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HAWTHORNE'S ARTISTIC THEORY AND PRACTICE.

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HAWTHORNE'S ARTISTIC THEORY AND PRACTICE

by
William A. Cook

A Dissertation
Presented to the Graduate Committee
of Lehigh University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
English

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
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I am indebted almost exclusively to Nathaniel Hawthorne who, in dedication to his craft and to the Muse that drove him, kept a record of his artistic method in notebooks, prefaces, letters, and stories. In keeping with my understanding of the critic's role, I have focused my concern on understanding the artistic means Hawthorne employed to create his work. Hawthorne's "record" was indispensable.

For some ideas pertinent to the discussion of The Marble Faun, I am indebted to Professor Carl F. Strauch. This debt is acknowledged specifically in the footnotes. Here I must offer Professor Strauch personal thanks for a confidence of long standing and thank him as well for instilling in his students a sensible attitude toward the limitations of scholarship.

I wish to thank also Mr. Arthur Monke, Librarian at Bowdoin College, and his assistant, Mr. Stanley Whitehurst, for their kind help in preparing material for the Appendix to this volume.

Finally, I must acknowledge the patience and understanding of my wife and children. If there is meaning in life beyond love, I hope it resides in three-hundred pages of criticism devoted to Hawthorne.

To J. P., who understood and endured

A P O L O G I A

"This . . . is a bookworm -- one of those men who are born to gnaw dead thoughts. His clothes, you see, are covered with the dust of libraries. He has no inward fountain of ideas. . . . Have you no word of comfort for him?"

from "Earth's Holocaust"

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A B S T R A C T

Hawthorne's Artistic Theory and Practice is an attempt to illustrate the development of Hawthorne's artistry from the early tales to The Marble Faun. The study concentrates on the artistic structure of individual tales and romances and upon the probable and expressed reasons for that structure. Three relatively distinct periods of development, and characteristics peculiar to each, are noted. Some attempt is made to ascertain via Hawthorne's reading, personal experiences, and written comments, whether in letters, prefaces, notes, or tales themselves, why he constructed his tales and romances as he did.

In the first of these periods, 1825 to 1835, Hawthorne delved into the philosophical thought of Rousseau, Voltaire, Pascal, and Bacon; it is a period of study when Hawthorne was questioning and developing his own beliefs in the speculative sphere. It is, moreover, a time when Hawthorne realized the limitations he had inflicted on himself as an artist through his isolation.

The tales from this early period are allegories essentially: unrealistic and even removed from probable experience. They are meditative in character and prone to authorial comment. Consequently, they are fundamentally sketches, simply executed without profundity of thought, lacking qualities characteristic of experience in worldly affairs and removed from the world of visual reality and actual life, and structured in a simple stereotyped mold.

Two things of importance occurred during the period 1835 to 1836 which mark this as a turning point in Hawthorne's artistic

life. In 1835 he began to take notes on the external world and, hence, the concocted settings of the early tales evolve into the more lifelike quality of the later sketches. Second, we discern a marked trend toward the study of romantic theory and a new interest in art and artists. These new interests result in a series of tales devoted to artists and to the dramatization of romantic thought in "The Frophetic Pictures," "The Artist of the Beautiful," and "Drowne's Wooden Image."

The Middle Years, 1836 to 1853, have been sub-divided into four parts. Part one, 1836 to 1848, considers the new significance Hawthorne places upon "settings" to convey meaning and considers also the importance of a totally new practice, resulting from his reading at this time, the use of multiple points of view. In part two, 1840 to 1848, we observe Hawthorne's practice of composing in pictorial terms, his almost medieval practice of seeing the story itself as a symbol of reality, and his use of historical incident to refer not to a specific time and place but to man's common nature. Part three, 1848 to 1853, discusses Ruskin's possible influence on Hawthorne's work. The consequence of this study is an understanding of a technique developed by Hawthorne and called "expressive language." This means that nothing appears in a tale that will not contribute in an expressive way to the thought engendered by the central "idea." Part four is a concentrated analysis of "The Custom House," The Scarlet Letter, and The House of the Seven Gables. This analysis demonstrates how Hawthorne applied his theories and techniques to his greatest masterpieces. In "The Custom House," especially, we witness

Hawthorne discussing his artistic theories and then illustrating these theories in the sketches of the Custom House officials.

The final division of Hawthorne's creative life, 1853 to 1864, focuses upon one significant development that affected his artistry. While abroad, as Consul and tourist, Hawthorne immersed himself in art both in England and on the Continent. There resulted a confrontation between Hawthorne's studied and intellectual acceptance of romantic theory concerning art and artists and his personal reaction to the masterpieces that he saw and the artists that he met. One concludes from this study that Hawthorne had a limited appreciation of art and almost no personal aesthetic sense.

This development explains in part the failure of The Marble Faun. This romance attempts to understand three things -- art and its position in the nature of things, the very essence of painting and sculpture, and the ambiguous nature of the artist and his place in society. Such an understanding must rest on romantic aesthetic foundations with mortar supplied by Hawthorne's personal interpretation and feeling. Because Hawthorne relies on his inadequate knowledge of art and on his personal reactions to it, the philosophical and aesthetic basis of The Marble Faun falls into contradictions.

An Appendix to this study contains a complete list of books contained in Hawthorne's personal library and now owned by Bowdoin College Library.

CHAPTER I

a. The Argument

Numerous studies have been devoted to Hawthorne's artistic practice. Most of these have concentrated on one or two tales or romances; a few have attempted to consider the entirety of his creative work.¹ None of these studies, however, has analyzed the corpus of Hawthorne's work in light of a changing and developing artistic theory which dramatically affected everything he wrote. Almost every critic draws randomly from the whole of Hawthorne's work to illustrate what he believes to be the writer's artistic practice. But in Hawthorne, and quite logically in every writer of note, it should be obvious that the early work differs markedly in artistic practice from the later work. It ought further to be obvious that the writer's practice changes because it is based and constructed on a growing, changing, developing understanding and appreciation of his art and of theories related to art.

In Hawthorne's case, the changing artistic theory and hence the changing artistic practice can be traced chronologically as it develops from the early tales to the last great romance and even to the unpublished works that he left at his death. To understand the development of this artistic theory is difficult because attention must be paid to the influences that caused

it to change, the consequences the developing theory had on the works produced during its evolution, and the effect Hawthorne's experiences over the years had on his constantly changing artistic theory.

Because of the complexity of the problem and because there is no absolute knowledge of the exact dates of the writing of every tale, it will be necessary in this study, to place Hawthorne's creative output into broad chronological periods. For this purpose, then, we can somewhat arbitrarily segment Hawthorne's creative life into the following years: the early period, 1825 - 1835; the middle period, 1836 - 1853, with a sub-division here necessitated by a rather distinct change in his artistic practice between 1848 - 1853; and the late years, 1853 - 1864. These divisions are not really as arbitrary as they seem. The early period covers, with the exception of two years, what has been called Hawthorne's seclusion from the world. It is a period when he delved into philosophical thought through the writings of Rousseau, the prophet of Romanticism; of Voltaire, the proponent of Reason; of Pascal, the believer in the necessity of faith; and of Bacon, the advocate of the scientific method²; it is a period of study, then, when Hawthorne was questioning and developing his own beliefs in the speculative sphere. And, finally, as Cowley points out, Hawthorne realized at this time the limitations he had inflicted on himself as an artist through his isolation. In 1835 he determined to do something about these limitations. Cowley refers specifically to Hawthorne's

thematic material when he says the works done before 1834 "were allegories that dealt with self-deception, self-delusion, self-condemnation, a whole series of reflexive emotions."³ However, it is also true that the tales written during these years were created under the influence of an artistic theory quite different from that evident in the middle years.

Two things of importance occurred during the period 1835 - 1836 which mark this as a turning point in Hawthorne's artistic life. In a letter to Longfellow, Hawthorne criticized his own work: "I have another great difficulty in the lack of materials for I have seen so little of the world that I have nothing but thin air to concoct my stories of . . . it's not easy to give a life like semblance to such shadowy stuff."⁴ To compensate for this void in personal experiences, Hawthorne forced himself to become something of a practicing painter with the pen. After 1835 Hawthorne began to take notes on the external world. In practice, quite obviously, there appears an observable distinction between the "concocted" settings of the early tales and the more life-like quality of the later sketches; yet, even in these later sketches, Hawthorne does not attempt to copy nature or imitate exactly observable reality. More subtle ramifications of this alteration in approach require greater elaboration and will be discussed later.

The second important ingredient that marks these years as distinctive is the significant turn Hawthorne's reading took at this time. With the exception of the works of Scott and

Byron and the poetry of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats, Hawthorne's direct involvement with applied romantic thought was limited. After 1836, however, a rather marked trend toward the study of romantic literary theory and a new interest in art and art theory become evident. In January of 1836, Hawthorne read Coleridge's The Friend; in March and again in May he read Dunlap's History of the Arts of Design in the United States. Also, in May he read Coleridge's Table Talk and in October, Biographia Literaria. In May and again in July of 1837, he read Wordsworth's Poetical Works, in October Demonology and Witchcraft by Scott, in April Wordsworth's Works, and in August Byron's Works.⁵ Hawthorne also mentions in an entry in his Journals, May 1, 1841, that he should stay home sick one day longer to read Carlyle's Heroes (Works, IX, 233).

The importance of this reading can be understood when we realize that Hawthorne read the following in Coleridge's Biographia:

. . . the two cardinal points of poetry, the power of exciting the sympathy of the reader by a faithful adherence to the truth of Nature, and the power of giving the interest of novelty by the modifying colors of the imagination. The sudden charm, which accidents of light and shade, which moonlight or sunset diffused over a known and familiar landscape appeared to represent the practicability of combining both.⁶

This passage, especially with its admonition of "faithful adherence to the truth of Nature," together with Hawthorne's earnest attempt to depict reality accurately with his pen, emphasizes one of the alterations that are discernible in

Hawthorne's art. Again, the new interest apparent in Hawthorne's reading of Dunlap becomes important for two reasons. First, Hawthorne exposed himself both to the theories and the practical matters of the painter's world, and, second, he was introduced to the peculiar insight of Stuart's mind, an insight which he adapted for use in "The Prophetic Pictures."

It is interesting to note that Coleridge's unique treatment of nature through the accidents of light and shade finds corroboration in a statement made by Stuart and quoted by Dunlap:

I wish to find out what nature is for myself, and see her with my own eyes. This appears to me the true road to excellence. Nature may be seen through different mediums. Rembrandt saw with a different eye from Raphael, yet they are both excellent, but for dissimilar qualities. They had nothing in common, but both followed nature. Neither followed in the steps of a master. I will do, in that, as they did, and only study nature.⁷

Coleridge's sympathy with nature and the novelty of the poet's eye find dramatic expression here in Stuart's words. They find equally dramatic expression in Hawthorne's "The Prophetic Pictures." Of ultimate importance to Hawthorne's art, influenced certainly by his reading in Dunlap, is the distinction he made between the true artist and the mechanic. Dunlap makes the following distinction: "It is thus that the real portrait painter dives into the recesses of his sitter's mind, and displays strength or weakness upon the surface of his canvas. The mechanic makes a map of a man."⁸ Hawthorne realized that his own peculiar vision could best utilize nature, as he expresses it in "The Prophetic Pictures," "as a frame-work for the delineation

of the human form and face, instinct with thought, passion, or suffering."⁹ Obviously, Hawthorne's quotation refers specifically to the "Painter" but applies directly to his own practice. Nature, and his vision of it, becomes more than a rudimentary setting; it becomes a vehicle for framing or animating the moral problem or idea he is delineating in his work.

The subdivision which we referred to earlier, that period of time in the middle years between 1848 - 1853, circumscribes the years of greatest creative effort in Hawthorne's life. But more than this, these years reveal the height of his artistic theory and its practice. Part of the reason for this intensified artistic theory resulted from Hawthorne's reading of John Ruskin's Modern Painters in 1848. In this work Ruskin revealed how a picture presents thoughts and makes a painter, in effect, a "Man of Mind." Because Ruskin discussed the painter and the writer in almost identical language and because Hawthorne's own study, thus far, had brought him to a point not far removed from Ruskin's thought, the impact of Modern Painters cannot be overestimated. Ruskin stated, "It is not . . . always easy, either in painting or literature, to determine where the influence of language stops, and where that of thought begins." In explanation of this concept, Ruskin made a distinction between ornamental language and expressive language. Expressive language is that needed to embody and convey thought; ornamental, that used to add decoration but not necessary to

convey thought. In practice, Ruskin affirmed the aesthetic need to use all words to convey or embody thought.¹⁰ Ruskin's dictum very probably influenced Hawthorne to extend and intensify his pictorial representation so that it conveyed or embodied the philosophical or moral thought his narrative was attempting to delineate.

This fruitful period, which came immediately after the trying "Custom House" years, found Hawthorne immersed in Carlyle's Miscellany, Lester's Artists of America, and Winckelman's History of Ancient Art.¹¹ Such intensified concentration on art theory and romantic doctrine, coming at a time when he determined to become a "writer" once again, culminated in a period of mature creative effort.

The final division of Hawthorne's creative life constitutes that period of time when he lived abroad as Consul in Liverpool (1853 - 1857) and the period of years he lived in Rome, Florence, and England (1858 - 1860), and includes those years he struggled to produce a final masterpiece. More important than any other thing to the artistic development of Hawthorne during these years was the personal confrontation he had to deal with in terms of art theory and practice on the one hand and personal beliefs on the other. A reading of the English and French and Italian Notebooks will reveal a startling personal reaction to the world of art and art theory as he came face to face with the works he had read about in Ruskin and Winckelman. And just as this personal confrontation reveals an uneasiness on Hawthorne's part to accept romantic notions concerning art,

so does it also reveal a mind that is now questioning the value and purpose and even meaning of life itself. If so much of the masters can be labelled "Humbug!" what in life can have meaning?

This personal confrontation had an immense impact on Hawthorne's creative efforts. Of most significance to this study will be, obviously, The Marble Faun. In a very real sense this romance is a dramatic presentation of the conflict which emerged between his personal experiences and his earlier accepted artistic theory. The resolution of this conflict, as it is determined in the romance, is the rejection of romantic aesthetics and to this extent a rejection of all that Hawthorne had heretofore projected in his writings. This questioning of the meaningfulness of romantic thought coupled with Hawthorne's growing disillusionment with the purpose of life itself haunts the unfinished romances like a specter of doom. Nothing in these unfinished works strikes the reader so forcefully as the inability of the author to give meaningful substance to the ideas he utters.

To attempt a study that will illuminate the development of an artistic theory necessitates a selection of works from the periods outlined above which will illustrate most graphically that development. Since we are concerned specifically with artistic theory and practice, and not, except as these matters reflect our thesis, the thematic material or philosophical reasoning in the work, we will select from each period those tales and romances which focus on the writer as artist or on

the artist himself whether painter, sculptor, daguerreo-
typist, or poet.

In tracing the development of Hawthorne's artistic theory and practice, we are peculiarly concerned with his understanding of his craft and the methods and techniques he used to create his tales. In this respect it is helpful to consider those tales which dramatize the related problems that affect the painter or sculptor. As we have already indicated, Hawthorne saw a distinct parallel between the literary artist and the painter. It will be helpful, therefore, to trace briefly the changes which occurred over the years in tales specifically dealing with artists.

Hawthorne wrote three tales dealing directly with artists. These tales were written nine years before his English Notebooks appeared and fifteen years before The Marble Faun. All three tales are dramatically woven about one primary and one or two subordinate romantic doctrines. Any knowledge displayed in them concerning art and artists is based, consequently, on romantic aesthetics.

When Hawthorne traveled to Europe, he undertook to write of his experiences in the Notebooks. Here again we find Hawthorne discussing art and artists, but from an entirely different view. Throughout the Notebooks, we are conscious of a naive approach to art and artists, an approach in direct conflict with the romantic assumptions in the early tales. One concludes that Hawthorne, when writing from personal experience and feeling,

has little knowledge of or appreciation for what is considered best in art nor can he apply the intellectualized theory to the real work.

Finally, in The Marble Faun, Hawthorne once again undertook a discussion of art and artists. Here, however, we are aware not only of the romantic aesthetics, as witnessed in the early tales, but of the personal opinions in the Notebooks as well. And, as we have stated already, we must conclude that Hawthorne ends by rejecting romantic aesthetics.

This study will emphasize graphically that Hawthorne developed a rather firm artistic theory based on romantic aesthetics and, then, when personal experience did not complement the theory or substantiate it, he was forced to reconsider the aesthetic values he had established. If we were to designate the two forces in operation here, we might label them the Romantic Philosophical approach to art, which dominated Hawthorne's work through the middle years, and the Personal Realistic approach, which played a major role in The Marble Faun and which came to the fore during the years of the English and French and Italian Notebooks.¹²

In his tales, specifically "The Prophetic Pictures," (1837) (Works, I, 192), "The Artist of the Beautiful," (1844), and "Drowne's Wooden Image," (1844) (Works, II, 347, 504), Hawthorne utilized basically the romantic values in his approach to the artist, whereas in the English Notebooks, 1853-1857 (Works, VII, VIII), and the French and Italian Notebooks, January, 1858,

through May, 1859 (Works, X), he discussed art variously with a personal and appreciative tone though he retained at times his awareness of the romantic ideals. A chronological and genetic study emphasizes that Hawthorne's earlier studied, philosophical understanding of art tends to ambiguity both toward the artist and his art and his position in the social order. His later personal and realistic understanding results in a confession of a lack of artistic knowledge because it is dependent upon personal insight and feeling. Consequently, he tends to simplify both the artist's nature and his position in the social order.

Two conclusions can be drawn from such a study. First Hawthorne's tales are dramatic allegories representing romantic and idealistic illusions concerning the vague role the artist and his work play in the social order, allegories which do not necessarily contain his own personal aesthetics but rather a studied awareness of the dramatic effect of the ambiguous and spiritual role of the romantic artist; or, conceivably, allegories which are based not on personal insight and taste but on accepted philosophical motives which are later subjected to a personal scrutiny and found wanting.

But the Notebooks do not contain the final answer. Hawthorne attempted to resolve, and perhaps to his own satisfaction did resolve, the difficulties broached by this dichotomy. We find that in The Marble Faun, a work written in 1859, a year after the French and Italian Notebooks, Hawthorne discusses aesthetic

theory after he has plunged himself into the artist's life, creation, and social position. It is here that he discusses art past, present, and future. It is here that his personal insight loses touch with hidden and ambiguous truth.

Twenty-two years separate "The Prophetic Pictures" from The Marble Faun. During these twenty-two years, Hawthorne's life style changed dramatically from that of the recluse to that of the diplomat. During these same years his study in romantic thought and artistic theory increased and dominated both the content and technique of his creative output. In the latter years of this period, confronted with the reality of his own experience, he created a narrative that pits art, its theory and practice, against life, its simple joys and meaningful duties. The romance ends by rejecting art and all the strangeness and mystery and shadow that attend it; it turns the reader toward America, where all is simple and pure and innocent.

It might be helpful, then, to look briefly at what has been said about Hawthorne's artistic practice before turning to the thesis that his creative work was conditioned by a constantly changing and developing artistic theory.

b. *Relevant Scholarship*

Scholarship directed toward Hawthorne's methodology and techniques, whether concerned with plot, setting, characterization, or overall design of the tales and romances, infrequently alludes to the real differences that exist between the early and late work. Should such a difference be referred to, the critic almost invariably limits his consideration to two or three tales or to an exception in Hawthorne's usual practice.

Cowley, for example, states, "Before any plot became a finished narrative, Hawthorne had to invent his characters, find actions for them that would reveal the inner conflict, and describe an outward setting that would symbolize the inner truth."¹³ Now this statement has some validity but only in terms of the early years, not of the entire Hawthorne canon. As a matter of fact, and we will demonstrate this later, there is extremely limited use of explicit symbolic setting in the early years. Yet, it is quite true that Hawthorne did invent characters and actions to dramatize the moral problem he intended to relate.

Leland Schubert, in describing structure in Hawthorne's work, makes general statements attributable indiscriminately: ". . . he does use a formal, almost classic, structure in some of his tales . . ."; "He evidently has a slight preference for informal organization."¹⁴ Because no true distinction is made between the early, middle, and late works, the reader can be misled into thinking that Hawthorne's art remained static

throughout his career. Other comments by Schubert only further this misunderstanding. At one point Schubert states "In portraiture, as in all art, Hawthorne seeks accurate and faithful imitation of nature" ¹⁵ But, as a matter of fact, Hawthorne's early period evokes a nature highly improbable and, more often than not, highly contrived. At the same time, we might say that in the late middle years nature is used in such a way that it would be misleading at best to call Hawthorne's approach "imitation."

James K. Folsom, in writing about Hawthorne's creative expression, claims that he develops the same theme in both "The Artist of the Beautiful" and The Marble Faun. The theme involved, according to Folsom, is "the failure of artistic performance to keep up with the artistic ideal." ¹⁶ But if we consider the tale, published in 1844, we realize that Hawthorne is dramatizing the romantic position that sees ultimate ideality in the conception rather than in the created object. Hence Owen not only does not fail in his artistic performance, but succeeds so well that he can be satisfied with the conception even though the object of art is destroyed. To offer the palliative, as Folsom does, that he still has the "carved box" is hardly satisfactory. The carving is of importance because it symbolizes Owen's achievement, not because of its unusual intrinsic value. On the other hand, when we consider The Marble Faun of 1859 and realize that Hawthorne was at this time questioning the validity of the romantic precepts, and in fact had pitted them

against practical experience in The Marble Faun, we can understand why Kenyon was disgruntled at not being able to achieve in practice what could be believed in theory. Kenyon's work is indeed a failure in artistic performance especially in light of the ideal and conceived by the romantics.

Obviously, while Folsom quite accurately describes Hawthorne's creative approach as frequently being a dramatization of some romantic conception, he inaccurately describes Hawthorne's procedure because he does not consider the changing artistic theory involved. It is interesting to note that Folsom tends to agree with Arlin Turner, and consequently is in disagreement with most other scholars, in claiming that Hawthorne does not construct a plot for his narrative tales. Like Turner, Folsom believes that Hawthorne's work is constructed of narrative blocks created through "accretion of detail around images which strike him, and which go to illustrate some dominant idea."¹⁷ Indeed, Folsom is able to show, unlike most critics, that there is growth in Hawthorne's use of symbols over the years. What Folsom does not show is the development that occurs to the "narrative blocks" over the years and to the dramatization of the "dominant ideas."

If careful attention is not given to the fact of this development as it affects the writer's art, a scholar will fall into generalities which may be readily disputed. Jacobson, for example, in writing of Hawthorne's conception of the creative process, claims that "Hawthorne was most certainly exposed to

the 'organic mechanical antithesis' in 'Signs of the Times,' or in Sartor Resartus."¹⁸ Using this statement as his thesis, Jacobson suggests that Twice-Told Tales, together with Mosses from an Old Manse, are created about the organic metaphor. To further substantiate this thesis, Jacobson refers to Hawthorne's reading of Coleridge. But the truth of the matter is that Hawthorne did not read Carlyle until 1848, eleven years after the publication of Twice-Told Tales, (although he might have read Heroes as early as 1841; see p. 7), and he did not read Coleridge, excluding his poetry, until 1836, too late obviously to have affected the tales themselves.¹⁹

One other comment made by Jacobson will help to illustrate this point. Toward the end of his essay he makes two statements, neither of which is qualified, relating to the artist in Hawthorne's work. "The true artist faces the complete range of human experience, and, by the sympathies of his own heart, probes beneath the exterior." This statement and the next could hardly be said of Hilda although they could be said of the painter of "The Prophetic Pictures." "Sin in the artist makes him more aware of sin and guilt in others, and hence opens and expands his view of life."²⁰ If we recall that Hawthorne is probing the question of the artist's intuitive insight in "The Prophetic Pictures," we can readily understand how he must create a painter who has such a range of human experience. Yet, as we also know, the character of Hilda was exactly portrayed as one of absolute innocence who, at the

same time, could probe the feelings of the artist whose ideal she copied even better than he himself had. Hilda knew and comprehended the evil surrounding Donatello and Miriam, yet was never touched by it. We must conclude, consequently, that Hawthorne was developing a different thesis concerning the artist and had not restricted himself to a single view.

In his study of Hawthorne's "last phase," (1860-1864) Davidson outlines what he believes to be the method of creation used by the artist prior to 1860. The method consists of three phases: first, Hawthorne needed a moral law and a romantic image or episode. The image could be a scarlet letter, a bloody footstep, a beautiful mantle. The episode might be the drowning of a girl in the Concord River. The second step was the creation of a symbol fusing the image and the moral so that one became the visual representation of the other, or, as Davidson puts it, "The symbol was the fixing of the moral idea in concrete terms." And, finally, Hawthorne then projected the characters and the scenes. Before concluding his discussion, Davidson cautions the reader to realize that there was no necessity for the moral to come before the image. This method Davidson felt worked superbly from 1849 to 1860.²¹ After 1860, Hawthorne could not make this process work, according to Davidson.

Up to a point, Davidson's study is of immense value. However, as Folsom points out, Hawthorne's later works do not draw exact one-to-one symbolic relationships. As a matter of fact, it is extremely difficult to pinpoint the precise meaning

of the scarlet letter. To limit, as Davidson does, the symbol to "a fixing of the moral idea in concrete terms" is to overlook the development of Hawthorne's artistry. Furthermore, Davidson's account of Hawthorne's process completely discounts the changing significance Hawthorne injected into his settings. It is quite true that the work between 1849 and 1860 is similar in artistic method, but the method is more complex than Davidson's outline would suggest.

Hyatt Waggoner, in agreeing with F. O. Matthiessen up to a point, quotes him regarding Hawthorne's method: "Hawthorne started with a dominant moral idea, for which [the scene] . . ., like Spenser's, was to be an illustration." Waggoner adds to this the belief that Hawthorne normally proceeded by "thinking in terms of image and situation, character, and actions."²² Thus Waggoner does not hold that the narratives originate in thoughts, ideas, or insights. In either case, the statements of both scholars are little more than germs from which a study may grow.

Jac Tharpe's study of Hawthorne's concern with character identity and his utilization of point of view, while enlightening in many respects, leads him to some speculative conclusions that seem unwarranted. For example, Tharpe disregards Davidson's study and those of Wagenknecht and Waggoner, in suggesting that Septimus Felton was an early work.²³ But Tharpe's opinion is based on the assumption that the more mature work comes later and Tharpe believes that Septimus Felton is an immature work. A careful study of Hawthorne's development, however,

will make abundantly evident that what Hawthorne writes and how he writes it is dependent on factors other than those a critic would use to determine maturity.

Arlin Turner, like the other critics, makes a simple statement which can easily mislead a student of Hawthorne into the assumption that he used a single method of construction from the early to the late work. Hawthorne, according to Turner, followed Scott's techniques in Fanshawe and in The Scarlet Letter. That is, "he divides his characters into groups and carries the actions of the several groups along separately; and he takes from Scott the method, illustrated well in The Scarlet Letter, of unravelling a plot by a series of well-defined dramatic scenes."²⁴

And, finally, Robert Kimbrough makes this alarming comment: "From Hawthorne's Notebooks, his prefaces . . ., the many sketches such as 'Snow Flakes'. . ., the tales 'Drowne's Wooden Image' and 'The Artist of the Beautiful,' and some passages in The Marble Faun we get a consistent picture of the artist at work." This simply is not so. The painter in "The Prophetic Pictures" differs in conception and action from Drowne or Owen. He is not like Hilda though he bears a resemblance to Miriam. The Notebooks, themselves, contain contradictory views on art and artists. Unless we understand the multiple influences operating on Hawthorne and realize how these affect his creative work, we will not see the development of his artistic theory and the practice that resulted from it.

CHAPTER II

The Early Years: 1825 - 1835

a. Early Tales, an Evaluation

Hawthorne himself viewed his early work in a light quite different from that of his later years. In writing of his own sketches, a term he uses to refer to the early pieces, Hawthorne notes three things of importance. First, in the preface to the 1851 edition of Twice-Told Tales, an edition that contained works written prior to 1835 and amounting to about one-fourth of the whole, Hawthorne mentions that "his way of life while composing them" had an effect on their content and technique sufficient to cause the tales in their first appearance in 1837 to have had a very limited success with the reading public. Second, he suggests that his sketches are indeed unrealistic and even removed from probable experience: "They have the pale tint of flowers that blossomed in too retired a shade, -- the coolness of meditative habit, which diffuses itself through the feeling and observation of every sketch. Instead of passion there is sentiment; and, even in what purports to be pictures of actual life, we have allegory, not always so warmly dressed in its habiliments of flesh and blood as to be taken into the reader's mind without a shiver." Moreover, he characterizes them as "meditative" and, consequently, more prone to authorial comment than not. Third, Hawthorne states quite bluntly that these early sketches are not profound and show no attempt on the author's part by design or otherwise to make them so. In

this same vein, he emphasizes that the sketches "are not the talk of a secluded man with his own mind and heart" (Works, I, 17).

Hawthorne's criticism of his own early work, which he reiterates in the preface to The Snow Image and Other Twice-Told Tales of 1851, can be categorized in this way. The early pieces are essentially sketches, simply executed without profundity of thought but with too much "meditative habit" which we can understand to mean a too withdrawn "coolness" to the event being sketched so that passion is quenched. Furthermore, this meditateness, which is derived from his lack of experience in worldly affairs and caused by his seclusion and studied retirement, also affects the sketches by removing them from the world of visual reality into the realm of allegory and even by removing them from the realm of actual life into that of the improbable. No wonder he would say "I am disposed to quarrel with the earlier sketches, both because a mature judgment discerns so many faults, and still more because they come so nearly up to the standard of the best that I can achieve now" (Works, III, 388).

The better known sketches of this early period that illustrate Hawthorne's own criticism are "Hollow of the Three Hills" (1830), "Sights from the Steeple" (1831), "Roger Malvin's Burial" (1832), "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" (1832), "Young Goodman Brown" (1835), and "The Gray Champion" (1835).

b. "Sights from a Steeple" as Illustrative of the Early Practice

Before we undertake an analysis of these pieces, it might be instructive to turn to one sketch which describes the author's attitude toward his craft. In "Sights from the Steeple" we witness that "meditative habit" Hawthorne quarreled with. This is a sketch, which, written in the first person, outlines the author's attitude toward his art and what he expects to achieve from it. The rhapsodical lines that open this work call attention to the author's desire to remove himself from the mundane sphere in a vain attempt to approach that of the Creator. "Oh, that I could soar up into the very zenith, where man never breathed, nor eagle ever flew, and where the ethereal azure melts away from the eye, and appears only a deepened shade of nothingness!" (Works, I, 219).

The artist viewed in this respect becomes something "divine" himself. Of secondary importance in this opening rhapsody is the narrator's supposition that spirits might exist beyond the realm of man's mortal eye. The reader perceives, then, that truth need not be limited to the observable world and, more importantly, that the artist can approach that truth through the heightened perception of his being. Indeed, there is the suggestion that the narrator should be as "Paul Pry hovering invisible round man and woman, witnessing their deeds, searching into their hearts, borrowing brightness from their felicity, and shade from their sorrow, and retaining no emotion peculiar to himself" (Works, I, 220). And certainly there is

the other criticism Hawthorne leveled at himself, the "coolness" that resulted from this meditative pose. But realizing in actuality the impossibility of such knowledge being available to the artist, the narrator can but say, "if I would know the interior of brick walls, or the mystery of human bosoms, I can but guess" (Works, I, 220).

And thus we have the actual fact confronting the artistic desire. So the narrator then proceeds to disclose how the artist works. He views from his distant vantage point, like a "watchman, heeding and unheeded," the streets of the town and those who tread their way through them. In particular, he witnesses first a lone gentleman, then two young and pretty girls, later clerks and merchants, and still later three processions: one military, the second a platoon of school boys, and the third a funeral procession. He observes from a distance, "guesses" the sentiments of the figures he discerns, and projects meaning into their interactions and the incidents he witnesses.

The narrator, illustrating these points, views a young gentleman from his steeple and comments: "Certainly, he has a pensive air. Is he in doubt, or in debt? Is he . . . in love? Does he strive to be melancholy and gentlemanlike? Or, is he merely overcome by the heat?" (Works, I, 221) This is figure number one. Then the narrator introduces two girls who encounter the young man. Thus we have an incident. But the incident to have meaning must suggest a conflict. Hence,

the narrator introduces a group of old merchants at a point distant from the young man and the girls. When rain begins to fall, one of the old men leaves his group and runs accidentally into the youthful trio. The groups are rearranged, the youth leaving alone, and the old man joining the young girls; the narrator then gives an explanation of these events even from his distant point.

Hawthorne illustrates here the method of the artist who, while removed from the incidents he describes in something of a Breughel-eye (all-encompassing) point of view, utilizes what he can of the observable world but gives truth and life to it through an imposed and predetermined interpretation. In this same sketch, Hawthorne illustrates the effect a writer's imposed interpretations can have on the material. The narrator views, as we noted in the synopsis, three processions from his vantage point in the steeple. But these processions have meaning only through his eyes, not from within the scene itself. The first of these is "a proud array of voluntary soldiers." The procession here is bright, indeed toy-like. It stirs patriotic fervor through the drums' roll and the fife's tune. The second procession is that of mimicking boys who carry sticks and clatter on tin. Each of these processions, independently or together, means nothing until the narrator splices them with a question: ". . . one might be tempted to ask, 'which are the boys?' or, rather, 'which are the men?'" (Works, I, 223).

No explicit meaning is given, just the suggestion to cause the reader to mull the matter over in his mind. But Hawthorne is not content with just two processions. He adds a third, a funeral. And in the confrontation of the three, in what Hawthorne himself in "Fancy's Show Box" called a train of incidents, further speculation is roused by the simple statement that this third procession "may excite identical reflections in the thoughtful mind" (Works, I, 223).

Hawthorne does not reveal a desire here to be the disinterested observer, nor does he suggest that a descriptive realism based on observable reality is sufficient for his purposes. What he delineates in "Sights from a Steeple" is the view of the interpretative artist who removes himself some distance from the real world, the better to speculate on it, while he evokes the sensibilities of the reader through provocative questions and an atmospheric mood.

There can be little question that this readiness to "manipulate" the actual world produces sketches that tend toward the improbable, and that the desire to evoke meaning through provocative questions and suggestive interpretation lends itself to allegory.

An analysis of these early sketches will demonstrate how they fulfill the artistic theory outlined above. If we add "Little Annie's Ramble," "The Haunted Mind," and "The Village Uncle," to "Sights from a Steeple," we note a kind of reverie sketch that properly speaking is no tale at all. All of these sketches probe the speculative mind of the narrator as he

questions the virtues of dreams, fancy, imagination, and childhood innocence. As reveries they meander meditatively through realities that are not of the observable world but are real nonetheless. There is nothing profound, only hints and glimpses of truths beyond the awareness of the sensible world.

c. *The Mold*

Almost without exception, and we would exclude "Young Goodman Brown," the remaining sketches of these years fit the simple mold consisting of an introduction, a body containing the action through an incident or a train of incidents, and a conclusion. The introduction varies from sketch to sketch, being in one case an historical item, in another a legend, or again a parable, an anecdote or an incident that suggests a moral. The body of the sketch invariably consists of a simple exchange of dialogue between two or three characters interspersed with necessary expository material to carry the incident to a conclusion. The incident ordinarily reflects upon the activity of a man in conflict with himself concerning his identity or his moral involvement with another.

What interests Hawthorne is the inexpressible feeling that plagues the soul of his central character, causing him to act or not to act. This feeling may be actively involved in the incident portrayed or, more usually, be subliminally present and hauntingly provocative. At any rate, whether the time spanned covers many years as in "Roger Malvin's Burial"

or one night as in "The Hollow of the Three Hills," the concentration is not on time or the varied actions involved but on the character's reaction to this gnawing feeling.

Because Hawthorne concentrates on what is inexpressible or subliminally active and not on the level of the observable incidents of his narrative, he forces the reader into a realm beyond the actual world. But he does not stop there. Hawthorne almost always places his characters in a setting that complements the feeling concentrated upon. The tombstone-like slab in "Roger Malvin's Burial" aptly fits the burial scene described; likewise the altar-like setting of "Young Goodman Brown" complements the evil baptismal rite that takes place there. But, as Hawthorne himself said, since all of this is "the coolness of meditative habit," there is a calculated, almost mechanical, exactitude to the "reality," the natural setting in which these early sketches take place.

The third part of this mold is the conclusion or more properly the didactic end or moral drawn from the incident supplied. Most often the moral is drawn by the narrator, though sometimes one of the characters performs this service. In neither case can we readily discern the necessary voice of Hawthorne himself. As Folsom suggests, we must divorce Hawthorne's "own moral, religious, ethical and philosophical preoccupations from his aesthetic principles."²⁵

Aesthetically speaking, then, the simplicity of this three-part mold is deceptive. Each sketch attempts to draw the

reader into the world of fancy by an implied fairy-tale device or to create the illusion of credibility by reference to an historical incident. Hawthorne refers to these introductory openings of his tales in "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" as prefaces. Once the reader's disbelief has been suspended, Hawthorne attempts to elicit interest by introducing the strange action to be depicted and inferring the inexpressible feeling that gnaws at the heart of the central figure. There is, as a consequence, a realization of impending climax which evokes a concurrent feeling of suspense in the reader.

Following the note of impending climax, Hawthorne introduces and enlarges on the philosophical points which the incident raises -- the conflict of man with himself, between himself and others, or between man and nature -- and intersperses this matter, coming from the narrator, with dialogue and development of the action.

"My Kinsman, Major Molineux" opens with reference to the annals of Massachusetts Bay, which provide historicity for the tale. Only then does Hawthorne introduce his central figure, Robin, whose first question concerning the whereabouts of his kinsman opens to the reader a suspicion of foul play that will inevitably occur. At the same time Robin is infected with what gradually grows to a greater and greater fear concerning himself and his kinsman.

Similarly "Roger Malvin's Burial" opens with reference to an historical incident, Lovell's Fight. After this Hawthorne

introduces the major figures, who, through the confrontation of their position, reveal the inexpressible feelings that will grow with the years in Reuben's heart.

Generally speaking, the format of construction for "The Gentle Boy" (1832), "Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe" (1834), "The Gray Champion" (1835), "Wakefield" (1835), "The Wives of the Dead" (1832), "The Ambitious Guest" (1835) follows the same pattern as those described above. Hawthorne's artistry, from the opening line into the body of the sketch, rouses the intellect and forces the reader into an involvement with the narrative.

To further captivate the reader, to heighten the suspense, and at times to foster a degree of sympathy toward the characters' predicament, Hawthorne casts over the whole an atmosphere of wonder or suspense or mystery or strangeness or gloom or expectation, depending on the issue being evoked. He achieves this by images of light and dark, graveyards, night figures, and the like. Ordinarily these images are evoked out of the setting in which the action takes place.

Contrary to general opinion there is very limited use of explicit symbolic settings in the early years. For the most part Hawthorne limited himself to visual description but of a rather mechanical kind. These points can be illustrated by "The Hollow of the Three Hills." Predictably enough, the sketch begins with an introduction designed to draw the reader into the realm of fancy: "In those strange old times, when

fantastic dreams and madmen's reveries were realized among the actual circumstances of life . . ." (Works, I, 228)

The descriptive setting in which Hawthorne places the two characters who inhabit this narrative is unqualifiedly calculated; it lacks resemblance to the actual world and contributes to lifting the incident out of the sphere of the probable into the mysterious. Because of the mathematical accuracy of the description -- the three equidistant hills, the circular basin with a breadth of two or three hundred feet, its precise depth, the fringe of pines, the brown grass of October, the fallen trees -- nothing quite like this picture exists in reality; it is simply too contrived. Indeed, Hawthorne forces the scene out of reality by equating his description with similar scenes where the "Power of Evil" met with his "plighted subjects." With the exception of this allusion, which does nothing more than evoke in the reader an awareness of evil's presence, Hawthorne does nothing with his scene to make it explicitly symbolic. It acts simply as a backdrop, contributing to the eeriness, mystery, and evil tenor of the action, very much in the manner of a Gothic device. To say it represents anything beyond this is simply to force a subjective interpretation on the description. Not that this has not been done.

Bewley, in a book aptly titled, when considered in light of his own imagination, Eccentric Design, conceals the following symbolic relationship:

They [the hills] are symbols of her profoundest human relationships . . . the hollow of the three hills . . . becomes a symbol of the lady's heart. It is the point where the three hills, the three most essential relationships possible to mankind, meet . . . imagery of dissection and death The decaying trunk of the once majestic oak that lies near the center of the hollow enforces our sense of her husband whom we see in the witch's second vision, the shattered ruin of a man confined in a madhouse. The stagnant pool in the hollow of the hills introduces, in terms of Hawthorne's imagery, a positive suggestion of evil . . . it remains in the imagination as a symbol of potential evil, a pool in which, on some future midnight, the Power of Evil may baptize the lady herself.²⁶

This is only the beginning of Bewley's symbolic rendition of the scene, but it is sufficiently mixed to render it useless, especially when we consider that the lady who is to be available for christening at some future date is dead at the end of the tale. To further elaborate on Hawthorne's intention by suggesting that the hollow is also "the symbol of that inner sphere which is the locus of Hawthorne's particular reality" where the "images of reality" become in the next sentence "illusions that have no substance" is simply to confuse the matter more.²⁷ Bewley's analysis is similar to that which a psychoanalyst evolves from a dream. But there is no need to draw these relationships, nor accuracy in stating that Hawthorne did. Hawthorne, indeed, stressed the simplicity of these early sketches, stating categorically that they were not profound.

There is no question that the sketch is intended to haunt the mind with myriad associations relating to wifely duty, motherhood, and parental concern. The artist forces the reader's sensibilities to react to a soul that has sundered each of these

relationships yet yearns to know the consequences of her act. It is, in fact, a probing by suggestion of the pangs of conscience. These subliminal pangs of guilt, inarticulated and perhaps incapable of articulation, are nonetheless real. For the romance writer such realities are the stuff of his craft, and to evoke them he cannot rely on an imitative description of observable reality. Hawthorne was extremely conscious of this fact and discussed these matters in the Prefaces to Mosses, The Scarlet Letter, and The Marble Faun. But he knew also that total improbability was destructive of his ends, and hence he set the improbable action of his sketch against a setting that contained a semblance of reality while it contributed to the sense of the macabre he was evoking.

d. The Setting and its Function

The setting in each of the tales of these early years is used in essentially the same way. Its primary function is to act as a backdrop against which the characters play. It is not explicitly expressive of any of the ideas or suggestive moral implications that Hawthorne raises, though it complements the illusion or the feeling Hawthorne seeks to create. In this sense it is used for atmosphere: to evoke a dream-like state of being, to evoke sensations of terror as in the typical Gothic romance,²⁸ or, conversely, to bring the improbable within the realm of credibility, as in "Roger Malvin's Burial." There is a distinct difference between this handling of setting and that which we will see developing especially after 1848.

To use setting to contribute to the "feeling," as, for example, the fear evoked by the action of the lady and the witch in "The Hollow of the Three Hills" is heightened by the place where the action occurs, is significantly less complex and aesthetically satisfying than to have that setting not only serve this function, but also contribute explicitly to the philosophical implications and moral innuendoes of the action as in the opening scene of The Scarlet Letter.

Even in "Roger Malvin's Burial" and "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" the setting serves essentially the same purpose. In both descriptive scenes abound. But aside from one or two instances where Hawthorne lifts the scenes into the realm of fancy or dream, the entire picturesque setting of "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" is purely descriptive and contributory to the weird sense that overlies the whole work.

Even that horrid "dream pageant" that Robin sees, in which his Kinsman sits tarred and feathered, functions as a contributory device to lift the tale into the realm of the fantastic:

A mighty stream of people now emptied into the street, and came rolling slowly towards the church The single horsemen, clad in a military dress . . . rode onward as the leader, and, by his fierce and variegated countenance, appeared like war personified; the red of one cheek was an emblem of fire and sword; the blackness of the other betokened the mourning that attends them . . . and many fantastic shapes without a model, giving the whole march a visionary air, as if a dream had broken forth from some feverish brain (Works, III, 637-638)

This scene does not further the moral that lies at the root of the tale nor does Hawthorne attempt to give it any meaning beyond its descriptive functional one.

Even the simile that makes the leader "war personified" or the one that turns the whole scene to a dream contributes nothing of specific meaning to Robin's predicament, though it places the situation beyond the realm of the actual world. Hawthorne does not provide an understanding of this scene nor does he permit Robin to meditate on it and draw speculative conclusions. Quite obviously, many interpretations can be extracted from a narrative about a youth seeking a military kinsman who has been tarred and feathered by his opponents. Moreover, accustomed as we now are to symbolic dream interpretations, we have a tendency to see each of the personages that populate such a fantastic scene as representative of hidden frustrations and complexes within the central character's neuroses. However, since Hawthorne did begin to adapt his settings in an expressive way later, it would seem probable that he had not yet arrived at the point in these early tales where such free association is warranted.

One cannot pass from this tale without referring to the many serious studies devoted to it. Mrs. Q. D. Leavis, for example, interprets the entire tale as "a symbolic action which . . . takes the form of something between a pageant and a ritual drama, disguised in the emotional logic of a dream."²⁹ Therefore, "My Kinsman" becomes a parable in which Robin as

"Young America" has come to town and come of age. In contrast to this interpretation is that offered by Hyatt H. Waggoner and further elaborated by Roy R. Male, both of whom work from a psychological foundation. According to this theory the tale's primary meaning is the revelation of an Oedipal conflict. Male presses this view still further by citing some of the tale's characters as "visions of the father figure." For instance, the "elderly gentleman grotesquely personifies the youth's rebellion against pietistic parental authority." The dull watchman is another "bizarre image of his father's authority." But the most complex of the father images is the "double-faced fellow." Male says, "The grotesque fusion of the two forms is a distorted father image in which youthful misrepresentations of both the real father and the real uncle are combined."

Daniel Hoffman, accepting all three interpretations, elaborates still further on the representative meanings in the tale. To him, Major Molineux is not only a "Father as Authority" but "British rule" as well. Robin must overthrow this image of the past if he is to become independent.³⁰

These are imaginative and learned interpretations of the tale, without question. But nowhere in the tale does Hawthorne suggest that Robin has an Oedipal complex, nor does he explain Robin as Young America though he does call him shrewd and by action pictures him to be somewhat foolish; and there is nothing in the tale that characterizes Major Molineux as both

father and Britain! Yet, if we turn to a later tale, like "The Minister's Black Veil," Hawthorne does offer a variety of interpretations of the veil but he does not specifically state whether or not any one interpretation is valid. Again, if we turn to The Scarlet Letter, Hawthorne elaborates at length on the meanings one should draw from the prison, the cemetery, the rose, the weeds, and the people. Obviously there is a difference in the methods used by the author as he developed over the years. To say that the scholars' interpretations are or are not valid is not the point. One can interpret literature with some semblance of logic as one likes. The point is that Hawthorne himself did not elaborate on such interpretations in the early tales. As this study shows, Hawthorne gradually developed his fiction more and more beyond simple narrative by a much greater infusion of authorial comment and introduction of multiple points of view.

