentially, on what we have called the American House--the literary house, that is, with a definite relation to the wider arena of issues confronting nineteenth-century American culture.

On the surface, the architectural and literary foci of this chapter may seem of dubious relevance to domestic architecture and to Poe. This is not so. Landscape architecture qualifies for inclusion in this study not

simply on the narrow technical grounds that it is a usual sub-category of domestic architecture, but on the more significant grounds that Poe (along with many landscape architects) sees the landscape of the garden as a function of the house which the garden serves. Moreover, the unusual "brightness" of the landscape fiction turns out to be more apparent than real. The same crack that runs down the wall of the House of Usher effectually separates Landor's Cottage and Arnheim. Poe would rather not have to choose between them. Seeing no alternative to choice, he nevertheless could not choose, and in his irresolution we encounter yet another instance of American literary "double consciousness."

1. Subject

It may come as something of a surprise to the modern reader of Poe that the angel of literary darkness should have written for magazines with titles such as Snowden's Lady's Companion or Godey's Lady's Book. But Poe made his meager living largely by writing magazine fiction, and that meant writing with an eye to what was salable. Poe apparently believed he was doing just that when in

1842 he submitted "The Landscape Garden," the first of his pieces of "landscape fiction," to Snowden's Lady's Companion for publication. Seven years later the last of his landscape pieces, "Landor's Cottage," appeared in the Boston magazine Flag of Our Union, and shortly thereafter Edgar Poe was no more. Poe's belief in the salability of his landscape fiction, which spans nearly a decade, tells an interesting story about public taste in the 1840's, and the circumstances which led him to believe that a demand for such fiction existed shed considerable light on the genesis and development of his landscape fiction.

The story of Poe's landscape fiction begins in 1841 with the publication by the American architect Andrew Jackson Downing of A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening. Success is the last thing one would predict for a book with a title like that, but successful it was. The reasons for the book's popularity were probably two-fold. First, its subject accorded perfectly with the growing cult of the rural in America, which had reached considerable heights by the 1840's. The other reason was that the same well-heeled segment of society which had built the "mushroom temples" that so

disgusted Cooper in the preceding decade was looking for new fashionable ways of spending its money and of asserting its cultural parity with Europe. Just as the Classical Revival in the America of the 1820's had aped a similar one in the England of the 1790's, so the interest in landscape architecture which Downing's book set in motion in the 1840's mirrored a wave of interest which had swept England a half century before. One architectural historian has estimated that between the years 1790 and 1810 in England, books on picturesque landscape gardening came out at an average rate of more than one a year.¹ Not until Downing's treatise, however, had the subject received comprehensive treatment by an American. A number of American periodicals gave over space to enthusiastic review articles throughout 1841, and many of those which did not rectified their neglect when Downing published a second popular book in 1842 entitled Cottage Residences. This was also the year in which Edgar Poe saw the light of public taste and published "The Landscape Garden."

Poe scholars have frequently suggested that his landscape fiction draws directly on his reading of one or more of Downing's books. It is unlikely, however, that Poe

read either of Downing's books prior to writing "The Landscape Garden." Instead, he seems to have gotten what material he needed (as he frequently did) secondhand.

Some of the material on landscape gardening in the story is definitely drawn from a review of Downing's first book appearing in June of 1841 in the magazine Arcturus.²

Arcturus was one of a number of highly ephemeral periodicals of the 1830's and 1840's. The first number appeared in December, 1840 and the last in May, 1842. Arcturus was published by two of the New York literati who figured prominently in what Perry Miller calls the "war of words and wits in the era of Poe and Melville," Evert Augustus Duyckinck and Cornelius Mathews. Poe's familiarity with the publication is attested to by his sketch of Duyckinck in The Literati of New York, a series of brief portraits which appeared in Godey's Lady's Book in the summer and fall of 1846. In the sketch Poe calls Arcturus "decidedly the very best magazine in many respects ever published in the United States."³

In the course of a discussion between the narrator of "The Landscape Garden" and his friend, Ellison, the would-be creator of the greatest of all landscape gardens,

the latter quotes a passage from a writer who, he says, "has been supposed to have well treated"⁴ the theme of landscape architecture. Ellison's quotation is a reproduction verbatim of a paragraph in the review article in Arcturus.

There are properly but two styles of Landscape Gardening--the natural and the artificial. One seeks to recall the original beauty of the country, by adapting its means to the surrounding scenery; cultivating trees in harmony with the hill or plain of the neighboring land, detecting and bringing into practice those nice relations of size, proportion and color, which, hid from the common observer, are revealed everywhere to the experienced student of nature. The result of the natural style of gardening is seen, rather in the absence of all defects and incongruities, the prevalence of a beautiful harmony and order, than in the creation of any special wonders or miracles. The artificial style has as many varieties as there are different tastes to gratify. It has a certain general relation to the various styles of building: there are the stately avenues, and retirements of Versailles, Italian terraces, and a various mixed old English style, which bears some proportion to the domestic Gothic or English Elizabethan architecture. Whatever may be said against the abuses of the artificial Landscape Gardening, a mixture of pure art in a garden scene, adds to it a great beauty. This is partly pleasing to the eye, by the show of order

and design, and partly moral. A terrace with an old moss-covered stone balustrade, calls up at once to the eye the fair forms that have passed there in other days. The slightest exhibition of art is an evidence of care and human interest.

In distinguishing between "natural" and "artificial" styles of landscape gardening, the reviewer is probably alluding broadly to Downing's own distinction between the natural (i.e., picturesque) garden and the ancient, or geometric, garden (Downing does not call it "artificial"), which antedated the picturesque garden. Poe satirized the older style of garden in a well-known sketch in The Guardian, an excerpt of which the reviewer includes in his article. The difference in terminology between Downing and the reviewer is worth noting because Poe in the descriptions of landscape gardens in later pieces did not attempt a specific contrast of picturesque and geometric styles. Instead, his imagination stirred by the reviewer's opposition of natural and artificial, Poe saw a chance to demonstrate the superiority of art over nature. For as Ellison points out, in landscape gardening nature's most perfect efforts are the given, the point at which art begins. The "composing" of landscape, therefore, becomes

a perfect metaphor for the creative process. Poe, in fact, does not see the issue in quite the same way as the reviewer; he adapts the reviewer's antithesis of styles to his own literary purpose.

Poe's indebtedness to the review article in Arcturus does not end with the quotation of the passage already cited. The epigraph of "The Landscape Garden," which Poe also retained in the expansion of the sketch retitled "The Domain of Arnheim," is from Giles Fletcher's poem Christ's Victorie on Earth.

The garden like a lady fair was cut
That lay as if she slumbered in delight,
And to the open skies her eyes did shut;
The azure fields of heaven were 'sembled
right
In a large round set with the flow'rs of
light;
The flowers de luce and the round sparks
of dew
That hung upon their azure leaves, did show
Like twinkling stars that sparkle in the
ev'ning blue.

Poe's selection is not quite so premeditated as one critic has implied.⁶ The Arcturus reviewer quotes four stanzas from Fletcher's poem in the paragraph immediately following the one which Ellison quotes in its entirety. The first stanza of the four quoted is the one Poe took for

his epigraph.

The review provides other raw materials which may have found their way into "The Landscape Garden." Ellison's concession to the natural style that "much depends upon the selection of a spot with capabilities" (IV, 268) is delivered in a representative piece of landscape gardening jargon. The review article mentions Lancelot "Capability" Brown, one of the better known English landscape gardeners, who customarily advertised his services with the observation, "Well, my Lord, I observe that your park has great capabilities."⁷ "Capabilities" thus became an indispensable piece of jargon for describing terrain with "character," a promising chunk of land for the architect to practice his art upon. Poe may even have received some inspiration for the underlying assumption of his sketch in the reviewer's contention that "the re-construction of the beauties of Nature, based on close observation and analysis of the laws of her works, is surely worthy the name of an art." Ellison gives this contention one more turn of the screw by claiming a penultimate place among the arts for landscape architecture.

Had Downing's books not proven to be as popular as they did, Poe might never have written another landscape piece. In 1844 Wiley and Putnam printed a second edition of the treatise on landscape gardening, which was destined to run through eight editions by 1859. Magazines which had not reviewed the book before took the opportunity to do so this time, and important ones such as The North American Review and the U. S. Democratic Review followed up their original reviews with new, more extensive ones. Interest in picturesque landscape and rural architecture was running high. In this same year Poe published a brief sketch in Opal, an annual put out by N. P. Willis, called "Morning on the Wissahiccon," which capitalizes on the new trend by describing "picturesque position[s] for a cottage and garden which the richest imagination could conceive."⁸ The sketch presents a brief panorama of scenery observed during a boat-trip down the river, thus offering a miniature rehearsal of the narrative method employed in the later, longer pieces of landscape fiction. An important adjunct of the landscape vogue was the picturesque traveler, who, his tastes refined by the study of landscape painting, sought out ideal scenes and picturesque points of view.

In a note to "The Landscape Garden," Poe mentions such a jaunt, the "'Tour' of Prince Puckler Muskau," and in a small way the narrators of both "The Domain of Arnheim" and "Landor's Cottage" fill the role of the picturesque traveler.

The next phase in the story of Poe's landscape fiction begins in 1845 with Poe's assumption of the editorship of The Broadway Review. In the April 5 issue appears an anonymous article entitled "Rural Architecture," which offers a review and commentary on Downing's Cottage Residences and on the second edition of his treatise on landscape gardening.⁹ What sets the article apart from the vast majority of other reviews of Downing's books is that the better part of it is given over to an attack on Downing's views. Specifically, it criticizes Downing's insistence on "unity of style" in American architecture. Downing was willing to entertain the American imitation of almost any architectural style so long as the style was appropriate to the function of the architectural subject and was not a mixture of disparate styles. The reviewer argues that old English mansions, rural gothic cottages, Italian villas, and temples of Jupiter Panhellenius

express nothing of American character and feeling. The "solecisms of taste" in the eclectically styled dwellings to which Downing objects are, the reviewer says, the "only redeeming points" of the styles that have been mixed. As an example of a genuinely American country home, the reviewer cites the old farm-houses built by Dutch, English, and Huguenot stock in New Jersey and on the banks of the Hudson. The distinctive feature of these houses, he says, is the mansard roof, which projects about five feet over the side of the house facing to the south and forms a natural piazza.

If Poe did not write this review, he would, in his editorial capacity, at least have read it. Certainly he would have subscribed to its argument: if we cannot have an original architecture, then let us at least have an expressive one and forget about arbitrary notions of stylistic "purity." This is the true spirit of the picturesque, which is not an architectural style but an aesthetic category which can cut across all architectural styles or subsume any number of them. The reviewer's position is remarkably close to that advanced by Richard Payne Knight, one of the most important English writers

on picturesque landscape gardening and rural architecture:

A house may be adorned with towers and battlements, or pinnacles and flying buttresses; but it should still maintain the character of a house of the age and country in which it was erected; and not pretend to be a fortress or a monastery of a remote period or distant country; for such false pretensions never escape detection.¹⁰

Poe echoes both Knight and the reviewer when, in an 1844 article for The Columbia Spy entitled "New York Harbor in June, 1844," he mocks the "baronial castles" and "Chinese pagodas" of Brooklyn.¹¹

If there is one characteristic shared by the architecture of Poe's landscape fiction it is a bold eclecticism for which no apology is offered. The actual edifice of Arnheim is "semi-Gothic, semi-Saracenic" (VI, 196). Landor's Cottage seems predominantly Dutch in its exterior character. The chimney is of Dutch brick, and the roof, remarkably like that described by the reviewer, sweeps "down from the ridge-beam with a long concave curve . . . extending at least four feet beyond the walls in front, so as to form the roofs of two piazzas" (VI, 265). The windows of the cottage, however, are long and narrow, distinctly un-Dutch in character, and the overall effect

of the exterior is strangely "Egyptian." The interior is furnished largely according to the eclectic prescription set forth in "The Philosophy of Furniture." The wallpaper is French, the carpet with arabesque figures is probably of the "Saxony material" recommended in the essay on furniture, and the drawings on the wall are a mixed bag of Oriental, Greek, and "carnival" subjects.¹²

The period between April of 1845, when the review article appeared, and March 1847, when "The Domain of Arnheim" appeared in the Columbian Magazine, can only be colored in by speculation. In the September 20, 1845 issue of The Broadway Journal, Poe reprinted "The Landscape Garden" with a few minor revisions. Reading over the sketch once again may well have set the creative sap rising. Why not continue the sketch with an account of the creation of Ellison's landscape garden and of a visit to it? The result must have pleased Poe, for by the year following the appearance of "The Domain of Arnheim" a "pendant" called "Landor's Cottage" was sent to The Metropolitan. The Metropolitan rejected the piece, and it eventually appeared in Flag of Our Union.

Whether or not Poe wrote the 1845 review of Downing's books in The Broadway Review, the period 1845-47 is the probable time of Poe's first-hand acquaintance with Downing's work, if indeed he ever had a first-hand acquaintance. There is no conclusive evidence that he did, but there are some suggestive parallels. In "Landor's Cottage" one description of shrubbery on the path to the cottage mentions, sequentially, hydrangea, snow-ball, and seringa, the same shrubs which Downing lists in succession as flowering in June.¹³ (The tour in "Landor's Cottage" is said to have occurred "last summer.") Poe's description in the same piece of the lake of irregular outline, of the islands in it, and of the fowl-house on the island resembles landscape designs discussed in the section "Treatment of Water" in the landscape gardening treatise. One of the more persuasive parallels is the resemblance of the tulip-tree which Poe describes in "Landor's Cottage" and the generic description given by Downing in his treatise.¹⁴

On the other hand, by the time the late landscape pieces were written, dozens of lengthy review articles reproducing substantial portions of Downing's treatise had

been written. The relatively small number of details of landscape gardening and rural architecture that Poe uses may well have come from a number of these reviews. It is interesting to note that in the latter part of 1846 Poe borrowed some volumes from Evert Duyckinck, among which were copies of the now defunct Arcturus.¹⁵ Poe was gathering material at the time for his projected Literary America, and it is also possible, in view of his high opinion of the magazine, that he was looking for hints in the planning of his own chimerical magazine The Stylus. A number of details from "The Domain of Arnheim" and "Landor's Cottage" may have been suggested by the same review article that influenced "The Landscape Garden." The most interesting parallel is that one of the two botanical descriptions that the reviewer reproduces from Downing is of the tulip-tree.¹⁶

To understand Poe's treatment of landscape architecture as subject and symbol some understanding of the aesthetics of the picturesque is necessary, particularly of how the picturesque landscape garden differs from its predecessor and of how varying conceptions of the picturesque garden differ from each other. As the name suggests, "the

picturesque" was inspired by the natural scenery of landscape painters such as Claude Lorrain and Salvador Rosa. The essential characteristics of picturesqueness, as they were eventually formulated by Sir Uvedale Price in his Essay on the Picturesque (1794-95), are intricacy, roughness, irregularity, and sudden variation. Prior to Price's formulation, Edmund Burke, in A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful (1756), had distinguished only two aesthetic categories. Sublimity, he said, was characterized by vastness, solitude, and unbroken uniformity; beauty by smoothness, delicacy, and gradual variation. Price, accepting Burke's categories, understood the picturesque to constitute a third, distinct from the other two.

One of the first notable practitioners of picturesque landscape gardening was Lancelot "Capability" Brown. Whereas the ancient, or geometric, style had emphasized straight lines, symmetry, and regularity, Brown abhorred the straight line in all its manifestations. He banished the hedgerow and the formal walk, along with any other characteristic of the geometric garden that embodied the straight line. Brown's landscape gardens

consisted of gently undulating grounds, serpentine canals, walks, and tree-belts, and oval, slightly winding lakes. He dotted his serpentine landscapes with round "clumps" of trees and shrubs, reducing much of the rest of the land to rolling blankets of velvet grass.

Brown's garden represents what Christopher Hussey calls the "ideal" phase of picturesque landscape gardening.¹⁷ In this respect, it has a certain affinity with the older style of garden, in which "ideas" were conveyed in the form of representations of animals and people in sculptured yews and holly. Brown also wanted to use the landscape garden to arouse "ideas" in the mind of the spectator, but by "ideas" he meant emotional responses to literarily inspired scenes. Thus he abandoned the cool intellectuality of plant-sculpture in favor of romantically adorned caves and grottos, exotic aviaries and bowers. Herds of sheep were used to create pastoral scenes, which, on the occasion of a tour of the garden, could be heightened by enlisting abigails and servants for an impromptu romp on Parnassus. Ruins were made-to-order, and dead trees were often used instead of live ones because of their picturesque impact. Reacting to the garden

became a kind of game in which everyone "knew what emotions were represented by which counters."¹⁸ Any object which interfered with the arousal of "ideas" had to be removed from the scene. Hence, servants' quarters and out-houses of every sort were concealed by trees and shrubs, often even tucked away underground.

Brown and his Garden of Idea were at the height of their fame during the 1760's, but by the turn of the century the reaction had set in. A new ideal of picturesque landscape architecture began to form around Price and Knight. They argued that the gardens of Brown, with their predictable clumps, belts, and undulations, were as regular and unnatural as the older, geometric gardens. The Garden of Idea gave way to an ideal of harmonious composition closer to the actual appearance of nature. Price, Knight, and others were preoccupied with visual qualities rather than with ideas; in place of the ideal conception of nature they put the painter's love of light, shade, contrast and intricacy. Roughness, irregularity, and sudden variation became a reality in the new picturesque garden in a way that they never were in Brown's garden.

An important by-product of the new shifts in emphasis was a new conception of the relation of the house to the grounds. Brown's aim was "to make it appear that a house was planted slap down in its park, the grass coming up to the walls on all four sides."¹⁹ In the Brown scheme, house and landscape had very little to do with one another. Apart from hiding wings and out-houses, trees and shrubbery had no place in the vicinity of the house, and the house generally sat by itself amid broad carpets of grass. The newer picturesque architects attempted to integrate house and grounds. "To make a house a picturesque adjunct to a scene became the chief object of architecture and gardening."²⁰ Inevitably, this ambition required planning the house and grounds together rather than "tacking on" a picturesque landscape garden to a pre-existing edifice, the style of which might defeat picturesque effects.

Expressing with exactness the relation of Poe's fictional landscape gardens to the actual theory and practice of landscape gardening is not easy because the extent of Poe's knowledge of his subject is uncertain and because, understandably, he views his subject through

literary spectacles. The recurrence of terminology which figures in the historical development of landscape gardening testifies that Poe drew upon some reservoir of knowledge. "Clumps," "belts," "capabilities," "improvement," "prospect," "pendant," "coup d'oeil," "pittoresco," all are part of the standard jargon of the books on landscape gardening; but Poe's use of such terms varies greatly in exactitude and in the air of premeditation. Sometimes one senses that the self-conscious jargoning is intended merely to convince the reader that Poe possesses a knowledge of the subject which he in fact does not have. Other times it is difficult to tell whether Poe's language is technical or simply descriptive, seemingly technical. Is a "small group" of trees a "clump," and is a "clump of wild flowers" at the "interspaces" of a path one of Brown's "clumps"? Is a "belt" of lime trees a Brownian "belt"? Is a "channel" an artificial canal? Many such ambiguities arise when Poe's descriptive language is set against a technical and historical backdrop. There is evidence that Poe's landscape fiction shows some awareness of the historical schisms in landscape gardening, but the lines are not sharply drawn and the contrasts are not as

pointed as they might have been had Poe's objectives been less literary and more historical.

There seems little doubt, for instance, that the "naturalness" of the picturesque effects in "Landor's Cottage" is meant to contrast with the more exotic air of "The Domain of Arnheim." Poe's emphasis in the later piece is on the visual qualities of the landscape garden rather than on its ability to evoke "ideas," and this emphasis is characteristic of the later phase of picturesque landscape gardening that begins with Price and Knight. Landor's garden, the narrator says, is "pittresco, in the true sense of the Italian term" (VI, 257). The many comparisons of garden landscape to landscape painting reflect the visual orientation of those architects and theorists who looked almost entirely to the line, form, and color of painting for inspiration. Another facet of this visual preoccupation is the way in which Landor's Cottage comes "gradually" into view and in which the path of approach allows only the best scenically "framed" views. Nothing better embodies the ideal of visual "naturalness" than the relationship of house and grounds. The house has wings to the west and north which are attached

to the main building with studied irregularity and which carefully decrease in proportion and elevation. Jasmine, honeysuckle, and grape-vines strategically intertwine with various parts of the house in order to emphasize the organic connection of the house with its surroundings.

"The Domain of Arnheim" stresses those exotic qualities which recall the Garden of Idea of Brown and his imitators. The exotic ivory canoe with arabesque devices and the elaborately carved golden gates which open to the sound of music, are highly "literary" embellishments.²¹ Poe's mention of Beckford's Fonthill in the same breath with Arnheim accentuates the sense of the latter's literary inspiration, for few homes have been more literarily inspired than Beckford's eccentric palace of imagination. In pointed contrast to the design of Landor's garden, the serpentine intricacy and high banks of the approach of Ellison's home cut off all possibility of catching a good view until one is directly on top of it and "the whole Paradise of Arnheim bursts upon the view" (VI, 196-97). And just as Brown's gardens had no organic relation to the house, the garden of Arnheim has none to the mass of architecture at its center. Hovering

"by miracle in mid-air," the building is captured momentarily "upspringing confusedly from amid all" (VI, 197).

The contrast that Poe appears to be aiming at sets the Garden of Idea against what we might call the Impressionistic Garden. This contrast may well have been suggested by a historical background, but an argument that Poe intends a clear historical contrast would be difficult to sustain. "Landor's Cottage" contains a few characteristically Brownian features, such as the "dead trunk of a fantastic pear-tree" from which hang bird-cages and out-houses (twice alluded to) concealed entirely from view by surrounding foliage and strategic placement. Like Ellison's domain, Landor's is graced by flocks of sheep, suggesting a self-conscious pastoralism, and has an access path so excessively serpentine that one cannot advance straight ahead for more than two or three paces. On the other hand, both domains contain features uncharacteristic of the Brown garden. The banks of Brown's artificial rivers and lakes, for instance, were notoriously smooth and barren of vegetation, but the opposite is the case in Ellison's and Landor's hardens. In short, Poe's fictional landscape

gardens are designed to satisfy his own aesthetic tastes and literary purposes, not historical accuracy.

One critic has suggested that in "Landor's Cottage" Poe "qualifies the ideas on landscape gardening expressed in the first story [i.e., 'The Domain of Arnheim']". While Poe formerly favored the 'artificial' style of gardening, he here shows himself a proponent of the 'natural' style."²² Even if we grant Poe's intention to embody different styles in different fictional gardens, there is little compelling logic in the proposition that the order of presentation must indicate a change in preference. Moreover, the rigid application of the terminology of Ellison's writer "who has . . . well treated this theme" to Poe's own literary purpose can lead to a distorted perspective. For one thing, "artificial" is an ambiguous and potentially misleading term. We have already noted that Poe does not equate it with the geometric style (as the Arcturus reviewer apparently does), nor does he seem to equate it exclusively with the style of Capability Brown. Instead, Poe treats the term broadly and literally as meaning "displaying art." Obviously, elements of Ellison's garden are artificial in this sense. But Landor's garden displays

considerable art, too, as Poe's persistent analogies to painting and poetry in the piece demonstrate. Not only does Poe speak of the garden's "excess of art" (VI, 257), but when he describes "Annie" as the "perfection of natural, in contradistinction from artificial grace" (VI, 268), the comparison is surely not to Arnheim but to Landor's own domain. A further stumbling block to a rigid distinction between "natural" and "artificial" styles in the two pieces is that the symbolic strategy of "The Domain of Arnheim" requires a gradual shift in the direction of the exotic during the journey through the garden; the landscape garden exhibits not so much a style as a tendency.

There are several more satisfactory explanations of the different characters and atmospheres of the two landscape gardens. One is that the gardens complement two different edifices, a cottage and a veritable palace; each garden would be grotesquely inappropriate to the edifice which the other serves. There is a certain historical justification for this state of affairs because the gradual development of picturesque landscape gardening in the direction of verisimilitude to nature was paralleled by the

rise of the cottage as what John Summerson calls "an architectural toy with an intrinsic interest of its own."²³ The palace of Arnheim is a paradise out of some private Arabian Nights, and the wild gorges, ivory canoes, and precipitous chasms of its landscape garden are as appropriate to it as the more sedate landscape of Landor's garden is to his cottage. The gardens are not meant to be exhibitions of styles in themselves; they must be considered as units with their houses.

A second explanation for the difference is provided by Ellison himself in "The Domain of Arnheim":

"Now," said my friend, "what we regard as exaltation of the landscape may be really such, as respects only the moral or human point of view. Each alteration of the natural scenery may possibly effect a blemish in the picture, if we can suppose this picture viewed at large--in mass--from some point distant from the earth's surface, although not beyond the limits of its atmosphere. It is easily understood that what might improve a closely scrutinized detail, may at the same time injure a general or more distinctly observed effect." (VI, 184)

The Domain of Arnheim is not meant to be viewed from the ground and from a conventional perspective can be seen in only small pieces. Landor's garden, on the other hand,

is meant to be seen from a normal, ground perspective, and because it winds strategically downward into a valley it can be seen to good effect from a terrestrial vantage.

The disparity in points of view is consistent with Poe's symbolic purpose. Arnheim represents the paradise of art to Poe the Artist. Hovering in mid-air, the palace itself suggests the perspective from which the Domain of Arnheim is meant to be seen, the perspective for which the artist of the beautiful strives. Ellison describes this perspective as an "intermedium" between image and idea which places artist and art half-way between divinity and humanity. Landor's "little domain" is a terrestrial paradise available to a man of moderate means with a taste for genteel rural life. No paradise of art, it is an artistically conceived paradise--the daydream paradise of Poe the Man. The homes of Ellison and Landor are polar houses, therefore, not because they sport superficially contrasting styles of landscape architecture but because they represent polar impulses in the mind of Edgar Allan Poe.

2. Symbol

"The Domain of Arnheim" is usually treated simply as

an expansion of "The Landscape Garden." But Poe's revisions of the earlier piece when it reappeared as the first part of the later, show that his thematic intention in the intervening five years had grown more ambitious. Ellison, in the revised piece, no longer wishes merely to fulfill his "destiny as Poet" (IV, 265), he wants to realize "the august purposes for which the Deity had implanted the poetic sentiment in man" (VI, 182). When later Poe, in another added passage, speaks of Ellison's "one master passion . . . the thirst for beauty" (VI, 188), he has in mind more than ambitions which end in the painter's painting of a new picture or the poet's writing of a new poem. He is speaking of the proper pursuit of "man."

By "artist," therefore, Poe means one who approaches life in a certain way. Like Shaftesbury more than a century before, Poe wants men to "improve and become artists in the kind."²⁴ That is why he pointedly speculates that perhaps the greatest artistic minds never create works of art. Such geniuses may not wish to sully their rapture in the contemplation of ideal beauty by trying to embody their vision in matter. Poe's point is much the same as Coleridge's, when in the Biographia Literaria the latter

distinguishes between the primary and the secondary imagination. The second, a reflection of the first, belongs to the artist. The primary imagination is "the living Power and prime Agent of all human Perception, and as a repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I AM."²⁵ Creativity belongs not only, not even primarily, to the painter or the writer, but to the man who devotes himself to the exercise of the imagination's "em-
plastic" power. Poe calls this exercise the "thirst for beauty." To become an "artist" is Poe's version of salvation, and to be saved in this way is to regain Paradise.

