Community Versus the Imperial Mind: Images of Civil Strife in Hawthorne's "The Marble Faun".

Henry Michael w Russell
Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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Community versus the imperial mind: Images of civil strife in Hawthorne's "The Marble Faun"

Russell, Henry Michael W., Ph.D.
The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col., 1992
COMMUNITY VERSUS THE IMPERIAL MIND:
IMAGES OF CIVIL STRIFE IN HAWTHORNE'S
THE MARBLE FAUN

A Dissertation

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Louisiana State University and
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in partial fulfillment of the
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in

The Department of English

by

Henry M.W. Russell
B.A., Princeton University, 1976
M.A., The University of South Carolina, 1981
May 1992
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ABSTRACT

Nathaniel Hawthorne's The Marble Faun allegorically represents the crisis of civil order in the American Republic in the 1850s, foreshadowing the Civil War that erupted a year after the novel's publication. Hawthorne's last completed romance, set in Rome, suggests Americans must judge themselves against the community and continuity embodied in the European culture they had recently cast off. Challenging Emerson's doctrine that man may have an original relationship to history and the Creator, Hawthorne undermines the Founders' great idea: that an assembly of men could discover and formulate--in an act of the human mind--self-evident, inalienable rights that govern political and social relations. The first and second chapters place Hawthorne and the four protagonists of the novel in the historical context of civil strife. Chapter Three shows Miriam as an Emersonian, bound only to her intuitions, embodying millennial impulses which threaten to tear society apart. Chapter Four suggests multiple ironic links between Miriam's leading Donatello into the murder of her Model and the actions of Transcendental thinkers who supported both the Italian Risorgimento and the American Abolitionist struggle. Hawthorne poses images of communal response and penance against this perfectionist violence. The fifth chapter describes Hilda's shunning of Miriam as one expression of communal obligations to her, followed by other self-
sacrificial acts. Hilda seeks and creates community, combining obedience to transcendent value with human norms in a way that associates her with St. Hilda of Whitby and the Virgin Mary. Kenyon's associations with his American and British namesakes are likewise explored. The sixth chapter examines metaphors of the gothic cathedral and Saint Peter's Basilica as models of communal perception. The Pantheon is employed as a contrasting metaphor of a pagan, isolating character. The cathedral is the climactic metaphor for community in The Marble Faun, the image of macrocosmic harmony, just as the anticipated marriage of Kenyon and Hilda establishes microcosmic harmony. The multiple works of art in the novel thus create a set of alternative visions that unite the claims of the personal and the communal; the American and the European; the temporal and the eternal.
INTRODUCTION

The apparent distance maintained by Nathaniel Hawthorne from the issues that inflamed the passions of his contemporaries, especially the slavery question, has displeased some readers. Jean Yellin finds "a strategy of avoidance and denial" which demonstrates that Hawthorne "could not acknowledge the necessary engagement of politics and art, of life and letters--the engagement that Emerson demanded of his generation, and of all generations."\(^1\) On the contrary, Hawthorne was so concerned about the relation of the individual mind with the political and the moral world that it led him to attack Emerson's version of engagement. Hawthorne saw Emerson's ideas not as genuine engagement but as withdrawal into the isolation of mind acting only to remake the world in its self-image. In The Marble Faun he strongly resists Emerson's call to abandon Old World values for American millenialism.

Nathaniel Hawthorne did not fully encounter Emerson's bogey-men, "the courtly muses of Europe," until he went to Liverpool in 1853 as American consul. When his consular term was ended in 1857, he moved to Italy, where he remained until 1860. Here he wrote the first draft of The Marble Faun, the last of his completed romances, which has proven to be

disquieting to its readers both in its scope and its dispassionate vision. We are conditioned to think of Hawthorne as the author of *The Scarlet Letter*, *The House of the Seven Gables*, and *The Blithedale Romance*. Although the vision of life in these stories is somber, they are paradoxically comforting. With them we remain on reassuringly familiar ground, whether this be Puritan Boston, eighteenth-century Salem, or the nineteenth-century Utopian community of Brook Farm. With the sense that we are at the heart of our national selves, we watch Hawthorne sketch out the dramas of Antinomian isolatotes who oppose intuition to the community's laws.

But *The Marble Faun* is not like the other Hawthorne novels, least of all *The Scarlet Letter*. It lacks the claustrophobic and tragic intensity of a novel in which human souls strive with God, Satan, and each other in a community enveloped by a vast wilderness. A tragic intensity is possible within such a stripped-down landscape where the characters stand in stark relief, but when we see American characters placed in the vast historical perspective of Rome, it is unsettling. Characters who seem large and important at Merry Mount, Boston, Salem, and Blithedale look dwarfed and foolish amid the grandeur of Saint Peter's Cathedral. Yet this interplay between the relative importance of time, place, and character is the central theme of *The Marble Faun*.

In a world full of facts and interpretations of fact
Hawthorne asks what particular significance or credence we can give to an individual life, what validity to its presumed perception or ethical knowledge? He emphasizes the role of the past and accumulated tradition to help answer such questions, since "The very ghosts of that massive and stately epoch have so much density, that the actual people of to-day seem the thinner of the two and stand more ghostlike by the arches and columns."\(^2\) The easiest response to such a challenge has been to say that in *The Marble Faun* Hawthorne's powers failed him, that his novel announces the death of a creative artist, that he failed to write a novel and merely produced a travel book.\(^3\)

There is a travel-narrative element in the book since it is an account which opens up new moral as well as physical vistas on a world that the reader may have previously regarded as savage. But in this sense the travel-narrative


element in *The Marble Faun* is deeply ironic. Hawthorne reintroduces Americans to a culture they had recently cast off. The possibility that on the Palatine Hill their native art and idealism may look weak and feeble to Americans is the uncomfortable idea Hawthorne means to convey.