How valid such scholarly interpretations are becomes a matter of debate. To assert that Robin represents Young America coming of age hardly coincides with the simple fact that he alone of all the people in the town is in the dark concerning the destruction of Major Molineux. That he joins the revelers in their activities through his laughter could as well be explained as an outburst of fear for his own life as an acceptance of the act as justifiable. If as Waggoner, Male, and Hoffman assert, Major Molineux is a father figure, why would Robin not return to his father's home on seeing the Major tarred? If

he does not fear his father but walks in his light, how can the unnamed figure at the tale's end be, like the Major, a father figure as well? Yet Hoffman would claim this identity for him: "This nameless figure . . . represents the viable influence of his father upon his soul: the manly guidance of a non-possessive, non-inhibiting paternal love."³¹ If the tale is indeed about American revolt against Britain and a parable or parallel of the American Revolution, then certainly Hawthorne's understanding of the American purpose is a highly cynical one. Americans are shown deriding their own kin since both Robin and the townspeople are supposedly Young America. The rabble is led by a devil-like fiend who personifies war. Thus this interpretation would have Robin seeking independence by joining a band of revelers led by a figure of destruction as they mutilate a kindly old gentleman. Such interpretations, therefore, are open to debate because of that ingredient that plagues the romance writer, credibility.

Perhaps the early tale that comes closest to using setting in the manner common to Hawthorne's middle years is "Roger Malvin's Burial." Here we find some attempt to make nature express the conditions that prevail in the narrative. But while nature is used here to aid in expressing the feelings in the hearts of the characters, it still does not extend the philosophical implications of the work.³² Hawthorne expresses the sense of doom that pervades the heart of Reuben by stating "there seemed a gloom on Nature's face, as if she sympathized with

mortal pain and sorrow" (Works, II, 391). Yet even this is not much different from the description used in "The Hollow of the Three Hills." That setting certainly was in sympathy with the action described. In either case the setting localizes the action and focuses attention on a concrete object (such as the gravestone-like slab described in "Roger Malvin's Burial") where the action of the narrative takes place and with which the sense of fear or shame or guilt can be graphically associated. Thus to hint at the gravestone rock is to implicitly evoke that place where Reuben's sense of guilt was first roused.

Before concluding this section on the early sketches, some mention must be made of "Young Goodman Brown." While it is safe to say that the setting in which Goodman finds himself, with the exception of the "altar rock,"³³ is purely descriptive and evocative, lacking specific meaningful reference expressed by the narrator, the same cannot be said about the general structure of the piece. This tale opens immediately without the customary introduction; however, Hawthorne supplies the function of the dream-fantasy introduction through the words of Goodman himself: "'What a wretch am I to leave her on such an errand! She talks of dreams, too. Methought as she spoke there was trouble in her face, as if a dream had warned her what work is to be done tonight.'" (Works, II, 90).

Hawthorne's approach here is more immediate yet accomplishes the same ends that the more formal introduction achieved. After 1836 this type of beginning does become more frequent.

And yet, even in "Young Goodman Brown," we cannot say that Hawthorne has abandoned entirely the formal introduction. It is significant that this tale concludes with the narrator's asking a question: "Had Goodman Brown fallen asleep in the forest and only dreamed a wild dream of a witch-meeting?" This question, together with the anecdotal matter that follows it, serves the function here that the introduction of the other tales had served. Of necessity, if the tale was to maintain its effectiveness as an expression of fearful knowledge discerned through the experience of a dream, then the reaction to that experience had to follow the tale. Rather than discuss "The Gray Champion" here, we will save it for comparative analytical purposes with The Scarlet Letter. Of all the tales before 1835, "The Gray Champion" approaches the stage of development that dominates the middle period; yet its relative simplicity by comparison with these later works will reward a closer analysis.

CHAPTER III*The Middle Years: Part I*

1836 - 1848

No changes of vast magnitude are readily observable between the tales of the early years and those of the middle. But differences exist. The contrived and calculated settings of the early tales, which functioned almost exclusively as visual and atmospheric backdrops, have here greater probability and the appearance of reality. Hawthorne seems, moreover, to inject a greater feeling of warmth for his characters or for their predicament in these tales. This may be a reaction against his own critical appraisal of the earlier pieces when he stated they were "cool" and too abstract. At any rate, there is an awareness of the commonality of human suffering and of the need for a sympathetic understanding of that fact. The most subtle development, and therefore the most difficult to discern, while at the same time the most important, is the presence of multiple viewpoints that react to a scene, an object, a character, or the entire narrative. And, finally, as a result of a concentrated study of Coleridge and other romantics, Hawthorne tends to dramatize romantic ideas in his work.

a. *The Setting as Meaning: "Night Sketches"*

In 1838 Hawthorne published a tale called "Night Sketches," which we can profitably use to illustrate his conception of the writer's role. Like "Sights from a Steeple," "Night

Sketches" provides an observer who comments on the scene he encounters during a period of time. Unlike the observer in *"Sights"* the observer in *"Night Sketches"* is not removed from the scene to a point where detail and empathy are lost. He is not situated at a distance where only general actions can be seen and hence only speculation, detached and cold, offered concerning the incidents and characters observed. Rather he treads in near darkness through rain, mud, and slush, passing people whose faces he sees and whose errands he readily understands. And as he says, "Onward I go, deriving a sympathetic joy or sorrow from the varied aspect of mortal affairs . . ." (*Works*, I, 482).

There can be no question that there is a great correspondence between these two tales since they tend to match each other scene for scene. The observer in *"Sights"* desires to hover invisible around man and woman, but the observer in *"Night Sketches"* treads readily through the streets reacting to the reality of the scene with all his humanity. Whereas the observer in the former tale simply describes a scene to act as the setting for his first figure, the narrator of *"Sketches"* transforms the scene into "an emblem of the deceptive glare which mortals show around their footsteps in the moral world, thus bedazzling themselves till they forget the impenetrable obscurity that hems them in and that can be dispelled only by radiance from above" (*Works*, I, 481).

Both are observers of what they see, but only the "looker-on" in "Sketches" offers any sympathy or reacts empathetically towards those whom he sees.

Consider the observer in "Sights" as he comments from his vantage point:

How various are the situations of the people covered by the roofs beneath me, and how diversified are the events at this moment befalling them! The new-born, the aged, the dying, the strong in life, and the recent dead are in the chambers of these many mansions. The full of hope, the happy, the miserable, and the desperate dwell together within the circle of my glance. In some of the houses over which my eyes roam so coldly, guilt is entering into hearts that are still tenanted by a debased and trodden virtue, -- guilt is on the very edge of commission, and the impending deed might be averted; guilt is done, and the criminal wonders if it be irrevocable. There are broad thoughts struggling in my mind, and were I able to give them distinctness, they would make their way in eloquence. (Works, I, 224-225)

Certain things must be pointed out here. First, there is no "actual" scene described. Rather there is speculation on what probably is present in the houses whose rooftops only are visible to the observer. Second, what is described is not detailed description of observable reality -- the knives and forks of everyday scenes -- but birth, age, death, life, hope, sorrow, and guilt. Third, the observer specifically states that he is withdrawn, "coldly" witnessing the possibility of guilt entering a human heart. Each facet of this kind of observation we have followed in detail through Chapter II. Consider "The Hollow of the Three Hills," or "Roger Malvin's Burial," or "My Kinsman, Major Molineux"; in each, the narrator

coldly observes a character caught in the throes of guilt, or suspected guilt, or unknown fear, not in the commission of an act. The tales' interest is in the fact of this condition and the sensibilities that can be roused in the reader by intensifying the reality of the character's condition. The setting contributes only toward that intensification. Thus, everything in the tale is dependent on the observer's viewpoint, on the meaning he wishes to convey, or on the speculations he suggests.

This "abstracting" process delineates certain aspects of man's nature: the presence of evil, the pangs of guilt, the desires of ambition. In one sense, then, the parts or details of a Hawthorne tale are totally insignificant. The impact the tale makes -- the totality of the accretion of narrative line, character, image, setting, and atmospheric quality -- should force a realization of the truth concerning some facet of man's nature. That impact is at once an illumination, a revelation, and a reality. This process of abstraction, in which the visible reflects the invisible, in which there is concern for the nature of a thing rather than for the thing itself was characteristic of the medieval Gothic and might well serve to bring us to an understanding of the mind of Hawthorne. A comparison to Gothic structure might indeed be helpful. Regardless of the fact that the Gothic facade is a conglomerate of much and varied detail, only one primary impression is conveyed to the viewer. Some of the detail, the scroll ornamentation, for example, is fundamentally abstract with one or two lines

effectively representing the leaf. Even sculpture work can be of this abstract quality. Yet regardless of the lack of detail, specific impressions glow from the sundry areas of the surface. Hawthorne stated as much in the Notebooks.

A Gothic cathedral is surely the most wonderful work which mortal man has yet achieved, so vast, so intricate, and so profoundly simple, with such strange, delightful recesses in its grand figure, so difficult to comprehend within one idea, and yet all so consonant that it ultimately draws the beholder and his universe into its harmony. It is the only thing in the world that is vast enough and rich enough.

Not that I felt, or was worthy to feel, an unmingled enjoyment in gazing at this wonder. I could not elevate myself to its spiritual height, any more than I could have climbed from the ground to the summit of one of its pinnacles. Ascending but a little way, I continually fell back and lay in a kind of despair, conscious that a flood of uncomprehended beauty was pouring down upon me, of which I could appropriate only the minutest portion. After a hundred years, incalculably as my higher sympathies might be invigorated by so divine an employment, I should still be a gazer from below and at an awful distance, as yet remotely excluded from the interior mystery. But it was something gained, even to have that painful sense of my own limitations, and that half-smothered yearning to soar beyond them. (Works, VII, 153, 154)

And in a similar manner, the supposed detail of a Hawthorne tale of the early period is in fact abstracted. Taken in its entirety the tale conveys an impression and evokes a response; taken singly, its parts drift away into shadow and ambiguity.

There is some reason to believe that Hawthorne's understanding of allegory and romance is quite different from that of critics today. Folsom, for example, claims that "allegory" meant quite simply and quite broadly a moral tale as far as

Hawthorne was concerned.³⁴ Should we limit our understanding of the allegorical to that which would have each element of the fiction bear a recognizable reference to some element in a continuous argument, we might comprehend "The Celestial Railroad" but little else Hawthorne wrote. But if Hawthorne did not write such allegories of ideas, nonetheless he did write a brand of allegorical fiction in which no attempt was made to imitate actual people and events. And despite Waggoner's caveat, we would have to agree with Matthiessen, at least when speaking of the early years, that "Hawthorne started with a dominant moral idea, for which [the scene] . . ., like Spenser's, was to be an illustration."³⁵

Thus, for these early works we would not accept Waggoner's statements that Hawthorne's stories are fictional thinking -- "or processes of insight conceived and structured in narrative terms" ³⁶ Hawthorne's allegorical fictions illustrate a broad metaphysical meaning usually concerned with man's moral nature. Thus "Roger Malvin's Burial" is not concerned so much with the developing character of one Reuben Bourne as with the incidents that illustrate the condition of a man whose being is plagued by the conscious presence of unresolved guilt. Hawthorne pays no attention to Reuben as a soldier, worker, husband, or father except in so far as these facets of his existence can be used to further the author's concern with the nature of Reuben's malady. And no more does he pay attention to Reuben's wife or his son. They are necessary items

to illustrate the condition of Reuben's soul; to reflect on the lengths to which a man will go when his conscience plagues him so horridly. Likewise the setting becomes only a backdrop, a necessary wild spot which will remain untouched till Reuben is brought ineluctably to it once again.

In this sense we might compare Hawthorne's allegorical fictions to those ancient myths which Bacon collected and termed "the wisdom of the ancients."³⁷ Such myths, like those created by Spenser,³⁸ admit far more implausibility of cause and effect, together with incomplete characterization and inquiry into the author's probable meaning. If Spenser's influence on Hawthorne was greater than we ordinarily assume, it would not be farfetched to consider Hawthorne's concept of the purpose of the romance, and hence of what he terms allegorical fiction, as similar to that of the medieval.

He himself spoke of probing man's common nature. Thematically, then, we can cite a concern for the nature of man plagued by a guilty conscience in "The Hollow of the Three Hills" and "Roger Malvin's Burial"; the nature of evil in man in "Young Goodman Brown"; and the nature of the Puritan character and its effect on the New England temperament in "The Gray Champion." In each case the real truth is beneath the surface of the action; that is, truth transcends human experience. Each tale represents a theme concerned with man's nature; hence the meanings and emotions roused in the reader by the tale approximate truth more accurately than the

fictionalized actions in the tale represent actuality. Hawthorne's allegorical fictions, even when they most graphically imitate actual people and events, illustrate some further moral, metaphysical, or philosophical idea. In short, the visible world described reflects the invisible truth.

Hawthorne described something of this understanding of his work in "Fancy's Show Box."³⁹ When making a defense for the old gentleman of the tale, he states: "A scheme of guilt, till it be put in execution, greatly resembles a train of incidents in a projected tale. The latter, in order to produce a sense of reality in the reader's mind, must be concerned with such proportionate strength by the author as to seem, in the glow of fancy, more like truth, past, present, or to come, than purely fiction" (*Works*, I, 256). This "train of incidents" must obviously be taken as a whole. And, furthermore, this whole must appear more like truth than the limited reference a specific place or time could achieve. Hawthorne states, in fact, that once an act is executed in time and place, it ceases to have universal reference. But that action as long as it is conceived and not executed can have universal application. That is why Hawthorne says, in this same passage, that "the novel writer, or a dramatist, in creating a villain of actual life, in projecting crimes that will be perpetrated, may almost meet each other, halfway between reality and fancy" (*Works*, I, 256).

For Hawthorne, the romance writer must capture that action which theoretically is capable of being committed by any man, and that is why it is universally true and why it must never be pinned down to a specific man performing a usual act. Once an action is performed by a man, that action ceases to be true of all; for while every man can conceive of himself committing any action, no man knows the nature of his resolve "either for good or evil, except at the very moment of execution" (Works, I, 257). By lifting the action and the character out of the realm of the probable, Hawthorne places his tale in a suspended state similar to that of the conception that precedes the act. It is obviously for this same reason, to reach the greater truth applicable to all but not to one, that Hawthorne is attracted toward the state of mind that exists following an action, the good or evil of which is not yet resolved or that state of mind and soul where a man continues to live in full knowledge of the sin he has committed.

Hawthorne's development of this understanding of the romance can be observed by quoting the passage from "Sketches" which parallels the "rooftop" passage from "Sights from a Steeple."

Now I pass into a more retired street where the dwellings of wealth and poverty are intermingled, presenting a range of strongly-contrasted pictures. Here, too, may be found the golden mean. Through yonder casement I discern a family circle -- the grandmother, the parents and the children -- all flickering, shadowlike, in the glow of a wood fire. -- Bluster, fierce blast, and beat, thou

wintry rain, against the window panes! Ye cannot damp the enjoyment of that fireside. -- Surely my fate is hard that I should be wandering homeless here, taking to my bosom night and storm and solitude instead of wife and children. Peace, murmurer! Doubt not that darken guests are sitting round the hearth, though the warm blaze hides all but blissful images (Works, I, 482-483).

Ostensibly little has changed between "Sights" and "Sketches," but the truth of the matter is there is considerable difference. Not only is the observer in "Sketches" immersed in the scene, but now the real objects, rather than being created through the imaginative eye of the narrator, act on the narrator and impart, indeed, abstract references. Each house defines itself, not in the relatively unimportant sense of its detailed description in a specific place and time, but rather in an abstract thematic sense as a dwelling of wealth or poverty. The scene offers contrast and a mean. It can now operate to project differing points of view, not be isolated to that imposed by the observer from above.

Secondly, the observer now peers into the scene where specific actions are occurring and it is in reference to these actions that he now sets his speculations, realizing full well that the scene described can apparently belie the reality of his thoughts. In "Sights" the observer created the scene that illustrated the "idea" being projected. The setting in "The Hollow of the Three Hills" is also a created and even contrived scene used to complement the evil being conjured up. Similarly

the cramped, endless, winding streets are used to complement the bafflement of Robin. But now the scene can appear differently and even out of context with the greater truth. The calm Sunday morning scene in "The Minister's Black Veil" does not seem to complement the macabre appearance of Reverend Hooper. Nor does the pleasant setting of David Swan's rest seem to complement the threat of death that hovers over him briefly.

No doubt this development grew out of Hawthorne's own displeasure with his earlier work and his desire to pen-sketch reality. Furthermore, there is every reason to believe that his reading of Dunlap and of Coleridge played an important part in forcing Hawthorne to use more realism in his tales. Both influences suggested the need to confront Nature face to face. At the same time, both suggested as well that each individual's perception would be unique. As an artist, Hawthorne strove, as indeed the artists that he created strove, to extract from imperfect Nature the ideal form of which it is but an emblem.⁴⁰ Or to put it another way, especially when considering tales that have no reference to artists specifically, Hawthorne tried to illuminate the truth that lay hidden behind the actions of men.

We should note, finally, that Hawthorne's observer in "Sketches" both reacts sympathetically to the scene he witnesses and draws from it personal references. No longer is the observer so "coldly removed" from the predicament of men. There

is, indeed, a curiously contemporary understanding of man's plight recounted here: "And will Death and Sorrow ever enter that proud mansion? As surely as the dancers will be gay within its halls tonight. Such thoughts sadden yet satisfy my heart; for they teach me that the poor man in this mean, weather-beaten hovel . . . may call the rich his brother -- brethren by sorrow, who must be an inmate of both their households; brethren by Death, who will lead them both to other homes" (Works, I, 483).

As he closes "Sketches," Hawthorne indicates that reality spurs the moral: "This figure shall supply me with a moral . . ." (Works, I, 484). This is perhaps something quite different from beginning with an idea or moral and conjuring up a scene to illustrate it. No doubt this is why the settings, and in many cases the characters, depicted have a greater naturalness about them than formerly. Yet we note as well that the general approach will remain the same, for "fancy" will create out of such ordinary sights a "strangeness" that all may see. Thus does Hawthorne continue to lift the actions of his characters and settings out of the realm of the actual world so that they bear witness to the universal truth of which they are but an emblem.

Just how effective these alterations are can be graphically illustrated by contrasting two tales from these years. Waggoner, indeed, suggests such a comparison when he says: "Though its ["The Man of Adamant's"] value is largely conceptual, it can

tell us much of the nature of imagery and symbolism in the tales, for both its difference from and its similarities to such stories as those of "Roger Malvin's Burial" (1832). and "Major Molineux" ⁴¹ The differences Waggoner refers to can best be understood by studying Hawthorne's settings. In "The Man of Adamant" the settings themselves convey meaning that contributes to the philosophical understanding of the story.

Our previous discussion of "Roger Malvin's Burial" emphasized the functional purpose of the gravestone-like rock that rose behind Roger. It became a place equated with Reuben's unresolved guilt, a focal point of attention from the beginning, where it raised the spectre of death and became at the same time an identifiable object that Reuben could seek when he returned to save Roger Malvin. When Reuben plunged once again into the wild forest, the reader knows instinctively that he will come upon that slab of stone. Thus the place, wild and uninhabited, with a tombstone image, acts as a backdrop against which the agonizing guilt of Reuben must be played. His guilty conscience first awakens when he turns back to see that rock. When he confronts it once again, his conscience bothers him even more. But the setting itself remains relatively passive to his plight and it means nothing other than what it is.

In contrast to such a limited function, however, we find in "The Man of Adamant" (1837) that nature and the setting have become much more complex. Richard Digby, like Roger, stumbles upon a tomblike setting in the wild reaches of the

forest. In this case, the mouth of the cave becomes "Elijah's cave at Horeb" to Richard though to the narrator it resembles "Abraham's sepulchral cave at Machpelah" (Works, III, 565). Thus we are presented with differing views of the object focused upon although it is the narrator's understanding that receives later confirmation from the spirit of Mary Goffe. More importantly, however, Hawthorne now not only utilizes the setting to intensify the atmosphere or evoke some emotional reaction to the tale, but also conveys through it, definite meanings that contribute to a philosophical understanding of "The Man of Adamant." "If Nature meant this remote and dismal cavern for the use of man, it would only be to bury in its gloom the victims of a pestilence, and then to block up its mouth with stones, and avoid the spot forever." Here Nature acts as a precursor of the action of the tale. Furthermore, it would now appear that Hawthorne is using Nature, not for purely descriptive purposes, but for "a framework for the delineations of the human form and faces, instinct with thought, passion, or suffering" (Works, I, 205). This quotation from "The Prophetic Pictures" does in fact characterize the kind of change that has occurred in Hawthorne's artistry.

It would appear that Hawthorne has reacted to Coleridge's admonition to be faithful to the "truth of Nature." Understanding full well that truth to the romantic mind meant the truth that lay beneath the surface of reality, Hawthorne brought his own perception to bear on external reality .

to color Nature in such a way that it reflected more than its observable self. This achievement was nothing more than what he admired (and to a certain degree copied in "The Prophetic Pictures") in Allston's account of Stuart. While Dunlap, in quoting Allston's letter written as a eulogy of Stuart, concentrates on portrait painting, Hawthorne could readily understand the application to his own art. Allston wrote that Stuart had

the faculty of distinguishing between the accidental and the permanent, in other words, between the conventional expression which arises from manners, and that more subtle indication of the individual mind, is indeed no common one, It was this which enabled him to animate his canvas -- not with the appearance of mere general life -- but with that peculiar, distinctive life which separates the humblest individual from his kind. He seemed to dive into the thoughts of men -- for they were made to rise, and to speak on the surface.⁴²

What is important here, of course, is the distinction between the accidental and the permanent. Simple description of observable reality would do nothing more than capture the "accidents" that identify the particularity of something, not convey the greater universal truths, the ideal form, that lies hidden beneath the accidental appearance. The animating principle of Nature, like man's soul, is not a physically observable one. While Hawthorne, then, particularizes his setting with abundant physical description -- a cave mouth that entered into the heart of a rocky hill, a dense veil of tangled foliage about it, a low arch at its entrance, a roof hung with opaque icicles, etc. -- he animates it and gives it

permanence, that is, universality, by having it operate, not independently, but meaningfully within the context of man's existence.

Even while Richard Digby sits in his isolated cave, Hawthorne prepares the reader for the ensuing action and the concomitant understanding that should be drawn from this allegorical work. The icicles that formed within this cave "become as hard as adamant" and everything bathed by the moisture turns to stone. Contrast is offered between the sunny brook and the unnatural foliage and water within the cave. Each of these items becomes meaningfully related to the condition and purpose of Richard Digby. He too suffers an ailment, like nature in the cave, that calcifies particles within his heart.

Moreover, Digby will not leave his cave even for the fresh water of the stream. In this way, Hawthorne makes his setting fulfill more than backdrop purposes. It now acts as a representative contrast between Digby's condition and that of natural man. The cave, like Digby, is isolated, cold, and unnatural. The stream beyond is warm, fresh, and naturally good. When Mary Goffe returns to the stream and brings its life-giving sustenance to Richard, he refuses to drink, and, indeed, hurls the cup to the ground. By refusing to merge with his natural surroundings or with humankind, as seen in Mary Goffe, Richard typifies the condition of the righteous man who has withdrawn from the natural condition of man where sympathy and communion are the natural state.

This development in Hawthorne's artistic practice has elevated the allegorical nature of his work to incorporate greater metaphysical meaning. In the early tales, the setting contributed to the total impact in an almost exclusively emotional and atmospheric manner. In the tales of the middle years, the setting explicitly contributes to the philosophical meanings embodied in the narrative. They function no longer merely as backdrops, but as points of meaningful reference. They provide not merely the glow necessary for romance, but the substance of romance as well. The reality, the truth emblemized by the setting in "The Man of Adamant" is not the "accidents" of a dark and cold cave set in natural surroundings, but the condition of man when he removes himself from the communion of men -- from "the Friendship, and Love, and Piety" that is the natural state of all mankind.

b. Multiple Points of View: "The Minister's Black Veil"

When we turn our attention to the corresponding development of multiple points of view, we are not referring to Hawthorne's experimentation in the technical field of first- or third-person usage, but rather to the many perspectives with which he illuminates our understanding of an incident, an object, or an action within the "train of incidents." While most of the tales of the middle period reflect this development, two specifically from Twice-Told Tales illustrate it graphically: "David Swan" (1837) and "The Minister's Black Veil" (1836).

As we have already noted, Hawthorne's greater reliance after 1835 on the externalities of the actual world together with his heightened awareness of the uniqueness of individual perception forced him to drop the single-narrator perspective that dominated the tales prior to 1835. In those early tales the narrator's viewpoint alone, both visually (that is, physically) and philosophically or speculatively, directed the action of the tale. After 1835, however, he developed a narrator who had to allow for the existence of understandings of the narrative material other than his own. Indeed, one of the forceful realizations any tale from this period conveys is the simple fact that no precise, absolute viewpoint can be established about anything at all. This is not to say that Hawthorne introduces specific characters who contradict the viewpoint of the narrator; it means quite simply that the narrator is conscious that his understanding of events -- whether of characters, objects, actions, motives -- is neither the only one nor necessarily the correct one and, frequently, realizes that he does not fully understand what he is witnessing.

Both "The Minister's Black Veil" and "David Swan" illustrate this new facet of Hawthorne's art but from differing angles. The opening line of "David Swan" is something of a key to the tale and to this new perspective. Hawthorne's prior narrative angle, from the steeple in an omniscient Godlike pose, enabled him to create and direct the action and to give

it precise meaning. While he understood that there were truths hidden beneath the surface of reality, he did not really question the possibility of ascertaining them, at least through the speculative mind of the narrator.

But in "David Swan" with the statement "we can be but partially acquainted even with the events which actually influence our course through life, and our final destiny," Hawthorne opens the door to absolute uncertainty in a world (particularly when he places the action in the Puritan past) where absolutes determine the rightness or wrongness of man's actions. It is this uncertainty that is Hawthorne's real ambiguity, not his inability to take a position nor his supposed aesthetic desire to create stories in shadow.⁴³ Folsom comes close to making the same point when he says "the moral dimension of Hawthorne's art . . . becomes an aesthetic means to suggest the multiplicity of motives and explanations inherent in any human action, yet this moral dimension is purposely divorced from any final interpretation in terms of an ultimate reality."⁴⁴ Yet something of a final interpretation of ultimate reality results from these tales and from "David Swan," in particular, and that is the realization that man's destiny and his individual actions as well as his understanding of himself or anything at all are, by virtue of his nature, beyond his control and beyond his comprehension. This truth is not of disastrous effect on David Swan but it is on the souls of the characters in "The Minister's Black Veil."

We should remark, incidentally, at this point that the impact of this truth imparts the ultimate meaning of which each of the characters is emblematic. Only secondarily have they importance as characters that represent, as in "David Swan," love or death or riches, and only thirdly are they of value as a lovely girl or a wicked man or a wealthy merchant. The allegorical truth of the illustrative incidents is in that opening sentence.

"David Swan" is simply conceived and simply executed. David, like all men, must sleep. Yet even as he does, life goes on around him and can, in fact, involve him unawares. Indeed, the entire course of his existence can be altered without his knowledge or control. But even beyond this fact is the hauntingly real one that David can wake and know nothing of the opportunities or evils that attended him. And if we pursue these truths a little bit further, we realize that Hawthorne is suggesting or implying that a man can act in the conscious world out of unconscious motives derived indeed from states when he himself was unconscious. He implies this other facet of the "David Swan" tale, though he does not develop it here, when he says "and a deep sleep, perchance hiding dreams within its depths, fell upon David Swan. But we are to relate events which he did not dream of" (Works, I, 212).

The implications of Hawthorne's tale are immense. David sets out with a goal in mind and a means of achieving it. His

sleep is a conscious desire to satisfy a need before completing his journey. But David has little or no control over his destiny. Various and sundry people intrude upon David's sleep completely ignorant of his purposes and goal; yet they can affect the direction of his life. Furthermore, these people, with goals and purposes of their own, cannot even determine their own destiny. As the incidents recount, shame and even chance can obstruct the realization of prior determined ends.

In "David Swan" Hawthorne presents an incident which makes fundamentally clear that there are as many different understandings of a person as there are people who meet him. While the narrator interprets each of the incidents as they occur to David, the hidden truth which is the real meaning of the story is this: such absolute knowledge and understanding is not, in fact, possible. "Sleeping or waking, we hear not the airy footsteps of the strange things that almost happen" (Works, I, 218). But the romance writer, by creating a tale that captures what probably happens to each individual in the real world but for obvious reasons is never comprehended or realized, reflects through that tale a reality abstracted from the actual world. After reading "David Swan" one is able to speculate on what might have been or indeed what did happen, even to oneself, when one was asleep and unconscious of reality. It is for this reason that we cannot accept Folsom's comment that Melville was concerned with

grappling with the "unknowable reality that lies beneath the surface of things" "Hawthorne . . . was not really interested in any such grappling with existential principles which he was willing to accept on faith and hence to dismiss as subjects of artistic concern."⁴⁵

The impact of the opening sentence of "David Swan" and the "existential awareness" that it reflects bursts into full artistic beauty in "The Minister's Black Veil." Many scholars have entered the ranks to do battle with the symbolic meaning of Hawthorne's "Veil" and most have decried the ambiguity of the tale's meaning. Bewley, for example, states that the symbolic representation is not clear; yet he readily offers the meaning of the tale: "the horror of the imprisoned or isolated identity, which is what this story is about, is a recurrent theme in American Literature." In explanation of his understanding, Bewley says

If man lives in isolation . . . his perception of reality will be unshared, imprisoned in himself; there will be no communication between him and other men. But if there is a deeply shared sense of emotional and spiritual communion among them [men], their respective experiences of reality will merge or harmonize. They will be able to communicate what they see and feel and hear, and external reality will not be imprisoned, in the form of sense perceptions, in them.

According to Bewley one can break through this isolation in oneself

only through self-surrender, through a refusal to withhold oneself, or any part of one's personality, in a human relationship In the last analysis, this was what Hawthorne believed was the essence of human reality. The most compelling truth of all that Mr. Hooper tried to teach by means of his dismal veil is the necessity of

self-surrender as a means of entering into the inner sphere of reality. The black veil, of course, does not symbolize self-surrender in any positive sense. Its teaching is negative. It stands as a terrible warning to the parishioners.⁴⁶

Bewley contends here that Hawthorne believed that the essence of human reality depends on man's communicating with other men what he sees and feels and hears. Such communication would merge respective experiences of reality so that each individual's understanding of reality is not isolated in his own sense perceptions. For this contention to be valid, two things must be established beyond doubt: first, Reverend Hooper's act must be one of self-surrender, and second, to make Hooper's act purposeful, Hawthorne must believe that such a merging of respective experiences is possible.

Unfortunately, a careful reading of the tale shows that Hooper's act guarantees the opposite result -- a total suspension of communication and a diversification of experiences among the people. Although Hawthorne states, in Reverend Hooper's final speech, that the ideal goal of all men should be truth between friends and lovers and God, he does not state that such an accomplishment or ideal state can exist. He, as a matter of fact, qualifies that possibility with the impossibility of man's real nature. On every visage there is a veil. Thus the possibility in Hooper's remark, "'When the friend shows his inmost heart to his friend . . . then deem me a monster, for the symbol beneath which I have lived, and die!'" is no possibility at all and the veil symbolizes that

truth -- man does not act truthfully toward friend or lover or God. This truth of man's nature is what is hidden to man because men appear, on the face of it (pun intended), to convey such truthfulness. Thus only by such a unique device as a veil, which covers what supposedly reveals the truth, could the truth be made manifest.

Nothing is emphasized so strongly in this tale as the fact that no person can know the truth concerning another. If the people of the congregation look in ignorance upon the veiled face of Reverend Hooper, ignorant of the purpose and the "why" of the veil, then so does Hooper view their "pale" masks, ignorant of why they act the way they do, whether sinfully or not. Each member of the congregation establishes in his own mind his "truth" concerning the wearing of the veil: Goodman Gray says Hooper is mad; the Doctor claims something is amiss with his intellect; the old superstitious woman hints of sensuality; others hint of varying and sundry sins. But what is the truth concerning Mr. Hooper? With greater pertinence than in "David Swan," Hawthorne shows how a person, relying on his own faculties of sense and intellect, assuming certain absolutes regarding the proper behavior of man to be an established fact, and comprehending certain "manners" to be universally applicable to men in certain positions, establishes a truth in his mind and then proceeds to act in accordance with that truth. Hence, the parishioners, though they have arrived at their distinct understandings as

to why Hooper wears his veil, act in ways distinctly opposite from their former manner. "None, as on former occasions, aspired to the honor of walking by their pastor's side." Old Squire Saunders no longer invites the Reverend to dinner. Children run from him. Elizabeth refuses to marry him. Only the infirm and those near death call upon him. And even Rev. Mr. Clark damns his soul to perdition.

Nothing in the entire tale offers any hope that this truth concerning human nature will change. If even on his death bed his closest friends cannot respect Hooper's act, how can we assume that Hawthorne meant such communication to be possible of achievement? If man looks always through a veil, because as Hawthorne says "We can be but partially acquainted even with the events which actually influence our course through life . . .," and always sees things veiled for the same reason, and is himself always seen veiled by another veiled, then the black veil is only an object through which this hidden truth can be made manifest.

The horror of "The Minister's Black Veil" is not the veiled face of Mr. Hooper, but the fact that a man will act to destroy another man, or lie to deceive him, or slander to discredit him, or turn from him in fear or turn love to hate on the presumption that he knows the truth concerning another man. The righteous indignation of men, confirmed in illusion believed to be truth, corrodes the humanity that should

guide all men. How can one infer, then, that Hooper is surrendering himself? To whom is he surrendering? Who sees or feels or hears what he does? Even his beloved cannot share his response to experiences. Indeed, no two people are so constituted that such a merging of experiences is even possible. The meaning of the story is not whether Hooper should remove the veil so that openness might exist between him and others -- but to dramatize the fact that he cannot remove the veil -- nor can anyone else!

Together with the varying degrees of perception in "The Minister's Black Veil" is the development of Hawthorne's artistry in the use of setting. Leland Schubert talks of the opening paragraph of the tale as "a moving picture":

It is more than graphic; it is plastic. It has three dimensions. We see not just a series of figures moving across a flat canvas, but figures moving in space The street with the people or it is a spatial entity, three dimensional. The people are not just standing there; they are moving. The street is probably in front of the church-porch, and thus the picture acquires depth . . . church goes . . . move . . . into it picture.⁴⁷

Schubert's description emphasizes depth and movement but fails to show the implicit relative meaningfulness of this picture to the action of the tale. A careful look at each of the objects in this picture together with a consideration of the tale's content, as elaborated upon above, will show that the multifaceted viewpoint conveyed throughout the story is present implicitly in the opening picture.

The picture's immediate point of interest is the sexton on the porch of the meetinghouse, to which varying people are coming. There is, then, an established relationship between all the visible people and the church. Secondly, the old people come contrasted immediately with the children: the former stooped, grave, consciously dignified; the latter tripping merrily, bright faced, and mischievously mimicking their elders. Obviously, such a contrast is intended to convey meaning though none specifically related to the tale is offered by the narrator. Once we read the tale, we know, however, that the old damn the minister for suspected sin and the young, in a different kind of mimicry, run from him in fear. A second contrast, now between spruce bachelors and pretty maidens, is offered and this time a wry comment as well. The focal point of the picture is the meetinghouse, the place where the institution and beliefs of the Puritan dogma are concretized. The bell tolls throughout the picture, declaiming the importance of the time and the force, the power that directs these people. But the picture does not show people of natural expression going to a meeting out of obvious desire. The picture reveals deceitful old people, who, in the conscious dignity of their Sunday clothes, go to the meetinghouse out of a sense of duty. The children mimic their elders, thus establishing a non-interest in the seriousness of the occasion. The bachelors and maidens reflect attitudes contrary to the solemnity of the day. There can be no question that this picture details

the contrast between appearance and reality. No one within the community sees the deceit or would accept it as a fact; yet that is what is present. The occasion appears to be one in which the people come to pay homage humbly to their God; it reveals, in fact, people who hide the truth from God as they hide their true desires from each other.

We can fully expect, therefore, that when Hooper appears with his veil, these people will react predictably. The righteousness of their "Sunday" demeanor will be reflected in their righteous reaction to the minister's inexplicable behavior. The picture provides an instantaneous, though not explicitly stated or defined, existence for all ideas pertinent to the tale. When Hooper appears, therefore, the various people and the attitudes they reflect toward the veil are immediately present. Each person in the scene reacts, each reflecting some varied condition which responds now to this new and unexpected object.

This setting is significant because it typifies the growing use of setting as a more functional ingredient than heretofore. It is similar, in this respect, to the setting of "The Man of Adamant." Hawthorne has not yet arrived at the point where he will explicitly state the relationship of setting to the philosophical or moral implication, but the ingredients for this are now present. We find also that the calculated and mechanical setting of the early tale has given way to a more natural description. Hawthorne spends no time in detailed

description of the meetinghouse or its immediate vicinity. Instead he concentrates on the people: their ages, dress, facial expressions, movements, and sounds. He conveys an attitude; something expressive though not necessarily visually so. In these tales, as in others of this period, we find a growing relationship between the tale's content and the setting.

We need only to look at "The Maypole of Merry-Mount" (1836) to confirm this statement. Perhaps no tale of the period details relationships between setting and meaning as this one does. While a correspondence between meaning and setting is quite evident, the psychological forces in operation as described by Crews simply do not exist.⁴⁸ Hawthorne himself has footnoted the source of the Maypole description and states quite clearly, "The masques, mummeries, and festive customs, described in the text, are in accordance with the manners of the age. Authority on these points may be found in Strutt's Book of English Sports and Pastimes" (Works, I, 70). Crews would do well to psychoanalyze Strutt or the English who participated in such pastimes.

Hawthorne's setting establishes a correspondence between Merry Mount and its banner, the May Pole, and the natural loveliness of the area in addition to the attitudinal behavior of its inhabitants and the pastimes they pursue. But together with these positive attitudes, certain negative associations are wrought into the picture: the wild reverie of animal pleasures and gratifications and erring thought and perverted

wisdom. Contrasted with this panel is that devoted to the Puritan community and its banner, the whipping post. Here prayer, weapons, work, and gloom contend for dominance. Between these two forces would evolve "The future complexion of New England." Without question Hawthorne created these contrasting settings to image the corresponding sides of the New England character.

As in the other tales discussed in this section, the details of the description have specific reference: the English priest and Comus, the May Pole colonists and nimble spirits of the Golden Age, the green bough and the flowery union of two lovers, the May Pole and pleasure. But beyond this, the setting is allegorically meaningful as a representation of the dichotomies that contend for supremacy in man's nature and, in particular here, for the characteristics that will dominate the nature of the New Englander. To some degree the meaning of that dichotomy is best expressed when Hawthorne has the lover question "the mystery in my heart." When he questions the mirth in his heart, his consciousness of reality forces upon him the doom and care and troubled joy that are the lot of all men. Thus does Hawthorne fuse the two worlds of the Merry Mount community and the Puritans. Neither extreme is the lot of man, though man would have it so. Once again Hawthorne's setting becomes an implicit vehicle for conveying his thought.

c. *Dramatization of Romantic Thought*

The third ingredient of significance that developed in these years is the dramatization of romantic thought in some tales. This development is natural enough considering Hawthorne's propensity to work from the germ of an idea, usually of moral dimensions, and to seek to illustrate its multiple ramifications. During the years under consideration here, Hawthorne immersed himself in romantic thought, reading both Table Talk and Biographia Literaria by Coleridge, the works of Wordsworth, and the works of Byron.⁴⁹

There is nothing new in this suggestion. Folsom has stated concerning morals in particular, "The moral dimension of Hawthorne's art . . . becomes an aesthetic means to suggest the multiplicity of motives and explanations inherent in any human action, yet this moral dimension is purposely divorced from any final interpretation in terms of an ultimate reality."⁵⁰ In a similar vein, Davidson describes Hawthorne's process as indicative of an intense interest in how moral laws and their operation affected the creatures of his imagination. He goes on to illustrate how The Scarlet Letter is concerned with a moral law that was a convention of an age. The romance is, though Davidson never quite says it, a dramatization of the ramifications of that moral law on those present in the work.⁵¹

Of particular concern to this study, however, are those tales that reflect Hawthorne's thought about art, artists, and

the theory and practice of art. Here again critics have found that Hawthorne demonstrates an intense involvement in the dramatization of romantic thought. Jacobson most recently has referred to Hawthorne's extensive reading in this area and cites in particular "Hawthorne's concern with 'suggestiveness,' and with 'multeity in unity,'" as illustrations of his concern and samples of the ideas dealt with in the tales.⁵² Earlier Millicent Bell had alluded to Hawthorne's classical tendencies concerning art and the apparent "negative romanticism" expressed in "The Prophetic Pictures."⁵³

Before a proper understanding of this development can be offered, it will be necessary to spend some time considering Hawthorne's ideas as they developed out of his study of romantic thought. This study will corroborate Professor Peckham's statement that a knowledge of romantic ideas will enable the scholar to find "a key to individual works so that we can penetrate to the principles of their intellectual and aesthetic being."⁵⁴ Here we will limit ourselves to "The Prophetic Pictures," "Drowne's Wooden Image," and "The Artist of the Beautiful," and return in succeeding sections to consider chronologically the Notebooks and The Marble Faun.

A brief survey of each will illustrate, by way of introduction, Hawthorne's use of romantic thought. In "The Prophetic Pictures" Hawthorne's concern is with the concept of "negative romanticism." Peckham elucidates the term as "the expression of the attitudes, the feelings, and the ideas of

of a man who has left static mechanism but has not yet arrived at a reintegration of his thought and art in terms of dynamic organicism." Hawthorne's expression of this doctrine is based on the typical symbols used to reflect the negative romanticist: "guilt, despair, cosmic and social alienation,"⁵⁵ though he alters their importance by portraying them through the alienated artist. The "Painter" of this tale has withdrawn himself from humankind and has become cold of heart. Because of this dissociation the value of his vision of humanity can be questioned. Obviously, Peckham's "chronological" distinction between negative and positive romanticism with negative preceding positive does not concern Hawthorne. But the potential extension of the characteristics as they might develop in an individual does. If this individual (and the "Painter" and Miriam both exemplify this idea) never finds reason for confession, never reintegrates his thought along organic lines, never seeks to know a God, then this individual could, through an over-concentration on personal power, fail to arrive at the plateau of positive romanticism.

Six years later, Hawthorne dramatized the theory of positive romanticism in the person of Owen Warland. While Hawthorne very probably did not label his thought in such a precise manner, the sundry ingredients that constitute the concept of positive romanticism are discernible in the character and actions of Owen. Organicism, for example, identifies the universe as a constantly growing thing. The romanticist draws

an analogy between this understanding and the creative process within the mind and imagination of man: "The artist is that man with the power of bringing new aesthetic concepts into reality" ⁵⁶ Owen Warland is just such an artist. He continues to grow through three successive stages. Just as the concept of organicism accounted for the introduction of new objects into the universe, so does the artist, Warland, introduce "a novelty into the world." Through the introduction of his artistic creation, the fundamental character of the universe changes. That work, then, by its very nature, is unique.

Since each new work initiates such change, apprehension of truth seems impossible because nothing appears definite. This concept corresponds directly to those views expressed in Dunlap and Coleridge which, as we have already noted, influenced the multiple points of view Hawthorne brought into the tales of this period. To the romanticist, this realization meant, moreover, and very fundamentally, that reason was inadequate to explain nature and that truth must be "apprehended intuitively, imaginatively, spontaneously, with the whole personality, from the deep sources of the fountains that are within. The unconscious is really a postulate of the creative imagination." ⁵⁷ Obviously, when viewed from the perspective of the artist, the original idea, the original intuitive apprehension, possesses the most exact truth. Immediate expression of that idea, whether by the written word or a sketch

or a clay bust, captures the truth most accurately. For this reason Warland could be content with having achieved perfection in the conception even though its fulfillment in reality was destroyed.

Finally, in the last tale to deal exclusively with an artist as central figure, Hawthorne questions, in "Drowne's Wooden Image" (1844), the source of the intuition, the inspiration, the creative act. "Inspiration" to the romantic mind is an elusive concept, to some extent involved with semantic quibbling. Several romantic critics and poets, therefore, will use identical philosophical and literary terminology in their expression of the creative process but, upon careful reading, varying usages and meanings becomes evident.

Coleridge, for instance, conceived imagination as the faculty which creates new images with the material of the fancy. The imagination, an internal force originating within the mind, is divided into two types, alike in kind, but differing in degree. The Primary Imagination, a power which provides man with perception and understanding, is the human likeness of the greater capacity in the divine. We have already noted that Hawthorne, in "Sights from a Steeple," yearned for a greater extension of this primary ability, especially if he as artist was to fulfill the needs of the romance writer. The Secondary Imagination, on the other hand, differing in degree because it is not directed to universals and differing in mode of operation because it dissolves and dissipates its

materials in order to modify and reshape them for artistic purposes, can be evoked by the conscious will. The artist's imagination is used in an attempt to balance opposite and discordant qualities and properties which are a facet of the dynamic order of the universe.⁵⁸

Coleridge conceives of the imagination as guided by the conscious will.

In contrast to this, Percy Bysshe Shelley viewed the creative process as not conscious and not controlled by the will. According to this view, the creative impetus is an inspiration. The creative impetus, then, is of unaccountable origin; it is not the product of labor or study, toil or delay; and how it comes to expression is not certain.⁵⁹ The unconscious and involuntary aspects of Shelley's concept of inspiration are, of course, of vast importance when we consider Hawthorne's philosophical attitude in "Drowne's Wooden Image."

A third figure of conspicuous importance in Hawthorne's studied distillation of romantic thought was, quite naturally, Ralph Waldo Emerson. Emerson's theory of the creative process in poetry might be conveniently discussed under two large headings.

1. The fundamentally symbolic nature of all artistic expression.

2. The organic quality in all great works of art.⁶⁰

Emerson believed and emphasized consistently the partial and incomplete nature of mere images. In "The Poet," he quotes

Jamblichus: "'Things more excellent than every image can be expressed through images.'" ⁶¹ That is, behind every pictorial image there lies a more meaningful "symbol" which suggests the "thought" or "argument." This suggestion goes beyond the mere surface meaning of the image presented. Yet the "argument" must remain symbolic, implicit, and "presentational." That is, the poet must not revert in his "argument" to the logical, the explicit, and the "discursive." The "thought," which is both implied and suggested in the symbol, can never be apprehended by mere logic, but rather, must be seized intuitively.

We have already witnessed to some extent Hawthorne's development in this direction. Hawthorne's utilization of pictorial imagery, especially in his settings, has evolved toward an implicit meaningful picture that complements by extension or diffusion the philosophical or moral implications of the tale's content. We will notice hereafter that Hawthorne will gradually alter the implication of this pictorial representation in such a way that, contrary to Emerson, an explicit expressiveness will be made although Hawthorne retains the "ambiguity" that must exist since direct apprehension of truth is impossible.