If there is one trend evident in Poe's revision of "The Landscape Garden," it is the studied evocation of Eden. No passage better illustrates this strategy than the following, Poe's longest single addition to the original 1842 text:

My own thoughts on the subject had rested in the idea that the primitive intention of nature would have so arranged the earth's surface as to have fulfilled at all points man's sense of perfection in the beautiful, the sublime, or the picturesque; but that this primitive intention had been frustrated by the known geological disturbances--disturbances of form and color-grouping, in the correction or allaying of which

lies the soul of art. The force of this idea was much weakened, however, by the necessity which it involved of considering the disturbances abnormal and unadapted to any purpose. It was Ellison who suggested that they were prognostic of death. He thus explained:--Admit the earthly immortality of man to have been the first intention. We have then the primitive arrangement of the earth's surface adapted to his blissful estate, as not existent but designed. The disturbances were the preparations for his subsequently conceived deathful condition. (VI, 184)

This is the matrix-passage of "The Domain of Arnheim," one to which any attempt to understand the piece must return again and again. The way in which a number of derivative ideas have dovetailed into a wholly original proposition is almost a parable of the synthetic power of the imagination which, as Coleridge says, "dissolves, diffuses, dissipates in order to re-create."²⁶

That the function of art is to restore the order which existed before the Fall is, for instance, not in the least original with Poe. The idea apparently originated with Bellori, whose A Parallel of Poetry and Painting Dryden translated near the end of the seventeenth century, and was echoed in the following century by John Dennis, Shaftesbury, and others.²⁷ Poe might have picked it up

almost anywhere. Of real interest is the way in which Poe has adapted this derivative theory to the theory of "geological disturbances" advanced by nineteenth century scientists such as Lyell and Chambers to explain the earth's history as a procession of geological eras. Both theories are in turn adapted to Poe's own cosmological scheme, which gained its fullest expression in the prose-poem Eureka!. This cosmology, in brief, postulated a primal unity, the diversifying of which was creation. On a human scale, the continuity of this diversification is life, and life, therefore, is a process of decay, death, lapsation from unity. Eventually, as Poe sees it, diversity will once again tend to unity, creation will be uncreated, and matter will dissolve into essence once more.

The perfect order of beauty is an expression of primal unity, and in "The Domain of Arnheim" Ellison imagines this beauty to have been the reigning feature of the Edenic landscape. The geological eras have destroyed Eden's perfect order, even as the Fall has made men subject to death. The "august purpose for which the Deity had implanted the poetic sentiment in man," hence, is to recreate Eden. In "The Colloquy of Monos and Una,"

Poe characterizes this recreation as a resurrection, a release from the process of decay and diversification. "That man, as a race, should not become extinct," says Monos, "I saw that he must be 'born again'" (IV, 205). Ellison aspires to be mid-wife at this rebirth, to become the new Adam in his self-created Eden.²⁸ This Adamism is evident even in "The Landscape Garden" of 1842, as Poe notes that Ellison's good fortune and preternatural endowments of beauty and intellect seem to refute "the dogma--that in man's physical and spiritual nature, lies some hidden principle, the antagonist of Bliss" (IV, 259-60). Like Poe, Ellison scorns the idea of improvement of the human situation by collective, social action, seeing rebirth into pre-Fall Adamism as something to be attained only by the individual in his pursuit of the absolute beauty.

What is peculiar to Ellison's artistry is his predilection for "purely physical loveliness" (VI, 181). It is this "materialism," as Poe expresses it, tinged with Ellison's speculations that leads him to landscape gardening as the ideal object of his thirst for beauty.

"Materialism" may seem like a queer piece of diction for

an aesthetic idealist such as Poe to use in a commendatory sense, but this materialism lies at the heart of Arnheim as a symbol. In "The Colloguy of Monos and Una" Monos envisions a day when the earth may become a death-purged "Paradise" for the "now immortal, but still for the material, man" (IV, 205). The reason for Poe's insistence on the material becomes clear when set against the light of his cosmological scheme. Matter alone is evidence of decay, but essential unity is nothingness, uncreation. Neither are very attractive alternatives. But suppose a condition were realizable which partook both of ~~unity~~ and variety, of existence and essence, of image and idea. This would be a Paradise, a kind of immortality.

This "intermedium" is the paradise of artistry, the romantic eternal presentness of creativity as seen in Poe's own peculiar terms. Ellison carefully defines his aesthetic theory in such a way as to emphasize its medial position. Let us imagine, he says, an art which, "retaining the necessary idea of art or culture" as an expression of human purpose, by its novel design also conveys "the sentiment of spiritual interference" (VI, 187). Or, viewing the issue from the other end of the glass, let

us imagine the eternal design of God "one step depressed," so that it shall "convey the idea of care, or culture, or superintendence, on the part of beings superior, yet akin to humanity." In traditional terms, such beings might be described as angels. It is to further this analogy that Poe changes the ideal vantage for observing landscape from "some remote point in the heavens" (IV, 267) in "The Landscape Garden" to "some point distant from the earth's surface, although not beyond the limits of its atmosphere" (VI, 184) in "The Domain of Arnheim." Medieval angelology, as Poe must have known, posited that the visibility of angels came about from their spiritual substance taking on a clothing of air.²⁹

Poe's conception of the artist was, in the main, a Platonic one. He believed, like Plato, that the material world is only a veiled image of spiritual fact. It is the Platonic assumptions of Poe's aesthetic theory which account for the circumstance the narrator offers as something of a conundrum:

Let a "composition" be defective;
let an emendation be wrought in its
mere arrangement of form; let this
emendation be submitted to every
artist in the world; by each will its

necessity be admitted. And even
far more than this; in remedy of the
defective composition, each insulated
member of the fraternity would have
suggested the identical emendation.
(VI, 183)

The process of "composing" landscape in a garden thus becomes an inevitable metaphor for an artistry which achieves the mediating capacity of the prototypical creative artist, the Neo-Platonic demiurge. The landscape garden, rightly conceived, embodies this artistry because while its substance is the purely material product of nature, its design reflects the order of the world of Platonic idea.

For Ellison, "rightly conceived" means artificially conceived. His preference for what he calls the "artificial style" of landscape gardening over the "natural style" expresses Poe's own romantic belief in a creative rather than mimetic conception of art. A theory of gardening which seeks only to harmonize the various elements in a landscape by principles extrapolated from the observation of natural phenomena (i.e., Neo-Classical rationalism), can never recreate the spiritual beauty of an aboriginal Eden. Nature is too dim a reflection of spirit, and natural order and spiritual order do not coincide. Poe associates this approach with "the understanding" (in the

Coleridgean sense), and in "The Colloguy of Monos and Una" he holds mimetic theory responsible for the "rectangular obscenity" of the Earth's "Art-scarred" past (IV, 205). Only the creative insight of the artist with his eyes on another world can embody the divine idea in matter. Poe's symbolism of "point of view" dramatizes the true artist's perspective. Only a landscape garden designed to be seen from above can possess the "sentiment of spiritual interference" given by the artist attuned to spiritual beauty.

Ellison is unique among Poe's quasi-artists in the ease with which he realizes his goal. In "The Poetic Principle," Poe speaks of the artist's "wild effort to reach the Beauty above us," of the "struggle to apprehend the supernal Loveliness" (XIV, 273-74). But for Ellison there is no wildness, no struggle. One commentator has exclaimed sardonically of him, "Now, that's a real surprise. Who had thought to find a happy character in Poe?"³⁰ The explanation for this anomaly seems to be that Ellison uniquely occupies two recurrent symbolic roles in Poe's fiction, the seeker and the ideal. His success as an artist is mythic in proportions because he is the living exemplification of his own theories, effortlessly uniting,

as Poe's protagonists otherwise don't, the spiritual and the sensuous, Ligeia and Rowena. Arnheim, the perfect artifice of the perfect artist, is also Ellison's home. Ellison does more than create art, he lives in his artistry.

The Domain of Arnheim is Ellison's Garden of Idea, for it gives symbolic embodiment to its creator's conception of the nature of art. Or, we might say that Ellison (i.e., Poe) has given symbolic expression in the design of his garden to the road that the artist must follow to arrive at Arnheim, the realization of artistic fulfillment. The meaning of the journey through the garden is latent in the matrix-passage already quoted, which Poe clearly added to the original text of "The Landscape Garden" as preparation for the "tour." The passage provides a key both to the symbolic meaning of the design of the Domain of Arnheim and to the significance of the narrator's reaction to what he sees.

In the passage in question the narrator speaks of Eden as having "fulfilled at all points man's sense of perfection in the beautiful, the sublime, or the picturesque." These are Sir Uvedale Price's three

aesthetic categories, and a short time later Poe pointedly rehearses some of their respective visual-emotive effects, when he notes that the ideal landscape displays "united beauty, magnificence, and strangeness" (VI, 187). This ideal of unity is responsible, for instance, for Ellison's rejection of a high "prospect" for the location of his domain, since the grandeur of prospect shifts the aesthetic balance too far in the direction of sublimity. "Grandeur in any of its moods," he says, "but especially in that of extent, startles, excites--and then fatigues, depresses" (VI, 189-90). The Domain of Arnheim is designed to appeal to the entire range of the traveler's aesthetic responsiveness, and from the time the traveler sets out until the ritual changing of boats, he runs the gamut of effects from the picturesque to the beautiful to the sublime.

First the traveler moves through an intricately winding gorge, which is suffused with dense foliage and which throws its "sharpness of outline" against the sky. The traveler is "enwrapt in an exquisite sense of the strange" (VI, 191), or picturesque. The channel then leads to a circular basin, in which occurs a strange

phenomenon. The rugged, picturesque hillside, when reflected in the water of the basin, appears more beautiful than picturesque, giving the impressions of "richness, warmth, color, quietude, uniformity, softness, delicacy, daintiness" (VI, 192). Before the traveler has further time to reflect, he comes "shooting suddenly into this bay" and finds himself "astounded" by the sublime spectacle of a "limitless vista" of horizon, over which the sun is setting. It is at this point in the journey that the traveler changes boats. From the time of the change until the arrival at Arnheim, Poe's descriptive language is carefully designed to avoid emphasis on a procession of aesthetic responses. There is a complete unity of effect. The culminating description of Arnheim is a synaesthetic welter. Since its transcendental beauty has no analogue in the natural world, Arnheim can only be rendered in a disorganized burst of language:

There is a gush of entrancing melody;
there is an oppressive sense of strange
sweet odor;--there is a dreamlike
intermingling to the eye of tall
slender Eastern trees--bosky shrubber-
ies--flocks of golden and crimson
birds--lily-fringed lakes--meadows of
violets, tulips, poppies, hyacinths,
and tube-roses--long intertangled

lines of silver streamlets. . . .
(VI, 196)

Here is a representation of the true artist's flashing intuitions of the world of absolute, Platonic beauty, as anyone who reads the account of the Poet's vision in the next-to-concluding paragraph of "The Poetic Principle" will know:

He recognizes the ambrosia which nourishes his soul, in the bright orbs that shine in Heaven--in the volutes of the flower--in the clustering of low shrubberies--in the waving of the grainfields--in the slanting of tall Eastern trees--in the blue distance of mountains, in the grouping of clouds--in the twinkling of half-hidden brooks, in the gleaming of silver rivers. . . . (XIV, 290-91)

The journey through Arnheim, then, is a journey through the fragmented varieties of aesthetic effects, each of which reflects only in part the supernal beauty, to a momentary impression of that ideal. Poe stresses his symbolic intention by dogging his traveler with intimations of a transcendental world beyond the natural. The keel of the traveler's boat, for example, is said to balance on its reflected counterpart, which "floated in constant company with the substantial one, for the purpose of

sustaining it" (VI, 191). And later, the circular basin makes the towering hills reflected in it appear an "inverted Heaven" (VI, 192). The climax of the journey is the actual edifice of Arnheim, which hovers in mid-air, emphasizing artistry's mediation between image and idea. That Poe is deliberately evoking a comparison with Coleridge's "pleasure dome" of Kubla Khan, its shadow floating "midway on the waves," seems beyond question. "The Domain of Arnheim" provides ample testimony that Poe understood Coleridge's parabolic drift in that enigmatic poem long before twentieth century literary critics.

The latter part of the matrix-passage added to "The Landscape Garden" also suggests the key to the symbolic topography of the Arnheim landscape. The destruction of the perfect order of Eden Ellison maintains to be "prognostic of death," and as Poe writes in "The Colloquy of Monos and Una," to regain paradise one must be "born again." David K. Jeffrey has rightly noted that the imagery of the winding channel leading to the circular basin represents a return to the womb, and that the "funereal gloom" of the channel indicates a movement toward death.³¹ The journey to the basin is a journey away from the condition of

natural life. It begins with recognizably natural scenes of normal, civilized life. The gradual movement from "the idea of cultivation" to "merely pastoral care" to the primitive landscape of the gorge, suggests a movement backward in time; and the increasing preternatural cleanness of the granite and lack of blemish in the moss indicate a movement away from the imperfection of life and look ahead to the absolute absence of any dead thing on the final leg of the journey. The changing of boats is a sign that the traveler has been purged of the natural and deathful in the womb of the basin and has begun the process of rebirth. The synaesthetic ecstasy of the arrival at Arnheim is not, however, a "vision of . . . Unity and Nothingness which is death and God," as Jeffrey maintains,³² it is a sign of rebirth through creative imagination. From "the wreck and chaos of the usual senses," Monos explains to Una, "there appeared to have arisen within me a sixth, all perfect" (IV, 209). This "sixth sense" is the creative imagination of the artist, which mediates directly with the realm of ideas.

"The Domain of Arnheim" is a major piece of fiction in the Poe canon, but it is also a flawed masterpiece,

largely as a result of imperfect engrafting of new material on the old text of "The Landscape Garden." Ellison's "four elementary principles" for ensuring happiness have no compelling place in the expanded piece, since the first two have no relevance to the symbolic journey that concludes it. And while Arnheim and its domain are symbolically coherent, their exotically detailed features co-exist uncomfortably with the prosaic discursiveness of the details of landscape gardening and "touring" in the original piece.

Still, the more unified "pendant," "Landor's Cottage," is a poor thing by comparison. Poe once claimed that "The Domain of Arnheim" "expresses so much of my soul."³³ There is no record of his having made such a claim for "Landor's Cottage." The germ of the piece can be found in the same letter in which Poe speaks of the spirituality of "The Domain of Arnheim." Poe speaks to Sarah Helen Whitman of "building for ourselves a cottage" of "strange, wierd, and incomprehensible yet most simple beauty."³⁴ Wholly apparent in the piece which dramatizes this desire is that Poe is claiming nothing for the power of this beauty. Despite the veneer of significant-sounding

language, "Landor's Cottage" is devoid of serious literary purpose. Instead, it represents as elaborate an exercise in daydreaming as Poe was ever to indulge in. The curious methodology of the dreaming lends the piece what piquancy it has.

Of some interest is Poe's choice of the term "pendant" to describe the relation of "Landor's Cottage" to "The Domain of Arnheim." The Oxford English Dictionary records enough senses of the word to allow for virtually diametrical meanings. A pendant could be a matched piece, or it could be a complement, that which completes a whole. Which does Poe mean? Downing uses the term in italics in his treatise on landscape gardening to describe "scenery of an opposite character."³⁵ But Poe's own usage tends to emphasize similitude. In "The Philosophy of Furniture," for instance, he speaks of "the corruption of taste" as a "portion or pendant of the dollar-manufacture" (XIV, 106), and in the sketch of Duyckinck in The Literati, he speaks of the man's appearance being the "pendant" of his character--both are "equally simple" (XV, 60). Perhaps Poe deliberately chose the word for its ambiguity of meaning because his stress in "Landor's Cottage" is on

both similarity and dissimilarity vis-à-vis its companion piece.

Poe's efforts to show similarity have hitherto gone unremarked, but the deliberate parallels to "The Domain of Arnheim" are far too numerous to be coincidental. The more obvious ones are: (1) Both landscape gardens are called "domains." (2) Both sport flocks of sheep. Both have (3) approaches of excessively serpentine character and (4) water of extraordinary cleanness and clarity. Both have an (5) "amphitheater," and (6) a stream leading to a lake, (7) in which floats a canoe. (8) Both houses are reached by passing through a gate embedded in a rocky wall, and (9) have exotic birds in their immediate vicinity. (10) Both Landor and Ellison dwell with Eves in their earthly paradises.

Why does Poe engage in an elaborate exercise designed to show similarity of detail lurking behind an apparent dissimilarity of effect? One would like to believe that Poe is employing the device of "double vision" that Melville uses to develop the epistemological themes in "The Two Towers" and "The Paradise of Bachelors and the Tartarus of Maids." In these stories, Melville undertakes to show,

through the subtle repetition of details, that the essential realities of apparently different places and situations are the same. Doing so allows him to make implicit comment on subjects as diverse as the folly of religious faith, the social exploitation of women, and the impersonal biological mechanisms underlying the "miracle" of life. No such purpose is discernible beneath the surface mechanism of "double vision" in "Landor's Cottage." Poe apparently practices his bit of narrative legerdemain in the interest of pursuing his own fantasy of wish-fulfillment. In yet another instance of the fantasy-synthesis of opposing houses, Poe literally subsumes the Domain of Arnheim in the "little domain" of Landor in order to gain "the best of both worlds."

The tip of the fantasy iceberg shows Poe grappling with the anti-democratic impulse that runs like a subterranean stream through American romanticism. Like many of the American writers who were committed to political democracy but hated democratic culture, Poe cannot resist imagining an aristocratically conceived American House of culture amid the sinkhole of democratic vulgarity. He despised the glitter and glare of tasteless American

imitation of Europe, perpetuated by what he calls in "The Philosophy of Furniture" the "aristocracy of dollars." "In England," Poe sniffs, "no mere parade of costly appurtenances would be so likely" (XIV, 101-02). The Landors belong to the aristocracy of which Poe liked to imagine himself a member: the aristocracy of taste. Through the device of "double vision," the cosmopolitan air of Arnheim is reproduced along the banks of the Hudson. Poe endows the grounds of his American House with "grass such as we seldom see out of England" (VI, 256) and with the tame deer and vigilant mastiff without which no imagined English estate would be complete. Landor's domain is not, as one critic has suggested, "Poe's poetic counterpart for Thomas Jefferson's agrarian utopia."³⁶ It is a utopia drawn from a Ruysdael canvas, complete with top-boots, sandy lanes, and Ellison's "ecstacies of the fox-hunter and . . . tillers of the earth" (VI, 177). In his heart, Edgar "loved a lord" quite as much as Tom Moore did.

There is an underwater side to Poe's exercise in fantasy. We have already noted that the organizing symbols in Poe's landscape fiction are the houses which the gardens serve. It is in consideration of the homes of Ellison and

Landor that dream symbol and literary symbol reach a parting of the ways. Parts of the description of Landor's Cottage, as Hervey Allen noted forty years ago, are based on Poe's own cottage at Fordham,³⁷ and, as Poe himself confesses, "Annie" is a representation of Annie Richmond, one of the women in his pathetic love-life of the last years.³⁸ Poe, Allen notes, "thus imagined Annie at home in his own house where he so often longed to see her."³⁹ Allen's deduction is brilliant and naive. "Annie" is not Annie Richmond, and Landor's Cottage is not Poe's cottage at Fordham. Both are fantasy concoctions with just enough basis in fact to distract Poe himself from the yearning they express: Poe's only partly conscious desire in his last years to retreat from his life-long commitment to the art which had brought him only poverty and misery.

To put the matter bluntly, Edgar Poe in this "cottage moment" no longer wanted to dwell with Israfel in the rarified atmosphere of Arnheim, he wanted to dwell in genteel squirehood with the love of a beautiful woman, that omnipresent and indispensable requisite of his happiness throughout life. The artistry of Arnheim is thus enlisted in the cause of designing a tasteful little snuggerly for

two along the Hudson. Ellison sought "and found" (VI, 188) his Eden and his Eve. Now Poe tells us of Landor's Cottage "as I found it" (VI, 271). The most pathetic note is that he cannot even imagine himself as Landor. Instead, like Walt Whitman creeping through the world of dreams and gazing wistfully at all the sleeping couples, Edgar pictures himself tripping down the garden path to find, but of course not really to find, the respite and nepenthe he longed for. Unfortunately, Poe was stuck at home in Arnheim with a destiny he had spent half a lifetime courting.

Chapter Four: Hawthorne's The House
of the Seven Gables

More clearly than Cooper or Poe, Hawthorne saw that human habitations are more than expressions of the minds of dwellers, they are an extension of the dweller's self, of the individual psyche. In one of his notebook entries he makes a keen observation, the substance of which served him well in his fictional treatment of houses and their inhabitants. The organic connection between dweller and dwelling, he notes, seems to decrease as the complexity of both increases: "We can rear stately and beautiful dwellings (though we seldom do), but they do not seem proper to the life of man, in the same way that his shell is proper to the lobster" or "in the same kind and degree, that a hut is proper to a peasant."¹ Houses, Hawthorne saw, are sources of identity, embodying man's relation both to nature and to his fellow man. He also saw that houses are intimately connected with collective identity. A hundred years before Frank Lloyd Wright, Hawthorne

envisions an architecture growing out of the American experience. Since, he reasons, "the architecture of a country always follows the earliest structures, American architecture should be a refinement of the log-house."²

The House of the Seven Gables (1851) is Hawthorne's most profound exploration of the role of habitation in the shaping of human identity. Approached from this perspective, the novel shows a depth of thought that belies the popular notion that Hawthorne was no thinker or theorist, and most of the most frequently heard objections to the novel's conclusion are invalidated. Hawthorne, critics have often objected, either fails to see the implications of the fictional problems he poses for himself in the diverse "morals" of the Preface and the novel proper,³ or he chooses to ignore them in his determination to write a novel that won't give his wife a headache, as The Scarlet Letter did.⁴ But the brightness of The House of the Seven Gables, like the brightness of Poe's landscape fiction, is more apparent than real. The gap that separates Maule's hut from Colonel Pyncheon's seven gabled house is quite as unbridgeable as the one that separates Natty Bumppo's hut from Judge Temple's house.

The comparison of Hawthorne's novel to The Pioneers is a particularly apt one.⁵ Both novels are plagued by technical deficiencies of plotting and pacing, and both, one suspects, are the novelists' most personally felt works. Hawthorne's is the greater novel and the more complex in conception. A major reason for this complexity is that while Cooper's divided American House exists in a spatial relation, Hawthorne's exists in a temporal relation. The purely temporal relation allows Hawthorne to do what Cooper does not: to show the involvement of one half of the house in the other. This involvement in turn allows Hawthorne an ideal opportunity to exercise his considerable gift of psychology, a gift which he possessed in greater abundance than Cooper and which forms a large part of the foundation of his greatness as a novelist.

1. Subject

Concurrent with the vogue for the picturesque in the American architecture of the 1840's was the reawakening of interest in the Gothic style. This coincidence is explicable enough when one reflects that the naturalism, variability, and redundancy which Ruskin saw as the core

of the Gothic style are also characteristic of picturesque landscape and rural architecture in their later, "impressionistic" phases. Both the Gothic and the picturesque were based on the belief that "man cannot," as Ruskin says, "advance in the invention of beauty, without directly imitating natural form."⁶ It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Gothic and the picturesque were popular with the cult of the natural in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which was itself a central force in the revolution in Western ideas that we call romanticism.

The story of the Early Gothic Revival in America is, on the domestic architectural side, one of the coalescence of the Gothic, the natural, and the picturesque in the so-called Rural Gothic style of cottage architecture. It was not really until several decades later, well into the second half of the nineteenth century, that the full range of the Victorian Gothic taste set by Ruskin, Morris, and others was felt in America. The most important figure in the Early Gothic Revival in America, the first stirrings of which are evident throughout the 1830's, was Andrew Jackson Downing, whose avowed aim was to cultivate a taste among his countrymen for the "'cottage homes of

England,' so universally and so justly admired."⁷ Downing's popular Cottage Residences (1842) and The Architecture of Country Homes (1850) spawned a host of admirers and imitators. The middle decades of the century saw a flood of books with titles such as Rural Homes, Homes for the People, Village and Farm Cottages, and Villas and Cottages. One of the more humorous notices paid to the Rural Gothic mania for "gingerbread" cottages was by James Russell Lowell, whose satiric poem "The Unhappy Lot of Mr. Knott" chronicles the tribulations of a man escaping to a cottage in the suburbs "approved by fashion's leaders."⁸ Mr. Knott's "cot" is enough, we are told, "to make one stare/ All corners and gables," and the builder's preoccupation with fashion rather than with function leaves the owner with a creaking, cracking, crumbling architectural disaster on his hands.

Hawthorne's familiarity with the Rural Gothic cottage vogue may be assumed with some certainty. As a writer for fashionable magazines such as Godey's and Graham's (which he mentions in connection with Holgrave in The House of the Seven Gables),⁹ he could not have failed to be aware of the direction of public taste in architecture. His

writing's contain at least two pointed references to the cottage vogue, both having a double-thrust that hides the author's satiric sneer behind a deadpan surface. One of these allusions occurs in The Blithedale Romance (1852), when Coverdale "in a playful way" suggests that Hollingsworth build his cottage residence at Blithedale in a shady vale of woods. Hollingsworth rejoins that he will build a model cottage on an open hillside, that the world "may take example and build many another like it." Coverdale professes perplexity that a man who aspires to reform the world "should care about educating the public taste in the department of cottage architecture, desirable as such improvement certainly was."¹⁰ Indeed, at the last Hollingsworth's grand edifice for the reformation of criminals gives way to a small cottage with Priscilla that, the reformer admits, "answers all my purposes."¹¹ That the ideals of Blithedale tend more to the ferme orne than to the producing farm is Hawthorne's grim joke at the expense of utopianism.

An equally revealing reference to the contemporary cottage vogue occurs near the end of The House of the Seven Gables. God's in his heaven, all's right with the

world, and Phoebe has announced the intention to spirit off dear Uncle Venner to the country, along with the reconciled clans of Maule and Pyncheon. "There is a cottage in our new garden--the prettiest little, yellowish-brown cottage you ever saw; and the sweetest-looking place, for it looks just as if it were made of gingerbread" (341). Thus, at the beginning of a new loop on Clifford's "ascending spiral" of progress lies, of all things, the beau idéal of Andrew Jackson Downing. That progress should be measured in such terms ought to give us pause about Hawthorne's meaning.

The Rural Gothic style of the 1840's and 1850's carried with it a blend of elements which may have contributed to the conception and execution of The House of the Seven Gables. We shall consider three of these elements, as well as their relation to and possible effect on Hawthorne's novel. The first is the powerful movement toward ruralism, treated at some length in the first **chapter** of this study. Another concomitant of the Early Gothic Revival was a renewed interest in the Colonial Gothic architecture of the seventeenth century. The last element in the blend is a new brand of rhetoric, both

subsuming and superseding the "republicanism" accompanying the Classical Revival of the 1820's and 1830's, which I shall call the Rhetoric of Permanence.