The second part of Emerson's theory, the organic quality in all great works of art, is based on the concept that art is largely intuitive. According to this concept, a work of art will develop organically in the mind of the creator, in his

imagination "expressing the idea that potentially pre-exists in the symbol." The basis of this theory resides, of course, in Plato's concept of pre-existent, archetypal ideas.

To some extent Folsom has probed Hawthorne's understanding of this idea in his contrast of Miriam and Hilda: "Miriam . . . does not possess Hilda's gift of intuitive and super-rational penetration into the Nature of the Ideal." Folsom suggests that Hawthorne's idea of art seems to be "an imitation of an Ideal form, but not basically a purely mechanical imitation, and not subject to rational analysis."⁶² Emerson's pre-existent idea in each symbol finds a degree of correspondence in Hawthorne's statement on language: "Words -- so innocent and powerless as they are, as standing in a dictionary, how potent for good and evil they become, in the hands of one who knows how to use them" (*Works*, IX, 122). This thought has pertinence to Hawthorne's unexpressed understanding of multiple viewpoints and to his unexpressed understanding of the multi-faceted meaning of each symbol.

The prime difficulty, however, that Emerson faced in his organic theory was a very practical one. An artist, be he poet or sculptor, does not create all at once, but rather, chisels the head first while the remainder of the marble is merely formless matter. Nature, on the other hand, creates organically. The question obviously is, how can the comparison on an organic basis be drawn? Emerson solved the difficulty by

conceiving works of art as "spiritually reproductive" in contrast to nature's "organic reproduction."⁶³

Emerson's theory falls into three parts. According to the theory, a work of art should resemble or imitate projects and patterns of nature. Secondly, the theory upholds "the development of details in a work according to one controlling purpose." Consequently, it attacks ornamentation, emphasis on rhyme in verse, and decoration in architecture, all qualities which had been emphasized during the Neo-Classic period. Finally, the theory states that form should be dictated by inner purpose. It is not, then, the classical unities or the neo-classical rules of art that dictate form but, rather, the creative insight of the artist. Thus the completed work, organic in nature, should in turn produce upon the observer an impression similar to that experienced by the artist.⁶⁴

Emerson's conception of form as dictated by an inner purpose rests on the organic theory as expressed by Coleridge. "The organic form," according to Coleridge, "is innate; it shapes, as it develops, itself from within"⁶⁵

This, then, is the foundation of Emerson's organic theory. The poet's "thought" is supreme, and its only vehicle of expression is nature, or if you will, the beautiful. Accordingly, the objects of nature, all sensuous facts, are symbols of the poet's "thoughts." And conversely, the poet must relate his thought to the appropriate symbol or mass of symbols. "The great poet shows the equivalence of symbolical value, he can reveal spiritual meaning, or beauty in all of nature."⁶⁶

Emerson's theory, therefore, rests upon language, or more significantly, upon the poet as the Namer or Language Maker. It follows, then, that "the origin of most of our words . . . was at first a stroke of genius, and obtained currency because for the moment it symbolized the world to the first speaker and to the hearer."⁶⁷ Over the centuries, however, the original meaning of the language has changed and no longer resembles its poetic origin. The poet, receiving the "divine hint" from the spirit "comes one step nearer to it [the poetic origin] than any other."⁶⁸ By an ulterior intellectual perception he

turns the world to glass, and shows us all things in their right series and procession. He stands one step nearer to things and sees the flowing or metamorphosis. That thought is multiform, that within the form of every creature is a force impelling it to ascend into a higher form, and following with his eyes the life, uses the forms which express that life, and so his flows with the flowing of nature.⁶⁹

From a certain angle one can see in Emerson's vision of language an understanding not far different from the medievalists' concept of symbol. We have already noted how Hawthorne's view leans in this direction. While Hawthorne never reaches the point where one could say, as we might of Emerson, that everything is a "theophany," a manifestation of God, we might consider Hawthorne's utilization of symbol as a means of transcending human experience the better to reveal the common nature of man. There is suggestion of this in The Marble Faun when Hawthorne comments that the catacomb

itself acts as an imaginative force to generate or conjure up the dark unmitigated evil of the model, and connects him mythically with Memmius, the Roman spy who lurked in the catacomb to betray the outlawed Christians (Works, VI, 48).

Shelley somewhat anticipated Emerson's theory though he did not plumb the metaphysical depths as Emerson did. Shelley, like Emerson, held that those who perceive more deeply and express more sensitively are poets. Their language is vitally metaphorical.⁷⁰ Emerson placed man in the center of existence, and as a result all things work in relation to him. The poet, as representative man, sees things metaphorically, speaks from behind a mask, and consequently, all expression is indirect. Literature, then, is a mirror for man himself, and exists most vitally in the multiform connotation of the symbol.

We have already indicated how Hawthorne in "Sights from a Steeple" and "Night Sketches" reflects similar attitudes. These tales did not dramatize these concepts so much as they explicitly stated the author's position regarding the writer. Should we attempt to carry these evolutionary trends in romantic thought even further, we might apply here as well the logic in Keats' notion of "Negative Capability."

According to this concept, the artist (poet) surrenders himself completely to his subject, in order to achieve the essence of that subject in his artistic expression. Moreover, this surrender is not willful; when confronted with the proper stimuli, the artist involuntarily submits. In this respect

(that is, in the creative impetus arising from uncontrolled sources), Hazlitt, Shelley, and Keats all agree.⁷¹

How Hawthorne utilized these concepts concerning the creative process is the purpose of this section of our study. While we are tracing the development of Hawthorne's artistic theory in what amounts to a chronological way, it will be easier to place the three tales specifically concerned with artists and with the dramatization of artistic theory together even though they cover a six-year span between them. Peculiarly enough, none of these tales relies heavily on setting. There is in fact a minimal amount of setting in all three. Our concern is specifically related to Hawthorne's new development of dramatizing romantic thought through his "archetypal" characters and their actions. The importance of such characters, as Tharpe has shown, can be readily appreciated because of the broader function the archetypal can serve as representative of man's nature and the mysterious forces that motivate him.⁷²

"The Prophetic Pictures" (1837)

"The Prophetic Pictures" dramatizes the essential paradox of the creative act in romantic thought. Mary E. Dichmann states the problem this way: "Hawthorne seems to have felt [the act of artistic creation] is man's most spiritual achievement, while at the same time it impels the artist by virtue of his very artistry towards the unpardonable sin, the violation of the human heart."⁷³ Miss Dichmann asserts, consequently, that

in Hawthorne's writing there is an ambivalent attitude between his aesthetic theory and the artist's position in the social order.

Hawthorne's "Painter" is, indeed, a most curious individual: "He not only excels in his peculiar art, but possesses vast acquirements in all other learning and science." He is, then, a person who not only possesses vast specialization, but one who also encompasses all fields, one who can meet "the best instructed man among us, on his own ground . . . a true cosmopolite." He is the representative of that gifted and unique individual in whom all men can find "a mirror of themselves" (*Works*, I, 192). In such wise Miss Dichmann can speak of him as transcending the individual and becoming in fact a representation of the universal.

The particular importance of this "Painter" resides in his allegorical significance. Hawthorne does not at any moment in the story fully describe the physical features of his "Painter." This omission is, certainly, intentional. Miss Dichmann feels that "this hint of unreality about the painter reinforces our conception of him as a disembodied force" ⁷⁴ But the intention is much more than this. Since Hawthorne intends that his figure represent the universal, the "Painter" cannot be individualized with particular physical features. The "Painter," like Emerson's "Poet," is representative. "He stands among partial men for the complete man, and apprises us not of his wealth, but of the common wealth." ⁷⁵

He is, then, the ideal artist. As the "mirror of all men" he contains within himself the ability to reflect the soul of all men.⁷⁶ As "container" he possesses the ability to burst the appearance of superficial reality and "externalize the soul." It is this romantic concept of disparity that Hawthorne embodied in his "Painter."

The "Ideal Painter," then, is one who is not deceived by the appearance of things, for the appearance of sensuous objects can lead to error. It is not, in Kant's terms, the "Phenomena" that possess truth but the object itself which cannot be known by the senses alone. "There are deceptions of the senses, deceptions of the passions, and the structural, beneficent illusions of sentiment and of the intellect," says Emerson. It is not sufficient, therefore, merely to look upon a thing to represent it, but to get to the nature of the thing. "The permanent interest of every man is never to be in a false position, but to have the weight of nature to back him in all that he does."⁷⁷ Consider, then, the direction which Hawthorne gives to his artist: "he paints not merely a man's features, but his mind and heart. He catches the secret sentiments and passions, and throws them upon the canvas, like sunshine." And in order to attain this phenomenal ability, this artist has visited and studied Nature uncontaminated. "He had therefore visited a world, whither none of his professional brethren had preceded him, to feast his eyes on visible images, that were noble and picturesque, yet had never been

transferred to canvas." All of this to capture the true reality behind the artificial, for what was common he would not paint, but what was uncommon he would transform diligently, giving external life to what would soon be dust. It is the duty of the true artist to "look beneath the exterior. It is his gift . . . to see the inmost soul, and by a power indefinable even to himself to make it glow in or darken upon the canvas, in glances that express the thought and sentiment of years" (Works, I, 193, 202).

The true artist, then, in committing the portrait to canvas, transcends the human and enters the realm of the Divine. For in his work he has given immortality to the subject and has, moreover, "recreated the souls as well as the bodies of his originals."⁷⁸

Oh, glorious Art! . . . Thou art the image of the Creator's own. The innumerable forms, that wander in nothingness, start into being at thy beck. The dead live again. Thou recallest them to their old scenes, and givest their gray shadows the lustre of a better life, at once earthly and immortal. Thou snatchest back the fleeting moments of History. With thee, there is no Past; for, at thy touch, all that is great becomes forever present; and illustrious men live through long ages, in the visible performance of the very deeds which made them what they are. Oh, potent Art! As thou bringest the faintly revealed Past to stand in that narrow strip of sunlight, which we call Now, canst thou summon the shrouded Future to meet her there? Have I not achieved it! Am I not thy Prophet? (Works, I, 207)

The artist's work, then, is an original creation, for by it, he has contributed something unique to the world. He has captured, contained, and communicated a truth that could only

be apprehended with his whole personality -- intuitively, imaginatively, spontaneously. This, of course, is the romantic's notion of the artist.

It is interesting, however, that Hawthorne did not permit his artist to remain in a pure state of romantic idealism. Indeed, he cast such a shadow of doubt and ambiguity over him that we wonder whether Hawthorne had any true faith in the romantic ideal at all. It is conceivable, of course, that Hawthorne cast shadows of evil and magic simply for dramatic effect, but, whether or not, the problem still exists that Hawthorne's "Painter" enters very near the pit where Chillingworth, Rappaccini, and Elliston writhe in eternal torture.

The question of magic arises from the ignorant and superstitious; the question of evil arises in Hawthorne himself. And indeed, it is a legitimate question for Hawthorne to raise concerning the romantic artists. If this "Painter" has such supernatural abilities, if his sensual, perceptual, and intellectual faculties are of such magnitude, then is it not also true that he stands alone "isolated among his contemporaries by truth and by his art"⁷⁹ and as a consequence "no living creature could be brought near enough to keep him warm" (Works, I, 206)? By the very nature of his work, to pry into the very souls of things, to reach into the darkness and illuminate it, by this is he not to be feared? Is it not true that by the nature of his profession he has withdrawn himself from human kind, become cold of heart, inquisitive

of mind, unsympathetic of nature? Does not this one engrossing superhuman purpose lead to the same end as that engrossing purpose which led Chillingworth to his doom? Is there not evil present when a man dissociates himself from humanity and redirects himself to a self-motivating power? These considerations tend to cast "a doubt over the value of his [artist's] vision for mankind: if it is Satanic in its origins, its revelation of the universal truths which lie buried in material substance may lead men to evil rather than to good."⁸⁰

What Hawthorne seems to be doing, therefore, is to create a new symbol of negative romanticism. That is, he is attempting to depict the potential evil inherent in the romantic ideal by presenting us with an individual who has committed no evil in the past, who does not feel guilt or despair or cosmic and social alienation, but who, through his work, has the potential to create evil, who is in effect socially alienated, and one who, because for him his work becomes more important than God's, becomes a wanderer over the face of the earth.⁸¹ This is not, of course, the usual depiction of negative romanticism as exemplified by Ahab, but it is, nonetheless, a negative approach to the romantic ideal. The evil resides in an egotistical concentration resulting in a withdrawal from humanity and an existence dependent solely on one's own ideas. For Hawthorne, the Ideal Artist does not "cherish a solitary ambition. Unless there be those around him, by whose example he may regulate himself" (Works, I, 207).

The conclusion to be drawn from this study is simply this. Hawthorne's allegorical "Painter" is one who is the embodiment of philosophical romantic ideas concerning art and artists. It is not in any way an expression necessarily of personal values achieved through self-knowledge and appreciation.

While we have been concerned here with Hawthorne's characterization of romantic thought, we should not lose sight of Hawthorne's method of distilling his material in such a manner that the primary concentrated and "hidden" truth becomes illuminated. Hawthorne cites Dunlap's History as the source of his idea for "The Prophetic Pictures." What he does not tell the reader is that the incident that inspired him happened to Stuart. The incident is short enough and significant enough to be quoted here in full. Dunlap recounts a story told to him by Judge Hopkinson:

Lord Mulgrave, whose name was Phipps, employed Stuart to paint the portrait of his brother, General Phipps, previous to his going abroad. On seeing the picture, which he did not until it was finished, Mulgrave exclaimed, 'What is this? -- this is very strange!' and stood gazing at the portrait. 'I have painted your brother as I saw him,' said the artist. 'I see insanity in that face,' was the brother's remark. The General went to India, and the first account his brother had of him was that of suicide from insanity. He went mad and cut his throat. It is thus that the real portrait painter dives into the recesses of his sitter's minds, and displays strength or weakness upon the surface of his canvas. The mechanic makes a map of a man.⁸²

Hawthorne focused on one facet of this incident. To dramatize it, he had to remove its particularity, its concrete relationship to a known artist. If he was to convey the fact that

an artist "sees" truth behind appearances or deeper truth than others beyond surface reality, then he could not have the tale recount an act already performed by a known artist. Thus he creates a "Painter" who has no name. Even more, he makes him a man of mystery, removed to a clime inhospitable to art, surrounded by insignificant people who cannot comprehend the "cultured" view of art. This total distillation of the significance of the "real" incident with Stuart, Lord Mulgrave, General Phipps, and a cultured civilized people to the "fictitious" frontier, a nameless painter, and two insignificant young people concentrates the attention on the "fact," the "truth" of the insight, the degree of perception and its achievement and expression through the creative act.

Perhaps this account of Hawthorne's "method" will help establish the necessity of altering the conventional understanding of symbol and allegory if we are to comprehend and truly appreciate Hawthorne. Symbolic meaning in Hawthorne's tales and romances, especially in those written from the middle years on, must be accepted as the multi-faceted truths that lie imbedded in the surface emblem. Allegorical meaning must refer to the totality of the tale's impression as it concentrates or focuses on a universally applicable matter relating to human nature, but which, when applied to individual experience, becomes diffuse, apparently inapplicable, unexplainable, and incomprehensible. Man has, universally,

recognized the penetrating and awesome perception of the creative artist; but to comprehend that power, as it exists in an artist, that is the mystery.

"The Artist of the Beautiful" (1843)

Hawthorne did not attempt another discussion of the artist until 1844 with the publication of "The Artist of the Beautiful." Richard B. Davis suggests that this tale arose from two notes made by Hawthorne:

To represent a man as spending life and the intensest labor in the accomplishment of some mechanical trifle, -- as in making a miniature work to be drawn by fleas, or a dinner service to be put in a cherrystone.

I cannot account for them [butterflies], unless they are the lovely fantasies of the mind.⁸³

This work might be considered a continuation of Hawthorne's concern with the romantic notion of the artist. Indeed, R. H. Fogle says it is a romantic apologia for the artist, which concludes by affirming his moral superiority to all other conceivable categories of humanity:

A Romantic affirmation of the value of art and of the spiritual pre-eminence of the artist's imagination, which intuitively penetrates to highest Goodness, Truth and Beauty. In this story belief, idealism, and love of beauty are exalted by being contrasted with materialist skepticism and mere utility.⁸⁴

The work is as much concerned with romantic doctrine as it is with the difficulties of Owen Warland's life. It is, in another sense, a positive approach to romantic ideas in contrast to the implied negative approach of "The Prophetic

Pictures." While this contrast is present, certain similarities should not be overlooked. Warland is as much isolated in his society as the "Painter" is in his. But his isolation, unlike the "Painter's," is one which he does not will upon himself until he sees and understands the absolute need for it. His own nature has been regulated by those about him, and as a consequence he does not lose touch with humanity. His is not, then, a fallen nature with a potential for evil. Indeed he cannot, by the very nature of his work, violate the human heart, the unpardonable sin, since his work does not necessitate an intrusion into the souls of men. Fogle makes this point exceptionally clear:

The fact that Warland is a watchmaker lessens his dignity. The worker with mechanisms is soiled by the touch, even though he transforms his materials to living beauty. We cannot wholly forget the artisan in the artist. Warland is nearly unique in Hawthorne's work in that he successfully executes his ideal conception, and one cannot avoid considering that his success is partly due to the slightness of the archetype. He is unique in another respect: because of the peculiar nature of his art he runs no risk of violating the human spirit, as do those who imitate the human form or delve into human psychology.⁸⁵

But, of course, this is not Hawthorne's final statement on the artist, as we are attempting to show. It is rather a further development of his consideration of the romantic artist. Yet there are critics of Hawthorne who fail to account for a developing artistic theory. Millicent Bell, for example, claims Hawthorne saw from "The Prophetic Pictures" through The

Marble Faun the negative side of romanticism. It is a view, she says, compounded of romantic and transcendental aesthetics and personal reaction to everyday life. Hawthorne, however, though he subscribes ostensibly to the romantic doctrines, subconsciously or implicitly counters them with what Bell terms "Anti-Romantic Patterns."⁸⁶

But the heart of the problem lies in Miss Bell's over-emphasis on negative romanticism. She is determined to show that Hawthorne condemned the artist because he lost contact with common man in an attempt to gain almost supernal powers. She even goes so far as to ~~assert~~ that Hawthorne himself was a negative romanticist, though it is hard to understand this point if we accept Peckham's definition.⁸⁷ Her statement that Hawthorne's negative romanticism expressed itself in the "melancholy artist-figure," one not hailed as a seer by his fellowman but an outcast, or perhaps a criminal (for example, Fanshawe and Warland), is stretching a point. Romantic aesthetics (even positive) held that the artist was beyond society's comprehension -- an outcast, solitary figure; it further established the negative artist as different in that he personally was cold of heart and willfully removed from society (Hawthorne added the indictment that he could influence directly those about him). Only the "Painter" and Miriam fulfill these requirements -- Owen certainly does not.

Furthermore, Miss Bell asserts that there is always the possibility of an evil source for inspiration. That possibility

exists in Hawthorne, but is not present or expressed in Drowne or Owen except as idle comment made by uncomprehending townspeople, not seriously by Hawthorne. She speaks further along this line when she says the "Painter" represents "black magic" and Owen is in effect the seer-poet of "white magic." This is true, but it does not corroborate Miss Bell's own idea that Owen is subtly scorned by Hawthorne. While she points out that all of Hawthorne's artists have gained their power by the sacrifice of some essential element of heart, she does not indicate where this occurred in Drowne. Indeed, she points out that it was love that made his power.⁸⁸

All of the above problems might be considered only circumstantial proof pointing to possible contradictions and irresolutions in Miss Bell's thesis. The outstanding argument against her contention that Hawthorne had a consistent view throughout can be seen by examining her interpretation of "The Artist of the Beautiful."

Miss Bell contends that Hawthorne supplies subtle irony in the tale by contrasting "comely strength" with weakness. Hawthorne is, therefore, implying that Owen's work is unimportant. But, Miss Bell forgets here the two notes for the tale that Davis indicated. In them there was no implication of the contrast Miss Bell sees. Since his work is unimportant, according to Bell, it does not concern itself with human experience. Hawthorne chose the butterfly for just this reason -- to keep Warland free of the results of mingling with humanity.

Besides, the very fact that he could look on the destruction of his work without tragic effect (because he possessed the idea) excludes the possibility of the reader's having undue sympathy for him. Even if we do not consider all of Hawthorne's remarks discounting the importance of physical size in the art object as long as the conception is fulfilled, even then Bell's hypothesis is farfetched. She understands Hawthorne's description of the child as complimentary -- yet "moulded out of the densest substance" implies lifeless, thick, not spiritual, material, of time, corruptible, like Old Hovendon (as Hawthorne himself says). There is nothing in him of spirit -- though Bell finds him spiritual somehow. And indeed she must if she is to substantiate that Hawthorne here, as in "The Prophetic Pictures," was condemning the artist.

Hawthorne is searching in "The Artist of the Beautiful" for an expression of positive romanticism, not, as Bell asserts, trying to show that a search for the Beautiful alone is unimportant. Furthermore, Bell states that Owen chose to sever himself from the forge and the hearth and "to pursue the isolate aims of the Head." This is not exactly true. He had little choice in the matter. From the very beginning of the story it was obvious for two reasons that he could not win Annie: Hawthorne made him physically and mentally unapproachable and undesirable, as one chooses, and secondly, Annie had married Robert Danforth with little thought for Owen. Indeed, Owen does not desire to place a non-human object above

the dictates of his affection as he is forced to, even though he would prefer otherwise.

It is enlightening, then, when we read footnote two to Chapter IV that the view Bell has given of "The Artist of the Beautiful" is more in keeping with "Hawthorne's own view of the artist." This view, according to Bell, is the following: "Hawthorne proposes, only to reject, the romantic exaltation of the artist, which is based upon the assumed superiority of the Imagination over other faculties, and of the higher claims of ideality, externity, and beauty." Owen illustrates, then, one further example of this rejection since Hawthorne views "him as an alien, albeit a harmless one, at the warm hearth of human values, making no contribution there, for all his exalted connection with the supernal. And this judgment -- essentially a stern one -- is finally made, I believe, without equivocation."

It would appear, therefore, that because Bell understands Hawthorne to have this particular view of the artist, she has to manipulate the story to make it fit her preconceived pattern. However, if we understand that Hawthorne's views changed over the years, we realize that it is not necessary to expand the story to fit the view. Again, in another footnote, Bell asserts that Owen is a Faust figure for "having bargained for the occult powers of the mind . . . and paid the price of dehumanization. He is not 'saved' in the end . . . but 'damned' for being unable to love."⁸⁹

This is nonsense. Owen certainly loved even if there was no reciprocation. Besides, where did he bargain? What dehumanization? He was accepted at the end, albeit as an eccentric, but not feared like the "Painter." And finally, where is he damned except in Miss Bell's mind?

Bell concludes her discussion of Owen by stating that when he is compared with the "Painter" of "The Prophetic Pictures," there is a great similarity. The two tales are "discovered to be different views of the same personality."⁹⁰ How can this be true when Hawthorne does not even broach the possibility of love for the "Painter" of "The Prophetic Pictures"? The "Painter" nowhere defects from his true purpose. The "Painter" is clouded in an ambiguity that Owen never approaches. He works directly with humanity and can guide its destiny -- Owen does not. He directly affects the lives of those about him -- Owen again does not.

I think there is sufficient refutation here to warrant the conclusion that Owen and the "Painter" represent entirely different studies. Hawthorne does not have a consistent view but is indeed dramatizing a variety of views, views expressed by romantic aesthetics. In short, condemnation of the artist's potentially evil practice is suggested in the "Painter" but does not pervade Hawthorne's thought on the artist until The Marble Faun brings up the matter once again. In the intervening tales, "The Artist of the Beautiful" and "Drowne's Wooden Image," he is concerned with other aspects of the

romantic view. These same romantic views erupt again in The Marble Faun. Thus Bell's assertion that Hawthorne's artist-character was one withdrawn from society and one who was penetrating the soul of man for knowledge is true of only some of his artists. For example, Owen does not meddle with humanity, Hilda does not, Drowne does not -- yet each is an artist. They are different in this respect from the "Painter," Miriam, Holgrave, and Coverdale.

When Hawthorne permits the artist to delve into human talent, imagination, and sensitivity, as he does in "The Prophetic Pictures," and "Drowne's Wooden Image," he also permits him to violate the human heart by submitting to isolation and egoistic concentration or to rise above violation through his own will.

Hawthorne's treatment, consequently, of Owen Warland's situation is of great interest when contrasted to that of the "Painter." We have already noted that the "Painter" was not placed in a social situation which permitted him to mature in his profession. We met this artist "full blown," so to speak, with only flashbacks as a means of understanding his progression. Warland's situation is entirely different. Our first glimpse of Owen is through the eyes of his former master, Peter Hovendon. And from this first glimpse to the end of the story, Warland progresses through a series of stages that finally enables him to attain the beautiful. "The Artist of the Beautiful" is, in a very real sense, the adaptation, through archetypal

characters, of the positive romantic philosophy of imperfection, change, growth, diversity, creative imagination, and the unconscious. That is, *Warland* is a dramatization of the positive approach to romantic concepts concerning artists in much the same way as the "Painter" is the negative approach.

Should the tale be viewed in this manner, it becomes evident that each of the three climaxes and denouements are important. Each permits Owen Warland the opportunity to surmount some obstacle that would tend to obstruct the path of his ultimate goal. At the same time each permits him to approach closer to the spiritual realm of art and, thus, through a step-by-step method, to attain the pure atmosphere of detachment necessary for creating the beautiful. Hawthorne wrote in his Notebooks, September 25, 1841, "The intrusion of an outward necessity into labors of the imagination and intellect is, to me, very painful . . ." (Works, IX, 242). In the first of these climaxes Warland is confronted by the symbol of brute force, Robert Danforth. The influence of this force obscures his perception and causes the first ruin of his labor. Hawthorne observes:

Thus it is that ideas, which grow up within the imagination and appear so lovely to it and of a value beyond whatever men call valuable, are exposed to be shattered and uninitiated by contact with the practical. It is requisite for the ideal artist to possess a force of character that seems hardly compatible with its delicacy; he must keep his faith in himself while the incredulous world assails him with its utter

disbelief; he must stand up against mankind and be his own sole disciple, both respects his genius and the objects to which it is directed. (Works, II, 512)

Following this climax Owen falls into a period of stupor, indicating that he has succumbed to the brute force represented by Danforth. Over a period of time, however, he gradually renews the work he had so spontaneously destroyed.

For there is an innate tendency in the soul of the true artist that enables him to strive, even through adversity, for the end purpose of his life. Owen spent this time chasing butterflies, "an apt emblem of the ideal pursuit in which he had spent so many golden hours." This emblem is appropriate, as Foster points out, for Hawthorne probably recalled here the Greek association of Psyche or Soul with the butterfly. And just as Warland's final achievement is one with himself, so "the symbol should become the individual associated with it."⁹¹ The question later put by Annie, "Is it alive?" takes on greater significance through this association. For there is life in the butterfly because it symbolizes Warland's soul and as such indicates that as an artist he "rose high enough to achieve the beautiful, the symbol by which he made it perceptible to mortal senses became of little value in his eyes while his spirit possessed itself in the enjoyment of the reality" (Works, II, 536).

But this chasing of butterflies and the contentment derived from it are not sufficient to sustain the artist's

desire for the beautiful. The true artist must give external and material evidence of his quests, and thus it is that Warland again begins to labor at his mechanism. At this point the second climax occurs. This climax is most important for it confronts Warland with the possibility of achieving human love, in the form of Annie Hovenden, and thus potentially uniting him with humanity. Should Annie meet Warland's expectations, then to pursue his desires for the beautiful in this minute mechanism would seem superficial. Again, should Annie fail to meet his expectations, then the blow suffered by his ideals might either send him to mental ruin, or send him back "upon his sole remaining object." Both alternatives, of course, are disastrous. What Warland must face, as must all artists, is that "persons whose pursuits are insulated from the common business of life -- who are either in advance of mankind or apart from it," must remain separated from their societies while remaining regulated by them.

The consequence of Warland's sympathetic yearning is a reversal of his work and a turning to more materialistic pleasures. What Owen's progress to this point has shown is that an artist cannot successfully deviate from his true nature if he wishes to attain his specific end. This question of deviation is suggested by Hawthorne when he says: "But when the ethereal portion of a man of genius is obscured, the earthly part assumes an influence the more uncontrollable,

because the character is now thrown off the balance to which Providence had so nicely adjusted it, and which, in coarser natures, is adjusted by some other method" (Works, II, 519).

Warland's predicament is resolved in a uniquely romantic manner. His often halted pursuit of the beautiful is resumed once again in the intrusion of a "bright butterfly, which had come so spirit-like" that it "was indeed a spirit commissioned to recall him to the pure, ideal life that had so etherealized him among men" (Works, II, 520-521). This inspiration opens for Warland an intense period of concentration on his pursuit. And throughout this pursuit he is considered mad by the townspeople -- an explanation of the artist's diligence which the insensible and unsympathetic often find satisfactory, an explanation which Hawthorne, with some scorn, states both here, in "The Prophetic Pictures," and in "Drowne's Wooden Image."

The third climax, however, is a near repetition of the first; yet it symbolizes not brute force but materialism and the practical in the person of Peter Hovenden. Indeed, Hovenden represents for Warland his "evil genius." Should Warland be able to fling aside the coarseness and hardness that this person represents, then he can achieve "the task [~~he~~] was created for." But, in fact, Owen still clings to vague dreams of Annie, and it is Hovenden's visit which finally dashes these hopes to the ground. This persistence in clinging to some element of material reward necessitates, according to

romantic philosophy, the destruction of Warland's labor, for he has not given himself entirely to his art. Hovenden's visit with his unsympathetic and practical outlook is the hammer that destroys Owen's work.

The result of this third climax is the destruction of Warland's idealism. "He had lost his faith in the invisible, and now prided himself, as such unfortunates invariably do, in the wisdom which rejected much that even his eye could see, and trusted confidently in nothing but what his hand could touch" (Works, II, 525). But his spirit only slept. And again with the visit of the butterfly he approaches his labors with new vigor. Now, however, he is free from all touch with material existence. He is self-reliant -- a being of "thought, imagination and keenest sensibility." His life has been regulated by his environment; his ties with humanity were not destructive ties; his purpose is manifest. His genius is that he can now recognize that art is valuable as a manifestation of the spirit, without utility, but in and for itself. And consequently, "it was his future . . . to achieve the purpose of his life" (Works, II, 526-527). Contrary to Bewley's speculation that "The Artist of the Beautiful" "demonstrates Hawthorne's inability to reconcile the role of artist and citizen in the context of American society, or to make a workable creative marriage between solitude and society," it is apparent from our discussion that Owen's solitude and object d'art are intentional devices used by Hawthorne to dramatize romantic ideas.⁹²

Of importance here is the fact that "The Artist of the Beautiful" is, as Warland's carving on the jewel box expresses, the story of the artist's search for the perfect state of creation. The artist is the boy in pursuit of the butterfly, which moves heavenward while the boy moves from earth to cloud to heaven in fanciful pursuit -- till the beautiful is attained. Thus Hawthorne brings us from an imperfect state, through growth, to the unconscious, a portion of the mind through which something new in the form of art and ideas enters the personality and hence the world, where the truth of nature can be perceived. This is the positive romantic statement on the nature of the artist. Each step emphasizes the regenerative theme -- death and rebirth, while "Nature's ideal butterfly was here realized in all its perfection" (*Works*, II, 532-533).

Owen's inferiority to the "Painter" resides in his material -- the use of a mechanism. Hawthorne is questioning, as R. B. Davis points out, "the cost to man of his faith in and mastery over technology alone."⁹³ Still the mechanism emphasizes the romantic idea that the universe is alive, not a perfect nature to be destroyed, a universe that exists in the spiritual realm and speaks to us directly through the creative mind and its senses. Owen had perceived the truth behind the appearance and sought to capture it through his mechanism only to have it destroyed. But the truth, perceived through the unconscious and creative mind, would live eternally.

Another matter of significance in "The Artist of the Beautiful" is Hawthorne's approach. In "The Prophetic Pictures" Hawthorne was allegorizing the general philosophical question of the romantic artist, which he emphasized by omitting all mention of physical detail and concentrating on the abstract. In "The Artist of the Beautiful," however, Hawthorne singled out one specific artist and examined his specific approach to the romantic philosophy. Moreover, the particularization is emphasized graphically here by the detailed account of Warland's physical make-up throughout. Indeed, Von Abele goes so far as to suggest that Warland "is a curious alloy of masculine and feminine, the personality of a woman in the body of a male."⁹⁴ This leads Von Abele to other considerations concerning Hawthorne's views on art, considerations which may or may not be accepted depending on the gullibility of the reader. Thus beautiful art becomes associated with "white" magic and sexual purity. On the other hand, "bad" art becomes associated with "black" magic and sexual depravity. Consequently, in so far as Warland can create without the assistance of the sexual principle, he has turned creative art from the biological to the aesthetic. Thus craftsmanship is identified with reproduction. Warland, thereby, asserts his emancipation from the feminine. Here the creative act, then, is supposed to rival the sexual act. But is this not reading a superficial meaning into the tale?

Does Annie's marriage to Danforth mean to Warland that he must create something, almost out of spite, to counter the child resulting from their union?

If this is the case, of what importance are the first two confrontations? Their necessity resides in the fact that Warland was attempting to create, both while he had, at least potentially, a chance to win Annie and after he had lost her completely. To accept Von Abele's explanation is to reject the entire romantic basis of the tale. That Warland's theory of art is imitative and symbolic, as Von Abele suggests, we need not deny. As an imitation and object it fails, but only because it is destroyed; as a symbol it succeeds, but only because it possesses the truth which Warland perceived in his creative mind.

"Drowne's Wooden Image" (1844)

The theme of the true and most natural state of man, hinted at in "The Artist of the Beautiful," becomes even more important in "Drowne's Wooden Image." Indeed, this is the major theme of a work which appears to be the final attempt by Hawthorne to depict the romantic's aesthetic theories in dramatic form. As a tale it fails to attain the impact of the preceding two, but as an expression of the romantic concept of inspiration it is unparalleled in Hawthorne's work. If "The Prophetic Pictures" is an attempt to illustrate the universal implications inherent in the romantic philosophy,

and if "The Artist of the Beautiful" is an attempt to depict the hazards an artist, exempt from the evils potentially present in the romantic doctrine, must overcome to achieve the Beautiful, then "Drowne's Wooden Image" is a more concentrated attempt to illustrate only one aspect of romantic doctrine -- the doctrine of inspiration. This doctrine of inspiration is bound implicitly with that of true feeling, a theme that abounds in Hawthorne's work.

Perhaps the basic tenet that Hawthorne is attempting to illustrate here is simply the romantic notion that the poet is controlled by inspiration not talent. Moreover, if inspiration is of such importance, Hawthorne questions what it is. Talent, according to this philosophy, is a common-sense ability which does not dominate the artist, but rather is dominated by him. It is evident that Drowne exemplifies these notions. He is in control of his talent throughout, but the one work which supersedes all his others, the one with the "divine, the lifegiving touch," he had no control over. Various questions arise concerning this "divine" work over which he had no control. First, how does the image arise? Second, what is the inspiration? Third, is this inspired state the one true nature or state for the artist?

In Drowne we are confronted with an able craftsman, who has a knack "for the imitation of the human figure in whatever material came most readily to hand." There is indeed no lack of skill in this artist's handling of his material which

would render his statues real works of art, "except that deep quality, be it of soul or intellect, which bestows life upon the lifeless and warmth upon the cold, and which . . . would have made Drowne's wooden image instinct with spirit" (Works, II, 350). These qualities which lead Charles H. Foster to comment that the chief components of Hawthorne's concept of Beauty seem to have been "vitality and loftiness."⁹⁵ But something was missing, and when Copley visited Drowne, he saw that not a single one of Drowne's sculptures was imbued with the "ethereal essence of humanity." And Drowne was the first to recognize this deficiency:

'But there has come a light into my mind. I know what you know as well, that the one touch which you speak of as deficient is the only one that would be truly valuable, and that without it these works of mine are no better than worthless abortions. There is the same difference between them and the works of an inspired artist as between a sign-post daub and one of your best pictures.' (Works, II, 352)

It is obvious, therefore, that Drowne possesses talent, an ability over which he has direct control. What he lacks, however, is inspiration which would make his work real art, not mechanical reproductions. We will recall here how influential Dunlap's chapter on Stuart must have been on Hawthorne. But the knowledge of inspiration that Drowne has exhibited to Copley has been gained through experience. Indeed, the question Copley puts to Drowne after discovering his masterpiece, and the answer that follows indicate the involuntary and unconscious character of the inspiration: "Whose

work is this?" "No man's work . . . The figure lies within that block of oak, and it is my business to find it." It is no man's work because he has surrendered himself completely to the personality of the subject of his sculpture. Here is the creative impetus at work: "A well-spring of inward wisdom gushed within me as I wrought upon the oak with my whole strength, and soul, and faith" (Works, II, 353-355). In this one piece Drowne had achieved real art, an achievement made possible by inspiration, not by labor or study, toil or delay. Hawthorne, however, as we shall see, is not content to depict simply an artist inspired, but goes on to question the source of the inspiration.

Before answering this question, which properly belongs to the third section of our inquiry, we should discuss the second question concerning the work itself. Drowne's masterpiece is as perfect an expression of the romantic's organic theory of art, or in particular Coleridge's theory, as we are apt to find in romantic literature. According to this theory, as we have already seen, no work of true genius wants its appropriate form. It has innately creative powers which enable it to act under laws of its own origination. In Coleridge's words "The organic form is innate; it shapes as it develops itself from within, and the fullness of its development is one and the same with the perfection of its outward form. Such as the life is, such is the form."⁹⁶

Consequently, Coleridge emphasized that expression was inseparable from intuition. Now when these theories are applied to "Drowne's Wooden Image," it becomes obvious that Hawthorne is indeed illustrating the romantic doctrine of inspiration in dramatic form.

Consider Hawthorne's description of the statue's evolution from oak: "The face was still imperfect; but gradually, by a magic touch, intelligence and sensibility brightened through the features, with all the effect of light gleaming forth from within the solid oak. The face became alive" (Works, II, 359). This "light" within the solid oak is the "divine, the life-giving touch." The growth to perfection of this figure is innate because "the figure lies within that block of oak," and it is merely Drowne's duty to find it. Drowne's final expression, therefore, is not only involuntary but inseparable from his intuition. He conceives with his whole strength and soul and faith, and gives himself entirely to the inspiration in order that the final expression would be the essence of his subject; this conception is possible only through the unconscious mind. For reason is inadequate, being fixed; but the unconscious mind apprehends intuitively, imaginatively, spontaneously, with the whole personality.

Moreover, as though to emphasize the absoluteness of this organic piece of art, Hawthorne tells us that the carver felt himself "entitled to transcend all rules" of art, because organic art "develops itself from within" and does not and

cannot be wrought by formulae. Naturally if the work is organic and, therefore, something being made, the existence of one part is dependent upon the existence of every other part.⁹⁷ Hence, Drowne's image, like Owen Warland's, is regulated not by set rules but only by itself.

Hawthorne permits Drowne, interestingly enough, only one perfect creation, a singularity which would emphasize the peculiar quality of the romantic's conception of inspiration. Even so, Hawthorne does not attempt a final answer but leaves the matter somewhat ambiguous. In his final statement on the image, Hawthorne dismisses complete knowledge:

We know not how to account for the inferiority of this quaint old figure, as compared with the recorded excellence of the oaken lady, unless on the supposition that in every human spirit there is imagination, sensibility, creative power, genius, which, according to circumstances, may either be developed in this world, or state of being. To our friend Drowne there came a brief season of excitement, kindled by love. It rendered him a genius for that one occasion, but, quenched in disappointment, left him again the mechanical carver in wood, without the power even of appreciating the work that his own hands had wrought. (Works, II, 362)

And this final statement leads us to the third question that we have posed: Is this the true nature or state of the artist? This question is, of course, raised by Hawthorne though it is not explicitly answered: "Yet who can doubt that the very highest state to which a human spirit can attain, in its loftiest aspirations, is the truest and most natural state, and that Drowne was more consistent with himself when

he wrought the admirable figure of the mysterious lady, then when he perpetrated a whole progeny of blockheads?" (Works, II, 362). And a consideration of this question will necessarily answer another question raised earlier: What is the source of Drowne's inspiration?

We are considering a romantic development of the Rousseauistic idea that man in a state of nature is good. In his writings, Hawthorne developed a theme, based on this notion, that might be termed true feeling. That is, in Hawthorne's view, there is a moral nature in man which dictates what is properly human, what man should therefore do for his happiness. Man, then, should obey the laws of his own nature and God's providence by responding to that true feeling within himself. This concept is, of course, closely akin to that developed by Immanuel Kant in his Critique of Practical Reason. Kant posited a Moral Sense; the unconditional command of our conscience is the absolute, categorical imperative. "The only thing unqualifiedly good in this world is a good will -- the will to follow the moral law."⁹⁸ This duty to moral good is intuitive. We prove it not by reason but by feeling.

Let us first consider the source of Drowne's inspiration as Hawthorne presents it to us. The immediate source, or shall we say the particular source, is the love Drowne possessed for the mysterious lady. This particular love rendered him a genius for one occasion. Hawthorne depicts a particular love for Drowne because Drowne is dramatized within a certain locality

and time. However, in a general sense, Drowne's inspiration stems from human love: "He [Copley] looked earnestly at Drowne, and again saw that expression of human love which, in a spiritual sense, as the artist could not help imagining, was the secret of the life that had been breathed into this block of wood" (Works, II, 355). In a broader sense, then, it is this human love that is the "very highest state to which the human spirit can attain." So long as Drowne can surrender himself completely to his subject, so long is he in complete happiness and in his truest and most natural state. Jacobson's statement "The artist is perhaps most individual, and most 'himself,' when he is transported through love to a sympathetic identification with the objects of his art," corroborates this point.⁹⁹ But for some unexplained reason Drowne's love is "quenched in disappointment," and he can no longer obey the laws of his nature. As a result he becomes once again the "mechanical carver in wood." The implication hinted at by Hawthorne is that man, in order to achieve his purpose and his happiness, must remain in his most natural state.

The desirability of remaining true to one's natural state is mentioned by Hawthorne in other works. It is most evident in The Scarlet Letter and is developed at length by Roper.¹⁰⁰ Since Hester typifies the natural female force, it is therefore natural and necessary for her to love in order to live most fully. The sin of carnal passion for which the community

damns Hester is not, in effect, a sin for her because it is natural. In an analogous sense the artist in order to depict the soul of humanity must love humanity. This is the cause of his inspiration, a cause that can lead only to good. Should the artist fail to attain human love, then evil is potentially present in him. This we have seen in "The Prophetic Pictures." It would appear, then, that Hawthorne is implicitly stating that the true artist, free from potential or inherent evil, is one who is regulated by human love, and as a result attains the most natural state.

The preceding discussion of the dramatization of romantic ideas in Hawthorne's tales of the middle years emphasizes the extent of Hawthorne's development as an artist and demonstrates the tremendous impact the study undertaken in this period had on his artistry. We intend to show both in the section devoted to the Notebooks and that devoted to The Marble Faun how important these developments were to his changing outlook on art, art theory, and the purpose and role of the writer as artist. We will find The Marble Faun an exhausting display of antagonistic forces that are understandable as antithetical viewpoints, some romantic, some personal. Indeed, Hawthorne seems to have felt it necessary to pit the romantic ideas, dramatized in these tales, against the attitudes and actual reactions he had experienced after going to England and the Continent. In a very real sense The Marble Faun becomes the culminating work of his career. Unfortunately,

the battle between the philosophical and personal seems to have resulted in a denigration of all the ideas that he found intriguing before. This development may help to explain the demise of his artistry as witnessed in the works he could not bring to a completion before his death.

CHAPTER IV*The Middle Years: Part II*

1840 - 1848

a. *The Early Prefaces: 1841, 1844, 1846*

Although we have entered a new chapter, we have not entered a period in which there is marked change in Hawthorne's work. With the exception of "The Artist of the Beautiful" and "Drowne's Wooden Image," our analysis thus far has concentrated on Twice-Told Tales. The years 1840 - 1848 are not marked by major artistic developments; they are significant because Hawthorne openly talked about his methodology in his Prefaces and, in something of a hidden manner, through analogy in a number of tales written between 1839 and 1848.

For our purposes there is little of importance in the "Preface to Grandfather's Chair" (1841). But, strangely enough, there is a passage in the American Notebooks that is relevant to both this collection of tales and to the present discussion.

In the entry of September 14, 1841, Hawthorne has included a description of some sketches he would like to have Sophia execute for the volume of projected tales. This undertaking was never completed. What is of interest, however, is the detailed comparison between the description of what should be contained in the pen sketch and what is described in fact in the text. Obviously, Hawthorne thought and

composed in pictorial terms. His inner vision of the sketch as recorded in the Notebooks follows:

Another subject might be Old Cotton Mather, venerable in a three cornered hat and other antique attire, walking the streets of Boston, and lifting up his hands to bless the people, while they all revile him. An old dame should be seen, flinging water, or emptying some vials of medicine, on his head from the latticed window of an old-fashioned house; and all around must be tokens of pestilence and mourning -- as a coffin bourne along, -- a woman or children weeping on a doorstep. Can the tolling of the Old South bell be painted? (Works, IX, 238)

This vision is not of Cotton Mather or his attire or the blessing he bestows as he walks the streets, nor is it of the old dame who casts water on the venerable figure, or of the funeral procession. Yet all of this is visible. The focus rather is on the act of revilement toward a personage who does only good in the midst of pestilence and mourning. The concentration is on human nature or rather on inhuman nature. The story itself is a symbol of reality, specifically of the inhuman nature of man. The details of the narrative -- Cotton Mather, the three-cornered hat, the old dame, the water, the vials of medicine -- all are incidental to the real truth, the story which is a symbol and hence the only objectively valid definition of reality. This understanding of symbol is not that of contemporary man. Today a symbol is considered to be an image that invests physical reality with poetical meaning.

In this sense, Hawthorne is classical: like Greek tragedy, the total work is conceptually meaningful. Antigone ultimately means the potential confrontation of man's conscience with civil law. If Creon is symbolically important as representative of the state and its authoritarian mentality, he is secondarily so. His real importance is in conveying, together with all the parts, the ultimate truth stated above. So in Hawthorne, as in the Renaissance writer Edmund Spenser whom he admired so much, all is secondary to that ultimate truth. Hawthorne had said elsewhere, when referring to a subject for a painting that would represent the Roman soldier's awakened awareness of Christ's divinity as he contemplated his rent garment, "I do not quite see how he [the artist] could make such a picture tell its own story; -- but I find the idea suggestive to my own mind, and I think I could make something of it" (Works, IX, 379). Here again Hawthorne cites the idea as all-important. To evoke the concept through detail and atmosphere, that is the desired goal.