While a fully developed cult of the rural had already existed in American life and letters since the early 1820's, the cottage vogue of the 1840's and 1850's provided a non-literary rallying point for the expression of ruralist sentiments. With sincere if excessive optimism, Downing, in a periodical essay of 1848, asserts, "Hundreds and thousands, formerly obliged to live in the crowded streets of cities, now find themselves able to enjoy a country cottage, several miles distant."¹² Another advocate of cottage living speculates that Americans have an "intuitive" attachment to the country, "an innate homage to the natural in contradistinction to the artificial."¹³ A third architectural writer, making the familiar claim for the positive moral influence of the country, hyperbolizes that "in the country, only, can men be reared."¹⁴

It is more than likely that Hawthorne's decision to locate the ostensible salvation of his characters in the country was influenced by such contemporary exhortations to fly there with all possible haste. Hawthorne prepares

us for the ruralist resolution with his careful portrait of the Pyncheon garden as an urban oasis, a place where "Nature, elsewhere overwhelmed, and driven out of the dusty town, had . . . been able to retain a breathing-place" (97). The anonymous New England town of the novel is, in fact, not a very nice place. Its newer dwellings show a "plodding uniformity" (32) of design, and its "bleak atmosphere" (271), exacerbated by the hustle and bustle, the smoke and machinery of a thriving, modern city, makes it a representative object of ruralist detestation. In place of the nature that has been driven out of town, the city offers the "farm" of Uncle Venner, a great, brick work-house. The few townspeople we meet are not an especially wholesome lot. They are perhaps best represented by the rude, young gingerbread enthusiast, who devours with careless relish all the little pastry-figures he can or cannot afford.

By contrast, the image of hope in the novel is persistently offered in rural terms. Uncle Venner, the town's unofficial philosopher, longs to retire to his "farm." The dwellers at Seven Gables find their initial

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solace in the last urban retreat of the garden, then fly, when the opportunity presents itself, to a house in the country. God's care and pity toward his unfortunate creatures is characterized as a "warm sunbeam" that comes "into every cottage-window" (263). Hawthorne, in short, gives every appearance of being a man of his time, locating the key to moral revitalization, spiritual uplift, and the all around good life in the taking up of country life.

The reality of Hawthorne's attitude probably lies as much in the shade as in the sunshine. We have no reason to doubt the sincerity of Hawthorne's admiration for the "rural part of New England" from which Phoebe comes, a place, as he says, "where the old fashions and feelings of relationship are still partially kept up" (78). On the other hand, Uncle Venner's gingerbread cottage orne offers a disconcerting contrast. The original Matthew Maule, it will be remembered, also lived in a "cottage." The signification of "cottage," however, was not the same in seventeenth-century America as in nineteenth-century America. The colonial cottage was a rude, cabin-like structure of rough timber or wattle-and-daub. Copied

from the English peasant-hut, such "cottages" provided homes for the first settlers in Plymouth and Salem.¹⁵ Is this, then, where "progress" has taken New England? Has Clifford's spiral of progress replaced the "English wigwam" with the gingerbread cottage, Maule's cow-path with a formal walk, his natural spring with the artificial pond of a picturesque landscape garden?

The latent absurdity of the comparison suggests that Hawthorne's blithe ruralism conceals a figure in the carpet, and that his dabblings in the realm of "cottage architecture" and fashionable ruralism offer a subtle criticism of contemporary prescriptions for civilized man's salvation. That Hawthorne's two ambitious reformers, Holgrave and Hollingsworth, eventually abandon their ideals for the middle-class comforts of genteel rural life, implies a criticism not only of their reformist notions, but of the "flight" to the country, a flight, in fact, that offers insulation from rather than solutions to the great human problems.

The Early Gothic Revival in America also sparked a new interest in the Colonial Gothic style of the

seventeenth century, which the early colonists adapted, with some alterations, from late medieval English models. Admittedly, this interest was more historical than aesthetic, reflecting the germinal efforts of republican America to rediscover its past and to clarify its national identity. H. R. Cleveland in an 1836 article in The North American Review expresses condescending but genuine regret over the rapid disappearance of colonial architecture "characteristic of the spirit . . . of the Puritanical temper of our forefathers."¹⁶ In 1848, one Mrs. Tuthill of Philadelphia published the first historical account of American buildings, treating colonial architecture with a similar sincere condescension. But the renewed interest in the Colonial Gothic style received its most powerful impetus from the popularity of Hawthorne's The House of the Seven Gables and, later, from Longfellow's Tales of a Wayside Inn (1863).¹⁷

Hawthorne's interest in colonial architecture, it must be admitted, was largely a response to a personal rather than a collective inclination--part of his own obsessive effort to discover his relation to the by-gone past that had formed him. How one-sided and inaccurate it is to

say, as Henry James did, that Hawthorne is full "of mistrust for old houses."¹⁸ Hawthorne's appreciation of the architecture of old houses was preternatural for an age when old was almost synonymous with bad and newness the best measure of goodness. Speaking of the Old Manse, Hawthorne says, "I wish I could give a description of our house, for it really has a character of its own, which is more than can be said of most edifices in these days."¹⁸ The American Note-Books, particularly those covering the period from 1836 to 1842, overflow with careful descriptions of old colonial houses, many of which contributed details much later to The House of the Seven Gables.¹⁹

The "character" of Colonial Gothic is latent in what Emerson, Ruskin, and others saw as the organicism of Gothic style. Free from the Classical requisite of symmetry, the Gothic style proved ideally suited to the domestic architecture of a growing community because it allowed the house literally to "grow" in order to meet changing needs.²⁰ The typical Colonial Gothic house began with only two ground-floor rooms, a parlor chamber and a hall chamber, displaced on either side of the central hearth, the structural unit around which the house grew.

From this basic design the house was functionally adapted to the needs of the growing family within. A lean-to addition across the back of the house allowed for a separate kitchen, as well as for a pantry or extra bedroom. Wings or separate gable-sections could be added to the sides whenever necessary. If possible, the additions were organized in such a way as to give each room access to the central stack of the hearth, each separate flue merging into a common flue midway up the chimney. A frequent feature of the larger houses was the cluster-chimney, which either showed separate flues emerging from a single stack or concealed the flues with pilasters.

The Turner House of Salem, which may have served as a model for Seven Gables, provides a good illustration of the functional organicism of the Colonial Gothic dwelling.²¹ The original edifice was built on the simple two-room model and had but four gables, the end-gables formed by the pitched roof and two cross-gables in the front. Through the years, wings, walls, ells, gables, and chimneys were added, torn down, and rebuilt. Although in Hawthorne's day the house sported seven gables, in its heyday in the eighteenth century it had eight.

It is scarcely surprising that the romantic literary symbol of the house as a dynamic human mind is so closely associated with Gothic architecture. Seven Gables is one of the highest expressions of this association and well illustrates the nature of a symbol as partaking of the reality it makes accessible. It is the inherent organicism of Gothic style that suggested the symbolic uses to which Hawthorne puts Seven Gables. The irony is that Hawthorne portrays the house as a dead thing; by comparison with the Pyncheon elm that overshadows it, the house seems an inorganic, dead hulk.

One of the signal features of Seven Gables is the ancient, central hearth, a component which, as we have already noted, functions as the organizing principle of the Colonial Gothic house. The central hearth, therefore, becomes the obvious representation of the historical Pyncheon heart. By the time of Hepzibah and Clifford, the heart is cold, for old Hepzibah, living alone, has scant reason to keep the home-fires burning. The transfusion of new blood in the form of new boarders, Phoebe and Holgrave, literally and symbolically provides new life for the hearth, for now many rooms must have fires

and many meals must be made on the hearth. It is Phoebe, in particular, who rekindles "the 'heart's household-fire'" (115) and drives the cold from the hearts of Hepzibah, Clifford, and Holgrave, much as her kitchen-fire drives "the lingering dusk out of the kitchen" (109). The cluster-chimney issuing from the hearth with its many flues is likened to "spiracles," providing air for the fire and disposing of waste, just as the respiratory system brings oxygen to and vents waste from the circulatory system.

Certain features of the Colonial Gothic facade also naturally suggested symbolic extensions to Hawthorne. One of these is the projection of the second story out over the facade of the first, a fact to which Hawthorne alludes several times. The "deep projection of the second story" (32) gives the house "a meditative look" that suggests it has secrets to ponder on. The overhang is an omnipresent feature in Colonial Gothic houses from 1650 on, having been borrowed from late medieval English town-buildings. A number of theories have been offered to explain the function of the overhang, none of them conclusively. The great arched window of Seven Gables,

which forms the "nose" of the house and from which Clifford is tempted to jump, is another commonplace of Colonial Gothic homes. Such a window usually lay between the cross-gables and at the head of the steep, winding stair that rose from the enclosed porch to give access to the second floor. The window normally offered the best "prospect" from the house, as indeed it does for Clifford, for whom it functions as a sensory organ, connecting him with the magnetic chain of humanity outside. The overall effect of the facade, Hawthorne predictably concludes, is that of a "human countenance" (9).

The symbolically suggestive cellar and "hidden closet" of Seven Gables also grow out of Hawthorne's knowledge about Colonial homes. Colonel Pyncheon lays his cellar deep within the foundations of his house, precisely upon the square of land formerly occupied by Maule's hut and directly above the source of Maule's well, which the cellar causes to become befouled. Hawthorne means to suggest a subterranean stream of guilt flowing at the lowest levels of the Pyncheon unconscious mind, stemming from the original sin of the Colonel. The nature of the cellar in early New England homes fit Hawthorne's

purpose perfectly. Because its only function was the storage of food for winter, the colonial cellar was seldom frequented. The cellar was almost never visible from the outside, and it extended only under the original portion of the house, never growing as the house grew over the years. Hawthorne also knew about a less common but hardly unprecedented feature of colonial houses, the secret closet. A number of such coverts were constructed during the years of witchcraft madness. The Turner house contained a famous secret staircase to a hidden upstairs room, the staircase having been constructed in an obsolete chimney.²² Hawthorne mentions a hidden closet several times in connection with Seven Gables as signifying hidden riches to Hepzibah and hidden guilt to Judge Pyncheon.

Finally, the Early Gothic Revival saw a renewal of interest in the matter of far broader impact and scope than the vagaries of architectural fashion. The locus classicus of the Rhetoric of Permanence in architecture, as we have previously noted, is Jefferson, whose inferable anxieties over his country's liability to cultural anarchy raised dreams of an enduring American House of brick or stone. The Rural Gothicists return to the Jeffersonian keynote with a new sense of urgency. The Jacksonian

era (1829-37) had seen a wave of "republican" sentiment, apotheosizing all changes in the status quo that could be construed as democratizing. During the 1840's, the ruralist architects began increasingly to temper "republican" rhetoric with subtle appeals to the desire for stability. The anglophile Downing remained largely apolitical, but subsequent writers, such as Calvert Vaux and Henry Cleveland, gave the cottage vogue a more populist turn, emphasizing inexpensive designs for "republicans" of limited means rather than the felicities of the English country home.

The Rhetoric of Permanence exists on many levels. On the purely architectural level it took up the old Jeffersonian focus on building materials. Downing sounds remarkably like Jefferson, when he writes,

In point of taste, a house of wood strikes us the least agreeably. . . . We are aware that the almost universal prevalence of wooden country houses in the United States has weakened this impression, but the strength with which it strikes an European, accustomed to solidity and permanence in a dwelling, is the best proof of the truth of our remark. And even in this country, the change of feeling which is daily taking place on this subject, shows very plainly

in how little estimation wood will be held as a building material, compared with brick or stone, by the next generation.²³

The coincidence of brick and stone with European notions of permanence vibrates like an iron string through the ruralist architects, as do reservations about the long-term results of an aristocracy of dollars.

It is not uncommon to hear it asserted, without much dissatisfaction, that in America, one generation makes a fortune, the next squanders it, and the third or fourth, beginning afresh . . . amasses . . . a new store of wealth, which is again run through as before. This melancholy fact is supposed by some to be agreeably connected with the abolition of the law of primogeniture; or the healthy action of political freedom and equality; whereas it is entirely contrary to the progressive spirit²⁴ of true republicanism. . . .

Wealthy Americans fear, the writer says, that passing on wealth to their children will make them idle dilettantes. The solution, as he sees it, is to invest one's wealth in a house and an "estate" as an anchor in the democratic flux which will nevertheless not corrupt, as ready cash might. In this way "every young republican" can become "aristocratic in its literal sense; that is, to be

'aristos'--the very best."²⁵

Another manifestation of the Rhetoric of Permanence was inherent in the very idea of Rural Gothic; namely, antipathy toward the city for its failure as an inspiriter of ambition for permanence. "In the city," complains Henry Cleveland, "every thing is subject to change. Few, comparatively, own their homes, and even they can seldom connect them with the thought of permanence."²⁶ Even more significant than the conjunction of ruralist sentiments with the idea of permanence is the former's conjunction with the more personal idea of home. The evocation of the word "home" among the Rural Gothicists is almost incantatory. The word is almost invariably italicized. "Homes are needed," says Gervase Wheeler. "The love of country," Downing says, "is inseparably connected with the love of home." In moving to the country, says Henry Cleveland, you relinquish old friendships, churches, schools. "But mark what compensation! You gain a home--that which you never truly had nor can have in the hired city lodging. A HOME!"²⁷ Clearly, "home" is a word to conjure with in the America of the post-Jacksonian era. Let us have republicanism, by all

means, the cry seems to be, but let us have stability, as well!

Written out of this atmosphere of antipathy to change and longing for stability, The House of the Seven Gables reflects all of the major features of the Rhetoric of Permanence. Hawthorne's pointed reiteration of the imagery of plebeianism and patricianism, far from reflecting the anachronistic yearnings of a single old family, reflects the concerns of Hawthorne's own day. A particularly revealing passage near the beginning of the novel betrays the contemporaneousness of Hawthorne's reference:

In this republican country, amid the fluctuating waves of our social life, somebody is always at the drowning-point. The tragedy . . . is felt as deeply, perhaps, as when an hereditary noble sinks below his order. More deeply; since, with us, rank is the grosser substance of wealth and a splendid establishment, and has no spiritual existence after the death of these, but dies hopelessly along with them. (44)

In arguing for the virtue of the "fluctuating waves," Holgrave represents a broad spectrum of American thought; not only transcendentalist philosophers and disestablishmentarian social theorists, but radical democrats, whose

desire to return to the days of an Old Republic that never was provided a rationale for endless change. The ruralists ranged themselves four-square against the American Hol-graves, while Hawthorne, like many of his fellow romantics, found himself torn between the two positions and tried to seek out a compromise.

Another sign that the roots of The House of the Seven Gables lie in a vigorous, contemporary dialogue is the symbolic importance with which Hawthorne invests building materials. The scarcity of tools, expertise, and the all important lime for mortar perhaps dictated that Colonel Pyncheon build his seven gabled house of wood. But the modern habitations which surround it continue to be made of wood and have a good deal less to recommend them in the area of style. This circumstance was quite in keeping with the rootlessness and social mobility which the ruralists attributed to the contemporary city-dweller. There is certainly a strong element of irony in the fact that the one durable urban dwelling continually cited is the brick work-house to which Uncle Venner longs to retire. This, Hawthorne seems to say, is likely to be the city's most enduring institution. Building materials also function

as a measure of Holgrave's changing attitude toward traditional institutions and beliefs. At first he expresses doubt whether even public buildings should be made of "such permanent materials as stone or brick" (198). By novel's end, he has changed his thinking to the point where he wishes that the late Judge Pyncheon had embodied "so excellent a piece of domestic architecture" as his country house "in stone, rather than in wood" (339).

But the most vital facet of Hawthorne's novel that grows out of the Rhetoric of Permanence is his treatment of the concept of "home," a facet that has rarely received the kind of critical scrutiny it deserves.²⁸ "From father to son," Hawthorne notes of the Pyncheons, "they clung to the ancestral house, with the singular tenacity of home-attachment" (24). The word "home" appears again and again throughout the novel. Much blood and ink has been spilled over what exactly The House of the Seven Gables is about. Is it, as the Preface indicates, about the sins of the father being visited on the sons? Is it about the evil of aristocratic pretensions in a democratic society? about the power of love? or sympathy? The novel seems

to be about all these things and more. And "home" is the concept that pulls them together. For The House of the Seven Gables was meant to be, and succeeds in being, one of the most profound disquisitions on the meaning of "home" ever attempted in fictional form.

2. Symbol

F. O. Matthiessen once observed that "Hawthorne's objections to the incumbrance of property often ran close to Thoreau's."²⁹ But there was a side of Nathaniel Hawthorne which is not at all comprehended by Matthiessen's observation. That side is laid bare for us in a notebook entry of 1842. Hawthorne has just married Sophia Peabody and set up housekeeping in the Old Manse. Looking out from a hill-top opposite his house, Hawthorne fancies that all of nature wears an aspect of "a world just created."³⁰ Catching a glimpse of the Manse as he descends the hill, he luxuriates in the feeling of how "sweet it was to draw near my own home, after having lived homeless in the world so long." The old house seems to "put on an aspect of welcome" as the weary, wayworn wanderer disappears through the doorway. Many years later, the happy little drama

would be reenacted in substance, if not in every detail, by Holgrave in the novel Hawthorne hoped to make the most "characteristic" of his cast of mind.³¹ Sophia became Phoebe, Seven Gables became the Old Manse, and Hawthorne himself became Holgrave, the mental traveler with too many deep thoughts for his own good who is domesticated and settled down by the love of a good woman.

In fact, the Old Manse period proved to be only one of a number of wayside stops for the wanderer, Hawthorne. Like Melville, who, said Hawthorne, could neither believe nor be content in his unbelief, Hawthorne could not make himself permanently "at home" within a house, nor could he be comfortable for long without one. The problem runs deeper than a mere fickleness of taste; it is that described by Emerson in the poetic fragment about the ~~strong~~ Genius urged to roam and the stronger Custom that brought him home. "Home," for Hawthorne, was the seam of consciousness, a metaphor for the reconciliation, however temporary, of contrary impulses within the mind. One impulse demands that a free rein be given to the vagrant, outward-tending, cosmic self, that this self be allowed to make itself "at home" in the House of Nature; the other impulse demands

that the self make a "home" with its kind and huddle round the fireplace in the House of Man.

The House of the Seven Gables explores the psychology of this "double consciousness" in symbolic form. Seven Gables is the House of Man, the embodiment of the social, "civilizing," stasis-craving impulse within the human psyche. The house's "human countenance" identifies it as a metaphor of consciousness. The "round globe," which is also, according to Clifford, "a vast head" (283) is the House of Nature. Maule's hut offers an image of the natural, or cosmic, self living at ease within the House of Nature, for which a number of images throughout the novel are synecdoches: the Pyncheon elm, the Pyncheon garden, the landscape that flashes past the train window during the "flight of the two owls." The essential action of the novel consists of the efforts of a number of characters to find a "home" in one or another of the two Houses or to find a dream house that will allow them to live in both--to reconcile, that is, the conflicting impulses within the human psyche. The home-seeking activity, therefore, is Hawthorne's metaphor of the psychological process of "individuation." For Hawthorne

saw that the identities of private persons and of entire nations are the function of interaction between the Houses of Nature and Man, and that to find a "home" is to achieve a stable identity.

Maule's hut makes only a brief appearance in the novel, but it is a symbol of great richness. It gives us a momentary glimpse of a solution to civilized man's woes that is neither attainable nor commensurable with the very idea of civilization. Maule's relation with the House of Nature is a dynamic one and one which gives him great satisfaction until outside forces intervene. Although Maule has hewn his bit of habitable space at the expense of nature, he claims as "property" no more than the hut in which he lives, and he feels impelled neither to conquer nor to possess nature. Offering no more resistance to natural processes than a tree, he gives no appearance of planning to inaugurate an enduring House of Maule until revenge supplies him with a motive. Because he has no unattainable wants, he has no reason to plan for the future, nor any reason to resist the tide of change from moment to moment.

As a symbol, Maule's hut exists in a number of

dimensions. Politically, the thatched hut suggests the hut of the medieval serf, upon which the original colonial huts were in fact modeled. Colonel Pyncheon, with his aristocratic pretensions and dreams of a great fiefdom, assumes the role of the usurping feudal lord, confiscating property according to what he regards as his lawful prerogatives and, retrospectively, thwarting incipient democracy in the New World.³² Historically, the hut embodies a vision of the virgin promise of the New World, as projected backward by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries on the first colonists--the promise, that is, of a new land in which, for the first time in millenia, every man could control his property without external interference. Socially, the hut dramatizes the harmonious pastoral existence on the verge of being superseded by a more complex, modern society, based on legal documents, social hierarchies, and the like; it is, as Edgar Dryden has put it, the "presocial hut of the solitary pioneer."³³ And in its most profound dimension, the psychological, the hut represents a highly simplified image of the self, a self, in the schematic Freudian terminology, composed of id and ego, with ego responding to id without the

contrary demands of superego. A man apparently without dreams, aspirations, or thirsts of any sort, Matthew Maule lives an Adamic existence in which identity is solely a matter of the interaction of self and nature, of house and non-house. There is for Maule no past, no future, only a perpetual, satisfying present.³⁴

The hut's psychological dimension provides an important clue to the symbolic significance of the entire Maule line. The original Matthew Maule's alleged wizardry and witchcraft are consonant with his close connection to nature, mastery of the spirits of nature being the traditional basis of the necromantic arts. As society advances from witchcraft hysteria, the "wizardry" of the Maules becomes more sophisticated. Thomas Maule and Holgrave are mesmerists of some accomplishments, and the latter practices another, even more scientific type of natural magic, daguerreotypy. Although the nature of their talent changes to keep pace with the changing times, the Maules share a symbolic connection with the unconscious mind. Small wonder that the "Pyncheons . . . were no better than bond-servants to these plebeian Maules, on entering the topsyturvy

commonwealth of sleep. Modern psychology, it may be, will endeavor to reduce these alleged necromancies within a system, instead of rejecting them as altogether fabulous" (32). This last is a wonderful piece of false ingenuousness, for Hawthorne's symbolic intention is precisely to systematize the internal dynamics of the human mind. The Maules represent the primitive, anti-civilized, natural urges in the individual and collective psyche, repressed and consigned to the realm of dreams, fantasies, and guilts.

One of the ways in which Hawthorne symbolizes the psychological continuity of the Maule strain is through what we shall call the symbol of the "inner sanctum." Holgrave, the descendant and symbolic extension of the hut-dweller Matthew Maule, has become "a lodger in a remote gable--quite a house by itself, indeed--with locks, bolts, and oaken bars, on all the intervening doors" (36, italics added). The hut, in short, has moved inside the house, locked itself in, and barred the door against all possibility of removal. As Gaston Bachelard has pointed out, the seeking out of retreats within the house is a displacement of the "hut dream," with its musings on

primitiveness.³⁵ Secure within the comfortable confines of a favorite spot--an attic, a window-seat, a cubby of some sort--the primitivist manqué experiences the pleasantness of carefree solitude and irresponsibility without foregoing the advantages of civilized life.

Holgrave, in his gabled hut, is a symbol of the continuing presence of Maule-guilt in the Pyncheon mind and a continuing reminder of the Maule strain in the House of Man. It is Phoebe's role to act as exorcist in this psychologized "haunted house." Her dreams, it is said, "exorcised the gloom" of her bed-chamber with a kind of "homely witchcraft." Through her domestic talents, a "wild hut . . . would acquire the home-aspect" (80-81), and the home-aspect is precisely what she is destined to bring to Holgrave, the descendant of a hut-dweller. For Phoebe's role is not only to redeem the Pyncheons, whose blood runs in her veins, but to redeem the Maules, as well. Holgrave's gabled hut is, after all, a perversion of the pastoral paradise of his ancestor, its raison d'être being the desire for revenge. And the motive of revenge has kept the Maule blood-lines quite as undiluted as the Pyncheon, condemning the Maules to live in the past as their detested enemy does, instead

of in the eternal present of the original Matthew Maule.

The symbol of the inner sanctum has another dimension in the case of individuals who try to live wholly in the House of Man and who deny the claims of the natural self and its primitive ground. Poe's fiction is full of such terrifying inner sanctums, from the after-hold in which Arthur Gordon Pym is trapped to the small office in the schoolhouse where William Wilson boards, a "remote and terror-inspiring . . . square inclosure of eight or ten feet, comprising the sanctum."³⁶ Melville's Pierre contains a series of inner sanctums. One is the small closet to which Pierre retreats to meditate upon a forbidden picture that reveals the dark side of the nature of his supposedly virtuous father; another is the musty little apartment in a high, remote corner of an old church, to which he has been driven by hidden motives with his half-sister.

Hawthorne gives a sinister turn to the inner sanctum by describing the character of Judge Pyncheon as a "tall and stately edifice" with a "hidden nook" or "bolted closet" that conceals the "secret abomination" of his soul (246). It is noteworthy, in this regard, how persistently and

often the Judge, having successfully abandoned the old Pyncheon house for a sunny country-seat, is driven back to the house he has escaped. Like Hiram Doolittle in The Pioneers, the Judge believes he has a rational motive for wanting to go to the last place one would expect him to want to go: to find out the location of an important document. And yet the intensity of his desire to penetrate the house is almost metaphysical. He admits to Hepzibah soliciting from neighbors "several of the secrets of your interior" (253), and his cajolings are like those of the tempter in a morality play: "Come at once to my house! The country-air, and all the conveniences--I may say luxuries, etc." (139). Jaffrey would like to turn his attention to his new house, but the secrets that the old one has seen won't let him.

Hawthorne more than hints at a hereditary strain of guilt in the Pyncheon unconscious. The Judge's hidden closet has its equivalent with Colonel Pyncheon, whose insistence on building his house directly on the site of Maule's hut raises some interesting questions, as does his insistence on hiring Thomas Maule as its architect. Does the Colonel mean to celebrate his victory? to

cover his misdeeds? to offer the ghost of Matthew Maule haunting privileges by way of conscious or unconscious expiation? Hawthorne himself raises the question but provides no direct answer. He does note pointedly that the cellar of Colonel Pyncheon's house disturbs and befouls the subterranean source of Maule's well, thereby suggesting that the cellar stands in the same relation to the Colonel as the supposed "hidden closet" does to the Judge. If Seven Gables is a consciousness, then Colonel Pyncheon has assured that subsequent generations will have a seed growing secretly below the level of consciousness, the symbol of each inheritor's reimplication in the original wrong by failing to remedy it.

The seven gabled house that succeeds Maule's hut stands for more than the aristocratic ambitions of a single family; it betokens an entirely new kind of consciousness in the community. Hawthorne is careful to note that the entire community shares the responsibility for the wrong done to Matthew Maule. It seemed, we are told, "almost a religious act to drive the plough over the little area of his habitation, and obliterate his place and memory from among men" (12). The community is not interested in deeds and

documents, as Colonel Pyncheon is; it is seizing the opportunity to rid itself of an "undesirable" whom it fears and whose primitive ways are out of place in the evolving social complex. There is no place for huts or for solitaries in the House of Man. Like the Athens of Aeschylus' The Eumenides, the New England town of Hawthorne's novel has been captured at the mythic moment of the birth of a new consciousness. This era is ushered in at the expense of the scapegoat, Matthew Maule, who receives rather less consideration than Aeschylus' Furies, and the community, like each generation of Pyncheons, periodically reimplicates itself in the sacrificial ceremony by such acts as the eulogizing of the Colonel after his death and the paying of formal tribute to the piety and respectability of Judge Pyncheon--all rumors to the contrary being relegated to the chimney corner.

Part of the new consciousness is a new relationship between man and nature. The harmonious relation that existed in Matthew Maule's pastoral paradise becomes increasingly legendary, relegated to gingerbread figures and to the grotesque figures of man, bird, and beast on Hepzibah's tea-set and on the borders of the great Pyncheon

map. Seven Gables becomes the focus of a "rich estate" and of the grand, will-o'-the-wisp Eastern claim. Nature is now property and subsidiary to the House of Man; it is to be conquered and made part of the Pyncheon fiefdom, so that it can be passed on from generation to generation like so much furniture, a thing to be owned rather than to be lived with.