The mental vision Hawthorne draws compares in every particular to the opening scene of "The Minister's Black Veil." The old-fashioned house with its latticed window gives concrete detail and particularization to the setting as the meetinghouse made everything relative in the opening scene of the earlier tale. The venerable old figure of Mather, garbed as he is, blessing the people, is set against this house, where tokens of pestilence and mourning are visible.

We have more than a particular time of the Puritan period; we have a day of disease and death, a day when the religious personage ventures forth to comfort whom he can. A coffin is seen; women and children weep on a doorstep. Yet in the midst of this scene where every item, every character, every sound (if sound could be painted, and perhaps tone will do), complements the narrative of the plague, an old dame defiles the parson by emptying vials of medicine and water upon him. This action, so out of accord with the rest of the scene, dramatically focuses attention on itself.

In the tale told by Grandfather, only minor additions are made to the scene described above. The scene occurs within a narrative that recounts the small-pox plague that struck Boston at a time when Cotton Mather had lost his influence after the "old witchcraft delusion." Mather had accidentally found an article that described inoculation for prevention of the disease. But when he attempted to convince the local doctors that this was a valid solution to the ravishment, he was derided. The scene in question occurs just before Grandfather recounts the eventual acceptance of inoculation, sometime after old Cotton Mather had himself died.

The people's wrath grew so hot at his attempt to guard them from the small-pox that he could not walk the streets in peace. Whenever the venerable form of the old minister, meagre and haggard with fasts and vigils, was seen approaching, hisses were heard, and shouts of derision, and scornful and bitter laughter. The women snatched away their children from his path, lest he should do

them a mischief. Still, however, bending his head meekly, and perhaps stretching out his hands to bless those who reviled him, he pursued his way. . . . Over the door of almost every dwelling a red flag was fluttering in the air. (Works, IV, 523)

The scene as a whole remains the same. No longer does the old dame cast water on Mather's head, but as he walks by he is hissed, derided, scorned, and laughed at; children are snatched away from him even as he bends to bless them. And the tokens of pestilence flutter from the doors. Yet the impact is the same. Everything contributes to the meaningful action that is illuminated. The impact is the same. What is different is the fact that the written description is not one picture but many. This difference, however, is understandable. A painting needs a certain degree of particularization in terms of action. Unless we think in terms of Futurism, repetitious acts are not subject matter for the canvas. Perhaps it might be said that the pen sketch Hawthorne describes is one of the scenes referred to in the written sketch.

Artistically, the significance of either sketch rests not in its particularization or its detail or its historical background. Its importance rests in its universality or, as Hawthorne says in the "Preface to Rappaccini's Daughter" (1844), to its "little or no reference either to time or space" (Works, II, 107). Even though his "fictions are sometimes historical," as indeed the narrative of Cotton Mather and the plague is, even then he says they have "little or no

reference either to time or space." What Hawthorne means is that the historical incident furnishes only an interesting, perhaps relevant, reference through which man's common nature can be displayed. As in his transformation of the incident that inspired "The Prophetic Pictures" (See 90, Chapter III, "The Prophetic Pictures"), so here: Hawthorne distills the material in such a way that its universal applicability erases its particularity. To achieve this transformation Hawthorne created character types, not personalities; illustrative settings, not human environments; and a narrator of a speculative bent, not an expositor of development. By such means, he retained "the faintest possible counterfeit of real life" while at the same time he focused attention on "some less obvious peculiarity of the subject" (*Works*, II, 108).

These general comments concerning Hawthorne's artistic techniques, while adapted from the early Prefaces to Grandfather's Chair and "Rappaccini's Daughter," are developed in great detail in the "Preface to Mosses from an Old Manse." These techniques grow in part from statements made by Hawthorne in which he describes the incongruity he observes in Nature. A perfect flower, for instance, "derives its loveliness and perfume from the black mud over which the river sleeps." On which notion Hawthorne comments: "Thus we see, too, in the world that some persons assimilate only what is ugly and evil from the same moral circumstances which supply good and beautiful results -- the fragrance of celestial flowers -- to the

daily life of others" (Works, II, 15). There is a twofold reference here: man like Nature is possessed of both good and evil; and appearance does not necessarily reveal truth. For the writer, what is visible needs interpretation, or what is true will never be revealed. Furthermore, what is true of Nature as a whole can find analogy with man's nature. To concentrate, then, as a writer, on the details of Nature or man is to lose sight of the hidden truths. But to focus on the "less obvious peculiarity of the subject" is to cast an illumination over it by which the reality can be observed beneath the appearance.

The "Preface" teems with nature description that is made analogous to man's condition. If "each tree and rock, and every blade of grass," no matter how ugly in reality, is imaged in the stream, it "assumes ideal beauty in the reflection." Man, likewise, can reflect beauty while in reality he is corrupt. Or contrariwise, Hawthorne sees in the mud puddle or the muddy stream that reflects a picture of heavenly beauty "a symbol that the earthliest human soul has an infinite spiritual capacity and may contain the better world within its depth." In either case, both the object and its reflection need elucidation. The eyes of the artist as perceiver act as the prism through which all things are reflected.

To observe the writer as artist, Hawthorne recounts an incident told to him by the poet Lowell. Lowell told a story of a youth, at the time of the revolution, who, when

chopping wood one April morning, heard the noise of battle coming from a small bridge. He hastened to the point, axe in hand. There a British soldier, lying wounded, cried to him for help. But "the boy uplifted his axe and dealt the wounded soldier a fierce and fatal blow upon the head" (Works, II, 18). Hawthorne, although "the story comes home to him/like truth," finds no impulse to make a narrative of the incident. Hawthorne's concern is not with the factual and understandable part of the story, but rather with that part of the story that is not known: "I have sought to follow that poor youth through his subsequent career, and observe how his soul was tortured by the bloodstain" To follow the youth, Hawthorne would have to create incidents, invent scenes, conjure up characters: he would have to devise a train of incidents that could raise the spectre of a soul tortured by an act akin to murder even though committed under the stress of battle conditions. Note that Hawthorne's concern, like Dostoevski's, is not with the act, but with the nature of the man who commits the act. As writer he would "observe how his soul was tortured by the bloodstain, contracted as it had been before the long custom of war had robbed human life of its sanctity, and while it still seemed murderous to slay a brother man" (Works, II, 19).

Hawthorne's interest wakes to the guilt that plagues the soul, the same theme that haunts "Roger Malvin's Burial." As always the commission of the act negates its universal

application whereas the pre-meditation of the act and the brooding that follows the act are universally applicable. The Scarlet Letter evolves from the same point. The historical matter in either case contributes the necessary "counterfeit of real life"; it does even more, it gives context to the narrative, which in turn evokes credibility. But the historicity of the incident is not meaningful in relationship to the Revolutionary War or any battle fought in it or to any soldier or to either of the combatants; the historicity is that which reports the nature of man, who is both Cain and Abel, murderer and confessor, sinner and victim. This is what Hawthorne means when he says "This one circumstance has borne more fruit for me than all that history tells us of the fight" (Works, II, 19). Certainly, those who contend that Hawthorne was attracted by events of history have missed the point. He says "I have never found my imagination much excited by this or any other scene of historic celebrity" (Works, II, 19). The unique, unusual, strange, and fascinating, these interested Hawthorne. As he says of the relics of Indians, "their great charm consists in their rudeness and in the individuality of each article" The article itself has no value, but it conjures up in "the imagination" the Indian village and its encircling forest, and recalls the life, the painted chiefs and warriors, the squaws at their household toil, and the children sporting among the wigwams, while

the little wind-rocked papoose swings from the branch of the tree" (Works, II, 20).

A similar thought occurs later in the "Preface" when Hawthorne is poring through old books and newspapers found at the Manse. The pretentious books on religion, the profound treatises of morality, the pictorial history books, the philosophical tomes have no meaning for a later day. "Nothing . . . retained any sap except what had been written for the passing day and year without the remotest pretention or idea of permanence." And why? Because "It is the age itself that writes newspapers and almanacs, which, therefore, have a distinct purpose and meaning at the time, and a kind of intelligible truth for all times; whereas most other works -- being written by men who, in the very act, set themselves apart from their age -- are likely to possess little significance when new, and none at all when old" (Works, II, 30-31).

Any incident, however trivial, that acts as a catalyst to rouse associations concerning man's common nature is valid material for the writer. The theological and philosophical tomes were characteristically frigid, lacking even "the writer's qualities of mind and heart." Those incidents recorded in the newspaper and almanac had purpose and meaning at the time and, therefore, a concern with the mind and heart of a man. To Hawthorne this meant "a kind of intelligible truth for all times." The relevance of the past to Hawthorne is not

in the action done or the incident cited, but in the meaning and purpose of the act or the incident. Such meaning and purpose is always universally applicable, for it reflects the nature of man. If we return, then, to the beginning of the "Preface," we realize that man's actions, like the stream, reflect more than what is observable; they are a means of arriving at a greater truth which is distilled or abstracted from them. "Genius," Hawthorne says in Mosses, "melts many ages into one, and thus effects something permanent." And, after all, isn't this what Hawthorne does?

b. *Tales Before the Custom House*

"The New Adam and Eve" (1839) directly confronts the issue of universal applicability. With little subtlety Hawthorne dramatizes here the romantic conception of perfectibility by idealizing man's Nature in the unblemished figures of man's new parents. The new Adam and Eve, born into the world the day after man has ceased to be, must unravel the mystery of what man has left behind even when it appears to stand in contradiction to Nature, as it invariably does. Hawthorne has rather ingeniously placed man in his pristine perfected nature in the midst of that environment which he had devised and that had in turn corrupted that nature. All that man in his perverted mind and heart has interpolated becomes part of the artificial system into which each person is born. Art, then, becomes "a second and stronger nature" which turns man away from the truth and reality of Nature uncontaminated

by man. To attain that truth and that reality, man must turn to his imagination and cast off all that is physical and artificially contrived. Through imagination man can conceive of his perfected nature: the natural goodness of his body unadorned, the natural inclination toward adoration of a beneficent Father, the natural rule of love in life, the natural wisdom of man moderated by "woman's tenderness and moral sense."

As if to join these thoughts with the passage from the *Preface*, Hawthorne summons the image of the mirror once again. Like the stream of the *Prefaces*, the mirror reflects a greater perfection than the object reflected. So too does the imagination, by abstracting, perfect that which it contemplates. Similarly, Hawthorne draws an analogy between the imagination, the mirror's reflection, and sculpture. In each is the potential for perfection; the idealization of the actual. The rationale expressed here draws the reader closer to the intent of Hawthorne's fiction. If man is to see beyond the limitations of his own self-imposed artifices, he must transcend "All the perversions, and sophistries, and false wisdom so aptly mimicking the true -- all the narrow truth, so partial that it becomes more deceptive than falsehood -- all the wrong principles and worse practice, the pernicious examples and mistaken rule of life -- all the specious theories which turn earth into cloudland and men into shadows -- all the sad experience which it took mankind so many ages to

accumulate, and from which they never drew a moral for their future guidance, --" (Works, II, 300). To transcend these evils, man must turn with that one faculty which is not like corruptible matter, the imagination, and soar like the butterfly to the truth and reality beyond the sensuous. The image of that transcendence is the butterfly, the bright angel, or the child asleep in white marble, the image of art.

Arriving at a similar conclusion, Bier states "The human faculty which reflects reality and truth is one's imagination

[it] is a process of spiritualization What he [Hawthorne] judges as the correct description of the transmuting process of imagination is a blending of the actual and the idealized."¹⁰¹

These thoughts can be viewed from another perspective. The artist and child, according to George Boas, "present to modern man the inarticulate wisdom of the ancient fold-soul."¹⁰² Romanticism, and here Hawthorne reflects the same thought, had retreated to time before the impress of Christianity to find natural man.

Hawthorne illustrated what he meant by "all the perversions, and sophistries, and false wisdom" that man had accrued throughout his history in a delightful tour de force called "A Virtuoso's Collection" (1842). The Virtuoso is identified at the end of the tale, to the narrator's surprise, with the Wandering Jew. As such he "was evidently a man of high cultivation, yet he seemed to lack sympathy with the spiritual, the sublime, and the tender" (Works, II, 547).

His centuries of aimless wandering had caused him to lose the sense of strangeness that attends those who must face death; he lived solely within the realm of understanding, or, as he puts it himself, "Give me what I can see, and touch, and understand, and I ask no more." Nothing so astonishes the narrator as this revelation of the limitations imposed by fact. "To despise all things This, at best, is the wisdom of the understanding. It is the creed of a man whose soul, whose better and diviner part, has never been awakened, or has died out of him" (Works, II, 559, 547).

Here, indeed, is the illustration of that second and stronger nature to which Hawthorne referred. The Virtuoso, the immortal man creature, accompanies man the narrator, through man's history -- his wars, his art, his literature, his inventions, his mysteries, his superstitions, his institutions -- only to reveal how full of delusions have been man's enterprises and accomplishments. When asked to rub Aladdin's lamp to gain whatever he desires, he replies, "I might desire a cottage . . . but I would have it founded on sure and stable truth, not on dreams and fantasies. I have learned to look for the real and the true." Thus would

Hawthorne draw a distinction between superstition, fantasy, and dreams and sure and stable truth. Yet he does not limit "sure and stable truth" to physical reality, for he condemns the Virtuoso for just this limitation. Rather Hawthorne says, "There are so many greater wonders in the world, to those who

keep their eyes open and their sight undimmed by custom, that all the delusions of the old sorcerers seem flat and stale" (Works, II, 543). The man whose soul is awakened to things beyond that imposed by tradition and custom is the man who will comprehend beyond "this corrupted or frozen mass of earthly life."

Such vital perception is the hallmark of "The Old Apple Dealer," a tale that reflects Hawthorne's growing awareness of the writer's method of capturing the "moral picturesque." This tale, like "Sights from a Steeple" and "Night Sketches" in earlier sections of this study, acts as a guide to Hawthorne's artistic practice. An evolving consciousness regarding the painterliness of his methodology can be discerned here. Techniques that will heighten contrast, evoke emotional response, and illuminate the meaning that characters and actions in a tale have for the underlying moral problem are illustrated in this tale. Significantly, there is an observable growth in Hawthorne's characterization of his work in terms relative to the painter. The opening sentence suggests this fact: "The lover of the moral picturesque may sometimes find what he seeks in a character which is nevertheless of too negative a description to be seized upon and represented to the imaginative vision by word painting" (Works, II, 495). How can the writer capture in words, in his word picture, the potential moral associations (which his intellect can comprehend) that are present in a situation involving a person, if that person has nothing uniquely physical

that can readily identify him? If the person and his situation lack mystification or strangeness, if they fail to rouse fear or terror, if no atmosphere or mood emanates from them to stir the emotions, how can a romance writer indulge in his love for the moral picturesque? Hawthorne has asked himself a very real and agonizing question. Can the romance writer take the stuff of everyday reality and illuminate it in such a way that the greater truth is discernible? If he disregards the more obvious Gothic devices and techniques -- the magic, the ghosts, the castles, the witches, the veils, the masks -- how can he invoke the state of mind necessary to cause the reader to sense the truth beyond the physical world? Or to put it another way, could he as a writer so infuse the stuff of ordinary experience with sufficient clarity and meaning that the reality beyond the physical world would be manifest to the reader? Perhaps it was this probing into artistic theory that caused the change of method over the years. As Jane Lundblad has suggested, "Hawthorne's use of the Gothic elements was comparatively profuse in his first short stories; it waned during the middle period of his productions, to be revived in his latest works."¹⁰³

Hawthorne characterizes the Old Apple Dealer and the place where he is observed as "hueless"; the Apple Dealer is faded and featureless; age has failed to render his features impressive; his hair is gray as is his beard; his surtout is snuff-colored, and his pantaloons gray as well. Hawthorne goes

further. He states that the character has become "a naturalized citizen of my [his] inner world." Yet Hawthorne had not consciously made him so. This Old Apple Dealer exists, then, as a disembodied impression within the writer's mind. But regardless of that lack of detail, the impression does mean something: it embodies certain reflected abstractions -- poverty, neglect, friendlessness, nonappreciativeness. How can this be? In the opening sentences of the tale, Hawthorne succinctly draws the lines necessary to evoke these abstractions. He places the Old Apple Dealer in the midst of the hustle of a railroad depot, contrasting as he does the "livelier characteristics of the scene" with the hueless object of his concern.

His face, so unimpressive, conveys a "moral frost." It is not seen at one moment only, but visualized and imaged in winter's frost and summer's heat, in the imagined fact of his past life and in its present state, and always it conveys the same sense -- patience, suffering, quietness, hopelessness. In this way the faded, featureless, and hueless tableau of the still Apple Dealer caught in the turmoil of the depot becomes meaningful. What Hawthorne creates through the simple observations is a technique whereby a non-significant, meaningless figure placed in a non-relevant surrounding can be made a vehicle to convey truths that are apparently not present. The technique is simple enough: any figure or place can be made meaningful if it is perceived through an abstracting

process. This process distills the details of a figure or place until they reflect more universal concerns. It further contrasts that figure or place in terms of its immediate surroundings, thus offering relevant meaning, and in terms of past reference, thus offering universal and unchanging meaning. The importance of the technique rests in the manner of perception. The entire story of "The Old Apple Dealer" develops this method of perceiving.

There can be no question now that Hawthorne simply attempts to fuse an image with an idea. He has evolved far beyond that. During the forties, Hawthorne developed an artistic theory that brought his writing into a meaningful comparison with painting. And in keeping with trends of the day, and with his evolving understanding of his craft, he gradually gave greater meaning to his tales by giving greater meaning to each thing in them. We will find the artistic culmination of this development in The Scarlet Letter and The House of the Seven Gables.

Only one critic, George E. Woodbury, has noted this development in Hawthorne's fiction before the present study and he did not trace its growth or detail its significance:

Hawthorne, as he matured, wrote, as it were, a palimpsest; there was a hidden writing underneath the script, and the script was only the key to what was beneath. He was, to this extent, indeed, a writer of allegory; His art was, in fact, abstract, however concrete it might be in superficial appearance; there was an increasing element of thought in it, and its significance grew with this element and his

subtle skill in handling it; something was continually being infused into description and incident, which fed them with meaning, till the very contents of the works became abstract, -- one was in the presence of thought rather than mere life. In other words, he had worked out his craftsmanship; he had made the passage from sense to thought without loss of sharpness or vividness, and presented in his writings truth in place of facts, -- that is, what is real in all persons instead of one only. The peculiarity of Hawthorne's art is that the element of the abstract in it is so engrossing and takes so imaginative a form.¹⁰⁴

Woodberry's incisive comprehension of Hawthorne's growth designates the hidden truth as most important. Woodberry fails to show how Hawthorne illuminates that truth. We have attempted to show that the action the tale delineates, the totality of the experience, is both the symbol and the reality. In the early years, as we have said, Hawthorne's allegorical fictions, through a manipulation of images that have stipulated meanings different from those connected with them in the actual world, seem to illustrate some broader metaphysical meaning usually concerned with man's nature. As he matured, Hawthorne found other ways to illuminate the hidden truth. The setting became, in the middle years, an active device for exerting relevant meaning. Romantic ideas and transcendental morals could be dramatized, Hawthorne found, in character types and in certain incidents. In "The Old Apple Dealer" Hawthorne has turned to objective reality, devoid of strangeness and Gothic device, to illuminate the hidden truth. But here, truth is made manifest by distillation and contrast. He has arrived at a point just short of what we will term "expressive

thought." "Expressive thought" means that everything depicted is expressive of some thought relative to the central concern of a scene or incident.

Just how close Hawthorne comes to this method can be seen in "The Old Apple Dealer." Of utmost importance is the manner of perception. We have noted Hawthorne's interest in multiple points of view and the degrees of perception that exist among people. Some do not observe carefully even a figure like the Old Apple Dealer, and hence see nothing of the hidden truth. But to those who scrutinize carefully, every fluttering nerve, each movement of the eye or hand brings greater awareness of the character observed until even "indescribable shadows" reveal truths hidden beneath the surface. Once familiar with the "ordinary aspect," an observer can perceive even in that bland expressionless face an instant where "the suspicion occurred to him, in his chill decline of life, earning scanty bread by selling cakes, apples, and candy, he is a very miserable old fellow." Thus is illuminated a truth that was never explicitly stated, that could find no articulation either in the Old Apple Dealer or in the observer.

In keeping with the multiple points of view in "The Minister's Black Veil" and other tales of this period, Hawthorne brings a series of patrons before the Apple Dealer. Each sees the man from his own perspective. One bored with waiting for his train inspects his wares. Another, impatiently

waiting, strides back and forth snatching quick glances at the old man. A third shyly and cautiously approaches his board. None responds to the old man's condition; each reacts within the context of his own character and purpose. The Old Apple Dealer has no meaning to them, for they have not perceived carefully.

The narrator, however, scrutinizes sensitively. He marks the action of one patron and designates him as civil, patronizing, and even charitable. Then he observes the actions of the Old Apple Dealer as he reacts to this patron. By describing one action, the attempt to bend the coin, he reveals the distrustful nature of the old man. To characterize him, he creates a symbol: a sigh that represents "the chillness and torpid melancholy of his old age." If we categorize Hawthorne's progression here, we find that he moves from perception of individual objects, to fusion of the objects in an incident, to the illumination of the nature of man as revealed by the interaction of these figures, to a symbol that represents a characteristic of the whole.

This understanding of perception and incident Hawthorne had used in "Night Sketches." What he had not developed to any great extent was the element of meaningful contrast that could be derived from such delicate distillation of detail. Because the old man is without distinction even in old age, Hawthorne can infer that "his life has all been of a piece." Consequently, although he has been describing a particular

Apple Dealer, he has at the same time been defining a form that characterizes a truth concerning man's nature. Some men are born subdued and nameless, neither great nor small, desirous of little, attaining little, content with nothing because they know nothing of what they have missed. In this way Hawthorne finds that he can universalize the particular and draw meaningful truth even from present reality. But Hawthorne is also aware how delicately this transformation of the particular to the general must be:

To confess the truth, it is not the easiest matter in the world to define and individualize a character like this which we are now handling. The portrait must be so generally negative that the most delicate pencil is likely to spoil it by introducing some too positive tint. Every touch must be kept down, or else you destroy the subdued tone which is absolutely essential to the whole effect. (*Works*, II, 501)

Hawthorne understands by "negative" here the amount of detail and specific description he can afford to omit if he is to retain both the particular reference and the universal applicability. In order to capture both these ingredients more graphically, Hawthorne decides to contrast the old man by introducing another "candy merchant," but this time a young boy. Hawthorne says, "Perhaps more may be done by contrast than by direct description." This young boy is smart, well-dressed, brisk, and voluble. Two elements are heightened by this contrast: the overall condition of the Old Apple Dealer in the depot scene -- his gray world, his quietude, his meekness, his downcast demeanor; and the understanding evoked by the

old man as indicative of man's nature. The narrator remarks, "I did but glance at your [the young merchant's] brisk figure in order to catch a reflected light and throw it upon your old rival yonder" (*Works*, II, 501). Since Hawthorne sets up the boy as a reflective device, the boy loses significance in himself and serves the greater picture.

Then, as if to guide the reader through the multiple devices available to a writer if he wishes to heighten the meaning embodied by a central figure, Hawthorne returns to the scene surrounding the Old Apple Dealer. He had said earlier it was a "livelier scene." Now giving full license to his imagination, he lets the train become a fiend that rushes pell-mell into the station to disgorge the travellers: "All are full of the momentum which they have caught from their mode of conveyance. It seems as if the whole world, both morally and physically, were detached from its old standfasts and set in rapid motion. And, in the midst of this terrible activity, there sits the old man of gingerbread; so subdued, so hopeless, so without stake in life, yet not positively miserable . . ." (*Works*, II, 502).

Thus does Hawthorne guide the reader through three methods of illuminating the nature of man embodied in the old Apple Dealer: perception, incident, and contrast. He shows the necessity of scrutiny beyond objective reality; he discounts the careless observer as failing to see truth. He directs the reader's attention to the need for interpretive

understanding of incidents and the multiple understandings that must exist. And finally, he shows how the writer can illuminate his meaning by simple contrast: the old versus the young, the quiet versus the loud, the dull versus the smart. And also, contrast can be effected by focusing on a "still life" surrounded by activity; the former, which may be featureless, gains meaning by contrast with the latter.

Hawthorne has the narrator comment at the conclusion of this last scene: "I have him now. He and the steam fiend are each other's antipodes; the latter's the type of all that go ahead, and the old man the representative of that melancholy class who, by some sad witchcraft, are doomed never to share in the world's exulting progress. Thus the contrast between mankind and this desolate brother becomes picturesque, and even sublime" (Works, II, 502).

Once again we realize how Hawthorne's allegorizing really works. He attempts to create a single overwhelming impression that should convey some understanding of human nature. He attempts in this tale to reveal some methods that help him attain that end. Hawthorne's artistry approaches more and more the thematic oneness that characterized medieval literature and removes itself more and more from the fictionalized literature of his own day.

That is, Hawthorne's fiction, like Sir Thomas Malory's Morte d' Arthur and Spenser's Faerie Queen, is concerned foremost

with illustrating the deeper metaphysical, moral, or philosophical idea that is the true substance of the tale than it is with imitating the actions and events of actual people to produce ethically typical characters or probable actions.

"The Old Apple Dealer" is in one sense an expository sketch that explains descriptive processes. For Hawthorne it served to elucidate a problem that can be neatly illustrated if we consider two other tales of this period, one prior to it in 1840, and one after in 1844. "Egotism: or the Bosom Serpent" (1840) describes the morbid nature of Roderick Elliston in explicit and positive terms, particularly that characteristic that most distinguishes his nature, Egotism. "The Christmas Banquet" (1844) describes in a negative manner the characteristics of a man unscathed by grief, a cold abstraction. Each tale focuses on the nature of one man: both attempt to delineate an abstraction.

In "Egotism" Hawthorne capitalizes on a Gothic kind of device, an image that will convey the idea of "Egotism." In this sense, the approach is similar to that which critics from Woodberry to Davidson have described as Hawthorne's method. First, there is the image or idea. Second there is a fusion of the idea with a symbolic device, or the image becomes symbolic of an idea. Third, there is a projection of the idea through characters and scene.¹⁰⁵ The serpent becomes the symbol by which the moral signification will be conveyed.

But the situation is quite different in "The Christmas Banquet." The banquet does not act as a symbolic device, nor

is there any similar device used in the tale. Yet Hawthorne specifically states that he will set out to capture the nature of a man who lacks spiritual sympathy, just as he had set out to capture the nature of a man steeped in self-contemplation.

The distinction between the two can be understood if we refer back to "The Old Apple Dealer." The opening sentence of that tale places before the romance writer an interesting dilemma: if a character has no distinguishing identifiable traits that characterize his nature, how can the writer convey that character's meaning? The same problem is posed at the beginning of "The Christmas Banquet." As we have seen, Hawthorne answered his question in the devices described in "The Old Apple Dealer." A careful look at "Egotism" and "The Banquet" will illustrate how these devices have been put to use.

These tales parallel each other in numerous ways. Both concentrate on a negative characteristic of man's nature: the first on self-contemplation resulting in isolation from the community of man; the second, on emotionlessness resulting also in an isolation from society. Both tales use the same principal characters: Roderick Elliston, the writer, and his wife, Rosina, and George Herkimer, the sculptor. In "Egotism" Roderick is inflicted with the "disease" and is the central figure. In "The Christmas Banquet" Roderick has written a manuscript in which he describes an emotionless

man named Gervayse Hastings. He reads this tale to Rosina and George. And finally, both tales incorporate the same ideas conveyed by various characters described.

The serpent in the bosom, like the minister's black veil or Lady Eleanore's mantle, dramatizes a state of being that is true of mankind. We can view, in a similar way, Drowne's statue or Owen's butterfly.¹⁰⁶ And just as these latter stories dramatized a romantic concept, so, too, does "Egotism" dramatize an abstraction, though here it is a condition reflecting man's moral nature.

Hawthorne saturates the serpent image with multiple meanings -- meanings explicitly stated by the narrator, or inferred from comments made by other characters. Gervayse Hastings and Roderick embody many of the same characteristics: the condition of both is believed to be reflective of the condition of all men; both keep company with misery; both yearn for friendship but never attain it; neither can love, or feel empathy for another, or share another's grief, or turn in compassion to another's suffering; both live in utter hopelessness and despair and, like the Virtuoso, lack sympathy with the spiritual, the sublime, and the tender. Similarly, both characters share the consequences of these traits: both are sadistic and masochistic, conveying no compassion and receiving none, friendless and isolated among men.

Once the identity of the "snake" has been manifested, Hawthorne has Roderick confront and identify other forms of this malady in other people. In keeping with his initial image, Roderick identifies the overly ambitious, the greedy, the drunkard, the unbelieving clergyman, the sullen brooder, those who hate, despise, are impure, or unfaithful, the spiteful, the envious, and the conscience-stricken as possessing snakes uniquely their own. The total effect is cumulative. We know Roderick suffers the consequences of one who contemplates only himself, thus losing sight of others and his necessary communion with them. We know also that all men possess some kind of hateful evil that differs only in degree from that which afflicts Roderick.

Each of the points made above occurs also in "The Christmas Banquet" but in an entirely different way. It appears as though Hawthorne posed for himself this problem: how can I convey the nature of Roderick's condition without using the romance writer's device of "a bosom serpent?" Hawthorne's solution, as we have indicated, was to apply the devices illustrated in "The Old Apple Dealer." He sets out not to identify a "featureless" creature with some concrete characteristic, but to offer a multitude of characteristics in other figures and by contrast to capture and define the "featureless."

Hawthorne opens "The Banquet" by introducing a conception: an ideal man that lacks only "the last inestimable

touch of a divine Creator." Hawthorne, through Roderick, describes him this way: "He looks like a man; and, perchance, like a better specimen of man than you ordinarily meet. You might esteem him wise; he is capable of cultivation and refinement, and has at least an external conscience, but the demands that spirit makes upon spirit are precisely those to which he cannot respond" (Works, II, 322). This is not an uncommon figure in Hawthorne but the means of defining him here are unusual.

Hawthorne, like Dostoevski in Crime and Punishment, probes the nature of man to establish whether or not man can act independently of conscience. Can a writer create a person that will typify this condition? Dostoevski's approach depends heavily on a questioning, doubting, exploring mind that finally resorts to confession. Hawthorne reveals nothing of the inner mechanism of Hastings' mind but does show the quality of that mind and the consequences of that condition. He does this by contrasting Hastings with other figures whose morbid natures, defective as they are, still possess some fundamental human traits.

As in "The Old Apple Dealer" Hawthorne gives relative and universal meaning to the old man by contrasting him with the youthful merchant, so in "The Banquet" Hastings gains relative and universal meaning by contrast with the figures that attend the annual celebration.

Hawthorne is attempting to show, like Dostoievski, that man's existence is comparable to death if he cannot empathize with another, be compassionate to another's suffering, or accept the belief in the ultimate betterment of man's condition. Each person brought to the banquets exhibits some degree of evil or deformed human nature. Those at the first banquet possessed characteristics that seemed ingrained in their respective natures; they were indicative of the slothful, the envious, the hypochondriac, the misanthropic, the self-deceived, the foolish, the distressed, the melancholic. The second group exhibited characteristics caused by confrontation with others: those stricken with a guilty conscience because of murder or irresponsibility, those shamed by physical deformity, those disposed toward despair, those hateful of others, those uncommitted to others, and those whose greed causes them to lose touch with their fellowman. The third group existed but could not or would not commit themselves to confronting life: the unbeliever, the speculator, the complainer, the failure, the philanthropist in thought not deed, the conformist. To none of these fellow creatures could Gervayse Hastings respond. None could teach him anything concerning the meaning of life. "Men pass before me like shadows on the wall; their actions, passions, feelings, are flickerings of the light, and then they vanish" (Works, II, 337).

Hawthorne has defined Hastings' condition negatively; that is by not describing him, but by describing those who reflect in some degree what he is, Hawthorne has illuminated the idea of a perfect man lacking only the divine touch. What Hastings lacked could not be described because it is not tangible or readily discernible. Hawthorne gives Hastings everything from wealth to power; yet "when the human spirit most craves reality" people shrink from Gervayse Hastings. The greatest of all realities, then, is spiritual not physical. That which most distinguishes man as human, that which gives life to life and turns man's sorrow and anguish into meaningfulness, is the ability to feel for others, to share their suffering and to believe in their ultimate resurrection. This is why Hawthorne resorts to the device of contrast. If Hastings can neither respond nor learn from the misery of others, then that defect of his nature, which does not allow him to love or hate either himself or others, can be sensed even if it cannot be concretely described.

Hawthorne acknowledges the difficulty of his task at the conclusion of the tale: "If Gervayse Hastings could have imbibed one human grief at the gloomy banquet, the task of describing him would have been infinitely easier" (Works, II, 345). But what has been accomplished has also been stated: "'I have an idea of the character you endeavor to describe,'" Rosina tells her husband, "'but it is rather by dint of my own thought than your expression'" (Works, II, 346).

Quite obviously, Hawthorne recognizes that without the Gothic device, or something equally physical to act as an identifying characteristic, the meaning depends heavily on the reader's seeing the associations implied by the contrasts that are drawn. The end product, however, is the same: a concentrated attention toward a totality of impact that will illuminate a central idea.

CHAPTER V*The Middle Years: Part III*

1848 - 1853

a. Ruskin and the Modern Painter

We have watched Hawthorne's art mature over the years from a relatively simple functional mold to an intricately woven structure where setting, points of view, and dramatized thought combine to express a dominant truth about the nature of man.

But, unfortunately, necessity and circumstance drove Hawthorne away from his writing and into the Custom House from 1846 - 1849. Of this experience Hawthorne wrote "during the whole of my Custom House experience . . . An entire class of susceptibilities, and a gift connected with them, -- of no great richness or value, but the best I had, -- was gone from me" (Works, IV, 56). No period of time, with the possible exception of the Brook Farm experience, so crippled Hawthorne's capacity to write as that spent as weigher and measurer in Salem. "I had ceased to be a writer of tolerably poor tales and essays, and had become a tolerably good surveyor of the customs. That was all. But, nevertheless, it is anything but agreeable to be haunted by a suspicion that one's intellect is dwindling away; or exhaling, without your consciousness, like ether out of a phial; so that, at every glance, you find a smaller and less volatile residuum" (Works, IV, 57).

Nevertheless, the years were not without their fruit. If the Custom House period did not inspire him to write, it did provide opportunities for reading. In the sketch, "The Custom House," Hawthorne says he spent considerable time poring over the researches of a former surveyor. Some of these documents he used in the article, "Main Street." The historicity of that tale and the meaningful references in The Scarlet Letter have gained richness from Hawthorne's interest in these old documents.

Before he was dismissed in January of 1849, Hawthorne had spent considerable time at the Salem Athenaeum. He had, in fact, upon his return to Salem, become once again a proprietor of the library until 1850. In June, 1848, from the 5th to the 21st, Hawthorne had taken out John Ruskin's Modern Painters, volume one of which was published in 1843 and volume two in 1846. This renewed interest in art and art theory continued, for he read in August and September of that same year Lester's Artists of America. Even after he had left the Custom House, his reading in art continued. The Essex Institute, in listing the checkout slips of the Salem Athenaeum, notes that Hawthorne read Loose's History of Ancient Art between January 18, 1850, and January 30, 1850. However, as Marian Kesselring has pointed out, the work referred to is properly that of Johann Winckelmann as translated by G. Henry Lodge first published in 1849.¹⁰⁷

Also, during this last year of his civic employment, Hawthorne read once again Carlyle's Miscellanies.

The most significant outpouring of writing thus far followed this period of dormancy. Of all Hawthorne's creative years, those between 1849 and 1853 mark the acme of his achievement. He himself claimed The House of the Seven Gables (1851) as his finest work, but most critics prefer The Scarlet Letter (1850). During this period he first published "Main Street" (1849), The Blithedale Romance (1852), True Stories from History and Biography (1851), A Wonder Book for Girls and Boys and The Life of Franklin Pierce (1852), Tanglewood Tales for Girls and Boys (1853); and particular reference must be given here to three other tales written during these years, "The Snow Image," "Ethan Brand" (1851), and "Feathertop" (1852).

Of the two most famous romances, Hawthorne preferred The Seven Gables because he said it was "more characteristic" of his mind. He believed it to be "more proper and natural" for him to write than The Scarlet Letter; he felt, moreover, that this work would be "more sure of retaining the ground it acquires."

What Hawthorne meant by "more characteristic" of his mind is difficult to say. He was at this time, however, at a different point in his artistic development than he had been prior to the Custom House Years. The Scarlet Letter hovers very close to the "type" of work he did earlier and

was conceived originally as a tale. It retains certain identifiable characteristics such as the "image device," the historical setting, the concentrated "scenic development" which categorize it on first reading with tales particularly of the early middle period like "The Minister's Black Veil" or "Egotism," or "The Maypole of Merry Mount" or "Lady Eleanore's Mantle." The House of the Seven Gables, on the other hand, dramatizes a more contemporary situation that gains its meaning by its association with and relevance to two hundred years of history. We have already noted that Hawthorne evolved in his artistic theory to a point where he questioned how he might give the romantic writer's "divine touch" to scenes of contemporary or immediate reality without resorting to the kind of historical background that is, in fact, employed in The Scarlet Letter. The general approach to these novels is in this sense reversed. The Scarlet Letter takes an action from a past day and a forgotten society and attempts to make it relevant to the contemporary reader through a distillation of unnecessary historical and particularizing fact and a concentration on the universal feelings and attitudes that are true of human nature when confronted with such an action. The House of the Seven Gables, and The Blithedale Romance for that matter, turn the writer's eyes on contemporary events viewed in the light of historical matter. Such an approach also requires a selection of material from the past. The difference, of course, is that House and

Blithedale are concerned with contemporary events and use historical incidents as flashback, or legend, or parallel reference. The Scarlet Letter, on the other hand, has a narrative that occurs in historical time and projects the implications of this story to the present day. The credibility of the events in House and Blithedale, therefore, is more immediate.

We will go into further detail about this approach when we discuss Hawthorne's comments in the "Custom House." However, before we can turn to this discussion we must give our attention to the impact Ruskin's writings had on Hawthorne at this time and to "Main Street," the tale that preceded The Scarlet Letter.

There is no way of knowing absolutely how much influence one writer has on another, and there is no way of knowing in particular how much influence Ruskin had on Hawthorne. We know that Hawthorne retained an interest in Ruskin's work, for Una in a letter to Elizabeth Hawthorne mentions that her father brought home from the library Ruskin's Modern Painters in December of 1856.¹⁰⁸ Be that as it may, Hawthorne's theories about art, and indeed, his means of expression, at the time he read Ruskin in 1848, can be described in terms similar to those used to describe painting. Hyatt Waggoner has stated that Hawthorne uses painting as an analogy for his art form.¹⁰⁹

The early tales generally focused on a central character emblematic of some trait in man's nature. This figure acted out his brief "part" before a "backdrop" setting that furnished, generally, an atmosphere appropriate to the mood or tone dominating the story and emanating from the action. At this point in his development, Hawthorne's setting fits this description by Mrs. Q. D. Leavis: "His stage is the platform stage of early drama, his settings of the traditional sort such as are provided for by a tree, an archway, a street, a public square, a forest clearing, the outside of a church, a fountain or well or pool."¹¹⁰ But we cannot characterize all of Hawthorne in this way. Indeed, as early as the first tales from the middle years we note marked changes in setting as well as point of view. In these tales the setting has evolved into a complementary device used not only to sustain the tone but to further the philosophical or moral implications roused by the action of the central figure. As a matter of fact, we find Hawthorne, for the first time, explicitly developing through expository means the philosophical or moralistic or symbolic function of the setting. We need only recall the contrast we developed between "The Man of Adamant" and "Roger Malvin's Burial" to realize this.

The injection of multiple points of view at this juncture heightened and intensified the concern with "thought" that gradually, as Woodberry so incisively noted years ago, took over as the major purpose of Hawthorne's fiction. The

tales of the middle years, those immediately prior to the Custom House interlude, developed even greater the concern with thought by actually adopting for dramatic purposes romantic concepts. With his ever-maturing examination of his own work, Hawthorne evinced a desire to apply the romantic writers' "illusion" to the real world of everyday life and illuminate the truth hidden there without, if possible, the benefit of "unusual devices." This tendency we have already referred to in "The Old Apple Dealer" and we will see further development of it in "The Custom House" and in the "Preface" to The House of the Seven Gables.

All of this development brought Hawthorne to a point very close to that enunciated by Ruskin in Modern Painters. Hawthorne's concern was with thought as it could be expressed through visual description. Settings, at the time of the Custom House period, were essentially functional in a symbolic or philosophically expressive way. Multiple points of view were always present. Concepts and ideas were being dramatized. The interest evoked in "The Old Apple Dealer" brought devices of contrast into prominence. That is, figures of no peculiarly identifiable traits could be defined by character antitheses or by contrasting multiple characteristics in other figures, a device we have called negative description.

As we can see, everything incorporated into a Hawthorne tale is gradually directed toward an expressive end. No longer does an item of description act solely as a visual object that

gives concreteness or the illusion of reality to a scene. No longer does a character act simply as a figure to give animation to a scene or action. Beyond the surface reference that each object or character possesses, each now also possesses a deeper reference. Hawthorne explicitly states the philosophical or moral relationship each object in the story has to the central idea.

Hawthorne must have realized, therefore, how attuned his own artistic theory was to that being expounded by Ruskin. He had talked of word pictures and painterliness and the moral picturesque in "The Old Apple Dealer." Ruskin spoke of much the same thing concerning art when he stated that "Painting . . . is nothing but a noble and expressive language." As a matter of fact, Ruskin illustrated his point by explaining Sir Edward Landseer's painting "Old Shepherd's Chief-mourner" as a picture which presents thoughts and makes the painter a "man of mind." Interestingly enough, Ruskin's description reveals how the artist through his painting evokes hopelessness, quietness, gloom, loneliness, and time past, characteristics much desired by Hawthorne himself. Hawthorne could see how each character and every background object in the painting contributed to the silent narrative.

Ruskin's analysis of language differentiates between the ornamental and the expressive. Language that contributes almost exclusively to decoration, or what Ruskin terms not necessary, is called ornamental. Expressive language, on the

other hand, is that needed to embody and convey thought. Ruskin admonished his reader of the need to use expressive language only. To illustrate his point, Ruskin used the Dutch paintings (excluding those by artists such as Reuben, Van Dyke, and Rembrandt, who incorporated thought in their work) which, he said, were "ostentatious exhibitions of the artist's power of speech, the clear and vigorous elocution of useless and senseless words" This type of art Ruskin found to be merely imitative and meaningless. Ideas determine, according to Ruskin, excellence in painting.¹¹¹ Thus everything in the painting, including color and arrangement, should reflect the intended meaning. Imitative art might achieve a degree of surprise, but surprise is only of slight value because it is limited to imitation of the physical world. Ruskin held that "truth has reference to qualities of material things, and of emotions, impressions, and thoughts."¹¹²

To achieve "truth" Ruskin stated that the artist should use "any signs or symbols which have a definite signification in the minds of those to whom they are addressed, although such signs be themselves no image nor likeness of anything." Great importance, then, is conferred on execution, that is, on the right mechanical use of the means of art to produce a given end. "All qualities of execution," Ruskin stated, "are influenced by . . . knowledge of truth." Five other qualities of execution can also be enumerated: simplicity, which means in essence avoidance of ostentation, pretension, or exhibitionism; mystery, which refers to Nature's mystery and the need

of art to be, like her, inexplicable; inadequacy, which refers to the illusion that, "the less sufficient the means appears to the end, the greater . . . will be the sensation of power"; decision, which refers to the decisiveness of the action taken to create the work; velocity, which produces a line more like nature in its gradation, uncertainty, and unity. Ruskin adds to these qualities a seventh, strangeness; that is, something never before thought of or something that should have been adapted to a different end.¹¹³

Obviously, not all these qualities are applicable to the writing of tales. But four of them have some immediacy when we consider Hawthorne's art. Hawthorne would agree readily with Ruskin's concentration on truth and on the assertion that it underlies all else in the creative work. Second, simplicity is not unrelated to Hawthorne's distilling process which we observed developing in the middle years. Mystery when it refers to Nature is basic to Hawthorne's work, and strangeness applies directly to the technique of the romance writers.

What, no doubt, influenced Hawthorne most in Modern Painters was Ruskin's explanation of the two distinct ends that landscape painting should achieve. As we will see, Hawthorne's "settings" in particular undergo one last transformation in this phase of his development. In many ways, what Ruskin says of landscape painting here is immediately applicable to Hawthorne's artistry after 1849.

The ends that landscape painting should achieve are first "to induce in the spectator's mind the faithful conception of any natural object whatsoever; the second, to guide the spectator's mind to those objects most worthy of its contemplation, and to inform him of the thoughts and feelings with which these were regarded by the artist himself."¹⁴

It is the second end that transforms the simple landscape into something quite other than imitative reality. It is important to note that Ruskin said "guide" the spectator. Just how important this is will be understood when we turn to "Main Street" and The Scarlet Letter and observe Hawthorne "guiding" the reader to an extended understanding of each object and character he uses in his "sets." No longer will they be described only, or used to furnish atmosphere or to complement the philosophical meaning of the central figure or action, but rather now they will serve as a complete mosaic with each tessera acting as a means of illuminating the total scene. The reader will no longer be able to see the meeting-house as a focal point on a canvas; rather will the meeting-house now become a thing of expressive thought that contributes not to a visual picture only but to an expressive philosophical picture, a network of intricately involved thought.

This development can be illustrated by recalling our previous discussion. There was no authorial comment about the three hills in the early tale, "The Hollow of the Three Hills," and there was only slight authorial comment made at the opening

of "The Minister's Black Veil." In "The Man of Adamant," still later, Hawthorne makes rather extensive reference to the meaning of Nature when he contrasts it to Digby's cave. By the time we read The Scarlet Letter we should notice that every object within the narrator's vision receives extensive comment as to its history, moral and philosophical significance, and its relevance to the scene as a whole.