The loss of the pastoral harmony is to be compensated for by a new development in consciousness, the desire for collective identity. Necessary to the development of this identity are lineage, endurance, and reverence for the past in the form of tradition. These necessities being admittedly arbitrary, human creations, they require a mask. Tradition must seem naturally ordained, and so indeed it does, as with the passage of time it becomes "so immemorial, that it looks like nature" (28). After a longer passage of time, however, the disjunction of nature and tradition, the latter symbolized by Seven Gables' "stately roof" which is to provide the Pyncheons a "stable basis" for "centuries to come" (22), becomes apparent. Nature reclaims that which only masks as natural. The

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Pyncheon elm gradually overshadows the house and "seemed to make it a part of nature" (33). Green moss gathers on the projections of the windows and on the slopes of the roof, and flowers grow in the spaces between the gables.

This is not to say that the method of nature allows no continuity in human affairs, for the criterion of fitness operates even when that of tradition breaks down. Nature thus takes on a democratic tinge in The House of the Seven Gables and seems to give its stamp of approval to the vigorous, new democratic order that overshadows the old feudal manor house, a symbol of social stratification based on the unnatural, artificial criteria of birth and tradition, much as the Pyncheon elm does. The decline of the Pyncheon family coincides with the beginning of the post-Revolutionary, democratic era. The family sides with the old, European order and loses out. Subsequent Pyncheons, unable to practice nature's cardinal rule of adaptability, either lose themselves in dreams of past glories or, like Gervayse Pyncheon, look across the seas for a cultural identity. While the Pyncheons half-heartedly prosecute their Eastern claim "on the strength of mouldy parchment," a heartier breed "wrested from the wild hand of Nature, by

their own sturdy toil" (23) the land they want.

The curious fact is that the vigorous new order of Yankee democrats was latent in the fountainhead of the Pyncheon family, the Colonel, who saw what he wanted and took it. This irony is undoubtedly Hawthorne's way of showing the past at work in the present, the roots of Yankee pragmatism in the Puritan notion that a man served God and demonstrated his election by serving himself and prospering. Clifford and Jaffrey are the inheritors of the two Pyncheon strains, one being passive, fastidious, and backward-looking, the other aggressive, amoral, and opportunistic. Jaffrey has "made it" in the new, democratic society by learning how to accommodate himself to the times. The spirit of accommodation first shows itself in an unnamed Pyncheon of the eighteenth century, who "had the blood of a petty huckster in his veins" (34). Though he hadn't quite what it took to be a commercial success, he was responsible for cutting a shop door into the side of the ancestral home, the door to the same shop that Hepzibah reopens. The shop, however ineffectually, mediates between the house and the outside world, and eventually becomes the means by which the last, backward-looking

Pyncheons rejoin the mainstream of humanity.³⁷

With the new democratic order, however, arises a completely new problem. Now that the old American House has been "torn down," a new one must be built to replace it. Yet the new houses "of modern date," so "plodding" in their "uniformity," reflect no sense of identity in the new order. The House of Man, based on tradition and social gradation, cannot be used as a model. Nor does the new order desire to reenter the House of Nature by returning to the pastoral simplicity of Maule's hut. Where is the new order to live? Where is the American House to be relocated? And what sort of House is it to be?

A major focus of Hawthorne's novel, then, is the problem of collective identity in the nineteenth century, as well of individual identity. Prosperity and the passage of time have created great "fluctuating waves" of republican humanity that have no collective identity and that threaten to absorb the individual identity with the same mechanical indifference as that with which the little gingerbread enthusiast devours his pastry-figures.³⁸

America, Hawthorne means to say, is a homeless society, and this fact makes the meaning and location of "home"

as a concept of enormous importance to his time. Thus, Hawthorne, in the six major characters of his novel--Clifford, Hepzibah, Phoebe, Holgrave, Jaffrey Pyncheon, and Uncle Venner--explores various possible attitudes toward "home": where and in what it consists, and how to go about giving it material form. Phoebe, Hepzibah, and Jaffrey comprise the "homebodies," Clifford, Holgrave, and Uncle Venner the "wanderers."

Uncle Venner, "a miscellaneous old gentleman . . . patched together . . . of different epochs" (70), is Hawthorne's symbolic representation of the rootlessness of American culture after the decline of the Puritans. The least systematic of the three philosophizing wanderers, Uncle Venner is a faceless figure, full of Franklinian wisdom, who has "studied the world at street-corners" (169) and who feels no particular sense of identity with the past nor any significant hope for the future beyond retirement to the work-house. Understandably, therefore, he is not especially keen on the ambition of some men "to heap up property upon property" (167). Uncle Venner has no individual or national sense of "home," reasoning that if he did, he would feel "as if Providence was not bound

to take care of me." Even the House of Nature is too small a place for him. "Infinity," he concludes, "is big enough for us all--and Eternity long enough!" His own words suggest that Uncle Venner's home can find its only material embodiment in the grave. His blithe optimism has nothing to offer individual or nation in search of an identity.

Holgrave's philosophy of homelessness is somewhat more developed than Uncle Venner's. A jack-of-all-trades and disciple-of-many-movements, Holgrave, "homeless as he had been . . . putting off one exterior, and snatching up another," has never, we are told, "violated the innermost man" (191). This account of the disparity between his interior and exterior heightens the irony of his later "conversion," couched in architectural terms, which involves a reversal of plasticity--the exterior rather than the interior becoming fixed. The unconverted Holgrave, it seems, locates the idea of "home" in the insubstantial integrity of the individual conscience. An opponent of all institutions, he lives to see the day when no public edifice will be built "of such permanent materials as stone or brick" (198). His philosophy runs deeper than

this, however, for his opposition is really to the whole idea of a house as anything more than a functional object, a shelter. Like Uncle Venner, Holgrave lives only in the present and in the hope for a better future. "The house, in my view," he says, "is expressive of that odious and abominable Past, with all its bad influences." Holgrave's is the Adamic stance of which R. W. B. Lewis speaks in showing how the "case against the past" became the core of American notions of "progress" in the nineteenth century.³⁹

Holgrave's case against living in dead men's houses might carry more force were his deceptiveness, toward himself as well as toward others, not so patent. He rationalizes that he dwells in a house only "that I may know the better how to hate it" (199). In fact, he has continued to dwell at Seven Gables for entirely different reasons. One is to be near Phoebe, who has begun to make the place feel like "home" to him in spite of himself. The other is to fulfill the traditional Maule-role of dogging the Pyncheons. Here, in his own experience, undoubtedly lies the motive for Holgrave's antipathy to the "bad influences" of the past: his need to sublimate the bad influence of his own lineage. Holgrave fails, moreover, to see that

Maule-role violates his own democratic dictum that "in every half-century, at longest, a family should be submerged into the great, obscure mass of humanity, and forget all about its ancestors" (200). The proof of Holgrave's hypocrisy becomes immediately apparent in the vehement outburst against Judge Pyncheon that follows close on the heels of his democratic prescription.

The most impressive exponent of the philosophy of homelessness proves, surprisingly, to be the unassuming aesthete, Clifford. Clifford's paean to wandering is anticipated by his lack of attachment to Seven Gables. After all of the years he spent in prison, one might expect him to express some of the hereditary "home-attachment" of the Pyncheons. Instead, he asks Hepzibah shortly after his return, "Why should we live in this dismal house at all" (122)? It is a safe assumption, furthermore, that the long hours spent in the garden in conversation with Holgrave have had some effect. Clifford's attitude toward home is the Emersonian one that a man's proper home is in the House of Nature. "The soul needs air," he exults. No primitivist, Clifford theorizes that the ascending spiral of historical cycle will bring man full circle to

a pastoral-nomadic state resembling that which existed when "men dwelt in temporary huts." The new pastoral age, however, is to be an "etherialized, refined" version of the old, which was "but a coarse and sensual prophesy of the present and the future." Engrafted on Clifford's transcendental optimism and romantic historiography are liberal doses of contemporary positivism and Yankee know-how. The agency by which the neopastoral is to be effected is science, specifically, the technology which has made possible a new, unprecedented mobility. The railroads, says Clifford, "give us wings . . . they spiritualize travel" (278-79); they will help to create a race of aesthetic shepherds, wandering where they please in order to satisfy the taste for beauty.

Clifford's is, of course, a radically different version of life within the House of Nature than that represented by Maule's hut. It involves, for one thing, the conquest of nature by science and the reduction of nature's role to that of an aesthetic object. Clifford fails to see that the hut-dweller defined himself by his relation to nature, his hut becoming the sign and symbol of that dynamic relation. To "live everywhere and nowhere" (279)

Clifford takes to be a vast improvement in the human condition, but to live nowhere is to be no one. The soul may feed on air, but man, as Emerson discovered, is more than a soul. The flesh requires orientation. Clifford's rapid deflation at the end of his train-trip (significantly, to nowhere in particular), represents the Emersonian discovery of "double consciousness," the realization that the flesh must be served.

Hepzibah, the ultra-homebody, is Clifford's opposite number, having, it is said, "grown to be a kind of lunatic" (188) about house and home. While Clifford claims to be able to dispense with a house entirely, Hepzibah needs one utterly in order to orient herself in time and space. During the train-ride that causes Clifford to exult in the sensation of release from time, Hepzibah becomes completely disoriented and "felt herself more apart from humankind" (276) than ever before. Counterpointing her experience on the train is her experience within *Seven Gables* of the dovetailing of time, as she waits for Judge Pyncheon's encounter with Clifford. She fancies that she hears the rustling of dead people's garments, the chronicles of "legendary aunts and grandmothers," and she feels as if

"they three together--were on the point of adding another incident to the annals of the house" (257). An inveterate house-explorer, she rejoices in leading Phoebe from room to room, recounting family traditions. When outside the house, she literally takes the house with her. During her terrifying train-ride, the "old house was everywhere. It transported its great, lumbering bulk, with more than railroad speed, and set itself phlegmatically down on whatever spot she glanced at" (277). When Hepzibah is inside the house, her orientation remains tied to the psychological impress rather than the reality of the house. Jaffrey's intrusion upon her solitude makes her feel "as if the house stood in a desert" (262). Hepzibah is a prisoner of home because she associates it so completely with the clapboards and nails of the House of Man, rendering herself unable to function in the constantly changing world outside the house.

Another revelation, on a par with Clifford's blooming as a philosopher of homelessness, is Jaffrey Pyncheon's domesticity. The exposure comes in the macabre chapter in which the corpse of the Judge sits alone in the parlor of Seven Gables, "keeping house" (287). The phrase represents

another of Hawthorne's ways of indicating that those who live only in the House of Man live in a grave of their own making, an irony he underlines with the gruesome pun that now "the Free Soilers have him" (295). Jaffrey, who has spent the better part of the book trying to gain entrance to the house, succeeds beyond his best expectations. Hawthorne revels in cataloguing the domestic pleasures Jaffrey is missing out on while "keeping house" at Seven Gables--the pleasures of food and drink, of an evening by the fire-side, of adding another former Pyncheon property to the family demesne, etc. The catalogue is counterpointed with expressions of nature's veto-power over the House of Man. Jaffrey's universe has crumbled like a decaying house, exposing the homebody to "the gusts of homeless wind." The Shakespearean echoes in the lament, "Tomorrow! Tomorrow! Tomorrow!" dramatize the frailty of man, the social animal. The mighty pillar of the community makes only a minor eddy in the universal chaos, a single "throb of Time's pulse" (296). Though Jaffrey built a new house in the country, his home was always at Seven Gables, where "the decaying corpse" of past sins lay rotting within the secret closet.

Unlike Judge Pyncheon, Phoebe acknowledges the

amplitude of tomorrow, endorsing Uncle Venner's pieties on behalf of infinity and eternity. "But, for this short life of ours," she adds, "one would like a house and a moderate garden-spot of one's own" (169). The garden is an important addendum since, in the small way consonant with Phoebe's limitations as a person, its presence symbolizes the sentiment, if not the reality, of recapturing the old, dynamic relationship between man and nature. In an admittedly effete and précieux manner, Phoebe is linked throughout with the organic, self-renewing power of nature. Not only does she hearken from rural parts, but she sleeps on the eastern side of Seven Gables, facing the garden, and she is implicitly likened to the garden rose that arises from the mold of two hundred year's decay. Adaptability is the cardinal feature she shares with nature. Though she dislikes the "dust and continual decay of these old houses" (84), she adapts easily to Seven Gables. It is this ability to "make" a home wherever necessary that marks her out as the character, before Holgrave's conversion, with the best developed sense of the relation between house and home. Houses, she believes, are necessary things, but they are made homes by some more portable quality within

the mind of the dweller.

Phoebe's adaptability offers the only means of coping with a fine impasse. To forego houses and to live in the All have been found to be impossible. Doing so runs counter to the needs of the human psychology and ignores the means by which the self gains an identity. To remain within the house at all cost has proven equally disastrous. It results in the real death of Jaffrey and in the living death of Hepzibah, who, like the Canterbury Pilgrims, "sought a home" in "a cold and passionless security" that only reproduces "that other refuge of the world's weary outcasts, the grave."⁴⁰ One must, therefore, acknowledge the necessity of building houses and possess the flexibility to leave them when they have outlived their usefulness; one must throw oneself, in Emersonian terms, now on one's relation to man, now on one's relation to the universe.⁴¹ The acceptance of this "double consciousness" is a recognition of the irreparable division in the human mind and of the mind's inability to sustain one kind of experience indefinitely. The House of Nature must endlessly revitalize the House of Man, and the House of Man must in some way acknowledge its own limits.

It remains for Holgrave to give a systematic exposition to the lessons that have been learned from all the entrances to and exits from the house during the course of the novel. He embodies the lesson in the notorious passage on the house of stone, a passage which any defense of Hawthorne's thinking in the novel must vindicate.

But I wonder that the last Judge--being so opulent, and with a reasonable prospect of transmitting his wealth to descendants of his own--should not have felt the propriety of embodying so excellent a piece of domestic architecture in stone, rather than in wood. Then, every generation of the family might have altered the interior, to suit its own taste and convenience; while the exterior, through the lapse of years, might have been adding venerableness to its original beauty, and thus giving that impression of permanence which I consider essential to the happiness of any one moment. (339)

Clark Griffith's is perhaps a representative critical response to the passage, which, he says, "is surely to be interpreted as Hawthorne's clumsy way of demonstrating how Holgrave has accepted the unassailable reality of the past."⁴² A closer look at the passage, however, shows that Holgrave's supposed "conservatism" is not so worthy of contempt as it is usually thought to be and that Hawthorne

is not quite the "clumsy" sentimentalist Griffith implies he is.

The key phrases are "impression of permanence" and "happiness of any one moment." Holgrave is speaking not of truths or realities, but of the satisfaction of human needs. The house he describes gives the impression of the method of nature (viz., change) at work within the framework of tradition, revitalizing the House of Man. The carefulness of his wording shows that Holgrave is no fool. He knows, we may assume, that his suggestion has more metaphorical than real force and that the human problem he is dealing with has nothing whatever to do with whether a house is built of wood or stone. In the long-run of social evolution there can be no permanence, and there is no reason to believe that Holgrave has renounced the idea that there should be no permanence.

Holgrave has learned, however, that the human psyche cannot function indefinitely without the illusion of permanence embodied in tradition, an illusion which, alas, is necessary to happiness at "any one moment." Holgrave's observation that the "world owes all its onward impulse to men ill at ease" but that the man who wants to be happy "confines himself within ancient limits" is a variation

of sorts on the truism offered by Joseph Conrad in Victory that "every age is fed on illusions, lest men should renounce life early and the human race come to an end."⁴³ Young men's truths are both the motive force of change and the source of young men's unhappiness, and the stabilizing influence of agreed-upon illusions has its necessary place in the scheme of things, too. The method of nature guarantees that houses which outlive their usefulness will either be abandoned or will crumble. It is nevertheless the function of the house, as an encloser of space and time, to help supply the illusion of permanence necessary to human identity and human happiness. Holgrave's dream house of stone, a fantasy-reconciliation of the durability of the house and the changeability of the hut, is a metaphor for the circumscription of the reality of change by the necessary illusion of permanence--a symbolic expression, that is, of the function of houses.

But a house is not a home, and Holgrave's conversion from the philosophy of homelessness is a result of lessons learned from Phoebe about the meaning of "home." The growth of a secret seed of change is hinted at in Hawthorne's observation, preceding Holgrave's disquisition

on the weight of the dead past, that the daguerrotypist's heart has "grown warmer" since Phoebe "made the House of the Seven Gables like a home to him" (185). Hawthorne reinforces his point later when he notes, with reference to the young Italian organ-grinder's attachment to Phoebe, that such "wanderers are readily responsive to any natural kindness" which, however briefly, "build[s] up a home about them" (315). We are, therefore, well prepared for the moment of revelation upon Phoebe's return to Seven Gables. Holgrave, it is said, greets her with a "look wherewith a man . . . in a dreary forest or illimitable desert, would recognize the familiar aspect of his dearest friend, bringing up all the peaceful ideas that belong to home" (324).

Home, Hawthorne means to show, is a state of mind and heart, not a place. It is a transforming vision, associated in The House of the Seven Gables, as in Hawthorne's earlier story, "The Birthmark," with Carlyle's threefold scheme for escaping the ravages of time: love, religion, and art.⁴⁴

Individually and collectively, the operation of these human activities forms the basis of a genuine salvation both for individuals and for nations. No individual house and no American House that lack them will ever be a worthy home

for the inhabitant. Clifford and Holgrave possess the artistic temperament, Hepzibah the religious; but it requires the fusing force of love that Phoebe engenders in all three to give them a genuine sense of being at home in their universe.

Hawthorne allows the reader to experience this transforming vision in the chapter on "Alice's Posies." The reader, taking on the role of "a person of imaginative temperament" (306), has left Judge Pyncheon behind to "keep house" and now walks forth into the street. Nature is "all alive" and, like the Pyncheon elm, seems to offer a golden bough of promise. The house itself seems a part of nature's design, and yet nothing objectively has changed. The description is only a foretaste of that which Hawthorne offers of Phoebe and Holgrave, once their love for one another has been revealed. "They transfigured the earth, and made it Eden again, and themselves the two first dwellers in it" (331).⁴⁵ Here Hawthorne allows the reader another momentary taste of what he calls in "The Birthmark," "living once for all in eternity, to find the perfect future in the present."⁴⁶ Within time, there is no remedy for the endless oscillation between the House of Nature and the House of Man. But outside of time, in the eternal present,

lies a perfect future for man.

Love, then, can achieve what Clifford's locomotive cannot: a new pastoral idyll, a new Eden based not on solitude, like Maule's, but on human interaction. And yet there is a new serpent in the new Eden. For, as Hawthorne's tragic sense told him, love, in an imperfect creature, is bound itself to be imperfect. In the human psychology, love's presentness inevitably gives way to futurity in the procreative aspiration. Love wants to create a new generation and, as Holgrave's "presentiment" tells him, "to build a house for another generation" (330). Such an ambition is completely natural and, quite possibly, completely disastrous. To Holgrave's credit, he sees the situation clearly. Love offers happiness, but at the price of the world's onward impulse, provided by men ill at ease. Love then builds a new house, which breeds new restless young men, and the cycle begins anew. Holgrave offers his scenario "with almost a sigh," as if to testify that he too, like Hawthorne, sees the tragi-comic implications of what has happened to him. Even love requires a "double consciousness."

Far from offering the reader a mindlessly optimistic

resolution to an impossibly complex problem, Hawthorne indicates in a number of ways that the present happiness with which his novel ends carries with it no guarantee for the future. Phoebe and Holgrave never do build a dream house of stone. That Uncle Venner is to be the presiding genius of the group, dispensing wisdom without "a drop of bitter essence at the bottom" (317) from a gingerbread cottage, is an even more ominous note, for Hawthorne knew very well that no such philosophy could minister effectively to the human condition. The closing lines of the novel offer Hawthorne's final intimation that great things are not necessarily to be expected. Alice Pyncheon, it is fancied, gives a final flourish on the harpsichord in honor of the departing lovers, but their joy is pointedly described as "present happiness" (334). Maule's well offers a kaleidoscope of pictures showing the course of the future, and the Pyncheon elm whispers prophecies. But no one is around to view the pictures, and the whispers are "unintelligible."

Chapter Five: Thoreau's Walden

"I am not aware that any man has ever built on the spot which I occupy," wrote Henry Thoreau, reflecting back upon his hut-building endeavors. Then he added, "Deliver me from a city built on the site of a more ancient city."¹ Thoreau saw his hut as representing a radical break with the past, as the basis of a social and psychological renewal for civilized man, for whom, in Thoreau's view, civilization had brought more curses than blessings. For Thoreau, this new start meant more than going back to nature; it meant living according to nature. Modern man must become more "economical" because economy is the law of nature. Some foundation must be laid, Thoreau thought, not that civilization should be abandoned, but that it might be rethought and redefined in order to blend with the natural scheme of things.

In Walden (1854) the architectonics of Thoreau's hut serve as the symbol for civilization's new foundation. The goal is to show how, by a carefully prosecuted architectural

program, a house can be built which will at once preserve the indweller's identity within the great flux of nature and still exist in accordance with the method of nature. The line of organic theory from Goethe and Coleridge through Carlyle and Emerson seemed to offer a base for Thoreau's ambitious architectural program. The same "Maker of this earth" who, according to Thoreau, "but patented a leaf" (407), also provided a blueprint for the building of a house. Is not the skeleton of a whale, as Melville showed, a natural house? Did not Emerson show that the demiurge practices his architecture everywhere, in the forest branches and the drifts of snow? Belligerently, Thoreau invites comparison of his hut with the workhouses, almshouses, museums, prisons, and sundry "splendid mausoleums" of the world. Thoreau believed his experiment in organic architectonics in the main a success. Certainly his experiment was impressive enough to cause each generation for more than a century now to reevaluate its method and results, to decide what, if anything, Thoreau has to offer an increasingly complex civilized order. But like Cooper and Hawthorne before him, Thoreau found the harmony of hut-living insuperably difficult to translate into the

architecture of the house.

1. Subject

Midway through the opening chapter of Walden, Thoreau pauses momentarily in the account of his hut-building activities to launch a brief attack on an unnamed practitioner among "architects so called in this country," who is "possessed with the idea of making architectural ornaments have a core of truth." Thoreau accuses this "sentimental reformer" of "common dilettantism," of "timidly" whispering "half truth," and of beginning his campaign of reform "at the cornice, not at the foundation" (59-60). In his Journal, Thoreau was at once more succinct and concrete. "Greenough's idea was to make architectural ornaments have a core of truth, a necessity and hence a beauty. All very well, as I told R. W. E., from Greenough's point of view, but only a little better than common dilettantism. I was afraid I should say hard things if I said more."²

The "Greenough" whom Thoreau pillories as a "sentimental reformer" in Walden is Horatio Greenough, a professional sculptor and amateur architect who was more

responsible than any other single individual for the interest in architecture shared by the major American romantics. He was a close personal friend of Cooper and Emerson and an admired acquaintance of Hawthorne; his work was well known to Thoreau and, probably, to Whitman.³ What makes Thoreau's attack on Greenough so extraordinary is that no one in the world in Thoreau's lifetime came closer to sharing Thoreau's architectural ideas than Greenough.

Greenough's claim to fame in the world of architecture rests on The Travels, Observations, and Experience of a Yankee Stonecutter (1852), a collection of his essays on architecture written over a ten-year period.⁴ One of the most important of these essays, "American Architecture," which had first appeared in the Democratic Review in 1843, attacks the adoption of Greek and Gothic styles by American builders not on the more familiar nationalistic grounds, but on the purely theoretical grounds that such styles no longer serve the functions which originally dictated their forms. The Greek and the Gothic, Greenough argues, have become mere ornament and decoration designed to give a veneer of culture. It is Greenough's contention that instead of forcing the designs of buildings into predetermined

molds, architects should design from the inside outward, adapting form to function. In short, Greenough thoroughly anticipates on the theoretical level the organic functionalism of Frank Lloyd Wright, whose guiding principle was that form follows function. And although Greenough did little in actual practice to give material form to his theory, he was, as Richard Adams has noted, "the first writer anywhere, to apply" organic aesthetics "broadly and systematically to the criticism of architecture."⁵

Greenough claims in his 1843 essay that the method of nature has pointed the way for architecture. A building, he believes, should be subject to the same laws as a tree or an animal, for the "law of adaptation is the fundamental law of nature in all structure."⁶ Greenough offers the skeletons of bird, beast, fish, and insect as paradigmatic instances of the law of adaptation. "There is no arbitrary law of proportion, no unbending model of form. There is scarce a part of the animal organization which we do not find elongated or shortened, increased, diminished, or suppressed, as the wants of the genus or species dictate, as their exposure or their work may require."⁷ In the human sphere, the ship at sea or the pioneer's wagon, says Greenough, shows the same subordination of form to

function, the same operation of the natural principle of adaptation.

The most important of Greenough's later essays is the one entitled "Relative and Independent Beauty," which first appeared in Stonecutter. Here architectural theory has been thoroughly integrated within a general ontological scheme, and the transcendentalist influence in both manner and matter is more evident. Just as clothing can falsify the body, so ornamentation, says Greenough, can falsify architecture. "I had rather remain in the street," he boasts in the best transcendentalist manner, "than get in" to a fashionable establishment "by virtue of a borrowed coat."⁸ Adornment is never beautiful, Greenough asserts, unless it has functional significance. "Beauty" he defines as "the promise of Function; Action as the presence of Function; Character as the record of Function."⁹ Divinity, the argument goes, provides man with the instinct to complete his own incomplete being. Embellishment, far from fulfilling this instinct, represents "THE INSTINCTIVE EFFORT OF INFANT CIVILIZATION TO DISGUISE ITS INCOMPLETE-NESS."¹⁰ Only that which promises a function furthers the instinct for completeness and, hence, is beautiful.

Greenough's argument is brilliantly thought out and put together. It is, in fact, one of the great expressions of romantic aesthetics, and that Thoreau should seize upon Greenough's ideas as a foil to his own seems incredible. Ruskin, of whom Thoreau certainly knew, would have been a logical candidate; for although Ruskin shared with Greenough the interest in the relationship between natural and architectural forms, his conception of the nature of architecture differed markedly. Ruskin located the distinction between "architecture" and mere "building" precisely in "that art which . . . impresses on its form certain characters venerable or beautiful, but otherwise unnecessary" (italics added).¹¹ Architecture, that is, is seen as all that is not functional but purely expressive.

One reason for Thoreau's curiously inappropriate attack on Greenough lies in the circumstances under which Thoreau first encountered the latter's ideas. Thoreau's Journal indicates these circumstances quite clearly: "R. W. E. showed me yesterday a letter from H. Greenough, the sculptor, on architecture, which he liked very much."¹²

Emerson did indeed like what he

saw; so much so, that he later quoted from what is probably the same letter in English Traits in order to support his contention that Greenough had anticipated all of Ruskin's main ideas.

I have a private letter from him . . . in which he roughly sketches his own theory. "Here is my theory of structure: A scientific arrangement of spaces and forms to functions and to site; an emphasis of features proportioned to their gradated importance in function; color and ornament to be decided and arranged and varied by strictly organic laws, having a distinct reason for each decision; the entire and immediate banishment of all make-shift and make-believe."¹³

While the passage quoted by Emerson is a fair representation of Greenough's views, the phrase on "color and ornament" does seem to imply that Greenough regards embellishment as a distinct architectural unit, which, in fact, he does not. In defense of Thoreau, the idea of organic laws being bent to the service of color and ornament was bound to elicit a negative reaction from one who took such laws as seriously as Thoreau did. As Greenough's entire letter is no longer extant, it is difficult to guess fully at all Thoreau saw there, but his misrepresentation of Greenough's ideas in Walden can probably be attributed in part to such

infelicities of phrasing.

Condonation is made more difficult, however, by the apparent fact that Thoreau did read Greenough's book prior to the publication of Walden. One of Emerson's letters, dated September 25, 1852, notes that Emerson lent his copy of Stonecutter to Channing and Thoreau, both of whom, he says, "agree with me in the importance of the book. Its radical good sense, its reality, & its strong American flavor captivated them also."¹⁴ The date of Emerson's letter is a scant eight to nine months after Thoreau's Journal entry testifying to his having read Emerson's letter from Greenough. The conclusion appears inescapable that Thoreau deliberately chose to retain his original impression of Greenough's ideas based on what he must later have known to be insufficient and misleading data, in order to throw his own ideas as expressed in Walden into sharper relief. And yet, to look closely at Thoreau's architectural theories, the assumptions on which they are based, and the material embodiment envisioned for them, is to become aware of subtle but fundamental differences from Greenough's.

Like most innovators, Thoreau made the derogation of

existent ideas and forms part of his program espousing new ones. At various points in Walden, Thoreau takes aim at the two most prominent architectural targets of his day, the Classical Revival and the Gothic Cottage vogue. "As I preferred some things to others," he says, " . . . I did not wish to spend my time in . . . a house in the Grecian or the Gothic style just yet" (90-91). The Classical Revival is alluded to in the course of an attack on the grand piles of world architecture. Thoreau speaks of one "Mr. Balcom, a promising young architect" who designs "on the back of his Vitruvius, with hard pencil and ruler, and the job is let out to Dobson & Sons, stonecutters" (75). Vitruvius was the most celebrated of the Roman architects, and the reference to stonecutting reflects the desire of the times to imitate the stateliness and durability of ancient architecture. Another architect singled out for scorn is a certain unnamed "man" (evidently of the picturesque persuasion) who advocates that people "take up a handful of earth at your feet, and paint your house that color" as an "enterprise to improve the style of cottage architecture" (62). Thoreau eschews the

"ginger-bread work" of Gothic tracery (323), as well as the "ornamented grounds of villas" (239) he fears may one day occupy his hut-site. Thoreau, in fact, displays ubiquitous distaste for all that passes as "modern" architecture. This distaste is even more evident in Cape Cod, in which he returns again and again to his detestation of "beautiful villages," "modern American houses," "Eastern stuff disguised with white paint," "modern and more pretending" houses, etc.¹⁵

Those habitations for which Thoreau does express preference tell us much about his architectural ideals and the assumptions underlying them. He inevitably prefers the rude and the old-fashioned to the elaborate, sophisticated, and modern. One of his favorite edifices is the Indian wigwam, which in Walden he compares favorably to the mansion, and which in Maine Woods he seems to prefer even to his other favorite, the log-house. The reason is easy enough to locate. The wigwam is ideally suited to that "older era than the agricultural" from which Thoreau believed his "genius dates."¹⁶ In his less primitive moments, Thoreau waxes most enthusiastic about the log-house. In Walden he calls the log-huts of the poor the "most interesting

dwellings in this country" (60), and in Maine Woods he describes at length one particularly remarkable specimen.¹⁷ Constructed by the lapping of corners rather than by the more sophisticated methods of framing, mortising, and nailing, the log-house measures eighty feet in length and sports no "frilled or fluted columns," no "gable end," and no "'ornamentation,' one of those words with a dead tail which architects very properly use to describe their flourishes." The logs, says Thoreau, have lichen, moss, and fringes of bark for their only ornamentation and are "posts, studs, boards, clapboards, laths, plaster, and nails, all in one." Complementing the timber walls are a roof of spruce⁻bark, a floor of fir, and furniture of logs.

Thoreau's hut at Walden stands somewhere between the rude log-cabin and the simple, framed cottage. The hut is framed, but the framing timbers are of pine rudely cut with an ax. The bark is left on the floor and rafter timbers. The timbers are joined by mortise and tenon, an operation which would have called for tools other than the simple woodsman's ax that Thoreau reports he borrowed in order to make a house. The hut has a small cellar, six feet square and seven feet deep, for the storage of

foodstuffs and a chimney at one end of the house made of fieldstones. Other elements of the hut are somewhat less impressive as demonstrations of primitive self-sufficiency. Roofing, boarding, windows, nails, and furniture are acquired by the purchase of a shanty belonging to an Irish railroad worker. Thoreau's contribution to this prototype of the prefabricated house is to featheredge and lap the boarding for weather-tightness and to shingle the roof and sides with pine-bark and refuse shingles. The result is a small ten foot by fifteen foot house with a garret, windows, doors, and a closet--a hut more in size than in character.

That Thoreau believes his hut to be an organic piece of architecture is demonstrated even on the purely literary level by his persistent comparisons with burrows, bird's nests, sea-shells, tortoise-shells, and the like. The tests of the organicism of this architecture we might deduce as five-fold: economy, simplicity, utility, character, and naturalness. It is important, moreover, to realize that these criteria, far from being arbitrarily imposed, have, each and all, a doctrinaire significance beyond the architectural. In fact, they have architectural significance only because they have significance in life.

It is this perfect correspondence of symbol and meaning that gives Thoreau's architectural theory its literary force: man and man's dwellings are judicable by the same standards.

Economy in Thoreau's scheme of things is a humanized version of what in the marketplace would be called the law of diminishing returns. One must find the point at which the time and effort necessary to accomplish a desirable goal outweigh the desirability of the goal, and not cross that mark. John Field is Thoreau's primary human example of civilized man's lack of economy. To assure himself the pleasures of tea and coffee and butter and beef, John Field condemns himself to a life of drudgery and poverty that costs him more satisfaction than he gets. In the architectural arena, Thoreau states the principle of economy thus: It "must be shown that it [civilization] has produced better dwellings without making them more costly" (39). "Consider first," Thoreau advises, "how slight a shelter is absolutely necessary" (36). By way of illustration, he points to a large box he once saw by a railroad as a model of economical domestic architecture. With a few holes for air, such a domicile would serve a

man's minimal needs nicely and would release him from the necessity of dedicating a large part of his life to labor designed only to keep the landlord from his door.

Another touchstone of life and architecture for Thoreau is simplicity. The exhortation to "Simplify, simplify!" is one of Walden's best known features. And in clarifying his more general meaning, Thoreau immediately reaches for a metaphor touching on domestic architecture. "The nation," he says, ". . . is . . . cluttered with furniture" (119-20). Thoreau's hut is to be a model, in this respect, for the simplified American House. It has only a minimal amount of furniture (and that second-hand and homemade), which can be moved out of doors easily whenever Thoreau wishes to clean his floor, making a "gypsy pack" where it lays. The implication is clearly that with rude, inexpensive, and scant furniture, one is able to pick up and leave anytime without worry. "Pray, for what do we move ever but to get rid of our furniture, our exuviae" (85). As so often with Thoreau, the paradigm for this aspect of life is the American Indian; in this case, the Mucclasse Indians, whose "busk" involves periodically burning all of the old household accoutrements,

sweeping the house clean, and "refurnishing" it.

Character and utility frequently appear together as architectural standards for Thoreau. In Maine Woods he complains that "our buildings commonly suggest neither their origin nor their purpose,"¹⁸ and in Walden he insists that architecture must grow "out of the necessities and character of the indweller" (60). We have already encountered this requisite with a nationalistic face in the demand that domestic architecture in America express the needs and the character of the American land and people. Thoreau's individualistic version, it is true, probably leaves him liable to the objection that Jefferson's Monticello or Irving's Tarrytown expresses the character of the indwellers just as his hut does for him. What Thoreau really means, of course, is the character of man as he ought to be--namely, a natural man, such as Henry Thoreau.

Naturalness is therefore an architectural requisite that grows out of character, for just as a man must express in his life his unity with nature, so his house should also express this unity. A natural man, such as a woodsman or a fisherman, belongs, Thoreau asserts in "A Winter Walk,"

to the "natural family of man, and is planted deeper in nature and has more root than the inhabitants of towns."¹⁹ Thoreau's hut contains the "tonic of wildness" that Thoreau claims civilized man needs. "No yard! but unfenced Nature reaching up to your very sills" (168). Trees grow up under Thoreau's windows, pitch-pines scrape against the shingles, wild shrubs, roots, and vines break through into the cellar. For the house must not isolate one from reality, but drench one in the reality in which, and only in which according to Thoreau, revitalization lies. Nature should radically interpenetrate with the house as it does with the homes of animals.

As several recent commentators have noted, Thoreau's architectural thought anticipates a number of developments, concrete and theoretical, in the Furness-Sullivan-Wright stream of modern architecture.²⁰ Wright, the best known modern proponent of an organic architecture, himself acknowledged that the "history of American Architecture would be incomplete without Thoreau's wise observations on the subject."²¹ Thoreau's rudimentary notions of the fusion of house and environment, though thoroughly anticipated by the picturesque architecture of the

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are the same elementary principles behind Wright's low-slung "prairie houses." Thoreau's belief in the organic basis of architectural forms, though less clearly stated than similar beliefs held by Emerson and Greenough, looks ahead to Wright, who proposed the tree as the ideal image for architecture in the machine age.²² And Thoreau's principle of simplicity has a close affinity with Wright's credo that to be "educated in knowledge of SIMPLICITY" is to move "toward ultimate Freedom of Expression."²³

One architectural principle which Thoreau shares not only with Wright but with many of his romantic contemporaries is that of the household warmth as the psychological and therefore the structural heart of the house. The fireplace Thoreau calls, variously, the "most vital" part of the house, the "most important place of all," and he speaks of the chimney as an "independent structure . . . rising through the house" (321) like a tree. It is a psychological as well as an architectural functionalism to observe, as Thoreau does, that "I now first began to inhabit my house, I may say, when I began to use it for warmth as well as shelter" (322). The "integral fireplace"

Wright was to make the heart of the "prairie house," for use and comfort, he says, "should have possession of every interior."²⁴

Still, Thoreau's perplexing attack on Greenough signals a fundamental discordance in Thoreau's relation not only to the organic tradition in architecture, but to the very idea of architecture. There are a number of areas of agreement, to be sure, between the two, and one more than suspects that Thoreau's reading of Greenough left some lasting impressions which went unacknowledged. Thoreau's citation of naval architecture as a model of functionalism in Cape Cod was probably suggested by Greenough's "American Architecture," which returns repeatedly to the ship as a piece of "organization second only to that of an animal."²⁵ And his choice of Broadway's Trinity Church as a foil to the tortoise-shell or the shellfish in the matter of adornment (in the middle, by the way, of the anti-Greenough diatribe), is probably the result of an unconscious recollection of a similar comparison in "American Architecture" between the same "puny cathedral of Broadway" and a battleship.²⁶ Some of the broader areas of agreement between Thoreau and Greenough are also couched in

notably similar terms. Thoreau's argument that the beauty he has known "has grown gradually from within outward" is very close to Greenough's exhortation, "Let us begin from the heart as the nucleus, and work outward."²⁷ And Thoreau's argument for use as the basis of beauty by instancing that the "cart before the horse is neither beautiful nor useful," seems like a textbook illustration of Greenough's theory that beauty is the promise of function.²⁸

Whatever the points of concurrence between the two, Thoreau's prickly reaction to Greenough, like many such reactions to Emerson, was based on more than mere obstinacy, although Emerson's championing of Greenough probably prejudiced the latter's case in Thoreau's eyes. Charles Metzger provides valuable hints to the cause of the disagreement in contrasting Thoreau's principle of economy and Greenough's principle of adaptation. On the surface, both seem to state a position which might be subsumed by the label, functionalism. In fact, the two men approached the problem of functionality from entirely different directions. "Greenough's organic principle reveals emphasis upon the positive or adaptive aspect of

economy, with the negative aspect, the elimination, following almost axiomatically. Thoreau's economy reveals emphasis upon the negative aspect of adaptation: upon eliminating the nonfunctional by way of arriving at the truly economical."²⁹ Metzger's distinction is more than semantic. Thoreau was far less interested than Greenough in the compositional aspect of architecture, in the organizing of parts in relation to the whole so as to achieve maximum effectiveness, and therefore beauty. Thoreau's inclination was to question whether this or that could not be done without in the interest of economy, and such a standard does not lend itself very well to the creation of beauty. It is the way a ship is put together that causes Greenough to rhapsodize about its functional beauty; Thoreau almost never speaks of the beauty of man-made objects.

Thoreau's relative indifference to architectural beauty hints at a more fundamental cause of his attack on Greenough. As Metzger hazards, Thoreau may have sensed that Greenough "was concerned with adaptation as art-principle rather than as life-principle."³⁰

Thoreau's architectural theories, we need to remind

ourselves, were part of a larger ontology and carried force for Thoreau not because of any results they produced, but because they were validated by the larger scheme of things. From such a perspective, Greenough could not help but appear a dilettante. He was interested in the art of building; Thoreau was interested in the art of living.

Thoreau's concern with the broad view is at once the source of Walden's greatness and of the limitations of Thoreau's architectural thought. Can a man who announces that "style, the house and grounds . . . pass for nothing with me" (437). who brags that he has never heard of "any carpenter or tailor among the gods,"³¹ be accepted as a true architectural theorist? Greenough might, like Thoreau, have illustrated his theory of functionalism by citing a box by the railroad tracks; but he would not have lived in the box as Thoreau would have. Richard Adams has said that Thoreau carried organic theory in architecture further than Emerson "and possibly further than Greenough himself."³² The question is whether Thoreau does not push beyond the bounds of any reasonable interpretation of "architecture" into a limbo where "architecture" and "anti-architecture" meet and stand in the most nebulous relation to one another.

Thoreau's "militant" organicism results in his adopting a number of untenable positions. One of these is the underestimation of the complexity of relation between beauty on the one hand and utility and character on the other. To say, for example, that "a man has no more to do with the style of architecture of his house than a tortoise with that of its shell" (60) is to ignore the elemental fact that a turtle grows a shell, but a man builds a house. The process of nature governs the turtle's situation, but a man who builds a house must make judgments. There are often a number of alternative ways to meet a necessity. Therefore, in choosing among alternatives, the builder must appeal to other criteria: for instance, which best expresses the character of the indweller. "What of architectural beauty I now see," says Thoreau, "I know has gradually grown . . . out of the necessities and character of the indweller" (60). But is it the character of a poor man or his poverty that enters into the humble hut Thoreau admires? And if the builder chooses among alternative answers to a need according to which best expresses character, can the expression of character be as unconscious as Thoreau believes? Is not the sum total of all such

conscious judgments what we mean by "style"? And do such judgments not enter into the art of the building, the "beauty"?

Another of Thoreau's troublesome stances is his anti-monumentalism. Ruskin, again in contradistinction to Thoreau, argues that "it is in becoming memorial or monumental that a true perfection is attained by a civil and domestic building; and this partly as they are, with such a view, built in a more stable manner, and partly as their decorations are consequently animated by a metaphorical or historical meaning."³³ Thoreau believes that it "should not be by their architecture, but . . . by their power of abstract thought, that nations should seek to commemorate themselves" (73-74). Thoreau's disinterest in the expression of historical meaning is understandable enough, perhaps. His transcendental historiography did not recognize history in the sense of which Ruskin speaks. Thoreau believed true historiography was the recognition of the unity of time and space in the eternal present. An objection not so easy to meet is, as Ruskin perhaps implies, that the durability of a piece of architecture is an element of its functionality. To insist that a building be made

functional but should not be made to last seems something of a contradiction in terms. It is all very well that a house should be as functional as a bird's nest, but the nest a bird builds is by no means the most functional imaginable; it is simply the best a bird can build. A nylon bird's nest may lack something in romance, but it would be more functional and lasting than the usual thing.

The fact is, architecture could never be Thoreau's *métier*. He could never speak of it with the sensitivity of a Ruskin or a Henry Adams because he wasn't comfortable with the idea of architecture, with architecture considered, that is, as an art. When he complains in his Journal that "Architectural remains are beautiful not intrinsically and absolutely, but from association,"³⁴ he is expressing a typical transcendentalist aversion to beauty in time. He might have made the same complaint of the Sistine frescoes or the Spear-Bearer of Polyclitus. The leaf of grass is intrinsically beautiful, Thoreau might have said, because of the timeless process it embodies. Thoreau felt discomfort with art forms in direct proportion to their palpability, and he had an instinctive distrust of the substantiality of architectural beauty.

In Walden Thoreau cannot seem to decide whether he has any use for the idea of architectural beauty, nor does he always seem to have the same quality in mind when he speaks of it. At one point, for instance, he asserts, "Before we can adorn our houses with beautiful objects the walls must be stripped, and our lives must be stripped, and beautiful housekeeping and beautiful living be laid for a foundation" (49). The implication is that architecture can have an ornamental function provided other requisites are satisfied first. Thoreau confirms this implication later by conceding that "architectural ornament is not to be neglected even in the rudest periods; but let our houses first be lined with beauty, where they come in contact with our lives, like the tenement of the shellfish, and not overlaid with it" (51). And yet Thoreau can also say that "a taste for beauty is most cultivated out of doors, where there is no house" (49), and that the most unpretending, simple dwellings are the most beautiful. Why Thoreau should want to concede anything to ornament, regardless of priorities, is not clear, and even less clear is how he can do so in the absence of any explanation of its function. Is the beauty of ornament anything like the

beauty of beautiful housekeeping or beautiful living?

The objection might be made that Thoreau should not be held to account for ambiguities and discrepancies of so literal a sort when his method is so densely metaphorical. Subject and symbol are, nevertheless, intimately dependent on one another. The pervasive impression Thoreau gives that architectural beauty is a subject for sterile dilettanties but that building is a mighty symbol of human creativity, begins to smack of paradox. Any discrepancy between metaphor and fact in Thoreau's discussions of architecture are, in any case, only symptomatic of a more fundamental problem, which is that many of the issues Thoreau raises in his discussions are extraneous to his own patent interests and to the deeper meaning of his book. For the function of architecture in Thoreau's view is not to be beautiful, nor even to be useful in the mechanical sense which Greenough, for instance, intends; it is to satisfy human needs--initially, individual needs, but hopefully, in time, collective needs, as well.

Nothing better illustrates Thoreau's interest in the psychological rather than the aesthetic base of architecture than his remarkable "dream of a larger and more populous

house, standing in a golden age, of enduring materials" (323). Henry's dream house, it turns out, is simply a "cavernous" version of his own hut. The "golden age" of "enduring materials" would negate the ravages of time and, presumably, exempt the dream house from the strictures he applies to other "architectural ruins": that monumental architecture eventually becomes beautiful only by association, not "intrinsically and absolutely" beautiful. And yet with a free rein to construct imagination's castles in the air, Henry offers as a dream house an absurd old barn of a house; offers it not because he cares in the least what it looks like, but because its architecture best embodies his vision of a genuinely organic society. Frank Lloyd Wright could have been speaking for Thoreau and his dream house when he noted that "we cannot have an organic architecture unless we achieve an organic society."³⁵

2. Symbol

Thoreau's dream house has never received critical attention commensurate with its importance in Walden. In a sense, Thoreau's dream of a "larger and more populous

house" is one of the culminating moments of his book. For while the immediate goal of the Walden experiment is a kind of rite of purification of the dross of civilization and a rededication to the life of the natural man, its ultimate goal, as we have already noted, is to uncover new principles of social organization. As Sherman Paul puts it, "Economy freed him [Thoreau] from society, and Nature provided him the opportunity to share the recreative processes of life; but this life in nature was also a means, the goal being another, a 'higher' and an organic society, shaped by the same principles whose efficacy Thoreau had demonstrated. To this end, rather than to the renunciation of society, Walden was a social gospel."³⁶ If Thoreau's hut symbolizes the organic life of the solitary man, his dream house symbolizes a new, organic American House.³⁷

The ultimate direction of Thoreau's thought is anticipated long before the dream of a new, populous house. In the chapter on "Visitors," Thoreau pointedly notes that the "one inconvenience" of his small domicile is "the difficulty of getting to a sufficient distance from my guest when we began to utter the big thoughts in big words" (105). The hut, built to accommodate only Thoreau and to meet his

own solitary needs, offers no space for the complex interaction of individual minds and ideas. This circumstance is of great importance in Walden because it predicts the necessity for Thoreau's eventual departure from his hut if the Walden experiment is to bear fruit. Somehow the outside world must be brought into the same relation to the pond that Thoreau has enjoyed.

The three central symbolic elements of Walden are the hut, the pond, and the village. The hut represents the natural, actual self, the individual personality created by heredity and experience. The pond is the cosmic, transcendental, (or as Emerson called it) "Aboriginal Self." The village, an entity which is not usually given coequal prominence, represents the social self, that part of the human makeup that mandates coming into relations with others. The "action" of Walden, therefore, involves the same process of individuation we have observed elsewhere in American romantic writing. The connecting link among the three symbolic elements is Thoreau, who casts himself in the role of individuator-guide. Like Melville's Marnoo, the native in Typee with the artu tree tattooed on his back who is equally at home at a colonial settlement and with a

cannibal tribe, Thoreau moves effortlessly between man and nature. Operating with equal facility in his hut, on or around the pond, and in the village, he says simply, "As I walked in the woods to see the birds and squirrels, so I walked in the village to see the men and boys" (221).

Thoreau's two repetitive movements--between hut and pond and between hut and village (or other houses)--define the symbolic action of his book and attempt to lay the groundwork for a social vision that will bring together village and pond.

Thoreau despised the "towns" whose "helpless multitudes" are at the mercy of the "artificial wants of society." Such houses as are built in towns he persistently compares to prisons or burial places. Most houses, he says, "are such unwieldy property that we are often imprisoned rather than housed in them" (42). A beautiful house with a spiritless tenant he calls a "coffin" (61) or a "family tomb" (48), and a nation that memorializes itself with splendid stone edifices, he says, "hammers . . . its tomb only" (75). Civilization, he says in one of his best known pronouncements, "has created palaces, but it

was not so easy to create noblemen and kings" (43) to live in them. But in spite of his detestation of village life, it was necessary to the design of his experiment that his hut be situated near a center of civilized life. The strategy, we should recall, is "to live a primitive and frontier life" not on the frontier but "in the midst of an outward civilization" (13). To survive on the frontier might greatly increase one's sense of self-reliance, but would have limited value as a social experiment.

Not only does Thoreau go to the village; the village comes with some frequency to Thoreau in the form of visitors, chance passers-by, and the curious. This circumstance is part of a pattern we have already seen in The Pioneers and The House of the Seven Gables: the desire of civilized folk to destroy, assume ownership of, or gain entrance to primitive habitations in which one might expect them to show little interest. Thoreau's hut, like Natty's and Maule's, has a more than picturesque quality about it that accounts for a certain mysterious attraction. It represents a pre-social state of simplicity without lock or bolt or window-latch. Visitors are entertained in nature's "drawing room," the pine wood behind the hut.

Thoreau gives the attraction of his hut a national, historical dimension by suggesting a comparison with the first, temporary huts built by the early American colonists and described by Edward Johnson in his Wonder-Working Providence.

Thoreau leaves no doubt as to who moves best in whose element, himself or the villagers. He symbolizes his superiority by comparing the regularity of the village with the infinite variety of nature. The village houses, because of their regularity of arrangement, seem to Thoreau designed "to make . . . every traveller . . . run the gantlet, and every man, woman, and child might get a lick at him" (223). The straight lines of houses facing one another across the streets pose, according to Thoreau, a still greater threat to the people who live within them, whose mutual scrutiny simply reinforces uneconomical behavior in the name of conformity. In contradistinction to the regularity of the village is the bewildering irregularity of nature. In a brief, tongue-in-cheek allegory, Thoreau relates how townsmen and visitors become hopelessly lost in the dark woods, while he himself is completely at ease. For he knows what the townsmen do not:

that "not till we are completely lost" do we discover "the infinite extent of our relations" (227) and find ourselves in the bargain.

Thoreau's hut also serves as a pole for the repetitive movement to and from the pond. The pond has both a vertical and a horizontal being, the former suggested by the same qualities of clarity and reflectiveness that Poe makes use of in "The Domain of Arnheim." In its vertical being, the pond represents what Thoreau calls "earth's eye" and what Emerson calls the "transparent eyeball": the transcendental, or cosmic, self that stands at the focus of the continually created world in the Neo-Platonic chain of being. "It is continually receiving new life and motion from above" and stands "intermediate in its nature between land and sky" (251). Looking into it, the beholder "measures the depth of his own nature" (247). In its horizontal being, the pond governs the shore, the material world and site of the hut, which embodies the actual self. Fed by subterranean springs, the pond rhythmically rises and falls, reflecting Thoreau's own ritualistic pilgrimages to and withdrawals from it. "By this fluctuation the pond asserts its title to a shore,

and thus the shore is shorn" (241). The subterranean springs associate the pond with the unconscious mind, thus suggesting that the transcendental self governs the life of the actual self (an id-ego comparison seems unavoidable) just as the pond governs the hut-life of the shore. The nature of the pond also bears on Thoreau's social vision, for Walden Pond, we are told, is connected by the subterranean springs with other ponds in the area, which "sympathize with Walden" (241). The Doctrine of Sympathy is the core of the Neo-Platonic chain of being as the transcendentalists appropriated it, positing the connection of man with nature and other men by what Hawthorne called a "magnetic chain." Were man an ideal being, no other social principle, the transcendentalists would have said, would be necessary.

The pond represents the cosmic self in its proper place within the House of Nature, and any other house, says Thoreau, "two thirds of the year . . . is unnecessary" (34). This fact, according to Thoreau, allowed primitive man to remain largely a "sojourner in nature. . . .He dwelt, as it were, in a tent in this world" (47). Thoreau's characterization of the House of Nature as a giant tent

has metaphorical force because for him it had literal force. He often expressed the belief that, for instance, the Indian wigwam serves man's minimal need for shelter and is perhaps the most "economical" of all habitations. A house, in the usual sense of the word, is quite unnecessary.

And yet in a fascinating passage on "Shelter" in his opening chapter, Thoreau concedes that house-type shelter "is now a necessary of life" (33) and that man probably did not live long on the earth before developing a taste for the comforts of a house. To set off this notion, he adds, "Adam and Eve, according to the fable, wore the bower before other clothes" (34). Thoreau's Adamism here is a fine touch because it implies that man's desire to live in houses is only another outward manifestation of the Fall that made Adam and Eve dissatisfied with their nakedness. Surely man "was not made so large limbed and robust but that he must seek to narrow his world, and wall in a space such as fitted him" (34). Thoreau elaborates on his point through the familiar, romantic evocation of the cult of childhood. He notes that every child begins life again in his love of the outdoors and his instinctive desire to explore nature. This instinct represents "the natural

yearning of that portion of our primitive ancestor which still survived in us" (35). Moreover, Thoreau implies that although man's initial motive for building houses was a simple desire for shelter, houses soon became a focus of psychological needs that arose as a consequence of the loss of total, pre-Fall "sympathy." "Man wanted a home, a place . . . first of physical warmth, then the warmth of affections" (34).

During the one-third of the year in which the house has become "necessary," a peculiar psychological process occurs as a kind of adaptive mechanism of post-Fall consciousness to its fallen condition. Unable to live entirely in the House of Nature and to spend endless summer days upon the pond of cosmic selfhood, the mind begins to retreat from its outward relations and turns inward upon itself. This process has been likened to the chrysalis stage of insect metamorphosis.³⁸ The process of contraction is necessary to the eventual revitalization in spring of a creature in a fallen world, subject to perpetual change and organic process. Like an insect responding to instinctive keys, Thoreau's body begins to "grow torpid," and only in the now "genial atmosphere" of his hut does

he recover his "faculties and prolonged my life" (337). The inner and the outer life, as always, mirror one another. "I withdrew yet farther into my shell, and endeavored to keep a bright fire both within my house and within my breast" (330-1). The symbolic meaning of this period of retreat is that man can no longer live entirely in his cosmic relation; he must accept his partial alienation from the cosmic flow and learn to sustain himself with the inward heat of his own ego. Hence, the fireplace becomes the focus of winter habitation. During his second winter, Thoreau attempts to substitute a small cooking stove for the open fireplace, but he finds that cooking then becomes "no longer a poetic, but merely a chemic process" (337).