What has happened, of course, is that Hawthorne has matured beyond the simple expression of the early tales. By attaining what Ruskin called the second end of landscape painting Hawthorne

not only places the spectator, but talks to him; makes him a sharer in his own strong feelings and quiet thoughts; hurries him away in his own enthusiasm; guides him to all that is beautiful; snatches him from all that is base, and leaves him more than delighted, -- ennobled and instructed, under the sense of having not only beheld a new scene, but of having held communion with a new mind, and having been endowed for a time with the keen perception and the impetuous emotion of a nobler and more penetrating intelligence The artist aiming at the second end, selects his objects for their meaning and character, rather than for their beauty; and uses them rather to throw light upon the particular thought he wishes to convey, than as in themselves objects of unconnected admiration.¹¹⁵

While these words were written expressly for painting, they have obvious meaning when applied to Hawthorne. They direct Hawthorne toward ends that complement those already developed by him as a result of his immersion in romantic thought. We have already discussed the impact that Coleridge's

and Stuart's theories of perception had on Hawthorne's own theory. What Ruskin describes fits very well into this development:

But the highest art, being based on sensations of peculiar minds, sensations occurring to them only at particular times, and to a plurality of mankind perhaps never, and being expressive of thoughts which would only rise out of a mass of the most extended knowledge, and of dispositions modified in a thousand ways by peculiarity of intellect -- can only be met and understood by persons having some sort of sympathy with the high and solitary minds which produced it He alone can appreciate the art, who could comprehend the conversation of the painter, and share in his emotion, in moments of his most fiery passion and most original thought.¹¹⁶

Like Coleridge and Stuart, Ruskin realizes that perception is peculiar to each individual and that this fact gives poignancy and purpose to the artist's work. Since the artist is, by nature, more sensitive and, therefore, more perceptive than the average individual, what he says or paints is of greater importance. Concomitantly, what he says or paints may not be understood by all men because they lack the sensitivity to respond with sympathy. As a result, the artist finds himself speaking to a small coterie of devotees and frequently feels himself isolated from the general mass of society. Certainly Hawthorne frequently experienced these sensations. He stated in a letter (quoted by George Lathrop) to Horatio Bridge, February 3, 1850:

I finished my book only yesterday The Scarlet Letter, one end being in the press in Boston, while the other was in my head here in Salem; so that, as you see, the story is at least fourteen miles long Some portions of the book are powerfully written; but my writings

do not, nor ever will, appeal to the broadest class of sympathies, and therefore will not attain a very wide popularity. Some like them very much; others care nothing for them and see nothing in them.
(Works, V, 9-10)

In attempting to illuminate the truth beyond the surface of reality, Hawthorne knew he spoke to a limited number of people. Yet he believed firmly that the artist must probe reality in such a way that he can give new insights to familiar things and clarify the nature of man by illuminating its diverse qualities. For a writer to achieve these ends, it was necessary, as Hawthorne gradually realized, to take observable reality and construct a scene, constituted of setting, figures, and action, that appeared to be real, and therefore particularized in time and space, yet, at the same time, was general enough to be universally acceptable. This could be achieved only by selecting a place and time that could be concretized sufficiently to be credible while it was generalized by association with actions and characters of man's past experience. The opening scene of The Scarlet Letter, for example, takes a particular time and place and describes detail sufficiently to ensure credibility even to the point of noting weeds and a rose. Hawthorne, then, generalizes that scene by associating it with man's past history where hints of his depraved nature are made manifest. Hawthorne hinted at this method of development as early as "The Prophetic Pictures," in which he stated of the "Painter," "His portfolio was filled with graphic illustrations of the

volume of his memory, which genius would transmute into its own substance, and imbue with immortality" (Works, II, 189-190). Something quite similar to this thought is expressed by Ruskin when he says, "Next to sensibility, which is necessary for the perception of facts, come reflection and memory, which are necessary for the retention of them, and recognition of their resemblances."¹¹⁷

In short, the romantic writers, like Ruskin, believe that perception without knowledge guarantees no truth. Simple observation or sensible reaction, devoid of association wrought by imagination or intellect or memory, can achieve no meaningful understanding of man or Nature. If the perfection of Nature or man is to be perceived, in a world constantly in flux, that perception can only be accomplished by imbuing observable reality with the conception of the constant character -- the ideal form. Hawthorne and Ruskin believed that reality only hinted at such perfection; it never attained it.

What Hawthorne read in Ruskin's Modern Painters confirmed the direction towards which his art was heading. But Hawthorne went further. He suggested the need to guide the reader by making explicit the multiple levels of meaning that are innately present in each scene and episode. Thus we find a far greater elaboration of meaning, concerning episodes, characters, actions, settings, and details within settings in the tales and romances after 1848 than in any of the tales which precede that year. This does not mean that the reader

will realize a clear, simply propounded view of the action or character. Rather it will mean that ambiguity will be heightened because the diversity of perception will expand the possible understandings relative to any one thing. Hawthorne had stated when looking back at his earlier work that it had meaning for him at the time.¹¹⁸ Perhaps now he desired to ensure that that meaning (or perhaps "meanings" is more accurate) should be explicit.

We should not move on to our discussion of "Main Street" without mentioning that Hawthorne might have received a corroborative impression concerning "thought in art" when he read Lester's Artists of America. Among the artists studied by Lester was Washington Allston, who knew both Sophia and the Hawthorne family. No doubt we can assume that Hawthorne's interest in Lester's work was in part owing to this fact: Lester, indeed, places Allston at the head of American artists and quotes liberally from him. One passage of interest is the following:

I will mention here a picture of a totally different kind which then took great hold of me, by Ludovico Carracci. I do not remember the title, but the subject was the Body of the Virgin borne for interment by four Apostles. The figures are colossal -- the tone dark and of tremendous depth of color. It seemed while I looked at it, as if the ground shook under their tread, and the air were darkened by their grief . . . I may here notice a false notion which is current among artists, in the interpretation they put on the axiom, that 'something should always be left to the imagination, viz: that some parts of a picture should be left unfinished. The very statement betrays

its unsoundness; for that which is unfinished must necessarily be imperfect, so that according to this rule, imperfection is made essential to perfection. The error lies in the phrase 'left to the imagination'; it has filled modern art with random flourishes of no meaning Works of a high order aspiring to be poetical, cannot make good their pretensions, unless they do affect the imagination, and this should be the test -- that they set to work, not to finish what is less incomplete, but to awaken images congenial to the compositions, but not in them expressed -- an effect that never was yet realized by misrepresenting anything 119

This is something like a repetition of Ruskin. The painting must incorporate the truth by accurate rendering of sensible data. But at the same time it must evoke more than the physical matter of that data. A work affects the imagination by awakening "images congenial to the compositions." That is to say, what is represented should evoke images that imagination or memory or intellect can associate with past experience, thus creating a more universally applicable meaning. Allston has illustrated these points by referring to Carracci's painting and its ability to evoke laments of fear and grief.

In 1857, Hawthorne expressed views similar to those quoted above by Ruskin and Allston. In an entry for July 28, in reference to the Manchester Arts' Exhibition, Hawthorne wrote:

The only modern pictures that accomplish a higher end than that of pleasing the eye -- the only ones that really take hold of the mind . . . are the works of Hunt, and one or two other painters

of the Pre-Raphaelite school . . . for the thought and feeling which are ground up with the paint, they will bear looking at, and disclose a deeper value the longer you look . . . Coming from such a depth as their pictures do, and having really an idea as the seed of them, it is strange that they should look like the most made up things imaginable. (*Works*, VIII, 525-526) (*Italics mine.*)

Ruskin, of course, had published six years before this entry his work on the Pre-Raphaelites. While we do not know conclusively that Hawthorne read Ruskin's work, we do know that Hawthorne referred to a work titled Pre-Raphaelitism which he saw on a Mr. Thaxter's table in September of 1852.¹²⁰ This might have been Ruskin's work. We know also that Hawthorne expressed an interest in reading Ruskin's pamphlet on Turner in December of 1857 (*Works*, VIII, 593). But whether or not Hawthorne is dependent on Ruskin for his evaluation of the Pre-Raphaelites, not all of which is positive as the last sentence indicates, the views expressed suggest a sympathy for the kind of work they created.

b. "Main Street" as Illustrative of Expressive Language

As in each of the previous sections, we will now turn to a tale that illustrates the development evident at this point in Hawthorne's artistry. While we have selected "Main Street" as that tale which speaks directly of the artist and his methodology, it is also true, as Bewley has said, that "Ethan Brand" is concerned with the creative writer who desires perfection in knowledge, virtue, and art and has gone beyond nature to become a cold-hearted monster. In this case, however,

the tale is more concentrated on the relation of the artist to society than on that of the artist to his art.¹²¹ It is likewise possible to see in "The Snow Image" and in "Feathertop" tales that consider the attributes necessary for the creative process and the distinction between art and reality, truth and appearance respectively.¹²²

"Main Street" first made its way into print in E. P. Peabody's Aesthetic Papers in 1849. In the opening paragraph Hawthorne mentions the prime purpose of the tale's pictorial exhibition: to illustrate the march of time. With this idea as the germ, so to speak, Hawthorne contrives an exhibition of pictures presented by a narrator-artist, executed very much like a puppet show, consisting of scenes that change appropriately to designate time and place. The narrator of the tale speaks directly to his "patrons," describes in detail the process he is using to convey his art, and intermittently continues this explanation throughout the piece.

Because it is like a puppet show, the pictorial exhibition contains certain prescribed techniques of presentation. First in importance is the manipulation of the characters and sets by a puppeteer who explains their purpose and meaning. Unlike live actors in a drama production, the characters in this type of performance do not act or move on their own; they are always moved under the direction of the artist. The result, obviously, is a less than lifelike character but one whose sole function is pre-determined by a larger end -- to project the "idea." The second characteristic of importance, "a train of incidents,"

we met in "Fancy's Show Box." The artist states that he will convey an idea by using a sequence of scenes, or as he says, a panorama. This means that the totality of the scenes dominates the individuality of any one. There is, then, a thematic (as opposed to a fictional) development. A third characteristic can be noted in the term "multiform and many colored past," which is the nature of each scene. We know, then, that each scene will cause many varied reactions in the viewers because each is evocative of various understandings. The consequence of this approach will be the characteristic "ambiguity" of Hawthorne's tales. Yet another characteristic resides in the historicity with which the scenes and hence the "idea" will be evoked. In order to convey the "historicity," the artist will make each character reflect his time and place by dress "representing all varieties of fashion, from the Puritan cloak and jerkin to the latest Oak Hall coat" (Works, III, 439). And in addition to dress, the artist will make each set correspond to the appropriate time and place being evoked. In this fashion he will display Main Street as it appeared two hundred years before and as it changed down to the present day. But to complement this fifth characteristic the artist adds a sixth: not only will the settings correspond to time and place, but the face of Nature will be altered as necessary to correspond to the artist's needs at the moment. The final characteristic, the seventh, contributes something quite new to Hawthorne's approach up to this time. It received

its impetus from the questioning raised by "The Old Apple Dealer" and developed further in "The Christmas Banquet." It is a device which forces the set and the character to take on an additional burden, to represent more than time and place, to become, in fact, a vehicle for associating the past with the present in a meaningful way. In essence, this device is the use of contrast. In "Main Street" Hawthorne prepares the reader for it by stating, "Unless something should go wrong -- as for instance, the misplacing of a picture whereby the people and events of one century might be thrust into the middle of another; or the breaking of a wire, which would bring the course of time to a sudden period" (Works, III, 440). This device is used in The Scarlet Letter when he places Hester in the Puritan community, a woman whose thoughts and actions correspond more to those of his contemporaries than to those of the Puritan mold. The effect of this device is to heighten the contrast between the Puritan mode of thought and life and that of the reader.

It is of some interest to note here that Hawthorne does not suggest any "unusual" or "strange" effects, any Gothic devices, which will be used to project the "idea," yet he does ask the "viewer" to seat himself in front of "yonder mysterious curtain." Whatever "mystery" attends the showing will be present in the show itself, not in a single device.

Of fundamental importance to our understanding of Hawthorne's artistry is the absolute control the artist takes of everything

within his tale. There is nothing now that will not contribute in an expressive way to the thought engendered by that central "idea." No longer does the scenery or the prop act to complement the proper mood or tone. Now it serves the artist as a means of establishing the geographic place, setting a time period for the action, and more important, the relationship between man and his environment and how that relationship is pertinent to man's condition both in the past and the present.

To achieve this end, Hawthorne uses what we might refer to as the two ends of landscape painting described by Ruskin. He paints in decisive, strong strokes the scene he wishes to develop. Then he delineates the entire scene by explaining its meaning and relevance to its historic context and to its meaningful reflection on the present. For example, the opening scene of "Main Street" depicts "an ancient and primitive wood, -- the ever youthful and venerably old, -- verdant with new twigs, yet hoary, as it were, with the snowfall of innumerable years, that have accumulated upon its intermingled branches." With a few more sentences, Hawthorne captures the setting. In this primeval wood he places two Indians. This should bring the showman's first scene to its close, but it does not. Hawthorne is not interested in simply depicting a scene. Without meaning, the bare observable objects of reality are useless to Hawthorne. Therefore, he projects the setting and the character into the "not-present" future.

By association with known history, the artist informs his reader that these very Indians "shall hereafter affright the pale-faced settlers" who are yet to come. And then the artist offers for contemplation another view of this scene and shows how the white settlers would eventually stamp out the Indian altogether. To impress the ironic relationship that is evoked by this first scene, Hawthorne has the narrator express these sentiments:

But greater would be the affright of the Indian necromancer, if, mirrored in the pool of water at his feet, he could catch a prophetic glimpse of the noonday marvels which the white man is destined to achieve; if he could see, as in a dream, the stone front of the stately hall, which will cast its shadow over this very spot; if he could be aware that the future edifice will contain a noble Museum, where, among countless curiosities of earth and sea, a few Indian arrow heads shall be treasured up as memorials of a vanished race! (Works, III, 441).

The "multiforms" of the scene are expressly made here by showing what the Indian and the wildness of the place mean to the settlers yet to come, and, then, turning the view from the settlers' "fright" to the Indians'. But even more than this, Hawthorne establishes a meaningful relationship between this past time and the present. The white man's eradication of the original settlers is mockingly conveyed by the prophetic glimpse, the dream that conjures up the white man's capitulation to his wanton destruction, the Museum that exhibits a few arrowheads. But Hawthorne's artistry is more profound than even this irony. This first scene reveals an untouched forest, unblemished by man; only time holds sway

to bring death and new life. But this virgin state cannot last. The Indian arrives and carves his path through the living wood. In time he must give way to the encroachment of the settler. And surely, he too is only a passing phase in the march of time. Unlike Hawthorne's previous settings, this one is not, so to speak, self-contained. Its purpose is to expand beyond its context, to force associations with other experiences and other times. The beginnings of this practice can be traced back to "The Old Apple Dealer" and "The New Adam and Eve." Prior to these works, it is safe to say that, with the exception of the stated moral at the end of the tale, settings remained within the confines of the tale. Now, however, the dominance of thought manifests itself, and Hawthorne utilizes the power of sets to express thought.

As the showman concludes his description of this first scene, a patron criticizes the presentation. To him "the trees look more like weeds in a garden than a primitive forest; the Squaw Sachem and Wappacowet are stiff in their pasteboard joints; and the squirrels, the deer, and the wolf move with all the grace of a child's wooden monkey, sliding up and down a stick'" (Works, III, 442). The showman responds to this criticism with this remark: "'Human art has its limits, and we must now and then ask a little aid from the spectator's imagination.'" Hawthorne thus raises the question of illusion and reality and perhaps suggests the distinction between the romance and the novel. The dichotomy here has been clarified to some degree by Folsom's statement: "the Novel, in Hawthorne's

terms, makes an illusion of life; the Romance, conversely, uses illusion as illusion to give a perception of some kind of Reality which is true, but not true to the laws of realistic presentation."¹²³ Obviously, the showman's critic is typical of the "hardnosed realist who make[s] it a point to see things precisely as they are." Such a person understands nothing beyond what his senses teach him. Whatever is said by the showman that is not visible to the naked eyes, whatever associations are made between the scene depicted and things yet to come, whatever meaningful relationships are drawn to bring the scenes into some relevant context with the viewer will not be accepted by a person whose experience is defined by his senses. Like Ruskin, Hawthorne sees no value in accomplishing the first end of landscape painting alone. Physical reality defines existence; by itself it offers no meaning for that existence. The artist attempts, as indeed Hawthorne does, to reflect meaning through creation.

A second scene comes before the showman's patrons. Like the first it is presented simply, in strong clear strokes. Out of it, too, Hawthorne has his artist draw impressions:

And the Indians, coming from their distant wigwams to view the white man's settlement, marvel at the deep track which he makes, and perhaps are saddened by a flitting presentiment that this heavy tread will find its way over all the land; and that the wild woods, the wild wolf, and the wild Indian will be alike trampled beneath it. Even so shall it be. The pavements of the Main Street must be laid over the red man's grave. (Works, III, 445)

Once again the meaning of the scene is not left to chance. It is simply and graphically stated. Because Hawthorne explicitly states the meaning of this scene, the viewer in the tale and the reader of the tale must look upon these scenes as significant. They are in this respect quite different from the scenes in his earlier work which served as mood-fulfilling backdrops for the action.

Nowhere in "Main Street" does Hawthorne permit the reader to forget how important and relevant each scene is to him. Once in scene three, after Endicott has debarked and received the laudation of the crowd, Hawthorne says:

"We seem to hear it with our own ears, so perfectly is the action represented in this life-like, this almost magic, picture!" (Works, III, 447). And again in referring to Endicott's wife he says: "Do we not recognize . . . the model of features which still beam, at happy moments, on what was then the woodland pathway . . . ?" Both of these comments force the "patrons" to bring their own lives into some meaningful association with those scenes presented. Hawthorne permits his critic once again to interrupt his showman. This time he resents the showman's drawing such presumptuous assertions as those made above. In answer to this criticism the showman requests the critic to remove himself some distance from the stage to permit "the proper light and shadow [to] transform the spectacle into quite another thing" (Works, III, 448). Again Hawthorne forces our attention away from the

object and to those less concrete associations which can be evoked by it. To achieve this end a certain degree of suspension of disbelief must be willingly given.

Turning again to his exhibit, the showman reveals a Puritan settlement which includes a meetinghouse of rough-hewn logs. This object within the broader scene becomes a catalyst for numerous associative meanings. Through it Hawthorne draws the reader into a time prior even to that of the Puritans and forward once again to the present day. Through it he is able to contrast the decay of religious fervor in Europe and the potential decay of that fervor in the New World. By means of the building he is able to cast his opprobrium on the ingrown hypocrisy that eventually turned a spirit of freedom into one of slavery: "All was well, so long as their lamps were freshly kindled at the heavenly flame. After a while, however, whether in their time or their children's, these lamps began to burn more dimly, or with a less genuine lustre; and then it might be seen how hard, cold, and confined was their system, -- how like an iron cage was that which they called Liberty" (Works, III, 449).

It is this constant interpolation of meaning that eventually forces two critics to object to the showman's presentation. He has during his discourse brought together various historical personages who could not have met each other in reality. The showman's purpose, as we intimated above, is to offer heightened contrast to the existing scene. To defend

his practice the showman admonishes his critics that they are breaking the illusion by constantly interrupting. "'Illusion! What illusion? I see nothing illusive in the wretchedly bedaubed sheet of canvas that forms your background, or in these pasteboard slips that hitch and jerk along the front. The only illusion, permit me to say, is in the puppet-showman's tongue . . .'" (Works, III, 454). Hawthorne reveals through these comments how truly limited the setting by itself really is. What the critic says is, in fact, true. It is the showman-artist that creates the illusion, but if it is to be received by the viewer-reader, he must change his point of view and then "'the slips of pasteboard shall assume spiritual life, and the bedaubed canvas become an airy and changeable reflex of what it purports to represent'" (Works, III, 455). This sentence states explicitly Hawthorne's practice. His set purports to represent some thing in time and place. But it does more. It becomes something airy and changeable that can reflect other things as well. What these are depends on the determination of the writer. In "Main Street" it is the recurrent emphasis on the march of time embodied in the reiterated references to the virgin forest, the Indian, and the settler. "Is there not a touch of pathos in that picture? And does it not go far towards telling the whole story of the vast growth and prosperity of one race [the settler], and the fated decay of another? [the Indian] -- the children of the stranger making game of the great Squaw Sachem's grandson!" (Works, III, 465).

Yet as he draws his exhibit to a close, one cannot help feeling that Hawthorne is gently ridiculing his own profession. For here he has the showman offer to return the price of admission to any patron dissatisfied with his presentation. The showman's critic does, in fact, request his quarter.

"Main Street" incorporates a rather extensive account of authorial comment in explanation of the scene's meanings. But it is not an isolated instance. As a matter of fact, a contrast between a significant forest scene from Fanshawe, Hawthorne's first extended work of fiction, and the forest scene from The Scarlet Letter will reveal how important this practice is to the later romance. Furthermore, to contrast similar scenes in "The Gray Champion" and "Endicott and the Red Cross" with the opening of The Scarlet Letter will establish how this technique pervades Hawthorne's work. But before turning to these contrasts, we must look at "the Custom House" as expressing Hawthorne's artistic theory and practice as it exists at this date, 1850, and as it is present in The Scarlet Letter.

CHAPTER VI

The Middle Years: Part IV

The Prefaces and the Romances

1848 - 1853

a. "The Custom House"

"The Custom House" has plagued many critics of Hawthorne's work, not to say Hawthorne himself, who nonetheless found no fault with its contents nor need to exclude it from the second edition, March 30, 1850, despite the allegations of some of his contemporaries that the sketch was slanderous. Among those who have commented upon its purpose and content are Frank MacShane, who found many thematic connections between it and The Scarlet Letter; Jac Tharpe, who believes it to be a kind of "frame" device; Folsom, who finds it expressive of the quality of the illusion which will be shown in the romance that follows; Feidelson, who attempts to link the Custom House and seventeenth-century New England symbolically; and Larzer Ziff, who sees it as an analogue.¹²⁴ There have been others, among them Jesse Bier, who states that Hawthorne's introductory remarks to "Rappaccini's Daughter," The Scarlet Letter, The House of the Seven Gables, The Blithedale Romance, and The Marble Faun constitute his expression of artistic principles. Bier continues with these observations: "But in none . . . is there anything like a developed literary theory The reader is given a consistent view of the 'Romance' as Hawthorne employed it and of fiction in general as Hawthorne saw it, but

the student has no systematic program before him, no close, lengthy discussion of method by which to be guided."¹²⁵ True, Hawthorne does not explicitly relate a "developed literary theory," but there is discernible a developing literary theory and practice in these Prefaces and in his fictions. The implications of Bier's statements suggest only minute changes in artistic development over the fifteen years involved. But if we consider that less than ten years separate "Rappaccini's Daughter" from The Blithedale Romance, the surprise of this implication is significantly reduced. Furthermore, what Hawthorne said in the Preface to Mosses is not identical to what he said in "The Custom House." Important differences exist, especially when Hawthorne makes explicit the manifold meanings of his characters and settings illustrated and described in the latter piece. And more, the relationship between the narrative material and its philosophical and moral implications is developed much further in "The Custom House" than in Mosses. The more significant developments, of course, occurred in the works themselves and many of these developments of them, as we have seen, before 1844.

Daniel Hoffman claims that the primary purpose of "The Custom House" is "to lead the reader backwards in time, away from the dull commonplaceness of the present toward the past in which the imagination can illuminate reality with a glow like moonlight or firelight."¹²⁶ This, indeed, might be the reason, as might all of the reasons offered by the various

scholars already mentioned. But Hawthorne offers his own reason in the essay itself and it may be of some worth to consider what he says:

It will be seen likewise, that this Custom House sketch has a certain propriety, of a kind always recognized in literature, as explaining how a large portion of the following pages came into my possession, and as offering proofs of the authenticity of a narrative therein contained. This, in fact, -- a desire to put myself in my true position as editor, or very little more, of the most prolix among the tales that make up my volume, -- this and no other is my true reason for assuming a personal relation with the public. In accomplishing the main purpose, it has appeared allowable, by a few extra touches, to give a faint representation of a mode of life not heretofore described, together with some of the characters that move in it, among whom the author happened to make one. (Works, V, 18)

Hawthorne added in a letter to Horatio Bridge, that the sketch contained "an imaginative touch here and there" (Works, V, 10). If what Hawthorne says has any semblance of truth, then we must assert that he wrote the sketch first of all to affirm that he had taken some historical material, edited it, and would now present it to the public. Second, to accomplish this end, Hawthorne found it necessary, or helpful, to add to this explanation of how he chanced upon his material and the "process" of editing, "a faint representation of a mode of life not heretofore described, together with some of the characters that move in it, among whom the author happened to make one." And third, he tells us, and confirms this in his letter to Bridge, that the whole is infused with imagination.

It would be instructive to turn to the "editing" process that Hawthorne mentions, as a means of understanding "what" is being projected and "why." After some description of the Custom House, the Inspector, the General, and the demise of his literary interests, Hawthorne tells the reader that on "one idle and rainy day" he was "poking and burrowing" through old documents stored in the second story of the building. For a certain length of time, he says, he scanned these old papers with half-reluctant interest. But, then (and Hawthorne sets the clause off in dashes) "exerting my fancy, sluggish with little use, to raise up from dry bones an image of the old town's brighter aspect . . ." (Works, V, 47), "I chanced to lay my hand on a small package, carefully done up in a piece of ancient yellow parchment." Here, at a point where one particular document will be discussed, Hawthorne moves into the realm of fantasy. By establishing the following material as "fanciful" Hawthorne accomplishes two things: first, like Swift in the "Letter to the Publisher" that precedes Gulliver's Travels and Fielding in the "Preface to Joseph Andrews and other writers of narrative, he effects a sense of credibility by creating an historical figure whose word can be trusted to tell of events that lean heavily toward the incredible; and second, he introduces the reader to the imaginative processes used to develop the ensuing story. Hawthorne first establishes the existence of Surveyor Mr. Pue and certain "private," not official, documents including both a "scarlet letter" and a manuscript.

Hawthorne treats both the letter and the manuscript in the same way. The latter is graphically described in terms of shape, size, and decoration. After an elaborate physical presentation which captures concretely the existence of the object, he turns to a concern for what it means. The physical reality can offer no meaning. "It had been intended, there could be no doubt, as an ornamental article of dress; but how it was to be worn, or what rank, honor, and dignity, in by-past times, were signified by it, was a riddle which . . . I saw little hope of solving" (Works, V, 50). Yet Hawthorne says, "Certainly there was some deep meaning in it, most worthy of interpretation" How could this meaning be discerned? The physical object was not enough. Therefore, Hawthorne says, "exerting my fancy" it could become a "mystic symbol, subtly communicating" to the sensibilities even while it evades intellectual analysis. This is obviously the method of the romance writer: to attempt to illuminate observable reality in such a way that the hidden meaning is made manifest.

To effect this illumination Hawthorne turns to the manuscript of Surveyor Pue. Again he details with great accuracy the document itself. Pue's manuscript, we are told, was obtained from people who were alive at the time of the incident. Indeed, Hawthorne, tells us he still possesses the manuscript and offers to exhibit it to anyone interested. The manuscript story provides, then, a context in which the letter

can be given meaning beyond its physical self. Hawthorne informs the reader that he has taken liberties to make "the mystic symbol" communicate: "I must not be understood as affirming, that, in the dressing up of the tale, and imagining motives and modes of passion that influenced the characters who figure in it, I have invariably confined myself within the limits of the old Surveyor's half a dozen sheets of foolscap. On the contrary, I have allowed myself, as to such points, nearly or altogether as much license as if the facts had been entirely of my own invention" (Works, V, 52). Quite specifically Hawthorne tells the reader he has particularly created imaginative motives and modes of passion that influenced characters. Thus we know that the symbolic meanings are intertwined with the motives and passions of the characters and that the whole is extensively enlarged by an author who will comment on the action and explain in detail the ramifications of the narrative.

Hawthorne continues to discuss the "editing process." He tells us of the hours of meditating, the need for the correct atmosphere in which to create the characters that will populate his tale. He describes how the simplest of objects -- a child's shoe, a doll, a hobby horse -- can be transformed, spiritualized so as to become a thing of the intellect no longer confined to "their actual substance." To complete the transformation from the scarlet letter, the fabric item of the real world, to the scarlet letter, the mystic symbol of

"fairy-land," to move, as Hawthorne says, to that romantic state where the actual and the imaginary meet, "each [must] imbue itself with the nature of the other" (Works, V, 55).

But for all the effort and time and meditation expended on the scarlet letter, and despite the fact that he could describe the process of creating the romance, Hawthorne could not, while at the Custom House bring the tale into existence. Yet he states, quite candidly, "It is my belief, however, that, had I attempted a different order of composition, my faculties would not have been found so pointless and inefficacious" (Works, V, 56). In short, if he had considered a method different from the romance, he would have been able to complete it. But the romance required solitude and he was constantly being interrupted by some actual circumstance. The scarlet letter required, furthermore, the necessity of flinging the mind and sensibilities back into a past time, and this, too, prevented the work from being executed when the mundane was so omnipresent.

Two problems, then, faced Hawthorne at this time: the process of romance writing and the "past time" of the subject itself. Since he was aware of both problems, he mentions to the reader that "the wise effort would have been to diffuse thought and imagination through the opaque substance of today, and thus to make it a bright transparency; to spiritualize the burden that began to weigh so heavily; to seek, resolutely, the true and indestructible value that lay hidden in the petty

and wearisome incidents, and ordinary characters with which I was now conversant" (Works, V, 57). Should we substitute "Scarlet Letter" for "opaque substance of today," we would realize that Hawthorne had simply suggested to himself that he use contemporary subject matter as the material of his romance and not "time past."

Thus Hawthorne accepts the fact that the subject matter is of secondary importance to the process. The romance process requires a diffusion of thought and imagination throughout the subject whether it be a scarlet letter and a Puritan community or the Inspector and a Custom House. This diffusion will make the subject mean more than its actual existence in a given time and place -- it makes the subject transparent, something through which more can be seen. At the same time, the subject must be spiritualized to lift it out of the confinement of the actual world and by association to make it relevant to those who come into contact with it. And, finally, the writer must seek through the subject, whether past or present, that indestructible universal true value which it contains because it can be seen in context, by comparison or contrast, with past experience.

This process Hawthorne described in slightly different words in the Preface to Mosses and illustrated in "The Old Apple Dealer" and "The Christmas Banquet." What differs here from these earlier works is the method by which the "seeking, resolutely, the true and indestructible value . . ." is

achieved. The method in "The Custom House" is identical with that illustrated in "Main Street." It is discernible in this essay because Hawthorne illustrates it, as, indeed, he said he would. If we recall the two reasons he listed for writing the sketch, we will remember that one included "the faint representation of a mode of life not heretofore described, together with some of the characters that move in it . . ." as a means of accomplishing the first end. Hawthorne tells us that he did not use the contemporaneous subject matter because "I had not fathomed its deeper import. A better book than I shall ever write was there; leaf after leaf presenting itself to me, just as it was written out by the reality of the flitting hour, and vanishing as fast as written, only because my brain wanted the insight and my hand the cunning to describe it. At some future day, it may be, I shall remember a few scattered fragments and broken paragraphs, and write them down, and find the letters turn to gold upon the pages" (Works, V, 57).

It would seem, then, that Hawthorne, after leaving the Custom House, turned to the scarlet letter because he had "fathomed its deeper import"; after all, the subject matter had reverberated throughout his journals for many years. After the romance was complete, he turned to the sketch which now precedes it. Here he is writing after the fact telling of incidents and attitudes that preceded the fact. In the passage just quoted, he recounts an attitude that existed prior

to the writing of the romance. However, a careful look at Hawthorne's descriptions of the Inspector, the General, and the Custom House itself will reveal that they illustrate the author's applying the romantic process to his contemporaries and to the Custom House. In this way they are indeed able to contribute to the "accomplishment of the main purpose," and to describe the "process of editing" the material that constitutes The Scarlet Letter.

"The Custom House" contains, then, the contrasting approaches that we mentioned earlier as existing between The Scarlet Letter and The House of the Seven Gables. (See pages 151-152.) In the former Hawthorne imbues time past with a meaningful relevance for his readers because he is able to make the actions and attitudes his characters perform reflect the kinds of actions and attitudes that mankind performs. They serve as a transparent window through which these universal truths can be seen. "Time past," the costumes of his characters, the detail of the scenes -- the buildings, the utensils, the everyday objects -- serve to cast the action out of the realm of actual circumstance where direct association blunts the universal applicability of the truth, while at the same time it gives a modicum of particularity by which credibility can be obtained. In contrast to this, The House of the Seven Gables takes contemporaneous time, but diffuses its immediacy by casting its meaningfulness and relevance into a necessary association with time past and, therefore,

into an association with man's past experience. By diffusing the legend of the curse through the action, Hawthorne forces it out of the realm of actual circumstance and into that hidden truth applicable to all men. Hawthorne's utilization of the romantic process as it applies to the scarlet letter on the one hand and to his Custom House employees on the other illustrates these two approaches. This concern, as we have pointed out, has been present since "The Old Apple Dealer" and becomes the concern of three of the four major romances. Only The Scarlet Letter is set in "time past" and, even here, unlike that of many of the tales set in time past, the action takes place within the context of the actual world. The scarlet letter was visible during the days of Gov. Bellingham's Boston and, consequently, refers to actual time, although the states of mind "imitated," like Aristotle's "action imitated" in Greek tragedy, are of a universal character. For this reason, Hawthorne distills his materials in such a way that the reader cannot know any character so intimately that he loses sight of the complex nature being depicted.

This editing process -- the distillation, the diffusing, the spiritualizing, the seeking -- we will term "abstracting" the subject to gain "expressive thought." This illustrating of the abstracting process has not been the usual understanding of the purpose of "The Custom House" sketch. Many have felt that Hawthorne deliberately appended the sketch as a means of "avenging" his dismissal from the surveyor post. Randall

Stewart in his biography of Hawthorne quotes an attack made on him by the Salem Register of March 21, 1850: "Hawthorne seeks to vent his spite . . . by small sneers at Salem, and by vilifying some of his former associates" ¹²⁷ Hawthorne obviously denied such allegations. If what we have tabulated as the purpose of the sketch is true, then the assumption that Hawthorne was attacking his associates is patently absurd. Since he was concerned with illustrating contemporary incidents to demonstrate the romantic process at work in them, he turned simply to the place and the people most dominant in his thought at this time. Hence the scorn and mockery felt by the Salemites was probably not warranted at all. Hawthorne used his fellow workers more to illustrate his theory and practice than to lampoon those who he felt had been unjust to him. After all, those whom he does cite in the sketch were in no position to help or hurt him, and nowhere does Hawthorne satirize those who were.

If, indeed, Hawthorne uses the sketch as a means of describing and illustrating the abstracting process, then the allegations made by Baskett are not totally valid. Baskett claims that Hawthorne was "contemptuous of the values of his associates, ambivalent in his attitude toward the past, [and] unsure of his place in society as a writer" What could very well be the case, if our assumptions are true, is that Hawthorne, in diffusing the Custom House "characters" with his fancy, has projected them into molds that do not

characterize individual men but a quality or qualities of universal man. Hence to say, as Baskett does, that Hawthorne "condemns the Custom House officer for not participating in the mainstream of human endeavor" is not justified. To say further that Hawthorne's image of himself with the scarlet "A" burning on his breast is the image of the alienated artist is rather farfetched. Hawthorne illustrates here how the "A" affected him as romance writer and "inspired" him to probe the meanings it emblemized.¹²⁸

Numerous portraits sketched in the essay illustrate how a romance writer can take a contemporary personage and abstract him in such a way that the actual circumstances of his being are subjugated to a broader meaning. The first sketch is of Hawthorne himself. We need only recall how Hawthorne applied this artistic theory in "Main Street" to see it operating in this portrait.

As he brings his description of Salem to a close, he inserts his personal connections with the city. We are told that it has a hold on his affections both because he lived here and because his ancestors lived here. Hawthorne ties together his own being and his profession as a tale-teller with his ancestors and their "projected" view of him. Hawthorne himself is transported out of the realm of actual circumstance. His relationship to life's purpose, to God, to mankind, these become more significant than Hawthorne the individual. From this picture Hawthorne draws a number of references which are

universally applicable; for example, "This long connection of a family with one spot, as its place of birth and burial, creates a kindred between the human being and the locality, quite independent of any charm in the scenery or moral circumstances that surround him Human nature will not flourish . . . if it be planted and replanted, for too long a series of generations, in the same worn out soil" (*Works*, V, 26-27). The ramifications of this kind of stagnation had already been manifested by Hawthorne in "Main Street."

Obviously, Hawthorne has adapted his own history, as writer and descendant of Puritans, to illustrate the abstracting process. At the conclusion of the essay he says, "My old native town will loom upon me through the haze of memory, a mist brooding over and around it; as if it were no portion of real earth, but an overgrown village in cloud-land, with only imaginary inhabitants to people its wooden houses . . . henceforth it ceases to be a reality of my life" (*Works*, V, 65). Once it ceases to be a reality for his life, it becomes a meaningful truth to all men. Compare these sentiments to those expressed in "The Prophetic Pictures." His portfolio was filled with graphic illustrations of the volume of his memory, which genius would transmute into its own substance, and imbue with immortality." The mystery of this transmutation is what Hawthorne is describing in "The Custom House." The same process works when Hawthorne turns his attention to the

Custom House employees. Again at the conclusion of the essay he tells us that they had become "but shadows in my view; white-headed and wrinkled images, which my fancy used to sport with"

The general picture of human nature that Hawthorne wishes to paint in these sketches of his associates is explicitly stated before he begins his first portrait:

there will be no harm done, if I characterize them generally as a set of wearisome old souls, who had gathered nothing worth preservation from their varied experience of life. They seemed to have flung away all the golden grain of practical wisdom, which they had enjoyed so many opportunities of harvesting, and most carefully to have stored their memories with the husks. They spoke with far more interest and unction of their morning's dinner, than of the shipwreck of forty or fifty years ago, and all the world's wonders which they had witnessed with their youthful eyes. (Works, V, 32)

Each portrait, then, will contribute toward establishing this general truth of man's nature: few men grasp, few contend with, few attempt to comprehend the metaphysical meanings that must be gleaned from experience (life) if the true import of man's purpose is to be fathomed. Men who bury themselves in the moment, in the trifles of everyday life, and fail to transmute the experiences of life into a more meaningful fabric are nothing more than "wearisome old souls."

The first portrait is that of the permanent Inspector. Hawthorne the artist places this figure in a context of contemporaneous time and place, and, then, projects him by comparison into an historical relationship. By association

of the particularities of his existence with the condition of others whom he images, Hawthorne draws conclusions concerning human nature in general.

Great detail is expended on this figure; his age, his ancestry, his color, figure, dress, walk, health, his voice and laugh, his animal pleasures and habits, the security of his life, "the moderate proportion of his intellect," and the "trifling admixture of moral and spiritual ingredients." From these qualities Hawthorne deduces that he "possessed no power of thought, no depth of feeling, no troublesome sensibilities; nothing, in short, but a few commonplace instincts, which, aided by a cheerful temper that grew inevitably out of his physical well being, did duty very respectably . . . in lieu of a heart" (Works, V, 34). Hawthorne projects this particular description into a more meaningful association by calling him "a rare phenomenon" of human nature. "My conclusion was that he had no soul, no heart, no mind; nothing, as I have already said, but instincts" He is contrasted, then, not only to men who possess these attributes but is compared, as well, to "his four-footed brethren." Having established this broader context, Hawthorne proceeds to place him into the general picture cited above: "A tenderloin of beef, a hindquarter of veal . . . would be remembered; while all the subsequent experience of our race, and all the events that brightened or darkened his individual career, had gone over him with as little permanent effect as the passing

breeze" (Works, V, 36). Concerning this kind of person Hawthorne says: "Most persons . . . suffer moral detriment from this peculiar mode of life. The Old Inspector was incapable of it, and, were he to continue in office to the end of time, would be just as good as he was then"

Like the scenic descriptions of "Main Street," the character portraits of "The Custom House" are elaborately drawn. Hawthorne expends much time explaining the meaning that is discernible in the various qualities or characteristics that constitute the man. Once he has established the meaningful relationships, he abstracts the work still more so that it focuses on the overriding idea that is the germ of the piece. Should we contrast any character -- Reuben Bourne, Robin, Goodman Brown, Rev. Hooper -- from the early tales with the characters described in "The Custom House," we will find that this extensive, explicit abstracting process was not in operation.

As Hawthorne moves from the sketch of the Inspector to that of the General, he tells us that he is creating a picture gallery. Indeed, the General's portrait illustrates even more graphically the purpose of "The Custom House." The likeness Hawthorne captures here, of an old soldier who had come to the Custom House twenty years before, can be and is equated with descriptions of Fort Ticonderoga on the old Niagara frontier. Having described his features in detail, Hawthorne characterizes the old general in words nearly identical to those used to describe the physical features of the fort:

"The framework of his nature, originally strong and massive, was not yet crumbled into ruin . . . to observe and define his character . . . was as difficult a task as to trace out . . . in imagination, an old fortress, like Ticonderoga Here and there, perchance, the walls may remain almost complete, but elsewhere may be only a shapeless mound, cumbrous with its very strength, and overgrown through long years of peace and neglect, with grass and alien weeds" (Works, V, 37-38). As he itemizes "the main points of his portrait," which become those of stubbornness and ponderous endurance, the unfathomable truth of this man's true identity strikes the painter. Even though he stands contemplating this ancient face, "He seemed away from us, although we saw him but a few yards off; remote, though we passed close beside his chair; unattainable, though we might have stretched forth our hands and touched his own. It might be that he lived a more real life within his thoughts than amid the inappropriate environment of the Collector's office" (Works, VI, 60). Two things strike Hawthorne here: first, surface reality offers no necessary indication of truthful identification, and second, there is no guarantee that the romantic writer's perception, which identifies stubbornness and ponderousness as the major qualities, is any more accurate. Here Hawthorne reveals the necessity of making known the multipoints of view that are present in understanding anything at all. Hawthorne had said of The Scarlet Letter on January 20, 1850, "Keeping so

close to its point as the tale does, and diversified no otherwise than by turning different sides of the same dark idea to the reader's eye it will weary many people"129

As in The Scarlet Letter, Hawthorne demonstrates the validity of his multipoints of view. The eyes and the intuitive perception of the artist, though more sensitive than the average, do not of necessity perceive all. Hawthorne justifies in this manner the practice of forcing the reader to consider the many facets of the hidden truth.

But the portrait is by no means finished. While Hawthorne has illustrated the impossibility of capturing absolute truth, he still demonstrates how this character can be abstracted to encompass characteristics identifiable with man's common nature. He cites some memorable words, typical of the General, that make him, when considered in light of his full sketch, emblematic of "the soul and spirit of New England hardihood, comprehending all perils, and encountering all." These words are "'I'll try, Sir!'"

And, finally, Hawthorne places in his gallery a man who had been bred in the Custom House since childhood. His gifts, Hawthorne tells us, were "those of a man of business; prompt, acute, clear-minded." While he is particularized in these few words, and his life circumscribed by the Custom House, he is lifted out of the actual circumstances of his existence by being made the idealized form of his class. "He was, indeed, the Custom House in himself"

These portraits illustrate, as Hawthorne intended they should, the method by which the romance writer transmutes the matter of everyday reality into that "neutral territory, somewhere between the real world and fairy-land, where the actual and the imaginary may meet, and each imbues itself with the nature of the other" (Works, V, 55). The multipoints of view, the association by comparison or contrast with past experience, the abstracting process create both an illusion of reality and an illusion of truth. Taken as a whole "The Custom House" creates itself an illusion of reality, that a scarlet letter of a certain size and shape together with an accompanying manuscript written by an ancient surveyor had been found by Hawthorne when working at the Custom House. In keeping with the propriety of establishing such a credible authority for his narrative, Hawthorne, adding as he does corroborating evidence through the descriptive matter of the portraits, creates as well an illusion of truth. Thus, whether considered as an entity itself or in its constituent elements, "The Custom House" fulfills the intention stated by Hawthorne at the very beginning.

b. The Scarlet Letter

The kind of Ruskin-like "expressive thought" that we have been describing reaches a climax of development in The Scarlet Letter and The House of the Seven Gables. Some scholars have commented on the Scott-like character of Hawthorne's

artistry in The Scarlet Letter, and, indeed, in most of his work. What these scholars have to say is not necessarily contradicted by this study, although we would make a distinction between the adaptations of the Scott technique as it first appeared in Hawthorne and as he moderated it in practice over the years.

Wagenknecht pointed to Scott's influence as most pervasive in Fanshawe, in which he asserts "every feature of his technique was dutifully imitated."¹³⁰ A rather extensive comparison of these two writers was made by Woodberry many years ago. According to him, "there is no trace of any other literary influence upon him either in this preparatory time or later in life; but something of Scott is to be found permanently in his creative work, -- in the figure grouping, the high speeches, the oddities of character humorously treated, and especially in the use of set scenes individually elaborated to give the high lights and to advance the story."¹³¹ It is this last facet that most concerns us at the moment. Unlike Woodberry, however, we find scenes individually elaborated not only to provide highlights and to advance the story, but to express through every detail the thought content of the work as well.

We are also concerned here with illustrating Hawthorne's continued use of multiple points of view and his further dramatization of romantic thought. Most of what we say is not new. Although no critic to date has demonstrated the development of Hawthorne's artistry from its more unadorned and

implicit state to its complex and explicit state, many have noticed and commented upon the extensive symbolism and complex thought processes incorporated into The Scarlet Letter.

In order to substantiate our thesis, let us consider three works which contain similar descriptive scenes. All three works have crowd scenes which contain two divergent viewpoints and are generally expressive, implicitly or explicitly, of qualities of the New England character. The first of these, "The Gray Champion," published in 1835 in the New England Magazine appeared sixteen years before The Scarlet Letter. The second, "Endicott and the Red Cross" was printed in the Salem Gazette in 1837 and is an acknowledged precursor of The Scarlet Letter. Each tale appears in one of the early periods of Hawthorne's creative years as we have divided them.

We can turn to Woodberry for an incisive depiction of Hawthorne's "setting" in "The Gray Champion" and its reflection of Scott's influence:

This tale is a picture, a scene, ending in a tableau; the surrounding stir of life, excitement, and atmosphere is first prepared, then the procession comes down the street, and is arrested, challenged and thrown back by the venerable figure of the old Puritan who stands alone, like a prophet come back from the dead to deliver the people. The composition, the development, the focusing are in Scott's manner; it is from him that this dramatic presentation of history in a single scene, as here, or by a succession of scenes carrying a story is derived; partly pictorial, partly theatrical, always dramatic, this is the method which Hawthorne applied, the art of "The Author of Waverley," who was its great master in English fiction.¹³²

Woodberry's understanding of Hawthorne's approach is accurate. The setting acts as a backdrop against which the characters stand. It functions as a kind of static picture contributing to the atmosphere and tone. Essentially dramatic, it does not explicitly state any philosophical or moralistic meaning although the contrast between the Crown's officers, soldiers, and clergyman and the religious multitude and "their "Gray Champion" implicitly suggests such meanings. Yet even here, as early as this tale is, Hawthorne does offer explicitly, albeit he does not elaborate at length on the subject, a specific association that should be garnered from this scene: "The whole scene was a picture of the condition of New England, and its moral, the deformity of any government that does not grow out of the nature of things and the character of the people. On one side the religious multitude, with their sad visages and dark attire, and on the other, the group of despotic rulers, with the High-Churchman in the midst . . . all magnificently clad, flushed with wine, proud of unjust authority, and scoffing at the universal groan" (Works, I, 26). Indeed, this explicit statement citing the meaning of the scene is unusual at this early date. But even so, its use here is extremely moderate by contrast with the expressive thought of the later period. Nothing beyond this statement and the "moral" at the tale's end appears through the remainder of the work. What is visible here is the artistic practice developed at length, in "Sights from a Steeple," and discussed

earlier in this study, the simple development of an incident, and the bringing together of forces, here contrasting forces, from which the narrator draws an explanation. The details, such as the "sad visages and dark attire," are obviously seen from a distant vantage point and are interrupted by the narrator in keeping with the development of the incident. Each of these facets of Hawthorne's practice parallels the manner of development outlined in "Sights" where he describes the young girls with the boy and their confrontation with the merchant.

When we turn to "Endicott and the Red Cross," however, we cannot say, as Woodberry does, that it is a "small study of the same sort."¹³³ The scene in question develops, as in "The Gray Champion," out of the historical matter that initiates the tale. It strangely parallels the scene to be described at the opening of The Scarlet Letter:

The central object in the mirrored picture was an edifice of humble architecture with neither steeple nor bell to proclaim it -- what, nevertheless, it was -- the house of prayer. A token of the perils of the wilderness was seen in the grim head of a wolf which had just been slain within the precincts of the town, and, according to the regular mode of claiming the bounty, was nailed on the porch of the meetinghouse. The blood was still splashing on the doorstep. There happened to be visible at the same noontide hour so many other characteristics of the time and manners of the Puritans that we must endeavor to represent them in a sketch, though far less vividly than they were reflected in the polished breastplate of John Endicott. (Works, I, 486)

Following this scene, Hawthorne proceeds to add more and more figures, but now sinners marked by various items that identify their transgressions. Among these was one of special interest:

There was likewise a young woman with no mean share of beauty, whose doom it was to wear the letter A on the breast of her gown in the eyes of all the world and her own children. And even her own children knew what that initial signified. Sporting with her infamy, the lost and desperate creature had embroidered the fatal token in scarlet cloth with golden thread and the nicest art of needlework; so that the capital A might have been thought to mean "Admirable," or anything rather than "Adulteress." (Works, I, 487)

As we can see from these quotations, Hawthorne does not elaborate on any meaningful reference the objects within his scene might have. The house of prayer is nothing more than that. The wolf has no peculiar stated purpose although one is tempted to compare its depicted state with that of the condemned and vilified sinners. Aside from the casual remark that the A might mean "admirable," there is no explicit development of any of the identifiable items that adorn the sinners. Moreover, nothing is made of the crowd that looks upon these people. The crowd moves when told to do so by John Endicott, but it is not set in contrasting relationship to the malefactors. Up to this point the scene serves the same function as that in "The Gray Champion." It differs, however, in the manner that Hawthorne uses to expand the entire scene into a meaningful relationship with the reader. In this tale he is not content to make the scene merely express a moral. Here he expands the scene to refer to conditions which

the reader himself can experience. In this way he approaches the use of multiple points of view which become characteristic of his work after 1835. While Hawthorne does not draw specific parallels, he suggests to the reader that he consider that these exist:

Let not the reader argue from any of these evidences of iniquity that the times of the Puritans were more vicious than our own, when as we pass along the very street of this sketch we discern no badge of infamy on man or woman. It was the policy of our ancestors to search out even the most secret sins and expose them to shame, without fear or favor, in the broadest light of the noonday sun. Were such the custom now, perchance, we might find materials for a no less piquant sketch than the above. (Works, I, 487-488)

This scene from "Endicott" demonstrates a close attention to detail and an intended purpose that the scene should reflect. Unlike scenes from his later work, there is no explicitly stated meaning emblemized through the accumulation of various details. Hawthorne depends here as he did earlier on the totality of the impact to convey the "allegorical" meaning. When we turn to those works created after 1848, we find Hawthorne, in Ruskin's terms, guiding the reader through a scene so that each object in a "setting" becomes explicitly meaningful and thus contributes to the multifaceted "illusion of truth" being conveyed. Let us now turn to the opening scene of The Scarlet Letter to see the full development of this artistic practice at work.

"The Prison Door" opens with five lines of description: "A throng of bearded men, in sad-colored garments, and gray,

steeple-crowned hat-, intermixed with women, some wearing hoods and others bareheaded, was assembled in front of a wooden edifice, the door of which was heavily timbered with oak, and studded with iron spikes" (Works, V, 67).

There is no difference between this detailed visual description and that of "The Gray Champion" and "Endicott" -- so far. But twenty-one lines pass before Hawthorne picks up the setting where he left it. In the intervening twenty-one lines the reader is informed of the early practice of the Puritans in establishing a colony, the visual qualities that time imposes on things, and a general reference to crime and its import in the current setting. In short, Hawthorne associates explicitly the throng and the prison they stand in front of with the past experiences of their predecessors. Then as he picks up the visual description itself, he continues to imbue it with both historical reference and its relationship to crime. A "grass-plot," for example, "evidently found something congenial in the soil that had so early borne the black flower of civilized society, a prison." He follows this with a description of a wild rose-bush in which the criminal might sense "the deep heart of Nature" pitying and being kind to him. Hawthorne spends an entire paragraph elaborating on the meaning of the rose bush; not only its import to the story being narrated, to the past history of the Puritans assembled, but also for the reader: "It may serve, let us hope, to symbolize some sweet moral blossom, that may

be found along the track, or relieve the darkening close of a tale of human frailty and sorrow." Thus Hawthorne opens up a variety of understandings concerning both the story and each item, even the rose-bush in it. Professor Feidelson has noted the multiple views that Hawthorne forces the reader to consider when he approaches this tale.¹³⁴ Even Hawthorne had stated, we will recall, that the tale is diversified by "turning different sides of the same dark idea to the reader's eye."¹³⁵ The full impact of the symbolism of the rose-bush together with that of the prison and the cemetery can be seen by referring to Hyatt Waggoner's critical study of Hawthorne's work.¹³⁶

In this brief opening chapter, therefore, we can see how the artist has fulfilled his theory concerning the need to guide the reader into the full expressive thought of his work. There can be no doubt that this scene capitalizes on all the devices that Hawthorne had developed from "The Old Apple Dealer" and "The Christmas Banquet," and particularly those illustrated at length in "Main Street" and already discussed in "The Custom House."

That this becomes the practice throughout the vast preponderance of the romance can be established by referring to other scenes. Chapter two, "The Market Place," furthers the material of chapter one. Again Hawthorne writes a few lines of description that focus on the facial expressions of people in the crowd. For the next thirty-one lines associations

with man's past experience, the measures taken by the Puritans to correct deviations from the straight and narrow path, the typical characteristics of the Puritan people, the presence of these characteristics in the crowd of onlookers, and, finally, association of the scene with its broader implications to man's existence today -- all of this is explicitly referred to by Hawthorne.

Only after he has turned the scene around and around, so that the reader can associate it with characteristics of man's nature in the past, in the present actual circumstances of Gov. Bellingham's Boston, and project the scene and its ramifications into meaningful reference to himself, does Hawthorne animate the scene by letting the characters speak and move. Perhaps the most exaggerated use of this technique occurs in the opening of The House of the Seven Gables, in which Hawthorne spends the entire first chapter of twenty-nine pages making such associations. Only then does he let the characters come alive.

Once the five gossips have spoken their piece, Hawthorne expends great detail in capturing the dramatic entrance Hester makes before that crowd. Yet even as he concentrates his lens on this woman and her child and the articles of her dress, he does not forget to explicitly state, in sometimes very subtle phrases, the thought that each detail emblemizes: "And never had Hester Prynne appeared more lady-like, in the interpretation of the term, than as she issued from the prison"

This subtle reference hearkens back to the hussies that open this activity and typifies well Hawthorne's multifaceted lens. No one view is presented of Hester. Even though all eyes focus on her as she enters the scene, Hawthorne forces the reader to view Hester through the gossips, the men-folk, and those who had known her; all of whom see her in a slightly different way. Then he forces the reader to view the crowd through Hester's eyes, thus gaining an entirely different perspective. And, finally, by altering details from the expected to the unexpected, he again forces the reader to respond to changing and astonished attitudes that reveal insights into Hester herself. For example, the artistry and luxuriance of the letter make the reader aware that Hester is defying the "suptuary regulations of the colony." "Her attire," Hawthorne tells the reader, "seemed to express her spirit, the desperate recklessness of her mood, by its wild and picturesque peculiarity." And, of course, the scarlet letter "transfigured the wearer," so that "It had the effect of a spell, taking her out of the ordinary relations with humanity, and enclosing her in a sphere by herself" (Works, V, 73-74). Here Hawthorne draws Hester into a class of humanity distinct from that of others about her. What that class is Hawthorne explicitly describes once he has her located on the scaffold. The full impact of Hester's condition and that of the townspeople and its relevance to the reader is made manifest at the scaffold:

In fact, this scaffold constituted a portion of a penal machine, which now, for two or three generations past, has been merely historical and traditional among us, but was held, in the old time, to be as effectual an agent, in the promotion of good citizenship, as ever was the guillotine among the terrorists of France. It was, in short, the platform of the pillorys and above it rose the framework of that instrument of discipline, so fashioned as to confine the human head in its tight grasp, and thus holding it up to the public gaze. The very ideal of ignominy was embodied and made manifest in this contrivance of wood and iron. There can be no outrage, methinks, against our common nature, -- whatever be the delinquencies of the individual, -- no outrage more flagrant than to forbid the culprit to hide his face for shame; as it was the essence of this punishment to do. (Works, V, 76)

Here Hawthorne equates the scaffold with the guillotine and promotion of good citizenship with terror. He associates those who inflict such punishment on an individual with those despised humans who most outrage "our common nature"; they no longer belong to the communion of men. Hester, on the other hand, though doomed to withstand such abuse, receives much kinder treatment:

Had there been a Papist among the crowd of Puritans, he might have seen in this beautiful woman, so picturesque in her attire and mien, and with the infant at her bosom, an object to remind him of the image of Divine Maternity, which so many illustrious painters have vied with one another to represent; something which should remind him, indeed, but only by contrast, of that sacred image of sinless motherhood, whose infant was to redeem the world. Here, there was the taint of deepest sin in the most sacred quality of human life, working such effect, that the world was only the darker for this woman's beauty, and the more lost for the infant that she had borne.

By contrasting the pure with the impure, the sacred with the profane, Hawthorne, using devices illustrated in "Main Street" and "The Old Apple Dealer," brings Hester into association with sacredness and sin. Having established this association, Hawthorne then moves to make the entire scene relevant to his reader and man's nature in general:

The scene was not without a mixture of awe, such as must always invest the spectacle of guilt and shame in a fellow-creature, before society shall have grown corrupt enough to smile, instead of shuddering, at it. The witnesses of Hester Prynne's disgrace had not yet passed beyond their simplicity. They were stern enough to look upon her death, had that been the sentence, without a murmur at its severity, but had none of the heartlessness of another social state, which would find only a theme for jest in an exhibition like the present. (Works, V, 77-78)

There is no need to pile up examples of this kind. It should be obvious that Hawthorne's artistry has developed over the years into this complex practice of expressive thought. But before turning to The House of the Seven Gables, a brief look at comparative scenes from Fanshawe and The Scarlet Letter will illustrate how altered the mature writing of Hawthorne became by contrast with the writing which merely imitated Scott.

Certain aspects of this comparison have been noted by other scholars. Gross has stated, "In Fanshawe, character and event are used as illustrative of ideas. The result is a staccato succession of vignettes generally subsidiary to a theme announced before or after the picture. To a degree, this is true even of The Scarlet Letter, in which structure is provided by a sequence of dramatic tableau featuring alternately

Hester, Dimmesdale, and for the most intense scenes, Hester and Dimmesdale together."¹³⁷ While Gross is speaking here of larger scenes (the meeting between Hester and Dimmesdale in the forest, for example, takes three chapters), the implications that the overall development within the scenes of both works is similar is misleading. There is considerably more than a tableau present in The Scarlet Letter. The distinction between the two may reside in the difference between what Gross calls the insinulative quality of Fanshawe's scenes and the expressive thought of The Scarlet Letter. According to Gross, Hawthorne's "mise-en-scene reverberates with portent: event, dialogue, and imagery have an insinulative quality; they seem to contain mysterious promises, sinister hints, and also moral forecasts Where his characters may act out in a shocking light their thematic tragedies and symbolic woes."¹³⁸ Scenes in Fanshawe may indeed possess such insinulative qualities, but they do not possess explicit statements that force the reader to understand either an entire scene or some set within the scene as necessarily representative of anything at all. Gross does make comparisons between two scenes in Fanshawe in which he is able to discern comparative symbols. The "rape scene" according to Gross parallels the "fishing scene." Here he is able to see in Fanshawe's elevated position "an effective symbolization of his remoteness from Ellen and his disengagement from life."¹³⁹ Nowhere in his description of this scene,

however, does Hawthorne make this symbolic reference. "After the throbbing of the heart that followed this narrow escape had subsided, he stood gazing down where the sunbeams slept so pleasantly at the roots of the tall old trees, with whose highest tops he was upon a level He felt that Heaven had sent him thither, at the moment of her utmost need, to be the preserver of all that was dear to him . . ." (Works, XI, 206-207). Yet when we turn to The Scarlet Letter we will see, as indeed we have already seen, how explicitly Hawthorne imparts meaning not only to his scenes but to individual objects within the scenes. Let us take two scenes, both relatively brief and both part of a larger action, in which two figures, man and woman, are together in the forest. Our scene from Fanshawe describes Ellen and her companion as they make their way through the forest:

He took her hand, and led her towards the forest, in the rear of the cottage. She would fain have resisted; but they were all alone, and the attempt must have been both fruitless and dangerous. She therefore trod with him a path so devious, so faintly traced, and so overgrown with bushes and young trees, that only a most accurate acquaintance in his early days could have enabled her guide to retain it They descended a steep hill, and, proceeding parallel to the river, -- as Ellen judged by its rushing sound, -- at length found themselves at what proved to be the termination of their walk They stood beneath a precipice, so high that the loftiest pine-tops (and many of them seemed to soar to heaven) scarcely surmounted it. This line of rock has a considerable extent, at unequal heights, and with many interruptions, along the course of the river; But the most singular and beautiful object in all this scene is a tiny fount of crystal water, that gushes forth from the high, smooth forehead of the cliff. (Works, XI, 191-193)

The entire setting here covers some three pages of description and not once does Hawthorne explicitly relate the setting as a whole or objects within the setting to the moral problem that the action elicits. The insinuation, as Gross terms it, of impending danger, the awareness that Ellen is mystified by her companion and her surroundings contributes to the drama of the scene of which this is a part. But it lacks the mature Hawthornian touch: the varying perspectives from which the forest must be viewed, the unique implications each object has for the characters concerned, the moralistic or philosophic ramifications that the action within the setting connotes, the stated meaning this action has relative to past experience, and the relationship of the action as a whole to man's predicament and hence to the reader. None of this is present.

In "A Forest Walk" Hester and Pearl move through the woods toward a rendezvous with Dimmesdale. Snatches from the scene, small segments of the sets that serve as the place of the encounter, will illustrate the development in Hawthorne's artistry:

It was a little dell where they had seated themselves, with a leaf-strewn bank rising gently on either side, and a brook flowing through the midst, over a bed of fallen and drowned leaves. The trees impending over it had flung down great branches, from time to time, which choked up the current and compelled it to form eddies and black depths at some points; while, in its swifter and livelier passages, there appeared a channel way of pebbles, and brown sparkling sand All these giant trees and boulders of granite seemed intent on

making a mystery of the course of this small brook; fearing, perhaps, that with its never ceasing loquacity, it should whisper tales out of the heart of the old forest when it flowed, or mirror its revelations on the smooth surface of a pool. Continually, indeed, as it stole onward, the streamlet kept up a babble, kind, quiet, soothing, but melancholy, like the voice of a young child that was spending its infancy without playfulness, and knew not how to be merry among said acquaintance and events of sombre hue. (*Works*, V, 223-224)

Beyond the personified strength and constant action of this brief passage lies a comparison of Hester and Pearl. The events that are to transpire, in all their heartfelt secrecy, find sympathy within the forest and, particularly, in the brook. The brook, indeed, is associated explicitly with Pearl, who is described more than once as melancholic and without playfulness. The very fact that Hawthorne casts the stream in the image of a young child of this nature forces this association upon the reader. This practice enriches the scene as a whole, for we know that reference to the stream from now on will connote as well reference to Pearl. The image grows as the scene becomes more and more complex until it climaxes with the splash of sun and the brook at the feet of Hester and Pearl.

The entire scene covers more than four chapters, yet Hawthorne never flags in associating elements of the scene -- the giant trees, the brook, the cloud-filled sky, the beasts of the forest -- with the three personages involved. There is nothing present that does not contribute to the whole. The forest in Hester's eyes provides a place where freedom of

thought can be expressed. That same forest, through Dimmesdale's eyes, acts as a sinister reflection of his hypocrisy. Taken in its entirety the scene compares to landscape painting as understood by Ruskin. The visual sense is satiated and rewarded by detailed accuracy of visible nature; but beyond this, the intellect is roused to a deeper more penetrating awareness of the hidden meanings of these visible objects as they reflect the truths reverberating in the hearts of the characters. And even more, the reader knows what this scene means to Hawthorne because he explicitly relates its ramifications to man's common nature.

When Hester casts the stigma from her and feels the full flood of hope and freedom that this act signifies, the earth also celebrates:

And, as if the gloom of the earth and sky had been but the effluence of these two mortal hearts, it vanished with their sorrow. All at once, as with a sudden smile of heaven, forth burst the sunshine pouring a very flood into the obscure forest, gladdening each green leaf, transmuting the yellow fallen ones to gold, and gleaming adown the gray trunks of the solemn trees. The objects that had made a shadow hitherto, embodied the brightness now. The course of the little brook might be traced by its merry gleam afar into the woods' heart of mystery, which had become a mystery of joy. [This alteration in the brook's meaning occurs nineteen pages after it had been first identified in the quotation above. It is this attention to the stated meanings of his settings that contributes so thoroughly to Hawthorne's expression.]

Such was the sympathy of Nature -- that wild, heathen Nature of the forest, never subjugated by human law, nor illumined by higher truth -- with the bliss of these two spirits! Love, whether newly born, or aroused from a death-like slumber, must always create

a sunshine, filling the heart so full of radiance,
that it overflows upon the outward world. (Works,
V, 243)

The romantic doctrine of sympathy which is dramatized graphically in this scene serves as Hawthorne's vehicle to express the meaningful relationship that must be made between the action caught here and qualities of man's nature. Nature is equated with human nature, but human nature uncontaminated by human law and (as Hawthorne ironically puts it) illuminated by "higher" truth. Eisinger suggests that Hawthorne is "seeking to identify the wildness of nature with sin against society." It would appear that this statement should be reversed: nature is sinned against by human law and, according to man, his higher truth.¹⁴⁰ Love between men creates sunshine; it fills the heart with radiance and flows upon all mankind. This is the idea of the scene on which all the action and all the references have been focused. Hawthorne has turned the lamp of meaning on his characters, so that the reader watches them move from a self-contemplating state of melancholia to one of selfless devotion through the agony of absolute despair. That two natures so attuned should suffer such fluctuation of feeling dramatizes the impossibility of fulfilling the communion for which both natures agonize.

Perhaps these contrasts will suffice to demonstrate how inadequate it is to say, as Turner does, that "Hawthorne," in following Scott's technique, "divides his characters into

groups and carries the actions of the several groups along separately; and he takes from Scott the method, illustrated well in The Scarlet Letter of unravelling a plot by a series of well-defined dramatic scenes."¹⁴¹ Abel came closer to describing Hawthorne's approach although he generalizes his comment and hence weakens it: "As in all Hawthorne's fictions, the situation is presented, not in dramatic progression, but in exposition and spaced scenes which picture the positions that the exposition prepares. Hawthorne's narrative does not have the dramatic continuity of a moving picture; it has the static consecutiveness of a series of lantern slides, with interspersed commentary."¹⁴²

c. The "Preface" and The House of the Seven Gables

Analysis of The House of the Seven Gables and The Blithedale Romance in terms of scenic development and multiple viewpoints only confirms the conclusions drawn in the last section. Yet Hawthorne (and some critics as well) has commented on both the theory and the practice discernible in these works. We will, therefore, turn our attention briefly to the "Preface" of House and some comments on this romance in particular before moving to the Notebooks. In the Notebooks Hawthorne's personal aesthetic sense comes into conflict with his previously expressed theoretical beliefs. This conflict is present in The Marble Faun.

More than one critic has noted how Hawthorne brings the home and clan of Maule and Pyncheon into focus through his initial description of The House of the Seven Gables.¹⁴³ From this description and the expository interpolations, we gain the meaning(s) of the romance. Yet it is also safe to say that not every critic finds the meaning clear.¹⁴⁴ Yvor Winters complains that Hawthorne did not "know the meaning of his own symbols." Nevertheless, in works like "The Minister's Black Veil," the "ambiguity" that Winters understands as "confusion" is readily explainable when we apply the multiple views that became a Hawthorne characteristic. After all, the curse leveled by Maule is never viewed from the perspective of the Maule line alone. Hawthorne goes out of his way to speculate on the meaning and relationship of the curse to the Pyncheons, one and all, and to those who through tradition and legend had heard of it: and that includes the man in the street contemporaneous with actual time in the narrative and those who apply its meaning to man's common nature at any time, even now.

Such explicit universality, obtained through the multi-points of view, was one of the attractive features of the romance as it came to be understood and discussed by Hawthorne in the "Preface." Here he points out, in his distinction between the novel and the romance, that the former must achieve some semblance of the truth by being visually accurate, probable,

and concerned with ordinary experience. Each of these attributes is "probable" by an empirical and/or sensible method of analysis. The romance, on the contrary, must concern itself with truth but not that truth determinable by the senses only or experience only; but, rather, that truth man knows to be applicable to man because he feels it to be true in his heart. The romance need not always be visually accurate, nor probable, nor concerned with ordinary experience. Yet Hawthorne stresses more than once that a reader's sensibilities will not accept an undue proportion of the marvelous or strange. Therefore, one other characteristic of the romance for Hawthorne became in these later years a limited utilization of the improbable and a greater dependence on ordinary experience. Thus Hawthorne's House takes actual contemporary time, the everyday experiences of people of limited ability, and imbues this with the mystifying yet undetermined legend of Maule's curse. Technically, the curse is the imaginative device which evokes much thought. Through its association with live people in actual circumstances, Hawthorne diffuses "thought and imagination through the opaque substance of today, and thus . . . make[s] it a bright transparency" (Works, V, 57). The deeper import of "petty and wearisome incidents, and ordinary characters" is conveyed by their association with meaning relevant to past experience and history. This is the spiritualizing effect of romance and the means by which indestructible, universal truths are conveyed.

In the "Preface," Hawthorne states that the romance writer, if he is wise, will make a "very moderate use" of the "other than ordinary" aspects allowable to this type of writing. The actual substance of the romance must be comparable to that of the novel only delicately spiced by the "marvelous." That which places The House of the Seven Gables into the romance category is the "attempt to connect a bygone time with the very present." We have noted this associative quality of uniting the past with the present gradually growing since "The Old Apple Dealer" and outwardly expressed before in the Mosses and "Main Street." The legend, the device by which a bygone time is connected to the present, is used to cloud or veil the actual by making it impossible to know what is actual and what is caused by non-real agents. Because the legend hangs over the present, the present cannot be clearly seen. Remove the legend and House becomes a novel with the attendant truths that can be observed concerning the seven major characters. With the legend, any action or incident related to these characters becomes cloaked in uncertainty and suggestiveness. Without the legend and without the author's stating precisely the purpose of a given action, the reader can do nothing but observe. Hawthorne rejects philosophically an ostensible comprehension of truth by sensual understanding; he chooses the romance because that which stimulates a multitude of truths is closer to the truth.

Hawthorne could not depict alone an act committed by a person in a particular place at a particular time. If he had, he would have removed the possibility of making that act universally applicable. Hawthorne says that to establish an "actual locality" would be to expose the "romance to an inflexible and exceedingly dangerous species of criticism, by bringing his fancy-pictures almost into positive contact with the realities of the moment" (Works, III, 15).

The spiritualizing process necessary to achieve the indestructible truth relevant to all men cannot be achieved by describing a truth applicable to a man.

Understandably, then, Hawthorne began House by explaining at length in the first chapter the multitude of meanings associated with the Pyncheons, the Maules, and the curse that united them. Professor Griffith somewhat succinctly describes the effect of this method:

Scenically, the book is somewhat unequally divided between the interior of the house, together with the dark and decaying garden, and its exterior, principally the street running along before it. Both scenes, we soon recognize, were designed to recapitulate the distinguishing features of the characters whom they contain And Hawthorne's various references . . . to the chill, the stagnation, the long lapse of mortal life within -- are obviously intended to complement the moral and emotional disintegration of its inhabitants.¹⁴⁵

We might add to this Hawthorne's own stated major concern that everything in the romance should focus on. "The wrong-doing of one generation," Hawthorne says, "lives into the successive ones, and, divesting itself of every temporary

advantage, becomes a pure and uncontrollable mischief" (Works, III, 14). It is, after all, this broad indestructible truth, viewed from a multitude of perspectives, that is the subject of the romance.

Shortly after the book opens, "the inner and the outer house acquire a metaphysical as well as a literal significance." The objects inside, according to Griffith, symbolize the past and "converted into time images, look backward to earlier centuries and simultaneously point up the Pyncheon's sins."¹⁴⁶

We need only turn to one brief paragraph that describes in Hawthorne's own words the "picturesque and romantic impression" the house is meant to convey:

The street in which it upreared its venerable peaks has long ceased to be a fashionable quarter of the town; so that, though the old edifice was surrounded by habitations of modern date, they were mostly small, built entirely of wood, and typical of the most plodding uniformity of common life. Doubtless, however, the whole story of human existence may be latent in each of them, but with no picturesqueness, externally, that can attract the imagination or sympathy to seek it there. But as for the old structure of our story, its white oak frame, and its boards, shingles, and crumbling plaster, and even the huge, clustered chimney in the midst, seemed to constitute only the least and meanest part of its reality. So much of mankind's varied experience had passed there, -- so much had been suffered, and something, too, enjoyed, -- that the very timbers were cozy, as with the moisture of the heart. It was itself like a great human heart, with a life of its own, and full of rich and sombre reminiscences.

The deep projection of the second story gave the house such a meditative look, that you could not pass it without the idea that it had secrets to keep, and an eventful history to moralize upon. (Works, III, 42-43)

Hawthorne contrasts in this paragraph, the novel and the romance, imaged, if you will, in the "habitations of

modern date" that may have "the whole story of human existence" latent in them, and the old structure of the story which has the picturesqueness and the suggestiveness and the rich and sombre reminiscences associated with it to evoke the varied experiences of mankind that "had passed there." He does not say that the experiences of the Pyncheons are of interest; he says the experiences of mankind are of interest. The novel could depict only the typical, plodding uniformity of a man's life unadorned with imagination. The romance moralizes on events of history, here those conjured up through the legend, that are associated with an ancient home.

If The House of the Seven Gables differs from its predecessor in the application of the artistic theory Hawthorne had evolved up to this time, it is in the great elaboration he undertakes at the outset. Unlike The Scarlet Letter, in which a sequence of brief descriptive passages followed by expository material constituted the initial scene, a practice that Hawthorne continued to employ in other scenes in the romance, the action of the narrative in the House is held off for one whole chapter. This chapter prepares the reader for the meanings and associations he must bring to bear on the house, the objects within and without the house, and the characters and their relevance to the legend of the curse. Hawthorne asserts that "if adequately translated to the reader, [the past] would serve to illustrate how much of old material goes to make up the freshest novelty of human life. Hence,

too, might be drawn a weighty lesson from the little-regarded truth, that the act of the passing generation is the germ which may and must produce good or evil fruit in a far-distant time" (Works, III, 18). No doubt the need for such elaboration was necessitated by introduction of material of contemporary vintage. The Scarlet Letter, while using actual circumstances of history, still was history -- time past and, therefore, within the realm of romance if properly imbued with imagination. House, on the other hand, begins, if we turn to the actual action of the narrative, with Hepzibah readying herself at her toilet to prepare for the opening of her shop. There is little to work with here to thrust the imagination into the "atmosphere" of the romance. Chapter one, consequently, by introducing the legend and the strange aura that shrouds this House, serves the romantic end. From this point on Hawthorne only needs to refer back to this material to evoke meaning. The practice of universalizing particular settings by giving them a broader context of meaning, of course, continues. When, for instance, Hepzibah accidentally drops the gingerbread elephant on the floor, Hawthorne tells the reader " -- and if we fail to impress it suitably upon the reader, it is our own fault, not that of the theme, -- here is one of the truest points of melancholy interest that occur in ordinary life. It was the final throe of what called itself old gentility" (Works, III, 54-55). Hawthorne continues

to elaborate on the meaning of this setting for two paragraphs, making it relevant to man's past experience and, by association, to that of the reader.

Obviously, Hawthorne continues to employ the artistic practices that have been evolving since "Main Street" in The House of the Seven Gables. Hawthorne takes great pains to "guide" the reader toward the manifold meanings of the House and the experiences associated with it. The individual settings have become expressive of thought because Hawthorne makes them so. The living characters in the romance have reference to man's universal character through their association with time past because Hawthorne explicitly makes these references. The entire work directs the reader toward an understanding of man's condition, including his own, because that, as Hawthorne says, was his intention.

As Hawthorne matured toward this kind of expressive thought, his concern for the writer-artist and his art came more graphically to the surface. As far back as "The Old Apple Dealer" Hawthorne acknowledged how little and how speculative was the writer's true understanding of the character he created even when based on a real personage. Images of the same concern can be seen in Holgrave and Ethan Brand. Even in "Feathertop," Hawthorne seems to be laughing at the limitations of his own work. But the major concern is a moral one. Is the artist in danger of becoming so impersonal toward his fellowman because he spends his life coldly observing them that he will commit the unpardonable sin?

Bewley has referred to this concern in House and in "Ethan Brand": "Holgrave is presented as a type of artist . . . Holgrave takes likenesses. That is to say, he freezes personalities, arrests their vital movement in a static posture. His relation to them is not vital and reciprocal, but rather he stands in relation to them as a collector. His art becomes a symbol of his participation in life." In drawing comparisons between the two tales, Bewley says "The diorama [of Brand] like Holgrave's camera in House, is a symbol of the way external reality is imprisoned in art, and of the way human beings can be exploited for the purpose of artistic effect by the artist."¹⁴⁷ Indeed, one might say that Hawthorne equates these two purposes himself. He describes Ethan Brand as a "cold observer . . . converting man and woman to be his puppets, and pulling the wires that moved them to such degrees of crime as were demanded for his study" (Works, III, 495). It is not difficult to see the relationship between this image and the showman of "Main Street." It would seem that Hawthorne has gone further than "The Prophetic Pictures," in which negative romanticism is dramatized, to a point where the artist [writer] "produces" the "unpardonable sin." That is, by cold calculation the writer creates an illumined picture of man's true condition, analyzed and open for scrutiny. This tearing open and exposing of human nature the writer sees as both fascinating and damning. No doubt the determination to make his work "expressive" and the need, then, for explicit analysis brought this concern more graphically to the forefront of his conscience.

CHAPTER VII

The Late Years: 1853 - 1864

a. The Notebooks: English, French and Italian

As we enter the last period of Hawthorne's creative life, we might recapitulate briefly our concerns up to this time. In the early years, we found something of a simple structural mold that formed the base of each tale together with a functional, albeit limited, use of setting. The philosophical or moral implications of the tale were generally conveyed through a direct statement at the end. History became nothing more than a source for a tale, or, perhaps, served to identify through dress or building a time and a place. Almost always the point of view was limited to that of the narrator.

When we approached the middle years, we found considerable development in setting, which now became meaningful in relation to Hawthorne's philosophies or moral implications though still retaining its other functional purpose. A significant growth occurred in terms of point of view, for we find here the introduction of multiple views which allow for manifold meanings and for what has come to be known as Hawthorne's "ambiguity." The third broad area of development touched upon in this section was the dramatization of romantic thought. While we concentrated upon three tales that dealt specifically with romantic aesthetic thought to illustrate this development, we noted in passing that Hawthorne also dramatized other romantic ideas at this time, as in "Egotism: or the Bosom Serpent."

Following the discussion of these three tales we turned to Hawthorne's comments on his artistry in his early prefaces. In 1848 we noted the important parallel between the thought of Ruskin and that of Hawthorne concerning "expressive thought." Illustration and analysis of this relationship, together with the refinements that evolved in the areas of setting and viewpoints, constituted our last chapter.

We now turn back to the dramatization of ideas as the focus of our attention when we come to the Notebooks. From 1853 until The Marble Faun, Hawthorne wrote no fiction. He did, however, write extensive comments which are pertinent to our discussion because they cast light on changing attitudes toward art, artists, and artistic theory that affect The Marble Faun, and may have affected even the uncompleted romances.

In the three tales used to illustrate the dramatization of romantic thought, we noted how Hawthorne relied on learned philosophical theory concerning art. Before 1853, indeed we might say, before 1857 and the Manchester Exhibit, Hawthorne had hardly confronted real art at all. After his decision to immerse himself in art both in England and on the Continent, we find innumerable references to art in the Notebooks. These references disclose what scholars have observed before, that Hawthorne had a limited appreciation of art and almost no personal aesthetic sense. Leland Schubert, in a rather caustic comment, said regarding The Marble Faun: "There is not . . . a truly sound bit of art criticism in the entire

novel. If a thing is pretty and if it looks natural, Miriam, Hilda, and Kenyon ask no more of it. And this, I think we may believe, was essentially Hawthorne's opinion, too. In practice, he is keenly aware of form in art; in looking at other artist's work, he apparently saw only content."¹⁴⁸

If Schubert is a bit too harsh here, the general tenor of what he says is true. Of interest to this study is the consequences of these facts in The Marble Faun. This work contains both the philosophic romantic views toward art and artists as expressed in the three early tales and the personal aesthetic reactions that Hawthorne experienced during these years and marked down in the Notebooks. Through the antithetical relationship of the characters, particularly Miriam and Hilda, Hawthorne dramatizes the confrontation that exists between these two understandings of art. Thus the dual response toward art that characterizes the Notebooks will be reflected in the responses of the characters that inhabit The Marble Faun; and, moreover, at the end of this work, Hawthorne will conclude with a dual emphasis. The emphasis, on the one hand, is emotional; on the other, logical. The emotional emphasis arises primarily from the reader's sympathy with Miriam and reflects Hawthorne's own romantic aesthetics; the logical emphasis arises from Hawthorne's acceptance of Hilda and reflects his personal dilettantism.¹⁴⁹

This same dualistic approach toward art is confusing because Hawthorne contradicts himself in regard to certain

works of art. The Venus di Medici at the Uffizzi will serve as an adequate example (Works, X, 305, 501). This dualistic approach is also ludicrous because Hawthorne's obvious preference for his personal tastes distracts him from an academic awareness of what is preferable in art, even to the extent that he eulogizes a Mr. Brown to the exclusion of the "old traditional masters," including such artists as Lorraine Claude.¹⁵⁰

Difficulties arise when one attempts to draw absolute conclusions from writings that are not only brief and fragmentary, but subject to moods and memory, as the Notebooks undoubtedly are. Absolute conclusions, therefore, will not be drawn; but implications and suggestions made by Hawthorne, and direct statements, wherever possible, will be used to clarify his approach to art. Moreover, since we are approaching the Notebooks through a concern with a specific subject, we will not be able to adhere to a strictly chronological arrangement in our presentation. The reader will find, therefore, that references will be made to one, and at times, all three volumes of the Notebooks concerning a given point. This method of approach is, of course, the only feasible one and does not hinder our thesis in any way since we are concerned with Hawthorne's opinions in the Notebooks as a whole in contrast to and in comparison with his other works.

Let us, therefore, attempt to understand Hawthorne as a critic. As an introduction to this matter, and as a means of

mitigating some of the observations to be made, let us consider the words of M. E. Montegut, which were suggested

by The Marble Faun:

The thoughts and observations of Hawthorne on Italy, Italian art and art in general, are such as might be expected from a subtle and delicate mind like his. He penetrates beneath the surface of things and goes in search of their hidden soul, but somewhat at random, and with a degree of hesitation which indicates that the author is not absolutely sure of himself. He ponders, sets forth his opinions without boldness, in a moderate tone, and suddenly interrupts himself as if he feared he had gone too far and dreaded the judgment of those he addressed. We see in his opinions, as in those of all his compatriots on Art, a certain intrinsic weakness which results from a rudimentary deficiency in education, a deficiency which the historical life of America has created, and which her best endowed minds will for a long time have difficulty in overcoming. Hawthorne is deficient neither in depth nor subtlety of mind to comprehend clearly things of an elevated nature; what he lacks is familiarity with Art. To fully comprehend the value of great works of art, we require to be educationally familiar with them rather than to have mind or genius¹⁵¹

Millicent Bell misleadingly claims that Hawthorne "felt that the effort at self-refinement was really not worthwhile."¹⁵²

More than once Hawthorne states that his comprehension of art is deficient. Indeed this becomes one of the most anguishing and most often repeated cries heard in the Notebooks: "If I lived in London, I would endeavor to educate myself in this and other galleries of art; but as the case stands, it would be of no use" (Works, VIII, 206). At times Hawthorne despairs altogether, believing art to be nothing but "humbug" (Works, X, 410). At times he wearies of art until his comprehension and enjoyment are negligible (Works, X, 53). At

times he questions the existence of his own powers to appreciate art, and in one instance, propounds the belief that only unprincipled men possess taste in art (Works, X, 317). (A statement which, since it suggests a change from natural simplicity on the part of the possessor, bears significance when we consider the "Painter" and Miriam.) But his awareness of this problem did not bother him to any degree until after he had gone to Europe and, therefore, could not have had any direct influence in the tales. This is why he saw two sides to romantic positive expression in the tales -- because he dramatized them and in this way created ambiguity and paradoxes -- not because he held that self-cultivation, or too much knowledge, or great perception were evils to be condemned. Again at times Hawthorne acknowledges his inadequacy to comprehend such art as the Elgin Marbles, because he is unable to accept imperfection arising from historical decay (Works, X, 143-144).

The romantic sees a suggestive imperfection as a result of decay, wear, and destruction. Thus nature is seen here acting upon itself. Man, for example, will at one time build only to have man at another time destroy. Nature itself, as an agent of destruction, has been called upon by the romantic poet as a means of stimulating inspiration.¹⁵³ The gradual and natural wear and decay of all things is an integral part of the romantic concept of imperfection, an imperfection that suggests the former whole but withholds complete knowledge because time and nature have destroyed much of the original.

Finally, there is the suggestion made by Hawthorne, and perhaps, it is the most disastrous of all his ideas that a painting needs the spectator's resources of feeling and imagination to be properly understood, and that a spectator's mood, therefore, can determine the quality of a painting (Works, II, 208; X, 331-332). Obviously, naive statements of this nature contradict the romantic aesthetic that Hawthorne had envisioned in "The Prophetic Pictures." Here, as we have noted above, the truth existed in the paintings independently of the interpretations of individuals who viewed them. The suggestion that quality and beauty are relevant attributes implies as well many absurdities: for example, the same painting can be both good and bad even to the same viewer depending upon his mood at the time, and no aesthetic criteria can exist to determine the quality of an artistic work.

One consideration of a slightly different nature must be mentioned as it will aid in a comprehensive understanding of many of Hawthorne's judgments. There is some validity in suspecting that Hawthorne, in attempting to educate himself, fell prey to a misinterpretation of one of Ruskin's dogmas.¹⁵⁴ Ruskin's dictum that an artist should "go to nature, rejecting nothing" was, if we can judge by the Notebooks, misinterpreted by Hawthorne as meaning that painting should be as nearly like nature as possible. As a consequence we observe Hawthorne preferring even Claude to Turner because Claude's work is "a better reality" (Works, VIII, 206).

The fallacy of Hawthorne's reasoning here (whether it was based on Ruskin or not is of little consequence) rests on his preference for photographic portrayal and his concomitant rejection of the romantic aesthetic which found realism in a "passionate fidelity to the truth of visions."¹⁵⁵ But details in this sense were not to be infused with the intuitive knowledge of the artist representing them. In this light Turner's subjective art surmounts the inadequacies of paint to reproduce Nature's elements exactly.

Hawthorne's condemnation of Turner, "I care no more for his light colored pictures than for so much lacquered ware or painted gingerbread," can be equated only with his eulogy of Hunt, ". . . the only ones [pictures] that really take hold of my mind, and with a kind of acerbity, like unique fruit -- are the works of Hunt . . ." (Works, III, 525). Hunt, indeed, had "rejected nothing, scorned nothing." His work reflects an agonizing concern for detail as well as a confused relationship of parts, both caused by his understanding of the living tableau. This superabundance of detail combined with sentimental moralizing produced work that was both absurd in its dictates and confusing in its presentation. Still it is understandable how Hawthorne might find value in such work if he misinterpreted Ruskin's idea. Indeed such a misinterpretation would only confirm his personal reaction toward two very different painters. Hawthorne's views on Turner grow as the Notebooks grow, but they are at the end

substantially the same (Works, VIII, 535, 592, 597). We shall see, however, that there are times when Hawthorne apparently contradicts himself concerning the necessity for absolute realistic portrayal. In such instances it is conceivable that Hawthorne is returning to his knowledge of romantic aesthetics.

But Hawthorne is not always a poor critic. His understanding of West's limitations, for example, is brilliant in the extreme. While at the Greenwich Hospital in London, Hawthorne saw one of West's paintings. He wrote: "I never could look at it long enough to make out its design; for this artist . . . had a gift of frigidity, a knack of grinding ice into his paint, a power of stupefying the spectator's perceptions and quelling his sympathy, beyond any other limner that handled a brush" (Works, VII, 274).

One suspects that part of this condemnation arises from Hawthorne's desire to see reflected in a painting the warmth of a moral and social habit. Such a manifestation had not been introduced into England during West's lifetime, though one can seek and find its expression in the writings of an Englishman of later date. Ruskin had, in The Stones of Venice (1851 - 1853) and even earlier in The Seven Lamps (1849) propounded the idea that art and architecture reflect the religion, morality, social habits, and national aspirations of a people.

One other example of Hawthorne's intuitive insight may be mentioned. In discussing the Crystal Palace, Hawthorne says:

"No doubt, an architectural order of which we have as yet little or no idea is to be developed from the use of glass as a building material instead of brick and stone. It will have its own rules and its own results . . ." (Works, VIII, 575). This statement reveals unusual insight for a man undisciplined in architecture. Few people realized the potential which the Palace afforded for future architecture. Most thought the building an oddity or novelty which would eventually be dismissed with the closing of the Exhibit. However, the Palace foreshadowed, and indeed was the first materialization of, modern architecture as we know it today. Two of its many contributions were prefabrication and the use of glass. Hawthorne did not, and obviously could not, like the appearance of the building, but this did not dim his awareness of its artistic value.

Whenever an individual depends upon his own feelings as a criterion for artistic judgment, as with Hawthorne, his comprehension is colored by his knowledge of or acquaintance with the artist whose pictures he views. It is interesting to note, therefore, how Hawthorne's personal views are enhanced by his association with artists (Works, X, 170).

While in Rome, Hawthorne became acquainted with Mr. George L. Brown, an American landscape painter, a "plain, homely Yankee, quite unpolished by his many years residence in Italy."

Hawthorne intimates that Brown's work is superior to that of the traditional masters. His superiority rests on two considerations: first, the paintings of the masters have lost their original intent with the passage of time (a matter we will discuss at length later); second, Brown's work is done "with incredible care and minuteness of detail" (Works, X, 170). Of interest here is Hawthorne's acceptance of the mediocre for what are obviously personal reasons. His personal liking for Brown, as well as his misdirected desire to see nature reflected exactly on canvas, colors his awareness of true value. In "The Prophetic Pictures" and in The Marble Faun as well, Hawthorne characterized the life of the true artist as one of mystery, darkness, intuition; in real life he accepts without question the staid, sensible, hearty, mediocre man as an example of the best of artists. And yet we find, even in the Notebooks, condemnation of the sensible, clever artist. The juxtaposition of these apparent contradictions suggests even further how great a role his personal judgment played in his acceptance of art. When Hawthorne considers Gibson in his Notebooks, it is with a mild disdain, suggested, one feels, not so much by his works — though these too come under attack -- but by Hawthorne's personal dislike for the pragmatism of the man.¹⁵⁶ Hawthorne's feelings on this matter are even reflected in The Marble Faun, in which Gibson, though without mention of his name, is berated still further (Works, VI, 164).

One can also observe, over and above these personal value judgments, Hawthorne's somewhat Puritanical necessity of seeing the work of art through the moral background of the artist. Hawthorne questions, for instance, the magnificence of Westminster Bridge because the artist "felt no power higher and wiser than himself He reckoned upon and contrived all his effects with malice aforethought, and therefore missed the crowning glory, -- that being a happiness which God, out of his pure grace, mixes up with only the simplehearted, best efforts of men" (Works, VIII, 155).

This thought, however, had been suggested earlier in "The Prophetic Pictures" and was introduced later into The Marble Faun. It was a thought which caused Hawthorne a great deal of anguish since he felt that the romantic conception of the artist could lead to a distrust or doubt of God's Providence. The "Painter," as we have seen, abandoned God to rely on his own abilities; Miriam in like manner doubts God, for she says on one occasion to Hilda, "I would give all I have or hope . . . for one instant of your trust in God!" (Works, VI, 197). It is conceivable, therefore, that Hawthorne's personal opinions in this matter led him to reject the romantic notion as too dangerous to be accepted. As a consequence, we have Hilda returning home to the staid, quiet, and safe existence which America affords.

Three romantic notions of art, however, do permeate the Notebooks, though it is difficult at times to understand how Hawthorne equated them with other views he held. They are

(1) superiority of the idea, (2) organicism, and (3) variety. All have recurrent emphasis in Hawthorne's work. All stem from the romantic theories discussed earlier in this work. (pp. 73-84).

The superiority and indestructibility of the idea was the moral to be derived from "The Artist of the Beautiful." It is a romantic notion which finds its base in intuition and its extension in growth, imperfection, and suggestivity. Because the original conception is momentary, the value of the initial sketch is magnified, for it is the first attempt to capture and communicate the inspiration. It is in this sketch that the freshness of the image, the immediacy of the moment is caught only to be overwrought and embellished in the final production. Hawthorne emphasizes this in various ways. When speaking of the sketches, he writes: "[They are] the earliest drawings of their pictures, when they had the glory of their pristine idea directly before their mind's eye, -- that idea which inevitably became overlaid with their own handling of it in the finished painting" (Works, X, 27). And a year earlier in 1856, when referring to his own jottings in his journal, he emphasized again the value of seizing the moment while fresh (Works, VIII, 282).

It is both interesting and disheartening to find, then, that Hawthorne forgets, because he is not in the correct mood, the value which sketches have in and of themselves. He dismisses, for instance, Raphael's cartoons because they are

faded, because he is weary, and because he has a prior bias against them (Works, VIII, 198).