It is important to note, however, that in taking to his house, Thoreau does not so much retreat from nature as enter into a more complex phase of his relation to it. The interdependence between house and non-house in winter has seldom been put better than in this passage from "A Winter Walk":

In winter we lead a more inward life.
Our hearts are warm and cheery, like
cottages under drifts, whose windows

and doors are half concealed, but from whose chimneys the smoke cheerfully ascends. The imprisoning drifts increase the sense of comfort which the house affords, and in the coldest days we are content to sit over the hearth and see the sky through the chimney-top, enjoying the quiet and serene life that may be had in a warm corner by the chimney-side, or feeling our pulse by listening to the low of cattle in the street, or the sound of the flail in distant barns all the long afternoon.³⁹

The true sense of habitation comes from a simultaneous awareness of a world beyond the house, a world whose otherness makes the solitude, warmth, and security of the house possible, as it were. It is this awareness which underlies Thoreau's new-found joy in his hut, a joy which he has hitherto experienced in the building rather than in the inhabiting.

Another expression of the dynamic interpenetration of house and non-house is in the symbolism of the cellar. Not only does Thoreau lay the cellar of the hut on the site of a woodchuck's burrow, but after his house's completion he complacently allows a nest of moles to set up house-keeping in his cellar, sharing his potatoes with him. The most pointed piece of symbolism is that a pail of Walden's water is kept in the cellar to provide a constant supply

of cool water and to obviate the necessity for frequent trips to the pond for drinking-water. Significantly, it is in the warm months that Thoreau's cellar is treated as the most important part of the house, every house being, according to Thoreau, only a "porch at the entrance of a burrow" (57). In winter, that role is usurped by the fireplace. The cellar represents Thoreau's closest connection to the natural; it is that part of consciousness which flows into the simple, animal level of being in nature and is scarcely distinguishable from it. Within the house-mind, the cellar occupies a less discrete and insular level of being than the fireplace, repeating on the material plane the unity of the one-and-the-many characteristic of the transcendental self, the pond.

The symbolism of the house's verticality reaches a higher state of refinement in Walden than in, say, The House of the Seven Gables. In one tantalizing passage, the content of which never comes to full artistic fruition, Thoreau speaks of "considering, for instance, what foundation a door, a window, a cellar, a garret, have in the nature of man" (58). The fragment is illuminated only

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in hints and flashes, as, for instance, in several passages which contrast cellars and superstructures (superego?) with emphasis on the latter's ephemerality. Emphasis is also placed, in several passages, on the independence of the chimney from the superstructure, "standing," as it does, "on the ground and rising through the house to the heavens" (321). Thus, the three vertical elements of cellar, chimney, and superstructure are persistently invested with meanings roughly analogous to the Freudian triad of psychic components. To these three elements might be added a fourth, the roof, where the chimney merges with the top of the house. When Thoreau recommends that every dwelling "be lofty enough to create some obscurity over-head, where flickering shadows may play at evening among the rafters" (331-32), he is clearly investing the higher elements of the house with "heavenly" significance, connecting them, perhaps, with the Oversoul or with the roof of the House of Nature. The Neo-Platonic chain of being, thus, flows directly through the house from top to bottom, and the individual's ability to identify with the various elements of his house in the kind and degree proper to them becomes a metaphor for individuation,

for the integration of personality.

Thoreau's cellar has a temporal as well as a psychological dimension, invariably giving rise to thoughts about the human past. Like Jung's collective unconscious it exists in both time and space. Thoreau's cellar conjures up reminiscences of the subterranean shelters of the first American colonists, who dug pits in the ground "cellar fashion" (50), lined them with wood and tree-bark, and raised roofs of sod and bark over them. Thoreau also returns repeatedly to the image of "cellar dents" left in the ground "where once were the stir and bustle of human life" (349). The chapter on "Former Inhabitants; and Winter Visitors" contains a number of such evocations, instances in which the lilac planted to adorn the house outlives and rises over it, and in which cellar-stone has become one with shrubs and berries.

One final factor in Thoreau's vision of the interaction of house and non-house is that the house provides a perspective for viewing one's larger relations in a new light. From the vantage of the house in winter, the pond, which in summer had been a source of physical and emotional revitalization, becomes a subject of intellectual

exploration and a source of ethical and psychological norms. Reflecting in his retreat upon the scientific measurements he took of the frozen pond, Thoreau, Sherman Paul says, "discovered and verified . . . the spiritual law of correspondences. The general regularity of the bottom--of the unseen--conformed to the shores. . . . By these soundings he renewed his faith in the transcendental method."⁴⁰ Thus, the concentration of psychic energies within the actual self of the hut pays dividends on relations with the transcendental self. And what has been learned of the transcendental self, because it "is no less true of ethics" and because it provides a means for judging "the height and depth" of individual "character" (385), proves of practical use to the life of man.

Like the relation of house and non-house, the relation of house and dweller in Thoreau's total philosophy of habitation has a certain correspondence to the cycle of the seasons. Spring is the season in which house-building, no mundane activity for Thoreau, begins. He scorns those who would "resign the pleasure of construction" to a carpenter. If all men built their

own houses, he hazards, perhaps "the poetic faculty would be universally developed, as birds universally sing when they are so engaged" (59). Thoreau stands above the other American romantics in his sense of the creative and therapeutic value in the practice of domestic architecture. House-building is self-building, and all that serves to promote the growth and realization of the self is of paramount importance to Thoreau. It is for this reason that, as a practical application of this phase of his philosophy of habitation, he recommends students help to lay the foundations of their own schools. Creativeness of hands leads, Thoreau seems to believe, to greater creativeness of the intellect. And how "could youths better learn to live than by at once trying the experiment of living" (65)? Better to learn architectural economy before studying political economy!

As the process of building continues on into the summer, Thoreau begins to dwell in the house that he is literally raising up about him. And, as he says, he begins to feel the house exerting an effect on him. The frame "was a sort of crystalization around me, and reacted on the builder" (111). His impression that the

outdoors has somehow been internalized gathers momentum. The key to the reaction" Thoreau describes is that the chapter in which it takes place abounds in forms of the word "imagination," applied not only to house-related activities but to all of his endeavors. It is as if Thoreau's entire creative life, as an artist and as a man seeking to discover the length, breadth, and height of his selfhood, is enriched by the building of a house.

Late summer and early fall are the seasons for house-keeping and for preparation for true house-inhabiting. Because a fireplace and chimney are not immediately necessary in the spring, Thoreau waits till cooler weather before constructing them. He enjoys learning the masonry craft and "was pleased to see my work rising so square and solid by degrees" (321). He also enjoys what might normally be thought of as the annoying, uncreative tasks of housework, which he calls "a pleasant pastime" (148). A special joy to him is enacting the ritual of moving his furniture out of doors in a pile among the pines and hickories. Part of housekeeping, that is, is the fantasy of moving out, the self-assurance that one can leave but does not wish to do so at the moment.

Winter, as we have already noted, is for Thoreau the time of habitation, the time when he first feels the function of habitation as more than the offering of shelter. Whatever "satisfaction parent or child, master or servant, derive from living in a house," he says, "I enjoyed it all" (322). Although his house is hardly of the sort to allow the kind of exploration that Hepzibah conducts incessantly at Seven Gables, Thoreau's enjoyment of such pastimes as lazily watching the soot form at the back of the chimney and poking ritualistically at the fire, springs from the same psychic roots. Now fully at home in his hut, Thoreau feels "more satisfaction than usual" (322) in these rites of ownership.

The closing chapters of Walden return us full-circle to the spring season, and spring, Thoreau implies, is a fitting season for leaving the house. The wild-geese and the bison keep pace with the season and leave their accustomed territories, why should man not do so as well? The imperative to leave the house is an outgrowth of Thoreau's very exultation in his ownership at the end of the chapter on "Sounds." No gate, no yard, and, most of all, "no path to the civilized world" (169), he rejoices.

But in the concluding chapter he admits that he had not lived in his hut a week before his feet began to wear a path in front of his door. Thoreau's passion for analogies suggests to him that this path is but the sign and symbol of another, one much to be avoided. "It is remarkable how easily and insensibly we fall into a particular route, and make a beaten track for ourselves. . . . The surface of the earth is soft and impressible by the feet of men; and so with the paths which the mind travels" (426). Thoreau can say with integrity that he left his hut and woods for the same reason that brought him to them because for him leave-taking is an absolute imperative of all that is highest in the consciousness of man. Just as house-building represents the acceptance of man's fallen state, his accountability to the actual and to the limits of his own selfhood, so leave-taking, a reconsecration to the House of Nature, represents his instinct for divinity, innocence, and transcendental harmony.

That two such disparate minds as Hawthorne and Thoreau should have arrived at the same general point in their house-philosophies shows how completely ingrained was dialecticism in the American romantic consciousness. Both

conclude that for the fallen creature, man, the best, though imperfect, condition of life is a ceaseless dialectic movement between the House of Nature and the House of Man. Hawthorne's vision is more strongly weighted, perhaps, to the latter, Thoreau's to the former; Hawthorne's vision probably commands more respect because it appreciates more fully the complexity of the House of Man, while Thoreau's is characteristically more bold and systematic. Both Hawthorne and Thoreau dreamed their dreams of a dwelling that might somehow bridge the gap between house and hut; if Hawthorne's dream is the more banal, it also carries with it a tragic sense more in tune with the human condition than Thoreau's. Still, "double consciousness," though conceived in somewhat different terms, lies at the core of both philosophies.

The most important result of the Walden experiment, more important even than the attractive but limited principle of economy, is the discovery and acceptance of, and therefore an existential victory over, the divided state of human being. The contrasting chapters on "The Ponds" and on "Brute Neighbors" testify to man's habitation of two worlds: the transcendental world of the pond and

the phenomenal world of the shore. The acceptance of both worlds follows close on the heels of the famous woodchuck episode in "Higher Laws." "I found in myself, and still find," Thoreau says, "an instinct toward a higher, or as it is named, spiritual life, as do most men, and another toward a primitive rank and savage one, and I reverence them both" (278). Later in the same chapter, he restates this acceptance with a significant addendum, deliberately rendering ambiguous a key point, much as Holgrave does in The House of the Seven Gables. "Man flows at once to God when the channel of purity is open. By turns our purity inspires and our impurity casts us down. He is blessed who is assured that the animal is dying out in him day by day, and the divine being established" (291). This last may be a deliberate or coincidental echo of the famous (or infamous, as the case may be) resolution to Tennyson's In Memoriam (1850), in which the gradual working out of the beast in man through the evolutionary process is assured. Thoreau's phrasing, however, reeks little of Victorian optimism. He is mum on whether he is one of the "blessed," or whether, indeed, the "assurance" has any basis in reality.

Thoreau's prescription for a modus vivendi is, like Hawthorne's, two-fold, to accommodate man's dual nature. The ideal prescription is to inhabit the eternal present, to live "in the present always" (415). Unlike Hawthorne, Thoreau locates the eternal present not in the Carlylean triumvirate of love, religion, and art, but in identification with the cosmic self, the Emersonian Oversoul, the eternal process. In winter Thoreau had ruminated on the blanched and accursed earth on which city upon city had been piled. He flew to Walden to escape the dreadful dead weight of the human past. But with the spring, the method of nature teaches Thoreau that the "earth is not a mere fragment of dead history, stratum upon stratum . . . but living poetry like the leaves of a tree" (408). The eternal repetition in time and space of organic process, like Nietzsche's Eternal Recurrence, annihilates time, and allows one, as Thoreau says in a figure upon which Nietzsche himself was later to elaborate, "to stand on the meeting of two eternities" (20), the past and the future.

When identification with the House of Nature is not possible, a second, more limited, expedient is implicit in Walden's architectural symbolism. Build your house

according to the blueprint nature itself suggests and enjoy the artist's eternal present of creativity. Then be a creative housekeeper, secure in the knowledge that your house is your creature and that you may go forth from it whenever you wish, leaving it to moulder and rot and return to the earth it first came from. And most of all, when the time is ripe for leaving, leave. Don't sacrifice your larger relations by attaching yourself "uneconomically" to boards, nails, and curtains. This prescription for the House of Man is a metaphorical expression of what Thoreau, at one point, puts thus: "We should come home from far, from adventures, and perils, and discoveries every day, with new experience and character" (277). The mind, says Thoreau, has more than one life to live and more than one self to satisfy. Only the dialecticism of a "double consciousness" can satisfy all man's relations.

Having reconciled the hut and the pond, it remains for Thoreau to reconcile the pond and the village, to show that his house-philosophy has a viable social dimension. The populous dream house gives symbolic embodiment to this vision. It consists of one room, "a vast, rude, substantial

primitive hall, without ceiling or plastering," a single giant fireplace, a roof so high it seems "a sort of lower heaven over one's head," and a cellar to which one "would descend . . . and so learn whether the ground is solid or hollow beneath you without stamping." The dream house will be "open and manifest as a bird's nest" (324). Clearly, Thoreau is attempting a fantasy-reconciliation of the House of Nature and the hut of Thoreau. The new, organic House of Man that Thoreau envisions is not so much a recommendation for returning to the Stone Age as a symbolic representation of a new social vision, a new organic "tribalism."

How is this nineteenth century version of the "global village" to be achieved? On what is it to be organized? Thoreau's evocation of the "neutral ground" in the chapter on "Visitors" provides the kernel of an answer and a fascinating glimpse, as well, at the coincidence of literature and life in Thoreau's mind. "Individuals, like nations," he says, "must have suitable broad and natural boundaries, even a considerable neutral ground, between them. I have found it a singular luxury to talk across the pond to a companion on the other side" (105). The pond, then, is to be the "neutral ground" of collective interaction. Thoreau's

idea seems to be that the principle of "economy" frees individuals on the lower plane of "double consciousness" and allows "sympathy" to create a transcendental social bond on the higher plane. The pond, as symbol of the transcendental self, represents that sympathetic bond.

But the "neutral ground" has another dimension in Walden, a literary dimension which nevertheless has significance as a social instrument. Leo Marx has noted that Walden "resembles the classic pastoral in form and feeling," that it is suffused with pastoral imagery.⁴¹ But the pastoral was more than a literary mode for Thoreau: its "middle landscape" suggested a basis for a higher type of society, one in which the ideal of civilization and the saving force of nature are harmonized. It is often mistakenly assumed (sometimes by Thoreau himself) that Thoreau was a primitivist. He was not. In Maine Woods he remarks, "For a permanent residence, it seemed to me that there could be no comparison between this [semi-rural landscape] and the wilderness, necessary as the latter is for a resource and a background, the raw material of our civilization."⁴² The natural life was a foundation for Thoreau, not an end in itself. That is one reason for his

ambivalent attitude toward the "Homeric Man" in Walden.

In place of the old social system of getting and spending and manufacturing, Thoreau envisioned one in which "economy" would free men to cultivate, like the literary shepherd of the pastoral, their "highest faculties." Such a man is John Farmer, who works hard all day and plays his flute all night; and the "notes of his flute . . . gently did away with the street, and the village, and the state in which he lived" (294). John Farmer, we may surmise, is fit to be the first dweller in Thoreau's populous dream house.

Like his fellow transcendentalists, Thoreau was a failure as a social theorists. Leo Stoller has spoken of that failure in this way:

The economy which Thoreau established at Walden to provide an adequate base for the pursuit of self-culture, like all the other experimental economies of its day, failed to achieve its objective. What he had spoken of was a simple life in which a man would neither work for another nor hire another, but live to himself, eating only what he grew, growing only what he ate, and avoiding as much as possible all trade and barter. What he did in actuality was to set himself up in an unproductive and by-passed corner of Massachusetts as a marginal commercial farmer whose cash crop did not bring in enough money to satisfy his

needs and who therefore hired himself
out as a day-laborer in order to make
ends meet.⁴³

Thoreau's Walden experiment was a magnificent myth of the individual's ability to simplify his life and thereby revitalize it, and a scathing critique of the wastefulness in human lives wrought by a complex commercial and industrial society. But it also failed to offer a workable social and economic system to replace the existent one. Thoreau failed, that is, to provide for the lower level of double consciousness. Cut off from its economic base, the "tribe" within the dream house is forced to subsist on the transcendental water of the pond. Thoreau speculates that thievery and robbery would be unknown in his dream house because these only occur when some have not the sufficiency of others. But Thoreau cannot make good on his own guarantee of sufficiency, and so the dream house remains only a dream.

Postlude: Melville's
Domestic Short Fiction

With the exception of certain "longer" pieces of short fiction--notably, "Benito Cereno," "Bartleby the Scrivener," and, perhaps, "The Encantadas"--Melville's "magazine fiction" of the period 1853-1856 has, until recently, excited little critical attention. Newton Arvin's judgment that "few of the tales themselves are anything but thin, pale, insubstantial, and fatally easy to forget" succinctly explains the reason for this neglect.¹ Richard Chase was first to give the "magazine fiction" as a whole anything like the kind of serious attention that it deserves.² Richard Harter Fogle's publication of an entire book devoted to the study of Melville's minor short fiction has helped to give the stamp of respectability to such study,³ and in the last dozen odd years a sharp increase of perceptive interest in the tales and sketches has been evident.⁴

Melville's abandonment, by and large, of the sea and of the scenery associated with it as literary subjects

after Moby-Dick (1851) must have created a considerable artistic vacuum. For Melville had, over a period of time, built up a network of symbolical associations about the paraphernalia of the sea and sea-life. In order to fill this vacuum, Melville, in the short fiction of the fifties, exploited a new mise` en scene about which a new network of symbolical associations accrued. Functioning as a micro-cosmic world, the ship had been the symbolic focal point of his sea fiction. Now, dry-docked as it were, Melville, after casting about for a new symbolic focus for his land fiction, seized upon the house. Over the three-year period during which the bulk of his domestic short fiction was written, Melville evolved the most extensive system of architectural symbolism among the American romantics. The tales and sketches which embody this system explore all of the alternative movements within and between houses upon which this study has centered. The result of this exploration spells the end of radical dialecticism in American romantic house-philosophy and predicts, perhaps, the artistic flame-out not only of Melville, but of Hawthorne and Thoreau, as well.

That much of Melville's architectural symbolism is derivative is likely. The zenith of the famous literary friendship with Hawthorne, for instance, coincides closely with Melville's apparent resolve to write land fiction. In 1850 Melville had written the laudatory essay on "Hawthorne and His Mosses," testifying that "this Hawthorne has dropped germinous seeds into my soul,"⁵ and Melville's extensive scoring of passages in Mosses from an Old Manse, which he had been reading in the summer of that year, evidences the impression the book made on him.⁶ Significantly, he quotes in the essay a long passage from Hawthorne's "Fire Worship" built on a house-metaphor, and goes on to describe Hawthorne himself in terms of the latter's favorite image: "Nathaniel Hawthorne, a man who already in some few minds has shed 'such a light as never illuminates the earth save when a great heart burns as the household fire of a grand intellect'" (13:142). More exposure to Hawthorne's symbolic houses followed in January of 1851, when Hawthorne presented Melville with copies of both the first and second series of Twice-Told Tales, which he again scored amply.⁷ And in April of the same year Hawthorne presented Melville with a copy of the just

published House of the Seven Gables, which Melville apparently read immediately.⁸ Taken once again by the image of an old house, Melville wrote Hawthorne a letter of praise, in which he was once more prompted to spin out a house-metaphor of his own:

This book is like a fine old chamber, abundantly, but still judiciously, furnished with precisely that sort of furniture best fitted to furnish it. There are rich hangings, wherein are broidered scenes from tragedies! There is old china with rare devices, set out on the carved buffet . . . there is a smell as of old wine in the pantry; and finally, in one corner, there is a dark little black-letter volume in gold clasps, entitled "Hawthorne: A Problem."⁹

Melville's acquaintanceship with the symbolic architecture of Poe and Thoreau, though more difficult to demonstrate with certainty, also seems highly probable.

"Cock-A-Doodle-Do!" bears a remarkable resemblance in a number of respects to portions of Walden, and "The Apple-Tree Table" and "The Piazza" may also owe something to Thoreau.¹⁰

Although Melville nowhere takes note of the existence of a Henry Thoreau, he is known to have borrowed a copy of A Week from Evert Duyckinck.¹¹ As for Melville's knowledge of Poe, one perceptive contemporary reviewer of

The Piazza Tales was prompted to remark, "Perhaps the admirers of Edgar Poe will see, or think they see, an imitation of his concentrated gloom in the wild, wierd tale, called 'Bartleby:' in 'The Bell-Tower,' as well, there is a broad tinge of German mysticism, not free from some resemblance to Poe."¹² One of Melville's letters does contain a veiled reference to Poe's death,¹³ and Moby-Dick and Pierre both seem to owe some few but significant debts to Poe.¹⁴ In the area of the domestic short fiction, "I"'s labyrinthine house bears a close resemblance to the old schoolhouse in Poe's "William Wilson."

Whatever the sailor-metaphysician, Melville, may have owed to the example of his land-lubber brethren, he discharged the debt with interest by following out the implications of the house-as-mind metaphor with unprecedented comprehensiveness. The differentiation of the house in terms of its verticality is a case in point. Hawthorne makes use of the analogy between the vertical being of architectural components and the vertical being of human consciousness; what he almost never demonstrates is the internal dynamics of verticality. This is true even of The Marble Faun (1859), which rigorously exploits the

symbolism of tower, catacomb, and the like. Various components may have their own discrete ethical or psychological significance, but their unity is generally that of a literary scheme rather than that of a vision of consciousness. Thoreau tries to connect a number of vertical elements by imagining the Neo-Platonic emanation projecting down through the house from heavenly ceiling to substantial cellar. But Thoreau only proved his own hut on his pulses; the roof of his dream house is purely theoretical. Thoreau, moreover, has little use for, and therefore little interest in, superstructures. Even the interrelation of his cellar and his fireplace is seasonal, not, as Freud would show, dynamic. Poe comes closest to Melville in understanding the dynamics of vertical being because, like Melville, he was finally more interested in the movement within the house than in the movement between houses. The tell-tale heart is under the floorboards and will out; the black cat's in the cellar and gives away the best laid plans; Symmes's Hole wears a mantle of white; and the story of the descent into the Maelstrom can only be told from the summit of the mountain. But Poe is always in the cellar with the cat, and General Lasalle never arrives in time to

snatch him from the Pit. Unlike Ishmael, Poe could never imagine an after, after being tossed back up by the vortex.

Jung provides a splendid little example of the internal dynamics of verticality in Modern Man in Search of a Soul. He speaks of the conscious mind as "a man who, hearing a suspicious noise in the cellar, hurries to the attic and, finding no burglars there decides, consequently, that the noise was pure imagination. In reality, this prudent man did not dare venture into the cellar."¹⁵ The attic has no vertical being without the cellar, nor would the man run to it without having first heard the noise from the cellar. Thoreau's pleasant fireplace crackles cosily at a corner of his hut, but Melville's ("I and My Chimney") stands at the center of the house, and its bottom disappears deep in the dirt of the cellar. The cellar refuses to be tamed by a pailful of Walden, and at any point in the house an unwary wanderer might find himself "aghast at the cellar yawning at his feet" (13:293).

Melville's symbolic architecture does more than systematize the bad dreams of Poe or the insights of Hawthorne and Thoreau. It also breaks new ground.

His houses, for instance, have a dimension in epistemology which is largely absent from those of his artistic brethren. The greater part of the post-Lockean philosophy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries centered on the relation between the Ich and the Nicht-Ich. Melville's development as an artist can be explained in part as an increasing tendency to reduce problems of ethics and psychology to the terms of epistemology: What do we know, and how do we come to know it? The Confidence-Man is a kind of reductio ad absurdum of this tendency. Melville was neither right whale nor sperm whale. No idealist, he nevertheless found the rapture of the mast-head irresistible. And yet he consistently exhibits a belief in some kind of objective reality in the dark at the bottom of the stairs, which, though difficult to apprehend, is accessible to the mind in moments of brief, piercing insight, or, at times, through smoked glass. There is always the sensed presence of the immutable "Descartian vortices," or perhaps of Lockean "primary attributes," with which idealism fails to come entirely to terms.

There are four major architectural components to "Melville's house," and an ungainly affair it would be

were it anything other than metaphorical. The first component is the Cellar, or, by extension, a low-lying place (for example, the factory in "The Tartarus of Maids"); the second is the Ground Floor; the third, the Garret (or attic, apartment, upstairs room, etc.); the final component is the Tower, or, by extension, a very high place (for instance, the mountaintop retreat of Marianna in "The Piazza").¹⁶ Each part of the "house" is associated with a logically corresponding level of consciousness or perceptual awareness. An additional architectural component, the non-organic addition to the "house" (for example, a piazza), also figures at times in the overall symbolic scheme of the domestic short fiction.

The Cellar is the most inscrutable part of "Melville's house," and is invariably associated with nature, the past, and unconsciousness. Gaston Bachelard calls the cellar, in the phenomenology of habitation, "first and foremost the dark entity of the house, the one that partakes of subterranean forces. When we dream there, we are in harmony with the irrationality of the depths."¹⁷ As a perceptual level the Cellar is characterized by intuitiveness and by a nebulous impenetrability. Merlin

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Bowen speaks of something very like this when he describes "The Unknown Self" of the Melvillean protagonist: "To the light-dazzled eye of reason, the greater part of this underworld must remain forever obscure. By feeling only and by intuition, the mind's peripheral vision, may we hope to be guided along the 'endless, winding way,--the flowing river in the cave of man.'"¹⁸ In Melville's symbolic scheme the depths are dangerous because they represent a level of consciousness which most men are unable to cope with and a level of perception with a frightening potential for intuitive glimpses into the truth of external reality. Such a glimpse destroys the seedsman of "The Tartarus of Maids," who discovers the rottenness of his "Paradise of Bachelors" in the paper factory at the bottom of a deep valley.

Melville's most profound portrayal of the Cellar is in "I and My Chimney." As is his wont, the narrator descends to his cellar to contemplate the vast base of his chimney. The cellar, as always, reaches deeply into the mysteries of primal nature; it is "umbrageous," and its "glens of gloom, resemble the dark, damp depths of primeval woods" (13:283). The narrator's fondness for his

cellar is significant because it is here that he is also closest to his psychic roots, to the point at which the ego's individuality begins to expand into the collective unconscious. So strangely is "I" affected by the atmosphere of the cellar, that "one day--when I was a little out of my mind, as I now think--getting a spade from the garden, I set to work, digging round the foundation [of the chimney], especially at the corners thereof, obscurely prompted by dreams of striking some old, earthen-worn memorial of that by-gone day, when, into all this gloom, the light of heaven entered, as the masons laid the foundation stones" (13:283). The coincidence of the intuitive act, the vision of primeval nature, and the mystical sense of the past suggests something very like the portrayal of the Jungian collective unconscious. The narrator's excavation is, of course, futile, for the experience in the Cellar takes place at such a basal level that it can only occur in involuntary bursts, "when I was a little out of my mind."