If we extend the implications inherent in the momentary conception, we will observe that it contains potentially the notions of imperfection and incompleteness. Both of these elements, needless to say, are present in the romantic aesthetic. They are present as well in Hawthorne. Obviously the initial sketch does not contain all of the elements present in the completed work. It is the capturing of the momentary conception and the suggestiveness which it affords the viewer that give it its unique quality. These qualities, present in sketches, are discussed at length in The Marble Faun when Hilda, Miriam, and Kenyon discuss the sketches in the chapter entitled "An Aesthetic Company." But these same aspects are presaged in the Notebooks when Hawthorne discusses the sketches at the Uffizzi Gallery:

Their whole charm is artistic, imaginative, and intellectual, and in no degree of the upholstery kind . . . very rough things, indeed, in many instances, and the more interesting on that account, because it seems as if the artist had bestirred himself to catch the first glimpse of an image that did but reveal itself and vanish And I was more sensible of forecasting thought, skill, and prophetic design, in these sketches than in the most consummate works that have been elaborated from them. There is something more divine in these; for I suppose the first idea of a picture is real inspiration, and all the subsequent elaboration of the master serves but to cover up the celestial germ with something that belongs to himself. At any rate, the first sketch is the more suggestive and sets the spectator's imagination at work. (Works, X, 397-398)

To a certain extent these same qualities are found in sculpture. In discussing one statue that was incomplete, Hawthorne stated that there is "some magic in the present imperfection" (Works, X, 494). And yet, paradoxically, four years earlier we find in another place a condemnation of incompleteness. In this instance, "the beauty of the most perfect of them [statues] must be rather guessed at, and seen by faith . . ." (Works, VIII, 144).

The theory behind the characteristic of incompleteness suggests as well the romantic notion of organicism. For incompleteness suggests imperfection, imperfection suggests mutability, mutability suggests growth, and growth is organicism. Considered in this light, art is a growth of nature, a second nature Hawthorne calls it in "The New Adam and Eve" (Works, II, 279). As a consequence art should have something in common with nature as the spectator knows it (Works, VIII, 593). But Hawthorne would go even further than this, for he believes that there is a harmony between art and nature. In discussing the Salisbury Cathedral, Hawthorne wrote concerning the spires: "They might be fancied to have grown up, just as the spires of a tuft of grass do, at the same time that they have a law of propriety and regularity among themselves" (Works, VIII, 294). The theory which finds growth and harmony in nature and art is present also in Hawthorne's description of Stonehenge and Kensington Gardens (Works, VIII, 127, 301). Nature, then, does not conspire against art, nor art against nature. The two are as one, for they are the expression of one life.

Almost automatically two questions suggest themselves: First, how much adherence to realism is necessary for adequate harmony with nature? Second, is realism all that is necessary, or is there an inner germ, a divine touch, a soul that must exist as well? Before attempting an answer to either of these questions, we must realize that Hawthorne believed that Nature did not unveil itself to everyone all of the time (Works, VIII, 254). For this reason we can safely assume that not all painters or sculptors, regardless of the realistic nature of their work, succeeded in capturing the truth.

There is no definite answer to either of these questions. Hawthorne offers, in fact, two opposing views. The first intimates that exactness in revealing nature on canvas is the only means of achieving absolute truth. Hawthorne arrived at this conclusion after he had viewed the Dutch masters. He exclaimed in admiration, "Even the photograph cannot equal their miracles." And again, "These Dutchmen get at the soul of common things, and so made them types and interpreters of the spiritual world" (Works, VIII, 534). Realism is often, throughout the Notebooks, the criterion whereby a work is judged.¹⁵⁷ That Hawthorne should express such definite feeling concerning this point suggests two things. First, he was relying entirely on his own ability to understand a work of art, and thus the representation of recognizable form was indispensable. Second, since he had accepted the face value of Ruskin's dictum, he was obliged to judge a work as it came close to achieving this level of excellence.

It becomes exceedingly difficult to understand, then, how Hawthorne could appreciate the beauty of the Venus de Medici when he first encountered her. Indeed, in this one piece of nude statuary, Hawthorne found only perfection -- that is, until his friend, Mr. Hiram Powers, explained to him its inadequacies. And yet, in this one instance, Hawthorne is willing to forego the necessity for realism because "its expression seemed to accord with the whole figure, as if it were the sweetest note of the same music." The harmony of the final production supersedes, in this instance, the faulty technique and the lack of true imitation of nature (Works, X, 305).

Hawthorne has thus presented us with a paradox: on the one hand, harmony and soul can be equated only with realism; on the other, harmony and soul may exist without realism. The significance and resolution of this paradox may well rest in another facet of Hawthorne's beliefs. If harmony and soul are such illusory perfections, then their existence cannot be determined by any formulae. As a consequence, there must exist an indefinable element which can reveal the existence of these characteristics. According to Hawthorne this indefinable element can be understood only in so far as it is like magic in its mode of developing the beautiful (Works, X, 300). This indistinguishable element in painting, Hawthorne had already conceived of in "The Prophetic Pictures": "[The true artist] look[s] beneath the exterior. It is his gift . . . to see the inmost souls, and by a power indefinable

even to himself to make it glow in or darken upon the canvas . . ." (Works, I, 202). In The Marble Faun we witness a new resurrection of the idea and its subsequent fall and burial at the end.

The mystery which produces the soul and harmony in a painting exists as well in sculpture and architecture. To a certain degree an explanation can be given as to why the soul and harmony exist though it will not by any means solve the mystery. The explanation consists of an awareness of the juxtaposition of diverse elements which when combined form a harmonious whole. Hawthorne realized this mystery and its effect when he described the outline of the Duomo in Florence: "[it is] striking in outline, with a mystery . . . in its recesses and curves and angles, and wrought out with a richness of detail that gives the eye new arches, new galleries, new niches, new pinnacles, new beauties, great and small, to play with when wearied with the vast whole" (Works, X, 279). Again, in another place, when discussing Gothic architecture, he wrote that there is "A majesty and minuteness, neither interfering with the other, each assisting the other" (Works, X, 440). One can trace these ideas to Coleridge's concept of unity in complexity.¹⁵⁸ Thus in every creative act, there is a discerning of a hidden likeness in diverse things: "He [the poet] diffuses a tone and spirit of unity, that blends, and (as it were) fuses, each into each, by that sympathetic and magical power, to which we have exclusively appropriated the name of imagination. This power . . .

reveals itself in the balance or reconciliation of opposite or discordant qualities: of sameness, with difference; of the general, with the concrete; the idea, with the image"159
Should this likeness be found, beauty will result.

Consideration of the foregoing material suggests a trend in Hawthorne's thinking. The more he immerses himself in art, the more he feels his own inadequacy, until at a point well into the Italian Notebooks he cries in despair that art may very well be a "humbug" (Works, X, 410). This indicates, no doubt, a regression in Hawthorne's aesthetic ideals, a regression resulting from his misinterpretation of the role realism plays in art and the conclusions that evolved logically from this misinterpretation.

Thus while he held that the life-quality of a work consisted predominantly of the original conception, he felt also that older works could lose this quality through the passage of time (Works, X, 164). Deterioration, then, became for Hawthorne a source of condemnation. This same reasoning led Hawthorne to an acceptance of current realistic painters to the general exclusion of older masters. We have seen how he preferred the work of Brown (Thompson and Muller might be added to this list) to the art of Turner or Claude. In like manner Hawthorne disposed of sculpture. Since he adhered to the notion that art reflects the rational aspirations and the social habits of a nation or civilization, and since

contemporary sculptures had failed to achieve an adequate expression of this ideal and had, in fact, only reiterated in shallow form the work of past civilizations, then that art should be abandoned as useless (Works, X, 199). This idea, of course, finds its way into The Marble Faun and, indeed, serves as a motive for rejection of Rome and art in general.

The general nature of this trend finds its ultimate expression in Hawthorne's concept of decaying civilization. This concept is not limited to this work, for it is found in many of his tales, of which "Peter Goldthwaite's Treasure" is a significant example. It is in the Notebooks, however, that we observe how important art is to a complete understanding of this motif. Each civilization produces works of art, including painting, sculpture, and architecture, which express its religion, its morality, its social habits and its national aspirations. Each civilization eventually dies and is superseded by another, which dies in turn. Each civilization is known to succeeding civilizations through the art that it produced. "It is a sorrowful thing to trace the decay of civilization through this series of busts . . ." (Works, X, 98). Again this idea finds final expression in The Marble Faun.

The note of decay is of utmost importance in Hawthorne's thought. While Bell tries to establish that Hawthorne always found beauty in ruins because "They represented a reversion

to the cloudy symbol of beauty first revealed in the mind of the architect," Hawthorne states over and over again the opposite.¹⁶⁰ Hawthorne's consideration of the past was one based on the concept of decay. It mattered not whether he discussed paintings that had faded and cracked, statues that had been shattered and colored by time, or arches that time had worn externally, he always conceived of time as the cause of a gradual process of deterioration. He condemns soundly the unfinished art of the Elgin Marbles and the faded pictures of Raphael's cartoons and sees both sides of the coin later: "whatever beauty there may be in a Roman ruin is the remnant of what was beautiful originally, whereas our English ruin is more beautiful often in its decay than ever it was in its primal strength." This trend in Hawthorne's thought gradually drove him to a virtual rejection of antiquity as such especially after 1855: "Till [he] wished that the whole Past might be swept away, and each generation compelled to bury and destroy whatever it had produced, before being permitted to leave the stage" (Works, VIII, 145, 207).

The significance of this rejection is of paramount importance when we consider the logical (as opposed to emotional) conclusion of The Marble Faun. Hawthorne indicates in the Notebooks what he makes explicit in the novel, that the present or what is new is to be preferred over the past or what is old. This preference is based almost exclusively on personal feelings, reactions, and opinions concerning

antiquity as he observed it during his travels. It is a preference which eulogizes novelty before antiquity, simplicity before complexity, "the fresh, warm, red hue of the modern house, and the unworn outline of its walls, and its cheerful, large windows" before "the old ivy-grown ruins" of the past (Works, XII, 530). It is finally a preference which presages the conclusion, weak and ineffectual as it may be, of The Marble Faun. Indeed, the very choice Hawthorne forces upon the reader may be the cause of the novel's weakness.

b. The Marble Faun

In the June, 1962, issue of PMLA, Paul Brodtkorb cited the perplexing ambivalence that shrouds the latter portion of Hawthorne's The Marble Faun. He states in part, "The book's implications become contradictory, as ambivalence seems to have defeated parable."¹⁶¹ Brodtkorb reaches this conclusion after constructing an elaborate and consistent art parable that unfortunately falls apart when confronted with Hawthorne's unexplained and, heretofore, unfathomable logic. The contradiction lurks in Hawthorne's paradoxical use of three artists as protagonists who express a concern and an intense interest in aesthetics while, in the final third of the book, there is "an increase in the number and intensity of blanket denigrations of all visual arts."¹⁶² Our analysis of the Notebooks explains why Hawthorne drifted toward this "extreme critical relativism" and explains in some degree the logically

necessary acceptance by Hawthorne of Hilda's position as a conclusion of the romance, despite its unpalatableness, and perhaps more importantly, reveals Hawthorne's true view concerning the artist and art. The problem that Brodtkorb raises is a very critical one for the Hawthorne student, for, the failure of The Marble Faun, Hawthorne's last complete novel, hints at the subsequent failure of its creator. If Hawthorne's later aesthetic convictions and his rejection of romantic aesthetics caused him to decry the artist, and if his own fiction had been dependent on romantic aesthetics for its substance, then that very rejection might offer an explanation why Hawthorne failed after The Marble Faun.

The evolution of Hawthorne's aesthetic theories reaches a climax in The Marble Faun. "The Prophetic Pictures" was, as we have seen, an attempt to envisage the potential evil inherent in the romantic conception of the artist, a dualistic motif recurrent in Hawthorne's writing and applied by him to morality, fire, sin, and suffering as well as to art in that all of these agents are both destructive and creative.¹⁶³ "The Artist of the Beautiful" was, furthermore, an attempt to depict the positive approach to the romantic concept of the artist. "Drowne's Wooden Image" was still another allegory developing the single notion of romantic inspiration, as we indicated earlier. Finally, The Marble Faun can be considered a comprehensive study of all of these ideas in which Hawthorne chooses to accept some romantic notions and to reject others.

Anyone considering the ideas in Hawthorne's work cannot afford to underestimate the value of The Marble Faun. Indeed, Waggoner has asserted that "In The Marble Faun Hawthorne was trying to think out the problems raised by his artistic career."¹⁶⁴ It is, in a very real sense, Hawthorne's final word on moral, theological, philosophical, and aesthetic problems.

Obviously, The Marble Faun, in its conception, presentation, setting, and characterization, is a work that attempts to understand three things -- art and its position in the nature of things, the very essence of painting and sculpture, and the ambiguous nature of the artist and his place in society. Such an understanding must rest on romantic aesthetic foundations with mortar supplied by Hawthorne's personal interpretation and feeling. Because Hawthorne relies on his inadequate knowledge of art and in his personal reactions to it, the philosophical and aesthetic basis of The Marble Faun falls into contradictions and, according to some scholars, fails completely.

Hawthorne conceived the tale of the Faun while on a visit to the sculpture-gallery of the Capitol on April 22, 1858: "I looked at the Faun of Praxiteles, and was sensible of a peculiar charm in it; sylvan beauty and homeliness, friendly and wild at once It seems to me that a story, with all sorts of fun and pathos in it, might be contrived on the idea of their species having become intermingled with the human race; a family with the faun blood in them having prolonged itself from the classic era till our own days" (Works, X, 172-173). The inspiration for the novel, then, was

a piece of sculpture by Praxiteles. And Hawthorne, as though to emphasize the dual purpose of his work -- art and life (Nature) -- chose to embody the parallels which he found in sculpture and life in the title The Marble Faun.¹⁶⁵

In presentation as well, The Marble Faun can be understood to center upon art. Roy R. Male divided the work into four parts -- Miriam, Hilda, Kenyon, and Donatello -- like a circle divided into four parts revolving about a core: "The center, or central experience, is expressed in various ways throughout the book. It is the way of conversion in art and life. Hawthorne discerns a "threefold analogy, -- the clay model, the Life; the plaster cast, the Death; and the sculptured marble, the Resurrection."¹⁶⁶

The analogy here is one that exists between the creative process in sculpture and moral growth. As Male points out, "Clay is . . . earthy and human." It embodies in its very substance the qualities of life; it is "flexible, warm, unique." These qualities are given life by the sculptor himself, not by his artisans. The clay model, then, captures the original inspiration.

The plaster cast, however, possesses neither the life-like qualities of the clay nor the beauty of the completed marble. "It has the rigidity of marble with none of its purity."¹⁶⁷

But there emerges from this growth an eternal figure, one transformed from the rudiments of life-like clay through

the death of plaster to the resurrected pure white immortality of marble: "It insures immortality to whatever is wrought in it, and therefore makes it a religious obligation to commit no idea to its mighty guardianship, save such as may repay the marble for its faithful care, its uncorruptible fidelity, by warming it with an eternal life" (Works, VI, 163).

The corresponding moral growth is evident in the lives of Donatello and Hilda and through what they represent, in the human race as well. Donatello's evolutionary process arises from Hawthorne's initial conception. Donatello represents the sub-human species, partaking of both animal and human natures, that become involved with contemporary civilization. Now this civilization embodies both good and evil. Donatello's progression, then, is from a state of natural innocence to a state of greater knowledge and perception. He attains this latter state by means of the education afforded him through contamination by modern society. The graphic presentation of this state can be followed easily in The Marble Faun. At the beginning we witness Donatello as the innocent, carefree, simple, good-natured youth unaware of evil and uncontaminated by it. This state is symbolically portrayed for us in the Faun of the title. Moreover, the emphasis here is upon the animal qualities of this strange creature with particular reference to the leaf-shaped ears. Throughout these first chapters, Hawthorne constantly implies that Donatello possesses the attributes peculiar to the Faun.

Gradually, however, as the climax is reached, Donatello becomes more and more contaminated by the evils of this Roman civilization, till at the summit of the action he commits a sin. There follows a period of dormancy for Donatello during which he is, in a strict sense, neither Faun nor human. This period of dormancy parallels the second stage indicated above in art -- the plaster cast. With Kenyon as guide, Donatello finally emerges from this stupor, a sadder but wiser man able to partake of contemporary civilization. It is in this state that the significance of the title reveals itself.

It is significant at the very outset that Donatello must sin. The compulsion here is made necessary not because of Donatello's nature but rather because of the civilized society into which he moved. A creature lacking the refined intellect of modern man is incapable of creating or seeking evil. However, as familiarity breeds similarity, so Donatello must undergo a contamination by his presence in, and desire to become part of, the Roman society. If he is to identify himself with it and survive, he must sin. Thus, as Paris has indicated: "Donatello, as we see him on the Campagna, has reached a state of ideal blending of light and shade that would enable him to experience the best of both worlds, Arcadia and modern. This mingled state represents, if Hawthorne ever expresses it, an absolute good, but the only way Donatello could achieve it was through sin."¹⁶⁸

Hilda undergoes a similar rebirth, but one that does not have its origin in the society in which she lives. On the contrary, it is safe to assume that Hawthorne meant Hilda to represent a state somewhat above that of the common man. She is in many ways an ideal individual, one who is entirely good in mind and spirit, one who has been spared association with evil and who for this reason knows nothing about it. And yet Hilda paradoxically is a person who will not tolerate evil in others and in this wise appears cold, pragmatic, and puritanical. Consequently, Hilda too must face contamination with evil if she is to survive in her society, survival in this instance meaning ease of mind or conscience. For she had to acquire a self-denying love if she were to live at peace with herself, an attribute she did not possess when she rejected Miriam.¹⁶⁹

Hawthorne is indicating, then, that sin is an identifying characteristic of modern civilization. A being who possesses attributes peculiar to those of the Golden Age cannot survive in the complexities of the contemporary world. And again, a being pure in spirit and uncontaminated in intellect cannot survive.

For in order to understand the complex civilized state it is necessary to understand its intellect, and its intellect is one of evil as well as good. In both instances, that of Donatello and that of Hilda, there is a development, a growth

toward truth and insight into reality. For Hawthorne, as for all romantics, truth lies hidden in the diversity of things; neither Donatello, who trusted in the external beauties and joys of the natural state, nor Hilda, who trusted explicitly in the goodness of God, could understand the absolute truth beneath the external mask.

The threefold step in Hilda's rebirth is also evident in The Marble Faun. Throughout the opening chapters she is depicted as the pure, innocent, dove-like child walking untouched through the contamination of Rome. But the inevitable contamination comes and with it a period of despondency and languor corresponding to Donatello's retreat at Monte Beni.

"As a result of her despair at the discovery of evil in the world Hilda loses her ability to be a perfect copyist of the old masters. She goes through a completely negative period, in which the greatest art seems valueless; her ability to perceive the truth of human falseness is so heightened that everything, even death, seems like deceit."¹⁷⁰

Unlike Donatello's, Hilda's nature is not soiled with sin; rather her intellect is enlarged by an awareness of evil. She is now capable of understanding the truth in human nature because she can now understand its duality -- its capacity for good and evil. Hilda's rebirth or resurrection is affected through the psychological aspects of the confessional. Through this cleansing process she can return to her work with a fresh love and deeper penetration, for what was concealed from her

before in her pristine state is now revealed to her through her increased knowledge.

This theme of regeneration can be understood in terms of the human race itself. Considered in this wise, the clay model would represent the primitive state of man when man was in a state of perfect bliss and incapable of the potential for evil he has since acquired. This development from simplicity to complexity enables man to experience

depths of emotion of which Adam was incapable;
it has enabled him to create and perceive
beauty all the richer for an element of shadow
that has its origin in guilt and suffering;
it has enabled him to penetrate 'beneath the surface and illusive pleasures of existence.' But, at the same time, this development has been from innocence to guilt, from joyousness to sadness, from naturalness to sophistication and artificiality, from communion with nature to separation and isolation.¹⁷¹

An understanding of this threefold analogy is requisite to an understanding of Hawthorne's aesthetic ideas. It is a process of maturation whereby man achieves a balance in his nature after having developed through three stages. Roy R. Male describes this growth as a movement from "the youthful self . . . released chiefly through an act of will," through an intermediary stage where man is governed by his passions, to the regenerative stage where "the perception gained in the evening of man's life, grows out of the action of his youth and the passion that ushered in his maturity." In the first phase the ego releases itself from parental bonds to unite itself with a group. Life in this phase is an Eden,

where "the past and the future do not impinge upon the present." Transformation from the second phase "occurs only when action or passion, head and heart are fused in the fiery crucible." In this third phase the individual must confront his own soul and detach himself from the group.¹⁷²

Now the entire basis of this analogy resides in Keats' Chamber Image.¹⁷³ There is a direct parallel between Hawthorne's theme of regeneration and Keats' "Mansion of Many Apartments." Keats identified human life with three chambers. The first of these chambers is the "infant or thoughtless chamber." An individual resides here as long as he does not think, even though the door to the second chamber remains open and bids entrance. Both Donatello and Hilda are existing in this first Chamber, though for different reasons. Donatello makes his abode here because by his very nature he is simple and not given to contemplation. Hilda, on the other hand, resides here because she rests her knowledge in the Providence of God and does not seek to know beyond this trust. But trust is merely an accepted belief not based on reasoning. Keats' second Chamber, or the "Chamber of Maiden-Thought," sharpened "one's vision into the heart and nature of Man -- of convincing one's nerves that the World is full of Misery and Heartbreak, Pain, Sickness, and Oppression."¹⁷⁴ This second chamber gradually darkens while at the same time "many doors are not open -- but all dark -- all leading to dark passages." This chamber corresponds to the periods of despondency felt

by both Donatello and Hilda. Like an eclipse it darkens the sunlight of their former innocent existence. And because it darkens, it obliterates Hilda's ability to paint after the manner of the masters. It is in this chamber, moreover, that the individual lives in doubt and ignorance as to the balance of good and evil -- he exists in a mist. It is left for the third chamber, as rays of sunlight gradually disperse the mist, to enlighten the darkened intellect with the light of love -- love for humanity. Again the analogy is clear, for in The Marble Faun Donatello and Hilda emerge from their retreats, return with a new understanding of the balance that good and evil play in the life of men and with the further understanding that they must love their fellow man even though he is possessed of evil. Consequently, Donatello can now accept Miriam's love and accept his new life in civilization; Hilda also can find it in her heart to love Miriam, whom she had rejected previously.

The obvious conclusion to be drawn from this analogy is that Hawthorne believed that truth could be found only through an immersion in good and evil. For as man has gradually evolved from the Golden Age, and therefore simplicity, to the heightened intellect of contemporary society, so he has progressed away from the simple goods of Nature to the complexities of evil. For a person to understand this civilization, then, it is necessary that he understand both the good and evil. For him to survive in this civilization, he must learn to love even those possessed of evil. To exist within himself, he

must surmount the evil within himself by his own dignity. For him to express the truth of mankind and nature itself, he must identify himself with the evil, for to avoid it is to avoid life. Therefore, since it is the artist who expresses life, it is he who must identify himself with the reality or else succumb to failure. It is obvious from what we have said that Hilda after her resurrection penetrated more deeply into the truth of a painting. It is also true, for reasons we will explain later, that she ceased to paint and left Rome entirely. This concept of identification with evil is present in Miriam and Kenyon as well and results in a major aesthetic statement.

Hawthorne's original idea, which recurs constantly in his work, implied that the strongest good resulted when it had been tempered with evil. Roy R. Male has suggested a similar idea: "Hawthorne believed that moral growth cannot occur without sin and suffering; and he never accepted the glib converse of this proposition, that sin is automatically redemptive."¹⁷⁵ It is especially evident if we consider just two of Hawthorne's characters. The classic example of this motif occurs in The Scarlet Letter, where both Hester and Dimmesdale achieve goodness for themselves and others even though they had been immersed in evil earlier.

In The Marble Faun, Hawthorne seems to waver in his adherence to this doctrine. Hawthorne not only keeps Hilda lily

white throughout The Marble Faun, but he removes her from the contamination of Rome and brings her back to the innocence of America. By creating a character too good to be human, Hawthorne denies the truth of man's complex nature, its goodness and its evil. Moreover, by asserting the American theme of innocence, he seems to reject the reality of man's past experience, which he so graphically described in The Marble Faun's setting, Rome.

Indeed, Rome here is symbolic of both culture and corruption. It is a city and a civilization that is old and decayed, and yet "paradoxically both superior and inferior to nature."¹⁷⁶ It is a city which can be identified with art past and present, with epochal confrontation in which one civilization impinges on another and nature on both, (see discussion of this concept on p. 245), with complexity and evil as opposed to simplicity and goodness identified with America.¹⁷⁷ For all of these reasons it is an ideal setting in which to describe the nature of art and the nature of artists.

As we have already indicated, Hawthorne believed that truth could be found only through an awareness of and identification with good and evil. In The Marble Faun this idea is present; however, if we are to interpret the conclusion as a rejection of Rome, of Art, and of Miriam and an acceptance of America and Hilda, then we must also be willing to accept the fact that Hawthorne naively chose to forego this belief.

In its place, then, he accepted the idea that contamination should be avoided if possible, truth should not be sought, and man should return to the more simple and pure ways of nature. To draw such a conclusion from the romance is valid if we follow the tone of the text. At the beginning we are enthralled with Rome; at the end we are wearied. Contrariwise, we dislike America at the beginning but yearn for it at the end.

At first America is viewed as an uncultured, barbaric, and materialistic land. At the end of the novel, however, America becomes the land of hope, of purity, of innocence, "home." A like conclusion can be drawn if we consider Hilda's position in the work. It is true that Hilda has met with evil, but she is not contaminated by it, as Donatello and Miriam are. She rejects, moreover, her new insight into human nature by giving up her art and returning to America. Hawthorne does not discuss his knowledge of human nature -- "the light and the dark" -- but he does reject the artist's need to seek and express the truths hidden in the shadows of existence. And in rejecting this need at the very end of the work, he repudiates a romantic concept which held that an artist is compelled to express by his very nature.

The reason for this denial might not be too hard to find if we consider that Hawthorne had expressed formally, in "The Prophetic Pictures," his fear of the evil present in the romantic concept of the artist. This fear resulted from Hawthorne's awareness that the true artist must know the dark, mysterious

side of life, which meant in effect that he must know the evil as well as the good. Such knowledge could only be gained through contact with the world, the world of culture and corruption. "It is 'the world' that the romanticists sometimes found too much with them and that St. Paul urged Christians not to be conformed to, and it is learning, beauty and art."¹⁷⁸

Knowledge, then, presupposes an awareness of the dualism in nature and human experience. The artist, as proper custodian of truth, must understand nature and humanity and as a consequence must immerse himself in their attributes, the goodness and the evil. The reason for this baptism in evil is suggested by Hawthorne's portrait of Hilda. As long as Hilda lived in a state of bliss above that of ordinary man, she could not, as the rejection of Miriam asserts, find sympathy for her fellow man because she could not understand his hidden nature.

This dualistic motif finds recurrent expression in a variety of ways throughout Hawthorne's work. In every case, whether it be head versus heart, intellect versus emotion, light versus dark, or good versus evil, a synthesis must be created which will serve as a harmony, in which truth can be discerned. Concentration on only one member of the paired opposites, however, is insufficient for a full life. In every instance in which Hawthorne depicts an artist, this synthesis exists, if only for a moment. The "Painter" of "The Prophetic Pictures" achieves penetrative insight only after a studied

awareness of Nature and an emotional reaction to this subject. The result is a painting that discloses the truth of the subject, even though that truth is masked by external appearances. Owen Warland, after subduing and surmounting material pressures, utilizes both intellect and emotion to achieve the beautiful. Drowne achieves greatness only when his intellectual genius and technical skill are fused with love for a fellow creature. And when this sympathetic love toward his subject is lost, so is his ability to produce true creative art.

If we turn to The Marble Faun, we find that this same principle is present when Hawthorne discusses true creative art, and yet paradoxically, there seems to be an indication here that Hawthorne would have man and the artist as well avoid the necessary synthesis of good and evil and rely instead on trust and "unwavering reliance on the goodness and mercy of God."¹⁷⁹ It would appear, therefore, that Hawthorne is acquiescing to the fears that he had felt in "The Prophetic Pictures." The ability of the artist to penetrate beneath the surface of things and discern the hidden and ambiguous truth portends some magic or evil attributes. Indeed Thomas B. Brumbough has asserted that the "word 'artist' in Hawthorne can be equated with witch or magician."¹⁸⁰

When we observe the three artists of The Marble Faun, then, we can see how this new emphasis is present. Kenyon

is capable of great art only when his technical ability is liberated and guided by emotions; his failure results when he succumbs to his practical nature. Hilda achieves great heights in art only through imitation, and imitation is not the immediate confrontation of reality, but rather, is twice removed from it, being a copy of a copy, so to speak. Even though Hawthorne makes the Coleridgean distinction between copy and imitation, a distinction which permits the imitation to capture the very life and soul of the original,¹⁸¹ still imitation does not require direct contact with the hidden mysteries that gave rise to the painting, but only awareness that such mysteries existed and an ability to understand the original artist's reaction to them. After her identification with evil, Hilda's artistic abilities are strengthened. And yet, unlike any other of Hawthorne's artists who possess a like ability, she does not feel the compulsion to express her knowledge. Hawthorne would seem to say, then, that concentration should rest in goodness alone; that a simple life with trust in God is more rewarding than a life contaminated with evil in which an individual knows his world and feels compelled to express it. This conclusion seems naive on Hawthorne's part since the strength of his writing and characters depended on the harmony which resulted from his blending of the light and the dark. Hilda, unlike any other Hawthorne character, appears feeble and ethereal. Her innocence, purity, and unwavering moral convictions tend to elevate her beyond the realm of credibility. As a consequence, when Hawthorne

rejects Rome, Art, and Miriam at the end of the novel, he rejects what strength and force the work possessed.

Miriam alone of the three artists is strong. Of the three Miriam represents the romantic conception of the true artist. She appears full blown with a hidden and mysterious past. She captures the imagination of men, enthralls them with her understanding of the human condition, arouses fear because of her penetrative insight and sympathetic imagination, and affects directly the lives of those about her. She alone of the three artists undergoes a tragic experience within herself which she surmounts and defeats by her own integrity. She is the one character who undergoes a catharsis which enables the reader to appreciate her and to sympathize with her. She is the only character who embodies all the richness, the shadow, the drama, and the ambiguity of Hawthorne's finest work.

Consideration of these three artists in this manner suggests possible parallels between The Marble Faun and the three tales discussed previously. In the tales, as we have seen, Hawthorne does not stipulate an affirmation or negation of romantic aesthetic philosophy, though in "The Prophetic Pictures" he does suggest potential inherent evil. In The Marble Faun, however, there is a definite rejection of the romantic artist as depicted in Miriam. Understood in this light, Miriam can be compared with the "Painter" of "The Prophetic Pictures." Both are of unknown and mysterious backgrounds; both seek insight into their subjects through knowledge

of Nature and the human condition; both affect directly the lives of their subjects; both are considered evil and satanic because of their powers; both doubt absolute trust in God (Works, VI, 197). In The Marble Faun, then, Hawthorne again broaches the potential evil present in the romantic artist. Only here, Hawthorne finds that the suggestion of evil is too powerful for men's proper existence. It is possible that Hawthorne arrived at this conclusion because he saw potential danger in art's absorbing life. Such an absorption, as we have indicated in our discussion of the "Painter," tends to dehumanize the artist. Hawthorne's rejection, therefore, is motivated by a love for his fellow man, a love which could be overshadowed by a concentration on the hidden mysteries of life.

As Miriam can be paralleled with the "Painter," so Kenyon can be paralleled with Drowne. They are, of course, sculptors, gifted in their profession with an exceptional talent and technical skill. Both artists are practical, sensible men who achieve a true art object only once. Drowne was able to sculpture his wooden image not because he had control of his talent, but rather because his talent was being utilized in some mysterious way by some unknown source. Because he could fuse in this one creation both intellect and heart, he was able to create what he could never hope to create again. Kenyon, in a similar manner, was able to produce only one truly great creation -- his Cleopatra. Again it was not his technical skill or his talent which achieved the final beauty: "I know not

how it came about at last. I kindled a great fire within my mind, and threw in the material -- as Aaron threw the gold of the Israelites into the furnace, -- and in the midmost heat uprose Cleopatra, as you see her" (Works, VI, 153-154). Finally, Kenyon, like Drowne, voluntarily "surrenders to circumstance and standardization."¹⁸²

There remains the parallel between Hilda and Warland. Two things are of importance here. First, neither Warland nor Hilda works in a medium that demands contact with the evil present in human existence. For this reason both are free from the taint of evil which stained the "Painter" and Miriam. Secondly, both reveal the positive approach to romantic aesthetics. That is, Warland and Hilda typify the emphasis the romantics placed on the conception of a work of art as opposed to the artifice itself. Indeed, Warland's mechanical butterfly can be destroyed and it does not bother him, for the idea had been achieved. Hilda likewise represents this aspect of romantic thought. Her creations rest on her ability to conceive the original idea which the great master infused in his work. It is not necessary, therefore, that she paint the entire picture but sufficient that she can express the idea in even a segment of the larger work.

If any conclusion can be drawn from these striking parallels, it is this: during this early period, when Hawthorne was writing the tales, he had read and accepted the romantics' aesthetic ideas concerning art. His knowledge of this aesthetic

enabled him to create three tales in particular which have definite reference to the artist. There are, of course, other instances in which an artist is mentioned, but their appearance does not interfere in any way with the thesis of this work. For example, both Coverdale of The Blithedale Romance and Holgrave of The House of the Seven Gables could be mentioned since both are, strictly speaking, artists. In both instances these characters find their prototype in the "Painter" since both "were sensitive to the dangers in a faculty of observation that could 'acquire empire over,' or 'dehumanize,' the human heart."¹⁸³ Later, after he had visited England, France, and Italy, Hawthorne's personal opinions and feelings began to penetrate the previously accepted romantic aesthetics. As a result, the slight dangers, which he had seen in the romantic idea as portrayed in "The Prophetic Pictures," grew to such proportions that at the end of The Marble Faun he was willing to reject the compulsion to create which the romantics held as vital to the artistic process. Moreover, in bringing Hilda and Kenyon back to America, to goodness, simplicity (sic) and away from Rome, from culture and corruption, from complexity, from good and evil, Hawthorne is in effect rejecting the harmony which results from the interaction of these two forces in contemporary society.

Such a rejection casts shadows of doubt over the former tales which dealt with the same problem. Thus to seek through compulsion for the truth in human experience as elicited in

"The Prophetic Pictures" becomes an occasion for evil itself. For art to express nature as it really is, as revealed in "Drowne's Wooden Image," where the real figure lay buried in the wood until Drowne discovered it, implies hidden or latent powers in the artist, and he and art must for this reason be rejected.

As a consequence, Hawthorne is left not with the chiaroscuro effects of his earlier works, but with a canvas so pure, so light that it becomes impossible for ordinary humanity to gaze upon it. In rejecting art in The Marble Faun, he rejects the harmony in the universe, for art must, if it is to grasp the truth, see what is not seen by all, and thus appear magical, mysterious, evil. The significance of this statement is most evident in Miriam's explanation of Guido's archangel:

But, is it thus that virtue looks the moment after its death-struggle with evil? No, no: I could have told Guido better. A full third of the Archangel's feathers should have been torn from his wings; the rest all ruffled, till they looked like Satan's own! His sword should be streaming with blood, and perhaps broken half-way to the hilt; his armor crushed, his robes rent, his breast gory; a bleeding gash on his brow, cutting right across the stern scowl of battle! He should press his foot hard down upon the old serpent, as if his very soul depended upon it, feeling him squirm mightily, and doubting whether the fight were half over yet, and how the victory might turn! And, with all this fierceness, this grimness, this unalterable horror, there should still be something high, tender, and holy in Michael's eyes, and around his mouth. But the battle never was such child's play as Guido's dapper archangel seems to have found it. (Works, VI, 216-217)

In order to reveal truth the artist must understand evil as well as good. To omit evil altogether, to gloss over it, to avoid it is to create something defective.

Two questions arise from these considerations. What position does art occupy in the realm of things if, as Hawthorne has suggested, we should not seek our life's purpose in its pursuit? What views on art has Hawthorne mentioned which might indicate how these conclusions were reached?

As we have indicated earlier, Hawthorne felt that art could, under certain conditions, absorb an individual's life. As a result this individual, like the "Painter" in "The Prophetic Pictures," could by degrees become detached from humanity and lose contact with God because of his artistic power. In The Marble Faun, Hawthorne rejects art as an autonomous sphere, but incorporates it into a broader notion of composite Arts. In this way art becomes a complement to one's knowledge of nature and the human condition, not an end in itself. It is not given up as worthless; "only that it had lost its consecration" (Works, VI, 389). These views are symbolically mentioned in The Marble Faun. Immediately after Hilda's confession she is walking with Kenyon over a bridge, under which flows the Tiber. Hilda wonders whether the seven-branched golden candlestick had been swept down the river to this point during the intervening centuries. Kenyon says 'no' and follows with the pessimistic view that it will never be found. Hilda then conjures up an idea for a "mystic

story or parable, or seven-branched allegory, full of poetry, art, philosophy, and religion." Each branch shall be lighted, each shall be of a different color; "and when all the seven are kindled, their radiance shall combine into the intense white light of truth" (Works, VI, 422).

This allegory lends itself to a broader consideration. Should we accept the entire candlestick as Nature, we can see that art is only a fraction of its complete understanding. Thus in The Marble Faun Nature is affirmed in counter distinction to art, an affirmation based on the idea that art is associated with the corruption of time. The Fountain of Trevi, for example, is corrupted and taken back into nature. Even sculpture, which is given immortal qualities in this work, is condemned by Miriam, who expresses horror that sculpture should survive. Many paintings, frescoes, tapestries, and other works of art are rejected as worthless because they reflect civilizations now decayed or because they have faded, chipped, or been distorted in some other manner till they no longer are recognizable. Hawthorne accepts, therefore, the psychological present as opposed to the past. For this reason he rejects the necessity for contemporary sculpture (Works, VI, 150), the necessity for Hilda to copy the masters, and Rome itself.

Thus, there emerges from The Marble Faun an affirmation of Nature itself. Hawthorne indicates this in his use of the candlestick, which symbolizes the union of the various fields of learning and, at the end, through the Pantheon,

which in its eye-like opening conveys the union of God and Nature in one color, a motif carried over from his "The New Adam and Eve," where Adam is troubled that a roof prohibits his view of the sky. It is significant that Hilda is the high priestess on this occasion, for she acts in this way as Hawthorne's interpreter. It is conceivable, then, that Hawthorne meant to express his interpretation of the romantic idea of the Universal art form in The Marble Faun. Considered in its entirety the canvas upon which the novel is painted is vast indeed. It is a canvas which stretches back into the Golden Age of man; a canvas that depicts man's moral, intellectual, and creative growth; a canvas that questions art, poetry, philosophy, and theology. Viewed in this light, art of itself is of only complementary importance. Hawthorne foresaw that an individual, such as the "Painter" or Hilda, to take two opposite examples, could become too involved in art and lose an understanding of its proportion in relation to the whole of life. The "Painter" became so absorbed that his powers took on magical properties and his life's purpose seemed directed toward doom. Hilda, through Hawthorne's manipulations, gives up her art and returns to a more simple life.

When we begin to consider some of the critical passages on art in The Marble Faun, we notice that they tend to substantiate the conclusions stated here. One cannot help feeling that there is a certain naiveté in some of Hawthorne's opinions. For example, he questions the value of Raphael's religious paintings after he has seen the earthy Fornarina of the

of the Barberini Palace. Comments of this nature have led one critic to comment: "Even a surface reading of The Marble Faun would seem to lay bare the most hideous nineteenth-century critical heresies and irresponsibilities. Hawthorne's dismissal of Giotto, Cimabue, Fra Angelico, and almost all art except that of the high Renaissance and his own time would further seem to put an end to our interest in his opinions on art" ¹⁸⁴

Hawthorne's opinion of art depends to a great extent on his understanding of the romantic organic theory of art. Mr. Fogle points out that Hawthorne extends the application of this theory to all the problems of the book. This same theory is expressed when Hawthorne distinguishes between copy and imitation, as we have mentioned earlier. Fogle asserts, "The notion of organic imitation expressed in The Marble Faun is thoroughly Platonic and Christian. Art is always the imitation of a higher reality; the conception is loftier than the completed work." ¹⁸⁵ The condemnation of the mechanical sculptures in the fifteenth chapter is a reflection of this attitude (Works, VI, 163).

One notices throughout the work a contempt on Hawthorne's part for falseness, over-embellishment, calculation. He will condemn the completed piece of marble on the basis that it was not wrought by the artist, but by mechanical men, who, given a plaster cast of the artist's design, complete the work without his lifting a finger (Works, VI, 140). Thus, as

Male points out, "The Coleridgean opposition between organic and mechanical in art is often expressed in The Marble Faun."¹⁸⁶ A like condemnation is launched at paintings, frescoes, and murals that are executed by assistants and not the artist himself. As a consequence Hawthorne believes that the original conception is the thing of beauty: "There is an effluence of divinity in the first sketch; and there, if anywhere, you find the pure light of inspiration, which subsequent toil of the artist serves to bring out in stronger luster, indeed, but likewise adulterates it with what belongs to an inferior mood."¹⁸⁷

But Hawthorne goes even further; indeed, he interprets chance as being very important in art. Kenyon's careless, offhand stroke is better than his determined skill in carving the bust of Donatello. It is likewise significant that this bust remained unfinished, for as with a first sketch its suggestivity and incompleteness are its virtues. All of these notions obviously find their ultimate beginnings in the romantic concepts of change, diversity, organicism.

Another of Hawthorne's strong opinions, one we have discussed at some length, is that art possesses some magical or mysterious quality. Hawthorne had recorded in his Notebooks his failure "to find and understand the mysteries of paintings" (Works, VIII, 161; X, 159). In The Marble Faun Hawthorne identified this mysterious property as "that indefinable nothing, that inestimable something that constitutes the life and soul through which the picture gets its immortality" (Works, VI, 77-78). This failure and the fear it produced

permeate The Marble Faun and, indeed, is symbolized by three major magic art objects: the Faun in the Capitol Gallery, the portrait of "Beatrice Cenci" by Guido in the Barberini Palace, and St. Michael in the Capuchin Monastery. Each of these works, as Brumbaugh points out, "manifests some life within itself, and directs or reflects the plot in one way or another."¹⁸⁸

This mysterious something which Hawthorne found himself unable to know in a painting might be called the life quality; and throughout The Marble Faun the impression or effect of a work depends on whether it possesses this quality to any degree: "It is impossible to gaze long at this stone image without conceiving a kindly sentiment towards it, as if its substance were warm to the touch, and imbued with actual life."¹⁸⁹

Because a piece of art possesses this life quality, it can apparently share a condition with a real person. This idea is nothing more than an extension of the romantic doctrine of sympathy. When Miriam is visiting Hilda and views her Beatrice Cenci, she states: "if I could only get within her consciousness" As Miriam spoke, her facial expression took on that of the painting, "as if her passionate wish and struggles to penetrate poor Beatrice's mystery had been successful" (Works, VI, 850). This same idea is present later when Hilda observes herself in the mirror and realizes that her expression is the same as Beatrice's.

During Hilda's period of dormancy, Hawthorne makes this observation: "A picture, however admirable the painter's art, and wonderful his power, requires of the spectator a surrender of himself, in due proportion with the miracle which has been wrought. Let the canvas glow as it may, you must look with the eyes of faith, or its highest excellence escapes you. There is always the necessity of helping out the painter's art with your own resources of sensibility and imagination" (Works, VI, 382).

This rather naive outlook, which renders a painting's value proportionate to the relative effect produced by an individual viewer, is expressed earlier in the novel in a statement by Kenyon and pointedly refuted by Miriam. Kenyon states: "I defy any painter to move and elevate me without my own consent and assistance." To which Miriam replies: "'Then you are deficient of a sense'" (Works, VI, 31). It should be noted here that the retort is made by the person whom Hawthorne logically rejects at the end of the novel. This particular, narrow view concerning the impact a painting has on the viewer is one retained from Hawthorne's personal experiences on his English and Italian journeys.

Two further points might be mentioned. Hawthorne often expressed the idea that art could give immortality to its subject. This problem arose particularly with reference to sculpture. Through Kenyon, Hawthorne voiced his disapproval of attempting to catch fleeting moments in marble, because

such a moment becomes awkward over a period of time (Works, VI, 30-31). But this was not his only objection. Hawthorne disliked the idea that some men will be remembered through a bust by future generations after the true value of their life has long since disappeared (Works, VI, 144). Again monuments in stone which perpetuate the memory of some dead Caesar are gradually covered with the dust of succeeding generations and emphasize merely the transitoriness of life itself.

And finally, Hawthorne drew a distinction between sculpture and painting. Roy R. Male has described this division as a contrast between the masculine form, sculpture, and the feminine form, painting: sculpture is masculine because it is cold, massive and hard and "It freezes an image in space and has nothing temporal about it"; painting is feminine because it is "warmer and more heartfelt."¹⁹⁰ Generally speaking, Hawthorne had a more acute knowledge of sculpture than of painting. Oddly enough, the names Hawthorne mentions in connection with art are of the third and fourth rank, e.g., Guido. However, when Hawthorne discusses sculpture, he is generally subtle and profound. In the "The New Adam and Eve" Hawthorne had indicated that "sculpture in its highest excellence is more genuine than painting, and might seem to be evolved from some natural germ by the same law as a leaf or a flower."¹⁹¹ But he became disillusioned with contemporary sculpture because of its imitative, unoriginal qualities. And as Montégut said, "He" very well shows the reason why

sculpture had to become an impotent and condemned art."¹⁹² However, Mr. Montégut might have said more truthfully that Hawthorne expressed solid arguments for the existence of contemporary sculpture and in this wise exercised prophetic talents.

These opinions concerning art led to the conclusions which we have mentioned before. The organic theory, as expressed by Hawthorne, permitted him to accept the importance of the idea before the completed work. It follows from this that Hilda could, with little compunction, quit Rome and her art work, for the completed work is not of prime importance.

This same theory elicited condemnation for many contemporary sculptors who merely copied the art of Greece or the early Christians. For this reason Hawthorne could find little value in contemporary sculpture.

The rejection of calculation, mechanical skill, and practicality enabled Kenyon to find little of worth in his chosen field. Of course, the recognition of the mysterious and evil in an artist was the direct cause of Hawthorne's rejection of Miriam. Hawthorne's own inability to understand the value of a painting contributed to his hasty rejection of its importance and the sacredness with which he had viewed it earlier.

c. Epilogue

To go beyond The Marble Faun, in an attempt to analyze the development of Hawthorne's artistry is to move into the realm of absolute speculation. What a writer intended to do had he time and health, what is left to the critic by way of manuscript, what has been manhandled before now -- all warns against empty speculation.

Many scholars and pseudo-psychiatrists have offered imaginative diagnoses of Hawthorne's "Last Phase." Davidson walked the safest ground by keeping closely to a tabulation of the extant manuscripts. Yet even he, when he entered the ranks of speculators, found other scholars willing to dispute his claims.¹⁹³

We do not intend to intrude into this unknown sphere. What Hawthorne would have done had he completed the unfinished romances could destroy any speculations offered here. However, if we consider the general approach of these last works, as they exist in their incomplete manner, then one or two things can be said.

It is evident, as Lundblad has pointed out and as we noted earlier, that Hawthorne used a great many Gothic devices in his early tales, then less through the middle years, and turned to them again in the late works. Such certainly is the case with Septimus Felton, The Ancestral Footstep, and Dr. Grimshawe's Secret.¹⁹⁴

Secondly, the fragments that exist are decidedly meager in philosophical content, lacking the penetrating depth of thought that marked the works of the late middle period. Davidson goes so far as to say, "Perhaps in the last phase he completely lost interest in right and wrong which had moved him so profoundly in the decade before."¹⁹⁵ Third, the absence of expressive thought makes the settings of these romances, as they exist in their unfinished state, merely simple functional backdrops. And fourth, there seems to be a decided cynical note hovering over these last works, marked perhaps as early as the rather pessimistic tone of The Marble Faun.

One is tempted to speculate on each of these four items. In keeping with our study, each is explainable as a consequence of the development we have witnessed over the years, and most significantly, that development which occurred between Hawthorne's philosophical, academic knowledge and his personal experience and aesthetics between 1853 and 1860.

If Hawthorne, indeed, rejected romantic aesthetics, as indicated by the conclusion and the denigration of art in The Marble Faun, then it is understandable why there would be a lack of ideas in these late works. Furthermore, if the ideas are discarded, it would be necessary for the romance writer to turn to those devices which offer elements of the moral picturesque, even though they lack the depth of thought they might attain if associated with romantic concepts. Hence,

Hawthorne could turn to the bloody footstep or the spider as Gothic elements, yet, having thrown out the mystery and the speculative associations that romantic concepts offer, have no real emblematic value to which these devices could refer. As a result, Dr. Grimshawe's spider becomes only an unusual pet and fails to even act as an identifying characteristic. Doubleday states that the Gothic materials in Dr. Grimshawe's Secret, The Dolliver Romance, and Septimus Welton get out of hand and "assume too great an importance in and for themselves, and get in the way, therefore, of the meaning."¹⁹⁶

When we turn to the last of the points mentioned above, speculation becomes rampant. One can trace, however, a kind of gradual encroachment of cynicism. If Hawthorne believed, as Waggoner asserts, "that there was freedom as well as fate in life, so that a fresh start was possible, choice was real, the past not completely determinative of the future . . .," then it is all but impossible to comprehend some comments made in Dr. Grimshawe, at least if they express Hawthorne's personal viewpoint.¹⁹⁷

As far back, as "Major Molineux," hope appeared to be a real alternative. "Egotism" offered a kind of personal triumph over adversity. A quiet confidence that an understanding of man's nature has been attained exudes from "Young Goodman Brown" but ambiguity shrouds The Scarlet Letter, and even Hawthorne must defend its sombreness. Indeed, Thorpe claims that this romance is very cynical: "The point is that life

is condemned to existence. Existence itself is a part of the general condemnation. The whole of the world appears transcendently meaningless."¹⁹⁸

The ending of House is a forced compliance and something of a contradiction to the work itself. The Marble Faun is filled with desperate questioning of both man and nature. Yet, the most cynical comment emerges from the quiet study of Dr. Grimshawe, who, in answer to the children's question, says"

'Whence did you come? Whence did any of us come? Out of the darkness and mystery; out of nothingness; out of a kingdom of shadows; out of dust, clay, mud, I think, and to return to it again. Out of a former state of being, whence we have brought a good many shadowy revelations, purporting that it was no very pleasant one. Out of a former life, of which the present one is the hell! -- And why are you come? Faith, Ned, he must be a wiser man than Doctor Grim who can tell why you or any other mortal came hither; only one thing I am well aware of, -- it was not to be happy. To toil and moil and hope and fear; and to love in a shadowy, doubtful sort of way, and to hate in bitter earnest, -- that is what you came for!' (Works, XIII, 18-19)

What darker answer to life's purpose could be given, especially to those on the threshold of life? Davidson mentions that in study "B," Hawthorne notes "The great gist of the story ought to be the natural hatred of men --" ¹⁹⁹ At the close of his career, having rejected the ideas that had sustained his fiction, and finding after four years of work that he could not bring any piece to completion, perhaps Hawthorne had to embrace cynicism as the only logical conclusion. Perhaps after sending Hilda home to the innocence and joy of America, and having arrived home to find his nation embroiled in fratricidal warfare, his ironic position struck home.²⁰⁰

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1. Some of the more pertinent of these studies are the following: Millicent Bell, Hawthorne's View of the Artist (New York: State University of New York, 1962); Marcus Bewley, The Eccentric Design: Form in the Classic American Novel (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959); Maurice Charney, "Hawthorne and the Gothic Style," NEQ, XXIV (1961), 36-49; Harry Hayden Clark, "Hawthorne's Literary and Aesthetic Doctrines as Embodied in his Tales," TWA SAL, L (1961), 251-75; Edward H. Davidson, Hawthorne's Last Phase (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949); Richard Harter Fogle, Hawthorne's Fiction: The Light and the Dark (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952); C. H. Foster, "Hawthorne's Literary Theory," PMLA, LVII (1942), 241-54; Henry James, Hawthorne (London: Macmillan, 1879); Robert Kimbrough, "The Actual and the Imaginary: Hawthorne's Concept of Art in Theory and Practice," TWA SAL, L (1961), 277-93; Jane Lundblad, Nathaniel Hawthorne and the Tradition of Gothic Romance (Essays and Studies on American Languages and Literature, N. Y.; Upsala, 1946); Richard J. Jacobson, Hawthorne's Conception of the Creative Process (Harvard University Press, 1965); Roy R. Male, Hawthorne's Tragic Vision (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1957); F. O. Matthiessen, American Renaissance, Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), pp. 179-368; G. Harrison Orians, "Scott and Hawthorne's Fanshawe," NEQ, XI (1938), 388-94; Leland Schubert, Hawthorne the Artist: Fine-Art Devices in Fiction (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944); Hyatt H. Waggoner, Hawthorne: A Critical Study (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955); Jac Tharpe, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Identity and Knowledge (Carbondale: So. Illinois University Press, 1967).

2. See "Books Read by Nathaniel Hawthorne, 1822-1850," Essex Institute Historical Collection, LXVIII (Jan., 1932), 65-87; Marian L. Kesselring, Hawthorne's Reading, 1828-1850 (New York: New York Public Library, 1949); Jane Lundblad, "Hawthorne's Life and Readings," in Hawthorne and the Tradition of Gothic Romance, pp. 30-64; also see Appendix to this volume.

3. Malcolm Cowley, "Hawthorne in the Looking Glass," SR, LVI (1948), 558. See especially Cowley's discussion of Hawthorne's letter to Longfellow.

4. Cowley, p. 558.

5. Essex Institute Historical Collection, pp. 81-85.

6. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, The Selected Poetry and Prose of Samuel Taylor Coleridge (New York: The Modern Library, 1951), pp. 263-264.

7. William Dunlap, A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States (Boston: G. E. Goodspeed & Co., 1918), I, 216.

8. Dunlap, pp. 221-222.

9. Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Complete Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne, with Introductory Notes by George Parsons Lathrop, 12 vols. (Boston: The Riverside Press, H. O. Houghton & Co., 1882). Reference here to volume I, p. 189. All subsequent quotes from Hawthorne's works will be taken from this edition and cited by volume number and page in the body of the text.

10. John Ruskin, Modern Painters (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1878), I, 9-10.

11. Essex Institute Historical Collection, pp. 86-87; see also M. L. Kesselring, Hawthorne's Reading.

12. See unpublished Master's Thesis, William A. Cook, The Development of Hawthorne's Aesthetic Theories (Lehigh University, 1962), p. 3.

13. Cowley, p. 558.

14. Schubert, p. 31.

15. Schubert, p. 95.

16. James K. Folsom, Man's Accidents and God's Purposes (New Haven: College & University Press, 1963), p. 39.

17. Folsom, p. 100.

18. Jacobson, p. 3.

19. See Essex Institute Historical Collection, pp. 65-87. Also see Appendix to this volume and especially Hawthorne's own copy of Coleridge's Letters, Conversations, Recollections, 1836.

20. Jacobson, p. 39.

21. Davidson, pp. 144-145.

22. Waggoner, pp. 59-60.

23. See "Introduction" in Davidson, pp. VIII - IX; Waggoner, p. 225; Tharpe, p. 28; Edward C. Wagenknecht, Nathaniel Hawthorne: Man and Writer (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 6.

24. Arlin Turner, "Hawthorne's Literary Borrowings," PMLA, LI (1936), 558.

25. Folsom, p. 19.

26. Bewley, p. 144.

27. Bewley, p. 145.

28. Lundblad, p. 82.

29. Q. D. Leavis, "Hawthorne as Poet," SR, LIX (Spring and Summer, 1951), 198f.

30. Waggoner, pp. 47-53; Male, pp. 48-53; Daniel Hoffman, Form and Fable in American Fiction (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 117f.

31. Hoffman, p. 123.

32. Waggoner states, "The tale is not as rich in texture as the greatest of Hawthorne's later stories; not so much of the meaning is carried by image and symbol.", p. 86.

33. Richard P. Adams, "Hawthorne Provincial Tales," NEQ, XXX (1957), 42. Adams draws many references here that can only be substantiated by speculation.

34. Folsom, pp. 77-78. One should also see, for a critic who has a different understanding of allegory from Hawthorne, Yvor Winters, Maule's Curse: Seven Studies in the History of American Obscurantism (Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions, 1938), p. 156 ff.

35. Waggoner, p. 59.

36. Waggoner, p. 62.

37. Hawthorne read Bacon as early as 1828. See Essex Institute Historical Collection. Matthiessen says Hawthorne used symbols to gain multiple choice of meaning. See American Renaissance, p. 275. See also Q. D. Leavis, pp. 179-185.

38. See Randall Stewart, "Hawthorne and The Faerie Queene," PQ, XII (1933), 196-206; also Herbert A. Leibowitz, "Hawthorne and Spenser: Two Sources," AL, XXX (1953), 459-466.

39. Wagenknecht, footnote 23, p. 208.
40. Folsom, p. 41.
41. Waggoner, p. 100.
42. Dunlap, p. 262. Allston had a great regard for Sophia's talent in art. See Rose H. Lathrop, Memoirs of Hawthorne (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1897), p. 28f. Also see letter from Elizabeth Hawthorne, June 23, 1839. Allston stated he "thirsted for imaginative writing like Twice-Told Tales."
43. Folsom, p. 18. Folsom generalizes critics of Hawthorne into those who say ambiguity results from not saying what he means and those who say ambiguity is an artistic device.
44. Folsom, p. 19.
45. Folsom, p. 48.
46. Bewley, pp. 131-132.
47. Schubert, pp. 7-8.
48. Frederick C. Crews, The Sons of the Fathers (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 12. Note that Neal Frank Doubleday in his introductory paragraph to a selection from Strutt's work in Hawthorne: Tales of his Native Land, ed. N. F. Doubleday (Boston: Heath & Co., 1962), p. 163, points out that Hawthorne took all three figures plus the "bear erect," and the "salvage Man" from engravings found in Joseph Strutt's work.
49. Essex Institute Historical Collection, pp. 81-86.
50. Folsom, p. 19.
51. Davidson, p. 143; see also Lundblad: "Hawthorne . . . treated subjects of a Transcendental kind: truths, morals, beyond the everyday appearance of things." p. 71.
52. Jacobson, pp. 1-3.
53. Bell, p. 23; see also Cook, p. 5.
54. Morse Peckham, "Toward a Theory of Romanticism," PMLA, LXVI (1951), 6.
55. Peckham, pp. 15-20.

56. Peckham, p. 12.

57. Peckham, p. 13.

58. Samuel T. Coleridge, The Selected Poetry and Prose, p. 269. This passage is from Chapter XIV of Biographia Literaria which Hawthorne read in 1836.

59. Percy Bysshe Shelley, The Selected Poetry and Prose of Percy Bysshe Shelley (New York: The Modern Library, 1951), pp. 494-500. Hawthorne had read Shelley on early as July, 1833, and again in June of 1835. (See Essex Institute Historical Collection, pp. 78, 81).

60. Frederic Ives Carpenter, "Emerson's Prose and Poetry," in Emerson Handbook (New York: Hendricks House, 1953), p. 96.

61. R. W. Emerson in "The Poet" The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, with Introductory Notes by Edward Waldo Emerson, 12 vols. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1904), III, 13.

62. Folsom, pp. 36, 37.

63. This discussion and the quoted material is based on that given by Frederic Ives Carpenter, "Emerson's Prose and Poetry," in Emerson Handbook, p. 95 ff.

64. Carpenter, p. 100.

65. Coleridge, p. 432.

66. Norman Forster, "Emerson on the Organic Principle in Art," PMLA, XLI (1926), pp. 193-208.

67. Emerson in "The Poet," The Complete Works, III, 21-22.

68. Emerson in "The Poet," The Complete Works, III, 22.

69. Emerson in "The Poet," The Complete Works, III, 20-21.

70. Percy Bysshe Shelley, Selections, p. 496.

71. Shelley's discussion of this matter will be found in "A Defence of Poetry" in Selections, p. 494; Hazlitt's in "On Poetry in General" in Lectures on the English Poets (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1960), pp. 1-18; Keat's in "Letter to George and Thomas Keats" in Selected Poems and Letters, ed. Douglas Bush (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1959), pp. 260-261; Coleridge in "Literature, Life and Opinions" in Biographia Literaria, Chap. XII, Thesis X in The Selected Poetry and Prose, pp. 256-257.

72. Tharpe, p. 145.

73. Mary E. Dichmann, "Hawthorne's 'Prophetic Pictures,'" AL, XXIII (May, 1951), 188. See these scholars also for treatment of this tale: E. L. Chandler, "A Study of the Sources of the Tales and Romances Written by Nathaniel Hawthorne before 1853," Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, 4 (July, 1926), vii, 19; F. O. Matthiessen, p. 223; Alice L. Cooke, "The Shadow of Martinus Scriblerus in 'Hawthorne's 'The Prophetic Pictures,'" NEQ, XVII (1944), 598; Mark Van Doren, Nathaniel Hawthorne (New York: W. Sloane, 1949), p. 88.

74. Dichmann, pp. 190, 194.

75. Emerson in "The Poet," The Complete Works, III, 5.

76. See Percy Bysshe Shelley in "Preface to Prometheus Unbound" in Selected Poetry and Prose, p. 445. In this "Preface" Shelley suggests a similar image "[E]very man's mind is the mirror upon which all forms are reflected, and in which they compose one form. Poets, not otherwise than philosophers, painters, sculptors, and musicians, are, in one sense, the creators, and in another, the creations, of their age."

77. Emerson in "Illusion," The Complete Works, VI, 319, 323.

78. Dichmann, p. 191.

79. Emerson in "The Poet," The Complete Works, III, 5.

80. Dichmann, p. 192.

81. Peckham, pp. 15 ff.

82. Dunlap, pp. 221-222.

83. R. B. Davis, "Hawthorne and Fanny Kemble: 'The Artist of the Beautiful,'" MLN, LXX (1955), 590.

84. Fogle, The Light and the Dark, pp. 31, 78; See also Roy R. Male, Hawthorne's Tragic Vision (Austin, Texas, 1951), p. 34.

85. Fogle, The Light and the Dark, p. 88.

86. Bell, p. 58.

87. Bell, pp. 67-68.

88. Bell, pp. 68, 79, 80.

89. Bell, pp. 109, 112, no. 7, 113.

90. Bell, p. 119.
91. C. H. Foster, "Hawthorne's Literary Theory," p. 247.
92. Bewley, Eccentric Design, p. 136.
93. Davis, p. 592.
94. Rudolph Von Abele, The Death of the Artist: A Study of Hawthorne's Disintegration (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1955), p. 39. See as well Henry M. Delaune, "The Beautiful of 'The Artist of the Beautiful,'" XUS, I, iii (1961), 94-99. Delaune attempts to describe relationships that exist between Edmund Burke's aesthetics and Hawthorne's. He deals, however, only with the one tale, "The Artist of the Beautiful," implying that Hawthorne's aesthetic remained the same throughout his life's work. He mentions that Hawthorne modifies, omits, and adds to Burke's theories; but adds that Hawthorne may or may not have used Burke as a source. Affinities of this nature prove very little though they imply much. This study omits substantial evidence indicating that Hawthorne used Burke; it fails to consider the theories Hawthorne did not accept; and most important of all, it does not trace the development of these aesthetics throughout Hawthorne's work.
95. Foster, p. 243.
96. Coleridge, p. 432.
97. Peckham, pp. 10-11.
98. Immanuel Kant, Kleine Anthropologisch - Praktische Schriften Herausgegeben von Karl Rosenkranz und Friedr. Wilh. Schubert (Leipzig: Leopold Voss., 1838), p. 67; "The reading 'Maxime,' which is that both of Rosenkranz and Hartenstein, is obviously in error for 'Materie'." This is a correction made by Abbott in Kant's Critique of Practical Reason and Other Works in the Theory of Ethics, trans. by Thomas Kingsmill Abbott (Dublin: Longmans, Green & Co., 1909), p. 55.
99. Jacobson, p. 25. See also Harry H. Clark, "Hawthorne's Literary and Aesthetic Doctrines as Embodied in his Tales," 266-270.
100. Gordon Roper in the "Introduction," The Scarlet Letter (New York: Hendricks House, 1949), pp. xxxi ff.
101. Jesse Bier, "Hawthorne on the Romance: His Prefaces Related and Examined," Mod. Phil., LIII (1955), 19.

102. George Boas, ed. "Preface," Romanticism in America (New York: Russell, 1961, p. ix.

103. Lundblad, p. 149.

104. George E. Woodberry, Nathaniel Hawthorne, How to Know Him (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1918), pp. 89-90.

105. Woodberry, p. 78; Davidson, p. 144.

106. Stewart, p. 202. Stewart calls this use of an image a "material adjunct" with symbolic significance to identify character.

107. See M. L. Kesselring and Essex Institute Historical Collection, p. 86.

108. See Randall Stewart, ed., The English Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne (New York: MLA, 1941), p. 654.

109. Waggoner, p. 247.

110. Leavis, p. 455.

111. Ruskin, pp. 8, 9, 10, 11.

112. Ruskin, p. 21.

113. Ruskin, p. 37.

114. Ruskin, p. 44.

115. Ruskin, p. 45.

116. Ruskin, p. 46.

117. Ruskin, p. 53.

118. Cowley in discussing this point refers to a letter Hawthorne wrote James T. Fields, Jr., partner of the publishing house: "I am not quite sure that I entirely comprehend my own meaning, in some of these blasted allegories; but I remember that I always had a meaning, or at least thought I had. I am a good deal changed since those times; and, to tell you the truth, my past self is not very much to my taste, as I see myself in this book." Reference here was to the new edition of Mosses in 1854. See Cowley, pp. 556-557.

119. Charles E. Lester, The Artists of America (New York, 1846), p. 13.

120. Randall Stewart, ed., The American Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932), pp. 259-260.
121. Bewley, p. 116.
122. Jacobson, p. 32, on "Feathertop." .
123. Folsom, p. 69.
124. See Charles Feidelson, Jr., Symbolism and American Literature (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 10; Folsom, p. 60; Frank MacShane, "The House of the Dead: Hawthorne's Custom House and The Scarlet Letter," NEQ, XXXV (1962), 93-101; Tharpe, p. 63; Larzer Ziff, "The Ethical Dimension of 'The Custom House,'" MLN, LXXIII (1958), 338-344.
125. Bier, p. 17.
126. Hoffman, p. 169.
127. Randall Stewart, Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Biography (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), p. 98.
128. Sam S. Baskett, "The (Complete) Scarlet Letter," CE, XXII (1961), 326.
129. Stewart, Biography, p. 95.
130. Wagenknecht, p. 33.
131. Woodberry, p. 125.
132. Woodberry, p. 134-135.
133. Woodberry, p. 135.
134. Feidelson, p. 10.
135. Stewart, Biography, p. 95.
136. Waggoner, pp. 118-150.
137. Robert Eugene Gross, "Hawthorne's First Novel: The Future of a Style," PMLA, LXXVIII (1963), 63.
138. Gross, p. 64.
139. Gross, p. 65.

140. Chester E. Eisinger, "Pearl and the Puritan Heritage," CE, XII (1951), 325.

141. Turner, p. 558.

142. Darrel Abel, "Hawthorne's Dimmesdale: Fugitive from Wrath," Nineteenth Century Fiction, XI (1956), 82.

143. Waggoner, p. 154.

144. Winters, p. 262.

145. Clark Griffith, "Substance or Shadow: Language and Meaning in The House of the Seven Gables," MP, LI (1953), 188.

146. Griffith, p. 189.

147. Bewley, pp. 116, 119.

148. Schubert, p. 5.

149. Feidelson, p. 15. Feidelson notes that Kenyon rejects Miriam's views: "I dare not follow you . . . it is too dangerous." "And Hawthorne himself repudiates these meditations He falls back on the simple morality of Hilda."

150. See Works, X, 170. Hawthorne is referring to George Loring Brown, painter, born in Boston, Mass., Feb. 2, 1814. He studied in London for two years and later in 1840 studied in Paris under Eugene Isabey, and finally spent some twenty years in Antwerp, Rome, Florence, Paris, and London. He returned to the United States in 1860, with a reputation as a landscape painter. See Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, Vol. I, edited by James Grant Wilson and John Fiske (New York, 1888), 399.

151. M. E. Montégut, "Un Romancier Pessimiste en Amerique," Revue Des Deux Mondes, IV (Juillet, Aout, 1860), 693.

152. Bell, p. 25.

153. Coleridge, in "Dejection: An Ode" in The Selected Poetry and Prose, p. 78.

154. Hawthorne had read Ruskin both at home (June 5, 1848) and abroad as he mentions in the Notebooks. See Works, VIII, ~ 593; Kesselring, p. 60.

155. Emile Legouis, A History of English Literature (London: Dent & Sons LTD., 1960), p. 1155.

156. Works, X, 126-127. Gibson, John (1790-1866) English sculptor, was apprenticed to a firm of cabinet-makers at fourteen. In 1817 he went to Rome but studied at no academy. "He was essentially classic in feeling and aim." "Gibson was the first to introduce color on his statues." He was elected to the Royal Academy in 1836 and died in Rome on the 27th of January, 1866. See The Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th ed., XI (Cambridge, England, New York, 1960), 943-944.

157. Works, VIII, 524, 525, 526, 530, 535; X, 170, 178, 180, 288, 312, 313, 428.

158. Coleridge, The Selected Poetry and Prose, p. 269.

159. Coleridge, The Selected Poetry and Prose, p. 269.

160. Bell, p. 47.

161. Paul Brodtkorb, "Art Allegory in The Marble Faun," PMLA, LXXVII (1962), 266.

162. Brodtkorb, p. 266.

163. Male, p. 35; See also Thomas B. Brumbaugh, "Concerning Nathaniel Hawthorne and Art as Magic," American Imago, II (1954), 399-400.

164. Waggoner, p. 195; See also Male, p. 14.

165. Male, p. 163.

166. Male, p. 159.

167. Male, p. 164.

168. Bernard J. Paris, "Optimism and Pessimism in The Marble Faun," BUSE, II, 2 (1956), 104-109.

169. This final statement is at odds with that suggested by Mr. Paris: "Identification is not necessary to survival for Hilda, but it is nevertheless inevitable" (p. 104). On the contrary, we find that identification is necessary, for Hilda, like Donatello, is not of this world; and when the truth of the world is made manifest to her, she retreats to "The World's Cathedral" where she achieves a self-denying love that enables her to live at peace with herself and her contemporaries.

170. Paris, p. 104.
171. Paris, p. 111.
172. Male, pp. 15-17.
173. John Keats in "Letter to John Hamilton Reynolds" in Selected Poems and Letters, p. 274.
174. Keats, p. 274.
175. Male, p. 9.
176. Waggoner, p. 208.
177. Some of the ideas mentioned in this paper and in particular the "epochal confrontation" theme are developments of discussions originating in the Hawthorne seminar conducted by Professor Carl F. Strauch, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa., 1961. Some thoughts on this theme can be found in Strauch's "The Problem of Time and the Romantic Mode in Hawthorne, Melville, and Emerson," ESQ, No. 35, II Quarter (1964), 50-61.
178. Waggoner, p. 208.
179. Leonard J. Fick, The Light Beyond (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press, 1955), p. 57.
180. Brumbaugh, p. 404.
181. Fogle, p. 179.
182. William Bysshe Stein, Hawthorne's Faust (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1953), p. 96.
183. Henry G. Fairbanks, "Sin, Free Will, and 'Pessimism' in Hawthorne," PMLA, LXXI (1956), 983 (footnote).
184. Brumbaugh, p. 400.
185. Fogle, pp. 179-180.
186. Roy R. Male, "From the Innermost Germ: The Organic Principle in Hawthorne's Fiction," ELH, XX (1953), 220.
187. Works, VI, 427, 166: In this instance Kenyon does not cast the statue in marble because it would destroy the original conception.
188. Brumbaugh, p. 403.

189. Works, VI, 23-24. See as well for similar remarks by Hawthorne, pp. 32, 74, 76, 153, 238, 239, 360, 430, 432, 433.

190. Male, Hawthorne's Tragic Vision, p. 165.

191. Julian Hawthorne, "Hawthorne's Philosophy," Century Magazine, X (1886), 91.

192. Montégut, p. 695.

193. Davidson, Hawthorne's Last Phase. Some scholars contend that Hawthorne did not always practice the method of construction outlined by Davidson.

194. Lundblad, p. 149.

195. Davidson, p. 151.

196. Neal F. Doubleday, "Hawthorne's Use of Three Gothic Patterns," CE, VII (1946), 262.

197. Waggoner, p. 54.

198. Thorpe, p. 109.

199. Davidson, p. 34.

200. R. W. B. Lewis, The American Adam (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 124. Lewis claims that America, both in Dr. Grimshawe and The Marble Faun, reflects an "atmosphere (was) much thinner, (it was) also much freer." He goes on to suggest that this was Hawthorne's personal conclusion as well.

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- Ruskin, John. Modern Painters. I. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1878.

- Schubert, Leland. Hawthorne the Artist: Fine-Art Devices in Fiction. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944.
- Shelley, Percy Bysshe. The Selected Poetry and Prose of Percy Bysshe Shelley. New York: The Modern Library, 1951.
- Stein, William Bysshe. Hawthorne's Faust: A Study in Mythmaking. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1953.
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- _____. Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Biography. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948.
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- Turner, Arlin. "Hawthorne's Literary Borrowings," PMLA, LI (1936), 543-562.
- Van Doren, Mark. Nathaniel Hawthorne. New York: W. Sloane, 1949.
- Von Abele, Randolph. The Death of the Artist: A Study of Hawthorne's Disintegration. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1955.
- Wagenknecht, Edward C. Nathaniel Hawthorne: Man and Writer. New York: Oxford University Press, 1961.

- Waggoner, Hyatt H. Hawthorne: A Critical Study. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955.
- Winters, Yvor. Maule's Curse: Seven Studies in the History of American Obscurantism. Norfolk: New Directions, 1938.
- Woodberry, George E. Nathaniel Hawthorne: How to Know Him. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1918.
- Ziff, Larzer. "The Ethical Dimension of 'The Custom House'," Modern Language Notes, LXXIII (1958), 338-344.

A P P E N D I X

Three years after Nathaniel Hawthorne left Bowdoin, he became a proprietor of the Salem Athenaeum Library. He stayed with the library until 1839 when he went to the Boston Custom House. In 1848 he returned to Salem and once again became a proprietor at the Athenaeum until 1850.

These years are important to the student of Hawthorne because much of what Hawthorne read during this time has been recorded. Only his four years at Bowdoin, where some knowledge exists as to the books he would have read for courses taken there, compare with the knowledge of Hawthorne's reading recorded at the Athenaeum.

Scholars interested in Nathaniel Hawthorne's reading, therefore, have depended primarily on the "Books Read by Hawthorne, 1828 - 1850: From the 'Charge Books' of the Salem Athenaeum," Essex Institute Historical Collection, LXVIII (1932), 65-87. Marion Kesselring published, through the New York Public Library in 1949, a comprehensive and corrected list of these works. The charge desk at the Athenaeum had, for example, checked out to Hawthorne on January 18, 1850, Loose's History of Ancient Art. Kesselring published the correct notation. Properly the card should have read Johann Joachim Winckelmann, The History of Ancient Art, translated by G. Henry Lodge, Boston, 1849. All other reading done by Hawthorne, when it has been possible to ascertain his reading with any accuracy, has been directed to specific studies

related to Hawthorne's writing: Austin Warren's, "Hawthorne's Reading," New England Quarterly, VIII (1935), 480-497, is the most comprehensive. Some of the more detailed articles concerned with Hawthorne's reading have been listed in Robert E. Spiller, et al eds., Literary History of the United States, 3 vols. (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1948), pp. 550-551.

In the fall of 1969, Bowdoin College acquired from Julian Clifford Smyth of the Bowdoin class of 1931, a number of Nathaniel Hawthorne's own books, from Hawthorne's personal library. The total number of volumes acquired from Smyth is over one hundred. Of these, about fifty-seven can be assigned with any degree of authenticity to Hawthorne's personal library.

The complete inventory of the Smyth collection follows, with the exception of 18 volumes which were published after 1864, the year of Hawthorne's death. Some of these volumes are in very poor condition; some miss covers, some pages.

Aspinall, J. Rev. Roscoe's Library. London, 1853.
(With an inscription to N. Hawthorne Esq. by the author, December 5, 1856; 1 volume only.)

Bell, Charles Sir. The Hand. Philadelphia, 1835.
(Signed Nath. Hawthorne; 1 vol. only.)

BIBAOI: APOKRUFOI HOC EST LIBRI APOCRYPHI VETERIS
TESTAMENTI GRAECI. Editio secunda. Halae Magdeburgicae,
Sumtibus Orphanotrophei, 1766.

The Holy Bible. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, (no date.)

Bottarelli, F. Exercises of Italian Speech. London,
1822. (Signed by Sophia Peabody, Boston.)

Bradford, Alden. Memoirs of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew.
First Edition. Boston, 1838. (Signed by Nath.
Hawthorne. With a cut signature of the author; 1
volume only.)

Browning, Robert. Poems. 2 vols. Vol. II (A new edition.) Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1856.

Browning, R. Men and Women. Boston, 1856. (Signed Elizabeth M. Hathorne; 1 volume only.)

Bulwer-Lytton. England and the English. 2 vols. New York: J & J Harper, 1833. (1 volume only.)

Caesar. De Bello Gallico. (Defective)

Carlyle, T. The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell. New York, 1845. (Signed by Nathaniel Hawthorne in 2 volumes; 2 volumes only.)

Cervantes. El Ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de La Mancha. Neuva York: D. Appleton & Compania, 1853.

Cicero. Pro A. Cluentio Habito. Cambridge, 1862. (Signed by Julian Hawthorne throughout the book and inscribed "From his friend and classmate, F. P. Stearns"; 1 volume only, very probably not in Hawthorne's library.)

Coleridge, S. T. Letters, Conversations and Recollections. First Edition. London, 1836. (2 volumes signed by Nathaniel Hawthorne; 2 volumes only.)

The Constitutions of the United States. Philadelphia, 1800. (Signed by Gideon Tucker, Aug. 19, 1800.)

Crabbe, George. The Life of the Rev. George Crabbe, LL.B. (By his son.) Cambridge and Boston: James Munroe and Company, 1834.

Cumberland, R. The British Drama. 14 volumes. London, 1817. (Signed in 9 volumes Eliza Ogden; 10 volumes only.)

Sir Roger de Coverley by the Spectator. Boston, 1852. (Signed Nathaniel Hawthorne from the publisher; 1 volume only.)

Defoe, D. Robinson Crusoe. London, no date. (Signed by Hawthorne, January, 1854; 1 volume only.)

De Maistre, Count Xavier. A Journey Round my Room. (From the French, by the translator of the "Russian Tales" of the same author.) Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey, 1829.

De Mendoza, D. H. La Vida de Lazarillo De Tormes.
Burdeos, 1816. (Signed by Nathaniel Hawthorne,
Salem, 1832.)

Dodsley, J. A Collection of Poems by Several Hands.
London, 1766. (Vols. 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6; vol. 3 missing.
Signed by Hawthorne in volume 4 on the first page
after title.)

Drayton, M.; Donne, J.; Spenser, E. British Poets.
Edinburgh, 1792-93. (Signed by N. Hawthorne [the
father?] in volume 2, by Nathaniel Hawthorne in
volume 3; and by Horatio Bridge in volume 4.)

Mr. Dryden. Miscellany Poems. Fifth Edition. London,
1727. (Volumes 1, 3, 5 and 6 only. Signed Nathaniel
Hawthorne in 4 volumes.)

Evelyn, C. The Companion - After Dinner Table-Talk.
New York, 1850. (Signed by Nath. Hawthorne.)

Franklin, Benjamin. Memoirs of Benjamin Franklin.
(Written by himself.) 2 vols. New York: Harper &
Bros., 1839.

Frothingham, R., Jr. History of the Siege of Boston.
Boston, 1851. (Inscribed to N. Hawthorne, Esq. with
the regards of the author; 1 volume only.)

Grove, Henry. Discourse of the Lord's Supper. Boston,
New England: 1766.

Grund, Francis J. The Americans. Boston: Marsh,
Caper & Lyon, 1837. (2 volumes in one; 1 volume only.)

Guizot. Historia de la Revolucion de Inglaterra . . .
Traducida . . . por Don Pedro Barinaga. Segunda
edicion. Madrid, 1847.

Harriott, J. Struggles Through Life. Philadelphia,
1809. (Signed by Nathaniel Hawthorne, Salem, 1832,
in volume 2; contains bookplate and signature of
Hawthorne's uncle, Richard Manning of Raymond, Maine,
in each volume.)

Hawthorne, N. Ein Wunderbuch. Translated into German
by R. H. Strodtmann. Berlin, no date. (Signed by
Hawthorne, January, 1863, [inscribed] to N. Hawthorne
from R. H. S.; 1 volume only.)

Hawthorne, N. Le Livre des Merveilles. Translated into French by Leonce Rabillon. 2 vols. Paris, 1858. (Inscribed to Nathaniel Hawthorne by the translator and signed by Hawthorne in volume 2.)

Hazlitt, William. Table Talk: Opinions on Books, Men, and Things. (First American edition.) New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1845.

Helps, Arthur. The Spanish Conquest in America, and its Relation to the History of Slavery and to the Government of Colonies. Vol. 1. New York: Harper and Bros., 1856.

Helps, Arthur. Friends in Council. (a series of readings and discourse thereon) Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co., 1849.

Herndon, William Lewis and Gibbon, Lardner. Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon. Part II. Washington, A. O. P. Nicholson, Public Printer, 1854. (Senate, 32 Congress, 2d session. Executive, No. 36.)

Irving, Pierre M. The Life and Letters of Washington Irving. Vol. 1. New York: G. P. Putnam, 1862.

Journal of the War of 1812, Spent in the Captivity of the British 1816 (?).

Keats, J. Poetical Works. London, 1854. (Inscribed to Hawthorne by R. H. Milnes, the editor; 1 volume only.)

Knowles, James D. Memoir of Roger Williams, the Founder of the State of Rhode Island. Boston: Lincoln, Edmands and Co., 1834.

Longfellow, H. W. Hyperion. Boston, Ticknor, Reed and Fields, 1853. (Inscribed to Mrs. Hawthorne by the publishers; 1 volume only.)

Longfellow, H. W. The Belfry of Bruges. Second Edition. Cambridge, 1846. (Inscribed to N. Hawthorne from the author, 1846; 48 pages only.)

Mackenzie, S. The Shakespeare Papers of the Late W. Maginn. Redfield, New York, 1856. (Signed by Elizabeth M. Hawthorne; 1 volume only.)

Montagu, Basil, ed. Selections from the Works of Taylor, Latimer, Hall, Milton, Barrow, South, Brown, Fuller and Bacon. New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1845.

Mudie, R. The Natural History of Birds. London, 1834.
(Signed by Nathaniel Hawthorne.)

The Noctes Ambrosianae of "Blackwood." 4 vols. Vol. II.
Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1843.

Paley, W. Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy.
Philadelphia, 1794. (With the Nathaniel Peabody book-
plate [father-in-law]; 1 volume only.)

Peabody, E. P. Gunderode. Boston, 1842. (With [inscrip-
tion], Nathaniel Hawthorne from his friend C. K. M.
on title page; 1 volume only.)

Autobiography of Mrs. Piozzi (Thrale). Boston: Ticknor
and Fields, 1861. (Signed by N. Hawthorne on title page
and [inscribed]: N. H. from his friend T. & F. [publishers];
1 volume only.)

Ploetz, D. Dr. Elementarbuch der Franzosischen Sprache.
Berlin, 1868. (Signed by Rose Hawthorne [daughter].)

Plutarch's Lives. Dublin, 1769. (Signed by Hawthorne
in each volume; six volumes only.)

Russell, John. History of England, with Separate
Historical Sketches of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland.
Philadelphia: Hogan & Thompson, 1845.

Life of Schiller, vol. 1, 1835.

Schmitz, L. Dr. History of Rome. Second Edition.
London, 1849. (Signed by Hawthorne and Mrs. Hawthorne,
March, 1855; 1 volume only.)

Scoble, Andrew R., ed. The Memoirs of Philip de Commynes,
Lord of Argenton. 2 volumes. Vol. I. London: Henry
G. Bohn, 1855.

Scott, John. The Life of the Rev. Thomas Scott, D. D.
Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong. New York: John P.
Haven, 1822.

Scott, W. Ballads and Lyrical Pieces. Boston, 1807.
(Signed on fly-leaf. Elizabeth M. Hathorne and twice
E. M. Hathorne [sister: "Ebe"]; 1 volume only.)

Scott, Sir Walter. Marmion. (Defective. Probably an
early American edition.)

Shakespeare and his Friends. (By the author of "The Youth of Shakespeare.") New York: Leavitt and Allen, (no date).

The Complete Works of William Shakespeare. London: Scott, Webster & Geary: New York: Geo. F. Cooledge & Bros., (no date).

Lady Shelley. Shelley Memorials. First Edition. London, 1859. (Signed by Hawthorne and James T. Fields; 1 volume only.)

Shelley, P. B. Works. Edited by Mrs. Shelley. London, 1854. (Inscribed to Rose Lathrop from her husband, Feb., 1874. One volume only; based on inscription, very probably not in Hawthorne's library.)

Sketches of Switzerland. (By an American.) Vol. 1. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1836.

Southey, Robert. The Life of William Cowper, Esq. 2 vols. Vol. II. Boston: Otis, Broaders & Co., 1839.

Southey, Robert. Poetical Works. New York, 1839. (Signed by Nathaniel Hawthorne; 1 volume only.)

Spenser, E. The Faerie Queene. London, 1853. (Signed by Una Hawthorne and Julian Hawthorne [Nathaniel's son and daughter].)

Stevens, Henry. Catalogue of my English Library. London, 1853. (Printed for private distribution. [Inscribed] to Nathaniel Hawthorne, Esq. by [name uncertain], Nov. 29, 1853; 1 volume only.)

Tennyson, A. Idylls of the King. London, 1859. (Signed by Sophia Hawthorne.)

Tennyson, A. Poetical Works. Boston, 1862. (Inscribed to "Rose Hawthorne from Mamma, Christmas, 1864," in Sophia's hand.)

Thomas, E. S. Reminiscences of the Last Sixty-Five Years, Commencing with the Battle of Lexington. 2 vols. Vol. II. Hartford: Case, Tiffany & Burnham, 1840.

Thomson, W. An Outline of the Laws of Thought. London, 1857. (Signed by Julian Hawthorne, Twickenham, London, S. W., England, 1877, on six pages, and Julian Hawthorne, Concord, Mass., 1866, on fly-leaf. With manuscript notes of Julian Hawthorne throughout the text. One volume only, probably not in Hawthorne's library.)

Thoreau, H. D. Walden. First Edition. Boston, 1854. (With inscription "Mrs. Hawthorne, from the publishers," and signed by Julian Hawthorne, 1875, on front fly leaf, and signed by Rose and Julian Hawthorne, Concord, on back endsheet; 1 volume only.)

Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. London, 1855. (Signed by Nathaniel Hawthorne; 1 volume only.)

Tuckerman, H. T. A Month in England. Second Edition. New York, 1854. (Signed by Nathaniel Hawthorne and from the author; one volume only.)

Warburton, Eliot. The Crescent and the Cross; or Romance and Realities of Eastern Travel. Part II. New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1845.

White, J. History of a Voyage to the China Sea. First Edition. Boston, 1823. (Signed by Nathaniel Hawthorne; 1 volume only.)

Whittier, J. G. Home Ballads and Poems. First Edition. Boston, 1860. (Inscribed to S. Hawthorne from Mrs. Fields; 1 volume only.)

Wordsworth, William. The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth. (The first complete American edition from the last London edition.) One volume. New Haven: Peck & Newton, 1836.

Wortley, E. S. Lady. Travels in the United States. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851.

Zschokke, H. Autobiography of. London, 1845. (Signed by Hawthorne, Leamington, October, 1859; 1 volume only.)

Some statistics will help clarify the usefulness of this collection for Hawthorne scholars. Thirty-eight of the volumes contain Hawthorne's signature. Six volumes without signatures are volumes in sets which have Hawthorne's signature in one or more of the other volumes. Five volumes are inscribed to Hawthorne directly. Forty-nine volumes, therefore, can be assigned directly to Hawthorne. Six volumes, two signed by Sophia and

four inscribed to her, bring the count to fifty-six. Another volume, donated to Bowdoin by a Mr. Hupper, the 1807 Vicar of Wakefield, contains Hawthorne's signature before he adopted the "w." That gives a grand total of fifty-seven volumes that make up the Hawthorne personal library as it exists at Bowdoin currently.

However, while thirty-eight volumes contain a Hawthorne signature, only twelve of these are dated: Harriott's Struggles Through Life, 1832; De Mendoza's La Vida, 1832; Longfellow's Balfry, 1846; Schnitz' History of Rome, March, 1855; Steven's Catalogue Library, November, 1853; Aspinall's Roscoe's Library, Dec. 5, 1856; Hawthorne's Le Livre, 1858; Zschokke's Autobiography, October, 1859; Lady Shelley's Shelley Memorials, 1859; Hawthorne's Ein Wunderbuch, January, 1863; Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, January, 1854; Tuckerman's A Month in England, 1854.

Technically speaking, then, these twelve are the only books in the collection which we can date specifically as being in Hawthorne's library at a particular time. Despite the publishing date of the other volumes, and despite Hawthorne's signature, the exact time that they came into his possession is not known. We might with some degree of confidence add to the specific date list Frothingham's History of the Siege of Boston inscribed to Hawthorne by the author (though there is no date with the signature, the book was published in 1851); Keats' Poetical Works, inscribed to Hawthorne by R. H. Milnes, the editor (again no date, but published in 1854); The Autobiography of Mrs. Piozzi

which is signed by Hawthorne and inscribed to him from his friend T. & F. (again no date but published in 1861).

Beyond these speculations it would be dangerous to go. However, should a writing expert study the signatures in the volumes that have no date, he would be able to decide with some degree of certainty, not only the authenticity of the signatures (some of which are in doubt) but the probable date that the book was signed, as well. Definite authentic signatures exist for pre-1825, 1852, 1855, 1859, and 1863. Enough variations in the initial "H," the middle "th," "or," and the final "e" exist to make this study valuable.

If the collection now held at Bowdoin is indeed Hawthorne's personal library, then we can well understand Hawthorne's own comment on his library: "My books (few, and by no means choice for they were chiefly such waifs as chance had thrown in my way) stood in order about the room, seldom to be disturbed" (Works, II, 14).

V I T APersonal

William A. Cook, 139 Main St., West Newbury, Mass.
 born: Newark, New Jersey
 February 8, 1936
 parents: William Alfred Cook
 Helen E. (Mulligan) Cook
 married: June (Pichel) Cook; 4 children

University Training

Ph.D., Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa., 1971
 Dissertation: Hawthorne's Artistic Theory and Practice
 Master of Arts Degree in English, Lehigh University, 1962
 Thesis: The Development of Hawthorne's Aesthetic Theories
 Bachelor of Arts Degree in English, Kings College,
 Wilkes Barre, Pa., 1959

Other Schools Attended

Laval University, Quebec, Canada, summer session, French
 City College of New York, New York, evening session,
 Journalism
 St. Columban's, Milton, Massachusetts, two years (1954-
 1959), Latin and Greek
 National Academy of Fine Arts, Washington, D. C., summer
 session, oil painting under John Chapman Lewis

Awards

Graduate Assistantship, Lehigh University, 1963, 1964
 Summer School Tuition Scholarship, Lehigh University, 1964
 Graduate Assistantship, Lehigh University, 1959, 1961
 Scholarship (one-half tuition), Kings, spring, 1959

Professional Experience

Chairman, Department of English, Bradford Junior College,
 Bradford, Mass., 1969 and currently
 Instructor, Humanities Division, College of Basic Studies
 (Team instructional method), Boston University, 1964-1969
 Instructor, English Department, State University, Plattsburgh,
 New York, 1961-1963
 Graduate Assistant, English Department, Lehigh University,
 Bethlehem, Pa., 1959-1961, 1963-1964

Scholarly Publications and Notations

- "Style Through Patterns," paper delivered before CCC in St. Louis, 1965. Reported in CCC publication, October, 1965. Co-chairman, CCC Workshop, St. Louis, 1965
- "Shakespeare's Cinna: Tribune not Poet," Shakespeare Quarterly, (Winter, 1962)
- "A Reassessment of Reorganization," W. A. Cook & R. Tagney, Massachusetts Association of School Committees' Bulletin, (Winter, 1969)
- Development of voluntary Freshman Composition Course series at Bradford Junior College, 1969-70
- Development of Art Lecture series (for 300-400 students) given in conjunction with Humanities course, College of Basic Studies, Boston, 1964
- Art critic and reviewer for Northshore News Magazine, Nexus, and local newspapers, 1967-68

Professional Conferences

- Consultant for College Conference on Communication, Louisville, 1967
- Consultant for College Conference on Communication, Minneapolis, 1968
- Discussant for Special Issues Seminar at National Council of Teachers of English Convention, Milwaukee, 1968

Community Involvement

- Chairman of West Newbury School Committee, 1968-71;
member of Pentucket Regional School Committee, 1967-68
- President of West Newbury Taxpayers Association
- Moderator, Town of West Newbury, 1969 and currently
- Member of Whittier Regional Vocational Technical High School Planning Board, 1967
- Chairman of West Newbury Community Action Council and
member of Board of Directors of Gloucester Action, Inc.
of OEO, 1969

Work in Progress

- Freshman college textbook titled: Image and Order:
The New Language and the Old