The Ground Floor of "Melville's house" is intimately associated with its most important appurtenance, the hearth, which is the actual and symbolic source of the house's vital warmth and energy. In isolation, the hearth

represents warmth of feeling, and hence it is always the best place for the house-mind to come into relations with outsiders. The hearth is also the outlet of the chimney-ego, a structure of vaster complexity and dimensions, which connects all elements of the house from roof to cellar. The Ground Floor represents the existential level of being, and the figure who remains close to Ground Floor and hearth embodies a cautious, reasoned, conservative, and pragmatic relation to external reality. Perception from the Ground Floor is limited, but such vision as there is is generally reliable and adequate to the needs of the Ground Floor habitué. The Ground Floor corresponds to a great extent to the level of consciousness Bowen calls "The Still Center": "Here . . . lives that 'innate dignity' which can keep from degradation even the flogged sailor at the gangway, 'that immaculate manliness we feel . . . so far within us, that it remains intact though all the outer character seems gone.'" ¹⁹ The Ground Floor is an analogue, though far more limited in scope, of the "Aboriginal Self" upon which Emerson's self-reliant man relies. A heroic instance of the showing forth of this irreducibly human self can be seen in the highly stylized "dance" in

"The Lightning-Rod Man," in which the narrator resists all efforts to lure him from the architectural mediacy of his hearth and his ground floor. A comic instance is provided by the unbreakable attachment of the narrator of "I and My Chimney" to his fireplace.

The Garret is the level of consciousness at which the constructs of thought meet and coexist uneasily with the resistance that external reality offers to penetration; it is characterized by mystery and magic. "I"'s wife in "I and My Chimney" offers a good example of the attic-habitué. "Her ambition was of the mounting order. She ascended with her schemes to the second floor, and so to the attic" (13:292). Her confidence in all things scientific is offset by her mystical dedication to "the Spirit Rapping philosophy" of Swedenborg. Mysterious signs abound in the Garret, as for instance in the basic geometric forms of the trash in the garret of "The Apple-Tree Table" or in the shutters of Jimmy Rose's apartment, with their "crescents" that admit "an Oriental" light. Light is, in fact, of special significance as one ascends in "Melville's house." In the Garret the light is uneven and "tricky" ("moony" in Jimmy Rose's apartment, "filtrated" in the

garret of "The Apple-Tree Table") because it comes from an isolated source: a small pane of glass or a small aperture.

The Garret contains a perceptual ambiguity. It is not a place of total illusion, but there is a profound sense of isolation associated with it. The narrator of "The Apple-Tree Table" feels "rapturously" resurrected when he thrusts his head from the opening in the scuttle. Jimmy Rose chooses to take refuge from a friendless world first in the "parlor of the peacocks" in his apartment, then in an "attic."²⁰ In a more humorous vein, the upstairs of "I and My Chimney" is made up of room upon room, leading inward to a mystery-maze; whereas "you seem forever going somewhere," you are, in fact, "getting nowhere" (13:292). Issues relating to the Garret are never clear-cut. Is the "parlor of the peacocks" a paradise or a prison, and is Jimmy Rose a passive defeatist or a helpless victim? Should the narrator of "The Apple-Tree Table" yield to the influence of Democritus, his guiding light, or to that of Mather, whose Magnalia has lain in his garret for ages? There are choices to be made and issues to be resolved in the Garret, but the ways and means of doing so are not always clear or accessible.

The Tower is imagistically related to the Garret. Light imagery, in particular, is one of the elemental tools of Melville's epistemological themes. The implicit assumption of all the fiction from Moby-Dick to The Confidence-Man is that we know by what we see; sight becomes a metaphor for all human relations with an external reality. Since whiteness, as all of Melville's readers know, is a symbol of unvarnished reality, of blank confrontation with the fact of existence, color--even the color of flames--falsifies and is not to be trusted; the more total the spectrum of color present in any given scene, the more total the illusion. Both Garrets and Towers are associated with color. The garret of "The Apple-Tree Table" has a "rainbowed tunnel clear across" it (13:314). The interior of the New York temple in "The Two Temples" is bathed in the colors of the stained glass high above. The narrator of "The Piazza" follows the "rainbow's end" to the "cottage up in a hopper-like hollow . . . among the north-western mountains" (10:5).

But there are images and characteristics native to the Tower that make a differentiation from the Garret worthwhile. A recurrent dreamlike quality is, for instance,

frequently associated with the Tower. "The Paradise of Bachelors" is "dreamy." In "The Bell-Tower," Bannadonna, in his "serenity," becomes increasingly oblivious to the world beyond the tower. Marianna's mountaintop cottage in "The Piazza" is a "fairyland" of which the narrator speculates, "Sometimes I think I do but dream it is there" (10:13).²¹ Another frequently attendant quality of the Tower is the insistent, and finally ironic, likeness to a "Heaven" or "Paradise." "The Paradise of Bachelors" is "well up toward heaven" (13:233). The tower of the Temple First is reached by a "Jacob's ladder of lofty steps" (13:176). Bannadonna's bell-tower is likened to the heavenward-aspiring Tower of Babel. And the view of Marianna's mountaintop cottage calls to the narrator's mind the "old wars of Lucifer and Michael" in heaven (10:7).

The Tower, like the Cellar, is a dangerous place, not because it represents a frightening reality, but because it deludes its habitué with a false sense of power and a false impression of insight. The Tower is a place of rational dreams, possessing what Gaston Bachelard calls "the rationality of the roof" in contradistinction "to the irrationality of the cellar. A roof tells its raison d'être

right away. . . . Up near the roof all our thoughts are clear."²² This clarity, however, is always more apparent than real. The total perceptual falsehood of Melville's Tower is frequently evoked in his favorite metaphor of the world as stage. "The Two Temples" is built around that metaphor, and the artistic theme of "The Piazza" makes pointed use of it. In all instances Melville emphasizes the strange visual phenomena that occur in the Tower or as a result of having been there: the tricks of light and shade that can transform an entire scene in the twinkling of an eye. These phenomena reach their strangest and most suggestive expression in the device of "double vision," whereby the image of the Cellar is suddenly superimposed on the image of the Tower. Three of Melville's tales--"The Piazza," "The Two Towers," and "The Paradise of Bachelors and the Tartarus of Maids"--are built on this device.

Any addition to "Melville's house" is treated as symbolically undesirable because it violates the unity of selfhood which the house represents. The most salient architectural addendum in the domestic short fiction is the piazza. In "The Piazza," the architecture dramatizes an insistent clash between past and present. The narrator's

"house is old" (10:1), we are told, and the narrator professes a fond attachment to the past which it embodies. And yet, instead of allying himself with nature and the past by exploring his aboriginal cellar--built so "long ago that, in digging for the foundation, the workmen used both spade and axe, fighting the Troglodytes of those subterranean parts" (10:2)--the narrator builds a piazza, the only function of which is to help him look beyond his house. It is for this reason that the piazza proves his undoing. Another architectural addendum which proves a prognosticator of trouble is the new front porch to Jimmy Rose's house. A replacement for "a fine old pulpit-like porch," the new porch gives the front of Jimmy's house "an incongruous aspect, as if the graft of modernness had not taken in its ancient stock" (13:256). The tide of time and change causes Jimmy to present to the world the same incongruous aspect, and his failure to successfully engraft his old-fashioned, genteel charm to a new world becomes symptomatic of his failure.

Melville's narrators and protagonists must inevitably be at the heart of any consideration of the edifices which represent qualities of their minds. These narrator-

protagonists of the domestic short fiction are of three kinds: 1) the Wanderer, 2) the Aspirer, and 3) the Defender. The three categories are not always mutually exclusive. The Wanderer sometimes aspires; such is the case with the narrators of "Cock-A-Doodle-Do!" and "The Piazza." Some Wanderers, on the other hand, are unaware of their motives and consciously aspire to nothing. Then too, there are Aspirers, such as Bannadonna in "The Bell-Tower," who aspire but do not wander. The Defender, however, whether successful or not in defending the integrity of home and hearth, neither wanders nor aspires; it is this conservative and unassuming stance that marks him as the most generally successful of Melville's protagonists in the domestic short fiction.

If all of the narrator-protagonists share one characteristic, it is their participation in what Merlin Bowen has called "the long encounter," a muted drama in which "we find ourselves looking on at the pitting, in some sense, of the individual against the universe. It is this encounter, understood as a problem both of perception and of action, that lies at the center of all Melville's work."²³ All of Melville's fiction is at bottom existential

drama in which the discovery, preservation, or annihilation of self is the resolution to all conflict. The narrator-protagonists of the domestic short fiction are generally shadowy, colorless figures with sketchily defined motives. There are few Ahabs or Pierre Glendinnings among them. All, with the probable exception of the narrator in the highly experimental "The Lightning-Rod Man," experience a vague Angst, which manifests itself variously in wanderlust, ambition, or a kind of free-floating anxiety. It is in the architectural symbolism of "Melville's house" and in the relationship of the narrator-protagonist to his "house" that we see this Angst objectified and resolved, one way or another.

The Wanderer is undoubtedly the most archetypical romantic figure. Melville had already created Wanderers in the titanic mold of Werther, Manfred, and Teufelsdröckh in Moby-Dick and Pierre. In the short fiction of the fifties, however, Melville created a new species of Wanderer. Invariably, the protagonists of these tales are unaware of the motives which impel them to movement; they may, in fact, not view themselves as Wanderers at all. If they are in any way aware of a driving inner force,

they admit only to a decidedly unheroic curiosity or to a crusty misanthropy. The journeys undertaken often involve little more than an innocent business trip ("The Tartarus of Maids") or a daylong ride over a nearby hill ("The Piazza"). Even in the so-called diptych tales, in which the setting is divided between England and America, the sense on the narrator's part of any real significance in the journey is minimal. An enjoyable dinner at some bachelor digs ("The Paradise of Bachelors") or a sight-seeing excursion to a London theater ("The Two Temples") are after all commonplace events. On the surface all is calm and little "happens"; but below the surface there is a vague tension, and patterns of imagery, allusions, and rhetorical amplifications tell us that much is at stake in the innocent excursions.

The Wanderer is a significant figure in the scheme of Melville's architectural symbolism because, consciously or unconsciously, he has renounced the small plot of ground, the circumscribed piece of space, that is his "house" and has chosen to look beyond it for the fulfillment of his desires. The object of the quest is invariably another building, and because the quest generally takes

the Wanderer to extreme heights and depths, the Cellar and the Tower are his native elements. In the latter the narrator finds his paradise; in the former its falsity may be made evident. Yet the Wanderer usually offers stubborn resistance to enlightenment, preferring his false paradise to an imperfect world. The narrators of "Cock-A-Doodle-Do!" "The Piazza," and "The Two Temples" all reject partially or totally the insight gained in the depths. Only the narrator of "The Tartarus of Maids" is genuinely traumatized by the exposure of the falsity of his paradise.

The Wanderer's repudiation of home and hearth makes him particularly vulnerable to what might be termed the "epistemological dilemma": betrayal by the symbolic agency of one's own vision because one has placed greater faith in the reality of external phenomena than in the reality of one's own mind, or "house." Because the Wanderer divides his time between Cellar and Tower, the unique manifestation that the "epistemological dilemma" is likely to take for him is "double vision." Often "double vision" resembles a species of déjà vu, whereby the Tower persists in reminding the Wanderer of the Cellar, or vice versa. Thus, the seedsman of "The Tartarus of Maids" notes that "something

latent, as well as something obvious in the time and scene" during his journey to the paper mill "strangely brought back to my mind my first sight of dark and grimy Temple Bar" (13:242). Other times, "double vision" functions as a kind of Joycean epiphany. In "The Two Temples" a "Puseyitish painting of a Madonna and Child" is transfigured before the narrator's eyes to a momentary likeness of "Hagar and her Ishmael" wandering in the wilderness (13:180). In "The Tartarus of Maids" the blank paper of the mill seems to the narrator suddenly to be imprinted with the faces of the pitiful girls who make it. And the tormented faces of the girls in turn become the face of Christ on the towel of Saint Vernoica (13:253). The "epistemological dilemma" demonstrates that reality is plastic and phenomenological, and it affirms that the true quest for reality is an inward rather than an outward movement.

The failure of the Wanderer to find a dream house that would not turn to nightmare disposes of one alternative for narrator-protagonists of the short fiction in their effort to come into a workable relation with the non-house of external reality. For those protagonists who choose to

seek their salvation within their own "houses," several alternative reality-stances, however, remain available. These alternatives tend to resolve themselves into the oldest of philosophical situations: faith versus reason. Neither offers a promising prospect, for in Melville's fictional universe problems rarely admit of simple solutions. Faith comes in many guises in Melville's world. It may take the form of superstition, religious optimism, "confidence" in some panacea, or "protection" through some agency from an unpleasant reality. To opt for faith is to embrace some sort of external standard, to short-circuit, as the Wanderer did, the inward movement of the psychic adventure, and to offer relief from Angst at the price of surrender or subordination of self to the object of faith. To follow the dictates of reason, on the other hand, is to court disaster of another sort. Reason too comes in many guises: skepticism, materialism, empiricism, utilitarianism, or plain, old Yankee common sense. Although the "sober forms of sober reason" are of some value to the conservative Defender, they clearly have their limitations and can bring on disaster when applied too often, too rigorously, and too ambitiously.

Such a danger confronts the aspiring personality in its active assertion of will in careless disregard for the natural order of things. The Aspirer exerts a powerful attraction on us and on those who revolve like satellites around him because he represents an ambitious statement of the importance of the individual in the eye of the universe. But while assertiveness is in itself no handicap for the Melvillean protagonist, it is frequently the case that a too ambitious estimate of the ~~powers~~ of the mind can cause assertiveness to feed on the fruits of its own limited achievements; an overweening pride pushes aside the Aspirer's conception of himself as part of an immutable scheme, and, as in any tragedy, he commits the unpardonable error of denying the supremacy of natural law.

The native element of the Aspirer is, of course, the Tower, his movement within the house upward. At some point in his ascent, the Aspirer begins to lose contact with the world beyond his ambitions, and the "epistemological dilemma" which awaits all who breathe the rarified atmosphere of the heights proves his undoing. The "inklings," suspicions, or "double vision" of the Wanderer

allow some opportunity for self-knowledge. The Aspirer has no such opportunity. He is unaware of the Cellar's existence, and his ultimate failure is made manifest not through a glimpse of the Cellar but in the destruction of the Tower.

The operation of the "epistemological dilemma" on the Aspirer is best exemplified in "The Bell-Tower." Bannadonna's ambitions, as the tale makes clear, increase as the bell-tower carries its architect higher and higher. Bannadonna's original plan is simply to crown the achievement of the completed bell-tower with a clever, bell-ringing automaton. As he stands periodically upon the pile of his tower in each stage of its growth, Bannadonna's aims grow from "comparatively pigmy aims to Titanic ones" (10:267). Now his automaton will not merely ring a bell, it will further the "glories of humanity" (10:267). Soon Bannadonna conceives of the creature as a combination of "all excellences of God-made creatures" (10:267). Finally, he sees the automaton's mission as nothing less than the annihilation of time itself. How is the grand ambition to be accomplished? Bannadonna rejects the spells of the alchemist, the prayers of the theosophists, the syllogisms

of the metaphysicians, and the formulas of the natural philosophers. What all of culture's most venerable disciplines have failed to do, Bannadonna will accomplish "by plain vice-bench and hammer" (10:268). Hopelessly out of contact with his own limitations, Bannadonna is killed by his own automaton, and shortly afterward his tower collapses.

The Defender is confronted with a somewhat more complex circumstance. Inclined himself to be pragmatic, he may find himself put upon by those who, like Bannadonna or the empirical architect in "I and My Chimney," apply the test of reason and common sense much more religiously. On the other hand, the Defender may find himself confronted by an equally persuasive appeal of faith; such is the case with the narrator of "The Lightning-Rod Man." Or he may, like the narrator of "The Apple-Tree Table," be set upon by simultaneous appeals of faith and reason, with no compass but his instincts to guide him. Like the Aspirer, the Defender is capable of assertiveness, but his aim is not the advancement of self. Rather he senses that the very existence of the self is at stake in the clash with invading forces.

The sovereignty-metaphor is to the Defender as the mortgage-metaphor is to the Wanderer. The narrator-Wanderer of "Cock-A-Doodle-Do!" is willing to "clap yet another mortgage" on his house and estate in order to purchase the idle time necessary for wandering (13:154). He has, that is, mortgaged the integrity of his own mind and spirit in the search for some external standard upon which to rely. The Defender, who is committed to the preservation of his house, must fight for sovereignty in it. The narrator of "The Lightning-Rod Man" warns, "I am not accustomed to be commanded in my own house" (10:173). The narrator of "The Apple-Tree Table" must endure the skeptical remonstrances of his rationalistic wife on the one hand, and on the other the debilitating supernaturalism of his daughters. The wife of the narrator in "I and My Chimney" aspires to rule the roost. "She is desirous that, domestically, I should abdicate; that renouncing further rule . . . I should retire into some sort of monastery" (13:291).

The Defender's movement within the house is neither upward nor outward. The centrality of the hearth and the architectural mediacy of the Ground Floor are most indigentous to him. If he is lured away from his stable level of

being it is for brief, downward excursions into the psychic depths of the Cellar. Although he is unlikely to understand what he sees there, the very fact of his interest signifies a respect for the unknown and a willingness to temper the somewhat limiting pragmatism of the Ground Floor with the imaginative and intuitive faculties native to the Cellar. If we look to successful Defenders and to their houses, we find several factors to account for a success unique within the domestic short fiction and to suggest the nature of the precarious peace that Melville made with himself and with the world during the period 1853-1856.

One mark of the successful Defender is his acceptance of what has been characterized, variously, as "lower, but more stable levels of being"²⁴ and "certain limitations to the search for self-knowledge and for knowledge of the universe."²⁵ The narrators of "I and My Chimney" and "The Lightning-Rod Man" share a willingness to accept the limitations of their imperfect, time-bound situations. In an important disquisition on a crucial distinction in men and architecture, "I" notes:

. . . and, as with most thin men, who are generally tall, so with such houses, what is lacking in breadth must be made up in

height. This remark holds true even with regard to many stylish abodes, built by the most stylish of gentlemen. And yet, when that stylish gentleman, Louis le Grand of France, would build a palace for his lady friend, Madame de Maintenon, he built it but one story high--in fact in the cottage style. But then, how uncommonly quadrangular, spacious, and broad--horizontal acres, not vertical ones. . . . Any man can buy a square foot of land and plant a liberty-pole on it; but it takes a king to set apart whole acres for a Grand Trianon. (13:278)

The successful Defender chooses to inhabit a horizontal level of being rather than a vertical one. His house is "down to earth," the way its occupant is. "I"'s house, unlike the houses of his neighbors which have a "fifth and sixth story" clapped on an already unwieldy fourth, is "in width nearly twice its height" and "by no means lofty" (13:279-80). The narrator of "The Lightning-Rod Man" is sufficiently humbled by the mountains that surround him to desire only "a one-storied house, with an attic and a cellar" (10:177). Not only do the houses of the two narrators conjure up the "hut" of Thoreau, but the narrators themselves adopt the same "horizontal" plane of being that Thoreau adopted the third of a year he

spent in his house. They are reflective, pragmatic, and self-satisfied, and they identify strongly with the human past. But when Thoreau emerges from his house in order to inhabit a new plane of being, Melville's Defender remains indoors.

Another characteristic of the successful Defender is his tempering of the "horizontal" virtues native to the Ground Floor with the warmth of the human heart embodied in the hearth and with the intuitive and imaginative faculties of the Cellar. Melville was strongly skeptical of excessive irrationality and emotionalism, but, as Merton Sealts points out, Melville's fiction betrays a lifelong attachment to the qualities of warmth and geniality. "One infers, he was a man neither 'confident' nor even gregarious, but one who never ceased to value good-fellowship and good feeling, in the company of a few convivial intimates or else in memories of the past."²⁶ It is significant, also, that the two most successful Defenders seem to have struck a fine balance between the qualities of pragmatism and imaginative good-humor. The narrator of "The Lightning-Rod Man" can be pragmatic enough to insist on knowing "the reasons" why a lightning-rod

is necessary, yet playful enough to hail his visitor's dramatic entrance with, "Sir . . . have I the honour of a visit from that illustrious god, Jupiter Tonans" (10:172)? By the same token, "I," a self-admitted "lazy, happy-go-lucky, good-for-nothing, loafing old Lear" (13:291), can present cogent counterproofs to the master mason's contention that mathematics proves the existence of a "secret closet" in his chimney.

Finally, and perhaps most important, the successful Defender recognizes that reality is largely an internal state, and that, therefore, relativism is the great lesson of life. Of the unseen manifestations of "Descartian vortices" little can be known, and that little is unpleasant enough. "The hairs of our head are numbered, and the days of our lives," as the narrator of "The Lightning-Rod Man" says, and that is that. A man must create his own interior world within the latitude of freedom--his "house"--allotted him. This plot must be defended, in Merlin Bowen's phrase, through "armed neutrality." "The attitude so named may be . . . described as one of resistance without defiance and acceptance without surrender, of an indifference that is not apathy and an affirmation

without illusion."²⁷ The domestic short fiction presents a prescription for ordinary men, not for heroes, and it argues that the persistence of the self is the final, perhaps the only, triumph to be had.

The need of the creative consciousness for expansion and contraction is even more pressing than the need of the non-creative consciousness, which expresses its aspirations only in daydream and fantasy. "To sleep well," says Gaston Bachelard, "we do not need to sleep in a large room, and to work well we do not need to work in a den. But to dream of a poem, then to write it, we need both."²⁸ For an artist to cease to submit himself to the sometimes terrible stress of this expansion and contraction is not only to forego dreaming but to forsake art. The creative deaths of Hawthorne and Thoreau stem precisely from the refusal to submit to the torture of stretching any longer. After The Marble Faun Hawthorne came home for good with Hilda and Kenyon and bade farewell to the weary, time-worn world of art. What followed was a string of unfinished romances. In his Journal Thoreau noted sadly that his interests were becoming more and more diverted by minutiae, less and less by the "big words and big ideas."

The House of Nature grew smaller and smaller, and Thoreau never wrote another Walden.

The cost of Melville's experiment in house-philosophy was also high. In Moby-Dick he had boasted that "small erections may be finished by their first architects; grand ones, true ones, ever leave the copestone to posterity. God keep me from ever completing anything" (7:179). In the domestic short fiction something had been completed. Ishmael came home from the sea a wiser man, but not too wise. He'll be off to sea again to commit new follies, learn new lessons, and write new books. But when in "I and My Chimney" and "The Lightning-Rod Man" Melville found a prescription for sanity and survival in staying at home, he had, like Hawthorne and Thoreau, served notice of his refusal to submit any longer to the stretching process. What followed was The Confidence-Man, his last piece of significant fiction for thirty years.

Notes

The Preface

¹See my unpublished Master's thesis (Bethlehem, 1971), entitled "The Architecture of the Mind: The Building as Metaphor in Nine of Melville's Tales." This study contains a substantial, selected bibliography of commentary on individual tales and sketches, something I have not attempted to provide in the present study.

Chapter One

¹The fragments are grouped under the heading "The Poet" in the Centenary Edition of The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1904), IX, 354.

²*ibid*, p. 322.

³Quoted in Gaston Bachelard's The Poetics of Space, trans. Maria Jolas (New York: The Orion Press, 1964), p. 38.

⁴*ibid*, p. 40.

⁵American Note-Books, II, 52. All quotations from Hawthorne's works are from Houghton, Mifflin and Company's Fireside Edition of Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne (Boston: The Riverside Press, 1904).

⁶Richard Poirier, A World Elsewhere (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 17.

⁷William Hedges, "Toward A Theory of American Literature, 1765-1800," Early American Literature, 4 (1969-70), 10.

- ⁸Bachelard, p. 43.
- ⁹ibid, p. 61.
- ¹⁰ibid, p. 63.
- ¹¹Nathaniel Hawthorne, Preface to The Blithedale Romance, pp. iv-v.
- ¹²Poirier, p. 8.
- ¹³(New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 23.
- ¹⁴ibid, p. 26.
- ¹⁵Quoted by Marx, pp. 221-22.
- ¹⁶Letters from an American Farmer and Sketches of Eighteenth Century America (New York: New American Library, 1963), p. 61.
- ¹⁷Quoted by Marx, p. 84.
- ¹⁸5 (1847), 296-97.
- ¹⁹Notes on the State of Virginia (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), p. 165.
- ²⁰Letters from an American Farmer, pp. 84 & 61.
- ²¹The Intellectual Versus the City (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 6-7; Tocqueville quoted, p. 24.
- ²²The Raven and the Whale (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Company, 1956), p. 74.
- ²³The Works of Washington Irving (New York: G. P. Putnam; Hurd & Houghton, 1864), p.
- ²⁴16 (1840), 29.
- ²⁵ibid, pp. 91ff.

²⁶ Quoted by Peter Schmitt in Back to Nature (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 56.

²⁷ Schmitt, p. 5.

²⁸ For discussion of Caroline Kirkland's frontier novels see Edwin Fussell, Frontier: American Literature and the American West (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 13-14; Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), pp. 224ff.

²⁹ Smith, p. 215.

³⁰ 52 (1841), 319.

³¹ 16 (1845), 358.

³² An Organic Architecture (London: Lund Humphries & Co. Ltd., 1939), p. 43; An Autobiography (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1932), p. 171.

³³ R. W. B. Lewis, The American Adam (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955). See the chapter titled "The Case against the Past."

³⁴ Smith, p. 41.

³⁵ English Note-Books, I, 106.

³⁶ The Sketchbook, chapter entitled "John Bull."

³⁷ Notes on the State of Virginia, p. 153.

³⁸ *ibid*, p. 154.

³⁹ (1923; rpt. New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1964), *passim*.

⁴⁰ The Eccentric Design (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 18.

⁴¹ The American Novel and Its Tradition (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1957), *passim*.

⁴²Bachelard, pp. 63-64.

⁴³ibid, p. 65.

Chapter Two

¹Studies in Classic American Literature, p. 50.

²See The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper, ed. James Franklin Beard (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1960), I, 85. ". . . I had announced the work as a 'descriptive tale' but perhaps have confined myself too much to describing the scenes of my youth--I know that the present taste is for action and strong excitement, and in this respect am compelled to acknowledge that the first two volumes are deficient." (The letter is to John Murray and is dated Nov. 29, 1822.)

³Lawrence, p. 49.

⁴Letters and Journals, I, 85.

⁵ibid, II, 59. The letter is to Samuel Carter Hall and is dated 8-11 March 1831.

⁶See, e.g., Robert Spiller, Fenimore Cooper: Critic of His Times (1931; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), pp. 12ff. "Marmaduke Temple is beyond doubt the representation of William Cooper. . . . He is . . . a comment upon the father rather than a literal portrait."

⁷For a sketch of the renovated Otsego Hall, see Letters and Journals, VI, 214 (Plate VII).

⁸See the Brother Jonathan Letters of 1842 in Letters and Journals, IV.

⁹ibid, III, 351. The letter is to William Cullen Bryant, for The Evening Post and is dated 22 November 1838.

¹⁰ibid, IV, 257-8.

¹¹Comprehensive discussion of the Classical influence in American architecture may be found in the following works: Fiske Kimball, Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927); Thomas Tallmadge, The Story of Architecture in America (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1927); Talbot Hamlin, The Greek Revival Architecture in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944); Oliver Larkin, Art and Life in America, rev. ed. (1949; rpt. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960); Marcus Whiffen, American Architecture Since 1780: A Guide to the Styles (Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1969).

¹²H. W. Janson, History of Art (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962), pp. 320 & 384.

¹³Larkin, p. 36.

¹⁴ibid, p. 80.

¹⁵Lewis Mumford, Sticks & Stones, 2nd rev. ed. (1924; New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1955), pp. 53ff.

¹⁶₁₂ (January, 1821), 182.

¹⁷The Pioneers, p. 35. All citations from Cooper's works are from the Standard Edition of Cooper's Novels published in New York by Lovell, Coryell & Company. Further citations in this chapter will be included parenthetically in the body of my text.

¹⁸₆ (November, 1815), 374-5.

¹⁹Larkin (p. 168) treats the novels as a unit. Mumford (p. 61) treats The Pioneers as part of the "Classical Myth," implying a connection between the Classicism of Marmaduke Temple's house and the emulation of Greek "democracy" and Roman "republicanism." Kimball (pp. 192-4) does speak of Temple's mansion as satirizing an aversion to visible roofs among some architects of the early Republic, tracing the preoccupation to handbooks such as Godfrey Richards' The First Book of Architecture of Andreas Palladio (1720). Chapter L is

entitled "Of Flat Roofs." Kimball places the Temple house in a category of pre-Revival Classicism.

²⁰"American Architecture," North American Review, 43 (October, 1836), 382.

²¹See Andrew Jackson Downing, Cottage Residences, rev. ed. (1842; New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1873), p. vii; North American Review, 58 (April, 1844), 439; 59 (October, 1844), 309.

²²Home as Found, p. 19.

²³Cooper's remarks in the Introduction of 1850 prepared for a revised edition of The Leather-Stocking Tales lend a note of confusion to this point by implying that the architectural styling of Judge Temple's house is something of a historical anachronism. The house, he says, "was erected in an age too primitive for that ambitious school of architecture" (Pioneers, p. 6). The action of The Pioneers takes place, we are told, in 1793, the settlement of Templeton around which the action centers having been begun seven years earlier. That means that Judge Temple's manor house could not have been erected earlier than 1786; in fact, it must have been erected sometime later, for the original dwelling on the site was the plain wooden building which now forms a wing of the house. The curious fact is that there is nothing in Cooper's description of the Judge's house to suggest that historical accuracy would be offended by the depiction of such a house in the year 1790. One can only conjecture as to the reason for the discrepancy. Perhaps Cooper wished to give the impression that his early novel was prophetic of architectural developments which did not, strictly speaking, begin in the United States until well into the 1820's and of criticism of those developments which did not begin until the mid 1830's. Or perhaps the architectural distinctions which inform The Pioneers and Home as Found simply blurred in Cooper's mind at a remove of so many years.

²⁴Home as Found, p. 110.

²⁵The revival of antiquarian Classicism in England never showed anything like the breadth and staying power of the Classical Revival in America.

²⁶For further discussion, see Janson, p. 319.

²⁷In Home as Found (p. 142) and in a letter to William Branford Shubrick of November, 1835 (Letters and Journals, III, 179), Cooper uses the term "composite" to refer to a mixture of Grecian and Gothic styles. But there is no evidence that a conscious mixture of styles plays any role in the "composite order" of The Pioneers.

²⁸Home as Found, p. 19.

²⁹Numerous commentators have professed to see the impress of the thought of the American sculptor and architect Horatio Greenough on this passage and others in Home as Found. Harold A. Small, in his collection of Greenough's essays, Form and Function: Remarks on Art by Horatio Greenough (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1947), keeps a running gloss of supposedly parallel passages. The fact is, however, that the call for adaptation of architectural forms to American climate and character antedates Greenough's essays by several decades and is implicit in the treatment of architectural subject matter in The Pioneers. The criticism of the "mushroom temples" of the Revival goes back at least as far as 1836 (see Note 20 of this chapter). Greenough published his first major essay in 1843, but Cooper had come to know him some years before.

³⁰Memorial of James Fenimore Cooper (1852). Quoted in Fussell, p. 32.

³¹Thomas Philbrick, "Cooper's The Pioneers: Origins and Structure," PMLA, 79 (1964), 588.

³²ibid, p. 588.

³³On Natty and Judge Temple as conservationists, see E. Arthur Robinson, "Conservation in Cooper's The Pioneers," PMLA, 82 (1967), 564-578.

³⁴Thomas Bender argues that Cooper, like Jefferson, "looked to the agrarian order for the elevation of the aristoi," but that after the Anti-Rent War Cooper, realizing that America's rural destiny could not be realized, "turned to the doctrine that the guardians of

American society might rightfully be drawn from an urban elite." See "James Fenimore Cooper and the City," New York History, 51 (1970), 290.

³⁵Home as Found, pp. 117 & 143.

³⁶Gerry Brenner argues that the term "composite order" calls attention to a "high incidence of specifics which define the characteristic identity of objects, people, and events" in the novel "as 'mixtures,' 'blends,' 'minglings,' or 'composites.'" The composite nature of Templeton civilization Brenner sees as a mark of its transitional state. See "Cooper's 'Composite Order': The Pioneers as Structured Art," Studies in the Novel, 2 (1970), 267.

³⁷Home as Found, p. 27.

³⁸ibid, p. 114.

³⁹(New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1969), p. 127.

⁴⁰ibid, p. 128.

⁴¹Bachelard, p. 31.

⁴²A criticism of long-standing of The Pioneers has been that the plot-lines involving the primitives and the Judge and the Effinghams and the Judge haven't really much to do with each other. Philbrick, among others, has attempted to demonstrate the novel's unity. Cooper has managed to interrelate the two plots in a number of thematic areas, but the unification is incomplete. The fact remains that the two plots address themselves to entirely different issues: birth vs. worth and nature vs. civilization are antitheses with no intrinsic connection. The argument that Oliver is the meeting point of the two plots, as inheritor of the moral claim of the Indians and the legal claim of the Major to the land, has merit, but it still fails to remedy the fundamental cause of the disjunction. See Philbrick, p. 593.

⁴³Smith, pp. 62 & 63. For an opposing view, one which argues that Cooper means to expose the failure of

Adamism as a national myth in the failure of Natty to prevail, see David W. Noble, The Eternal Adam in the New World Garden (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1968), pp. 16-23.

⁴⁴An interesting side-light is the nickname "the Wigwam" given to the renovated Temple house in Home as Found. Cooper would have known that the term "English wigwams" was applied to the rude huts of the early American colonists. I can find no evidence that Cooper applied the nickname "the Wigwam" to the actual Otsego Hall, but his use of it in the novel looks ahead to similar fantasy-syntheses of opposing houses in Hawthorne, Thoreau, and Poe.

Chapter Three

¹John Summerson, Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830 (Melbourne, London, and Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1953), p. 294.

²₂ (June, 1841), 30-41.

³The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe, ed. James A. Harrison (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1965), XV, 59.

⁴"The Landscape Garden," IV, 267. All citations from Poe's fiction unless otherwise noted will be from Harrison's edition. Further page references in this chapter will appear by volume and page number parenthetically in my text.

⁵Arcturus, p. 36. There are a few minor differences in punctuation and phrasing between Poe's text (IV, 267-68) and the reviewer's attributable to faulty copying.

⁶See Jeffrey A. Hess, "Sources and Aesthetics of Poe's Landscape Fiction," American Quarterly 22 (1970), 188-89. Hess takes Poe's choice of Fletcher's poem as the source of his epigraph as evidence of his ambiguity about Arnheim's being a true paradise or a fool's paradise.

⁷Quoted by Christopher Hussey, The Picturesque, new ed. (1927; London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1967), p. 136. Hussey's book has served as the primary source of historical background on landscape gardening in this study.

⁸The text of this obscure piece is reprinted by Hervey Allen in Israfel: The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1934), pp. 404-06.

⁹1, no. 14 (April 5, 1845), 213-15.

¹⁰An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste, 4th ed. (1805; London: Luke Hansard & Sons, 1808), p. 224.

¹¹A partial text reprinted by Hervey Allan, p. 478.

¹²The resemblance between "The Philosophy of Furniture" and "Landor's Cottage" has been noted by George Mize in "The Matter of Taste in Poe's 'Domain of Arnheim' and 'Landor's Cottage,'" Connecticut Review, 61 (1972), 98.

¹³A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, 8th ed., rev. and enl. (1841; New York: Orange Judd & Company, 1859), p. 384. Cf. Poe's Works, VI, 263.

¹⁴Cf. Poe's Works, VI, 260-61 and Downing's Landscape Gardening, pp. 225-228. For a sizable (and not always convincing) comparison of details in "Landor's Cottage" and Downing's Landscape Gardening, see Hess, pp. 185-87. Hess's argument that Poe also borrowed from Downing's Cottage Residences is less convincing.

¹⁵Poe notes the loan in a letter to Duyckinck dated Dec. 24. 46. See The Letters of Edgar Allan Poe, ed. John Ward Ostrom (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1948), II, 334.

¹⁶If Poe did indeed return to the Arcturus review, several elements of the later landscape fiction might have been inspired by what he saw there. (1) The idea

for a boat-trip through the Domain of Arnheim could have been suggested by a satirical passage from Peacock's "Headlong Hall" reproduced in the review. The passage describes a canal in Lord Littlebrain's garden and the Lord himself, rowing down it in an elegant boat toward his castle. (2) The lithograph of Downing's own residence at Newburgh, New York may have inspired Poe's description of the edifice of Arnheim as "semi-Gothic, semi-Saracenic." Those epithets could justly be applied to the style of Downing's home.

¹⁷Hussey, p. 160.

¹⁸ibid, p. 151.

¹⁹ibid, p. 142.

²⁰ibid, p. 181.

²¹David K. Jeffrey in "The Johnsonian Influence: Rasselas and Poe's 'The Domain of Arnheim,'" Poe Newsletter, 3 (1970), 26-29, has called attention to the resemblance of Poe's Arnheim to Samuel Johnson's description in the first chapter of Rasselas of the paradisaical Amhara. Amhara is entered by river through great gates of iron. It is perhaps more likely, however, that Poe is alluding to the golden gate of Heaven in Paradise Lost (Book III, lines 504ff.), through which souls sailed on their way to Heaven via a sea "Of Jasper, or of liquid Pearl."

²²Hess, pp. 184-85.

²³Summerson, p. 274.

²⁴Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury, Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times (Basil: J. L. Legrand, 1790), II, 354.

²⁵The Selected Poetry and Prose of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. Donald A. Stauffer (New York: The Modern Library, 1951), p. 263.

²⁶ *ibid*, p. 263.

²⁷ See Hussey, pp. 52-55.

²⁸ See Charles L. Sanford, "Edgar Allan Poe: A Blight Upon the Landscape," American Quarterly, 20 (1968), 54-66. Sanford argues that Poe "shares an important affinity with the cult of the American Adam. . . . This is to say that the cycles of aspiration and disillusionment which shape his work relate to the cultural drive for a paradisiacal fulfillment in the New World" (p. 55).

²⁹ Cf. Donne's "Aire and Angels" for perhaps the best known literary exposition of this idea.

³⁰ Daniel Hoffman, Poe, Poe, Poe, Poe, Poe, Poe, Poe (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1972), p. 188.

³¹ Jeffrey's is the best exposition (pp. 27-29) to date of Poe's symbolic imagery in "The Domain of Arnheim."

³² *ibid*, p. 28.

³³ Letters, II, 397. The letter is dated Oct. 18, 48.

³⁴ *ibid*, p. 396. In this passage Poe urges that he and Mrs. Whitman become "sworn slave of a Natural Art." The amplifying adjectives "strange, wierd, and incomprehensible" show that Poe is speaking of the same art as that in "The Domain of Arnheim." The contrast is with the "rectangular obscenity" of mimetic art.

³⁵ Downing, p. 31.

³⁶ Sanford, p. 60.

³⁷ Allen, p. 568. Allen assumes that Landor's Cottage is the cottage at Fordham, but this is scarcely so. The cottage at Fordham did not have wings and did not have the sort of roof which Poe ascribes to Landor's Cottage. See the sketch of Poe's cottage reproduced by Allen (p. 558).

³⁸Letters, II, 419. In a letter to Mrs. Whitman enclosed in a letter to Annie Richmond Poe says, "Not long ago I sent one article to the Metropolitan called 'Landor's Cottage:' it has something about Annie in it. . . ." The probable date of the letter is January 21, 1849.

³⁹Allen, p. 609.

Chapter Four

¹English Note-Books, I, 282. For full documentation, see fn. 5, ch. 1.

²American Note-Books, I, 18. Hawthorne's theory has more to recommend it than his facts. The log cabin was a comparatively late development in rudimentary American architecture. See Harold R. Shurtleff, The Log Cabin Myth (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1939).

³Among the passages usually assumed to reflect, to an undetermined extent, Hawthorne's views are: (1) the observation in the Preface about the continuity of wrong-doing from one generation to another; (2) the assertion that no great error is ever really set right in this mortal sphere; (3) the statement that man's best efforts produce illusory accomplishments, God being the sole worker of realities; (4) the apparent compliment tendered to Holgrave that he was fortunate to be born with an inward certainty of the possibility of human improvement; (5) Clifford's theory of the "ascending spiral" of historical cycle. A number of attempts have been made at reconciling supposedly contradictory authorial attitudes. It is happily not within the scope of this study to attempt another.

⁴Mentioned in a letter to Horatio Bridge. See Randall Stewart, Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Biography (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), p. 95.

⁵The striking similarities between the two novels have never, I believe, been noted. Both novels turn on disputes over title to lands and on the settling of ancient wrong;

both resolve themselves in the conventional romantic marriage, and in both instances the marriage is between the last of the family lines; both portray the commercial ventures of an aristocratic line as signs of internal decay in the familial timber; both make similar use of the American Revolution as a turning point in family fortunes; both portray the pastoral and modern worlds in the hut and house, respectively.

⁶John Ruskin, The Seven Lamps of Architecture (1849). Citation is from The Complete Works of John Ruskin (Philadelphia: Reuuee, Wattley & Walsh, 1891), V, 101. All subsequent citations from Ruskins works are from this edition. The six essential characteristics of the Gothic, according to Ruskin, are savageness, changefulness, naturalism, grotesqueness, rigidity, and redundancy. See The Stones of Venice, II, passim.

⁷Andrew Jackson Downing, Cottage Residences, new ed. (1842; New York: John Wiley & Son, 1873), p. ix.

⁸The Elmwood Edition of The Complete Writings of James Russell Lowell (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1904), XII, 91ff.

⁹The House of the Seven Gables, p. 201. All citations from Hawthorne's fictional works are from The Fireside Edition, and all subsequent references to The House of the Seven Gables in this chapter will be by page number and will be included parenthetically in my text.

¹⁰The Blithedale Romance, pp. 96-97.

¹¹ibid, p. 282.

¹²Quoted by Schmitt in Back to Nature, p. 5.

¹³Calvert Vaux, Villas and Cottages (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1857), pp. 15-16.

¹⁴Henry R. Cleveland, Village and Farm Cottages (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1856), p. 14.

¹⁵See Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), pp. 8-12.

¹⁶43 (1836), 358.

¹⁷Kimball, Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic, p. xvii.

¹⁸Henry James, Hawthorne, new ed. (1879; Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1956), p. 103.

¹⁹See, e. g., the passages on Gardiner's Folly (I, 44) and the Knox mansion (I, 71).

²⁰The material on Colonial architecture that follows is drawn from Kimball (pp. 3-52) and Morrison (pp. 3-98).

²¹See Morrison (pp. 64-66) for plates and detailed discussion of the Turner house; also for the contention that it is the original for Seven Gables.

²²loc. cit.

²³Downing, Cottage Residences, p. 14.

²⁴Vaux, p. 24.

²⁵ibid, p. 28.

²⁶Cleveland, Village and Farm Cottages, p. 14.

²⁷Gervase Wheeler, Homes for the People, rev. ed. (1851; New York: George Woodward, 1867), p. iv; Downing, A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, p. ix; Cleveland, Village and Farm Cottages, p. 13.

²⁸One notable exception is the fine article by Edgar Dryden, "Hawthorne's Castles in the Air: Form and Theme in The House of the Seven Gables," ELH, 38 (1971), 294-317. Dryden's methodology is similar to that employed in Section 2 of this chapter, though the respective arguments and conclusions differ considerably.

²⁹American Renaissance (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 326.

³⁰American Note-Books, II, 68.

³¹From a letter to Elizabeth Hawthorne, quoted by Stewart, p. 112.

³²Another possible connection between the hut and democratic ideology is that William Henry Harrison's presidential campaign of 1840 made the log cabin a symbol of the pioneering, agrarian spirit of the "Old Republic." Hawthorne does call Maule's hut "log built" (13). For the political roots of the "log cabin myth" see Shurtleff, *passim*.

³³Dryden, p. 299.

³⁴On the Edenic features of Maule's home, see the chapter, "Paradise Regained at Maule's Well" in Daniel Hoffman's Form and Fable in American Fiction (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961).

³⁵Bachelard, pp. 30-31.

³⁶Poe's Works, III, 303.

³⁷Roy Male makes this point in Hawthorne's Tragic Vision (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1957), p. 130.

³⁸Hawthorne may have gotten this idea from de Tocqueville, who said, "Thus not only does democracy make every man forget his ancestors, but it hides his descendants and separates his contemporaries from him; it throws him back forever upon himself alone and threatens in the end to confine him entirely within the solitude of his own heart." See Democracy in America, ed. Phillips Bradley (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1945), II, 99.

³⁹Lewis (p. 115) uses Clifford's philosophy, rather than Holgrave's, as an example of the Adamic stance.

⁴⁰The Snow Image, p. 158.

⁴¹Clark Griffith reaches a similar conclusion in "Substance and Shadow: Language and Meaning in The House of the Seven Gables," Modern Philology, 51 (1954), 195. "For as we have seen, to pass into the house is necessary; yet the human heart decays when it lingers there. To pass out of the house is necessary; yet the heart is hardened when it abandons those inmost meanings which the house contains. But to pass into and through and then out of the house, as Phoebe and Holgrave and Hepzibah and Clifford ultimately do--herein lies the correct moral balance and, therefore, the way toward redemption."

⁴²Griffith, p. 193.

⁴³The Canterbury Edition of Conrad's works (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1924), XV, 94.

⁴⁴See Carl Strauch, "The Problem of Time and the Romantic Mode in Hawthorne, Melville, and Emerson," Emerson Society Quarterly, 35 (1964), 53. Strauch notes the wide impact of Sartor Resartus on the American romantics and traces the progress of Hawthorne's faith in the salvational scheme through The Marble Faun.

⁴⁵Dryden (pp. 312-13) notes that Hawthorne's description of love's transformation of the world into a new Eden in the novel is based on a passage in The American Notebooks in which Hawthorne speaks of his marriage to Sophia. (See American Note-Books, II, 78.)

⁴⁶Mosses from an Old Manse, p. 66.

Chapter Five

¹Walden, p. 350. All citations from Thoreau's works, unless otherwise noted, are from the Apollo Editions published by Thomas Y. Crowell Company (New York, 1966). Further citations from Walden will be included in the body of my text and will be by page number.

²Journal, III, 181. All citations from Thoreau's Journal are from the Walden Edition of The Writings of Henry David Thoreau (New York: AMS Press, 1968).

³Although Whitman generally has little to say on the subject of architecture, his discussion of beauty and ornament in the 1855 Preface to Leaves of Grass seems to derive from Greenough. Greenough's importance among the American romantics was first noted by Matthiessen in American Renaissance, which contains a chapter on Greenough. The only full length biography of Greenough is Nathalia Wright's Horatio Greenough: The First American Sculptor (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963).

⁴Memorial of Horatio Greenough issued after Greenough's death in 1853 by Henry Tuckerman reproduces the Stonecutter essays with the addition of a few pieces not in the earlier book. All citations from Greenough's essays are from Harold Small's Form and Function. See fn. 29 to Chapter Two.

⁵Richard Adams, "Architecture and the Romantic Tradition: Coleridge to Wright," American Quarterly, 9 (1957), 49.

⁶Form and Function, p. 58.

⁷ibid, p. 58.

⁸ibid, p. 71.

⁹ibid, p. 71.

¹⁰ibid, p. 74.

¹¹The Complete Works, V, 16.

¹²Journal, III, 181.

¹³The Selected Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson (New York: Modern Library, 1940), p. 525.

¹⁴Unpublished letter quoted by William Griffin, "Thoreau's Reactions to Horatio Greenough," New England Quarterly, 30 (1957), 511. Griffin was first to bring the contents of this letter to light and to point out its importance.

¹⁵Cape Cod, pp. 23, 32, & 92.

¹⁶A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers, p. 60.

¹⁷Maine Woods, pp. 163-64.

¹⁸ibid, p. 165.

¹⁹See the Walden Edition of The Writings, vol. 5, 181. All further citations from "A Winter Walk" are from this edition.

²⁰Notably, Richard Adams. See also Theodore Brown, "Thoreau's Prophetic Architectural Program," New England Quarterly, 38 (1965), 3-20.

²¹Quoted by Walter Harding, ed. The Variorum Walden and the Variorum Civil Disobedience (New York: Washington Square Press, 1968), p. 267, fn. 122.

²²An Autobiography, p. 146. For edition, see fn. 32 to Chapter One.

²³ibid, p. 144.

²⁴ibid, p. 139.

²⁵Cf. Cape Cod, p. 32 & Form and Function, p. 61.

²⁶Cf. Walden, p. 60 & Form and Function, pp. 52-53.

²⁷Cf. Walden, p. 60 & Form and Function, p. 62.

²⁸Cf. Walden, p. 49 & Form and Function, p. 71.

²⁹Charles R. Metzger, Thoreau and Whitman: A Study of Their Aesthetics (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961), p. 35.

³⁰ibid, p. 36.

³¹Maine Woods, p. 166.

³²Adams, p. 59.

³³Quoted by Brown, p. 3.

³⁴Journal, IV, 153.

³⁵An Organic Architecture, p. 6. For edition, see fn. 32 to Chapter One.

³⁶Introduction to the Riverside Edition of Walden, 1957; reprinted in Thoreau: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Sherman Paul (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962), p. 103.

³⁷A narrow nationalist by no stretch of the imagination, Thoreau nevertheless evokes Old World - New World comparisons with considerable frequency in Walden, and it does him no disservice to call his dream house an American House.

³⁸Charles Anderson reads the entire work in terms of the metaphor of insect metamorphosis. See The Magic Circle of Walden (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1968), ch. 2.

³⁹"A Winter Walk," p. 182.

⁴⁰Paul, p. 112.

⁴¹The Machine in the Garden, p. 246.

⁴²Maine Woods, p. 203.

⁴³"Thoreau's Doctrine of Simplicity," New England Quarterly, 29 (1956), 449.

Postlude

¹Herman Melville (New York: William Sloane Associates, 1950), p. 235.

²Herman Melville (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949), esp. pp. 142ff.

³Melville's Shorter Tales (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960).

⁴See esp. Judith Slater, "The Domestic Adventurer in Melville's Tales," American Literature, 37 (1967), 267-79; Marie A. Campbell, "A Quiet Crusade: Melville's Tales of the Fifties," in Studies in the Minor and Later Works of Melville (Hartford: Transcendental Books, 1970), pp. 8-11.

⁵The Standard Edition of the Works of Herman Melville (New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1963), 13, 139. This is a reprint of the Constable Edition (London, 1922-24). All further citations from the essays and fiction of Melville will be from this edition, will be by volume and page number, and will be included parenthetically in the body of my text.

⁶For a detailed discussion of a possible relationship between Hawthorne's Mosses from an Old Manse and Melville's short fiction, see Edward H. Rosenberry, "Melville and His Mosses," in Studies in the Minor and Later Works of Melville, pp. 47-50.

⁷Merton M. Sealts Jr., Melville's Reading (Madison, Milwaukee, & London: University of Wisconsin, 1948), item 260.

⁸ibid, item 246.

⁹The Letters of Herman Melville, ed. Merrell R. Davis and William H. Gilman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), pp. 123ff.

¹⁰The troublesome fact is that "Cock-A-Doodle-Do!" was published in 1853 and Walden in 1854. Sidney Moss notes this and incorporates it in his overall argument against Thoreau's exerting any measurable influence on Melville's work. See "'Cock-A-Doodle-Do!' and Some Legends in Melville Scholarship," American Literature,

40 (1968), esp. 193-96. Still, there is persuasive internal evidence in Melville's story that Walden was fresh in the writer's mind. The famous train-whistle episode from Walden has an analogue in Melville's story. Both pieces also have rooster-crowing episodes, and both quote the biblical passage, "O death, where is thy sting" The visit of Melville's narrator to Merrymusk strongly resembles Thoreau's account of his visit to John Field. The description of Marianna's cottage in "The Piazza" may well have been inspired by Thoreau's description of his own hut. On the possible relation to "The Apple-Tree Table" and Walden, see Frank Davidson, "Melville, Thoreau, and 'The Apple-Tree Table,'" American Literature, 25 (1954), 479-88. Davidson makes a strong case for Melville's having seen Thoreau's account at the end of Walden of the bug resurrected from the apple-wood table. It is conceivable that Melville may have read all or part of Walden in manuscript through a mutual acquaintance, or that parts were read to him by Hawthorne, for instance, who knew Thoreau well. No conclusive disposition of the Melville-Thoreau problem has yet been effected.

¹¹Noted by Moss, p. 193.

¹²Jay Leyda, The Melville Log (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Co., 1951), II, 521.

¹³See Perry Miller, The Raven and the Whale, pp. 268ff. Miller was first to note the reference.

¹⁴It has long been speculated that Poe's Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym lies behind the color and whirlpool symbolism of Moby-Dick. The women in Pierre have a decidedly Poe-esque cast. For a highly ambitious attempt to link Pierre with a number of Poe's works, see Mildred K. Travis, "The Idea of Poe in Pierre," Emerson Society Quarterly, 50 (Supplement, 1968), 60.

¹⁵trans. W. S. Dell & Cary F. Baynes (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1933), p. 137.

¹⁶The term "Tower" should be taken more figuratively, perhaps, than the others, as meaning a place higher up on a structure than a garret.

¹⁷Bachelard, p. 18.

¹⁸The Long Encounter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 37.

¹⁹ibid, p. 39.

²⁰In the Preface to Mosses from an Old Manse Hawthorne describes the manse's gloomy old garret in details markedly similar to those offered by Melville in "The Apple-Tree Table." The treatment of garrets, like the symbolism of the hearth, appears to have been appropriated directly from Hawthorne. A fascinating sidelight is that both Hawthorne and Melville were anticipated in their treatment of the garret by one "S. Z.," who published "An Essay on Garrets" in The New England Magazine, 4 (1833), 309-406. The writer offers a phrenological analysis of garrets, all in good fun of course. He also notes that "a great hue and cry was once set up after a particular edition of Cotton Mather, and the reverend gentleman was found snugly reposing under an old bed in a country garret" (p. 400). The episode alluded to may have inspired the copy of the Magnolia that figures in Melville's story.

²¹Marianna's cottage is recognizably "picturesque," and "The Piazza," we may assume, contains an implicit critique of the picturesque vogue in cottage architecture. The narrator's determination to build a piazza for his own house makes an additional comment on the cottage vogue and shows that Melville knew something of the vogue. Andrew Jackson Downing says, "In this country, no architectural feature is more plainly expressive of purpose than the veranda, or piazza. The unclouded splendor and fierce heat of our summer sun, render this very general appendage a source of real comfort and enjoyment; and the long veranda round many of our country residences stand in stead of the paved terraces of the English mansions as the place for promenade" (Landscape Gardening, p. 347). Melville's narrator, then, is doing the fashionable thing.

²²Bachelard, p. 18.

²³Bowen, p. 3.

²⁴Chase, Herman Melville, p. 143.

²⁵Slater, p. 279.

²⁶Merton M. Sealts, Jr., "Melville's 'Geniality,'" Essays in American and English Literature Presented to Bruce Robert McElderry, Jr. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1967), p. 22.

²⁷Bowen, p. 235.

²⁸Bachelard, p. 65.

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