This possibility strikes at the heart of the democratic myth of Hawthorne's day, especially as it was purveyed by Emerson. To make room for the "truths" of his mind Emerson attacks the thoughts of past generations: "As men's prayers are a disease of the will, so are their creeds a disease of the intellect." Emerson suggests that America marks the first time that "a nation of men" might exist. His "American Scholar" preaches that, "In self-trust, all the virtues are comprehended." In effect he envisioned democracy as a system wherein the individual mind is isolated from religion, history, and humanity. Hawthorne challenges Emerson: just how original a relationship to the Creator can we have? Is it true that "whosoever would be a man must be a nonconformist?" Is there nothing to which one might humanly conform, like justice, humility, mutual respect? Does the transparent eyeball really see things as they are, does it see all? More than this, Hawthorne questions the central assumption embodied in the Founder's great idea: that an assembly of men could discover and formulate, in an act of the human mind, self-evident and inalienable rights that

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should properly govern the political and social relations of human kind, rights that had not been acknowledged or even conceived by traditionary institutions. In a move that becomes typical of most American writers who return to the Old World, Hawthorne, in The Marble Faun, examines the rights of the individual soul as opposed to the massed experience of the human community.

If the capabilities of the human mind were as autonomous as Emerson and Thoreau said, then the realistic prospect for democracy was, as De Tocqueville feared, that it would sink into a tyranny of the majority. Unguided by its recognition of an infinite absolute, the human mind could and eventually would devise any conceivable concept of man and society out of the phantasmagoria of its own creative acts. The implications of Lockean empirical epistemology are revealed by the fantasy of human perceptions and relations in Walpole's Otranto or Radcliffe's Udolpho. Romantic subjectivism offered no grounds for optimism about the mind's capacity to control individual or political association.

Like Coleridge's "damsel with a dulcimer" wailing for a demon lover, or Poe's Roderick Usher embracing his own ruin, the optimistic mind of the republic of reason ends up in an isolation of its own making, having lost its identity in the party squabblings of Jacksonian democracy. Romantic subjectivism in effect made possible the emergence of the "Super-man or woman" to bring order out of chaos and initiate the new age.

But the mind still had the capacity to perceive the existence of a timeless, objective Natural Law operating within a culture; this counteracted and corrected the perceptual errors and destructive bigotries of the individual—however slow, ponderous, and sometimes tragic a process this might be. It is such a perception that emerges as the fundamental, governing theme of *The Marble Faun*.

It is not surprising that *The Marble Faun* often seems like a novel by Henry James, whose own work is dominated by a similar theme. Yet whether we analyze James as influenced by Kantian aestheticism or psychological pragmatism, James envisioned that the single mind remains isolated in its intricate counterpoint with all other minds. He had imbibed more deeply a spirit of Romantic subjectivism. Hawthorne never converted to a domineering subjectivism, even though he constantly tested the limits both of solipsistic perception

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Bewley, *The Complex Fate*, establishes both the general influence of Hawthorne on James, and James's specific indebtedness to *The Marble Faun*, pp.1-149.
and the personalistic morality ("the heart") which it may imply.

The contradictory claims of a world which is often intransigent to the desires of human thought and yet seems to some degree mediated by human thought led Hawthorne to his often-noted blending of the styles of allegory and romance. Allegory is the mode of conception that acknowledges an absolute of which all earthly objects, thoughts, and imaginings, however vivid and full of import, are repetitions. Romance is a mode of conception that allows the individual mind to bend the bounds of reality and to mold the world itself to its own desiring. Hawthorne's peculiar blend of styles does not represent a striving toward a symbolism he never can formulate but a self-imposed refusal to concede that any element of the world--objective or subjective, natural or supernatural--is beyond the reach of human cognition or infinitely shaped by human cognition. Instead Hawthorne tries to hold his ground firmly in a common understanding between many extremes.

In The Marble Faun Hawthorne created the prototypes for the Christopher Newmans in Henry James, American characters who confront the inadequacy of the American vision in their day. But unlike James, Hawthorne does not suggest that the problem is one of the lack of taste and style that results from the selective imitation of the weary citizens of the Old World. Hawthorne is a deeper author, whose sense of the
"modern malaise," as Walker Percy called it, extends to theological and philosophical problems. Hawthorne looks to the total journey of human wisdom as this takes place in time, and beyond time. Yet he locates that search in a very specific and well-defined moment of his own century.

The question of a fortunate fall is the basic theme of The Marble Faun in the sense that Hawthorne's intention is to demonstrate that neither a new Fall, a new Eden, nor a new messiah are viable possibilities in the post-lapsarian world. Hawthorne's works are full of fatuous Edenic projects; what, then, are the projects presented in this novel? One is Miriam's personal project of remaking Donatello, but are there larger ideas involved?

It is only by understanding Miriam's portrayal in its historical context that we can assess the function of her character. The same is true of Hilda, whose deficiencies in womanliness, courage, and in Christian charity seem to be a staple in interpretations of The Marble Faun. Hawthorne's womanly protagonists are far more than the dark-light ladies

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of critical cliché, that is, psychological polarities conceived by the masculine ego. Miriam and Hilda do not offer an unambiguous choice between sex and asexuality. Indeed, they represent or embody political, epistemological, and ontological forces which are far more important to Hawthorne than can be comprehended by criticisms which privilege sex as the center of human life.

The first and second chapters of this study places Hawthorne himself and the four protagonists of The Marble Faun in the historical context of civil strife, specifically the struggle for national unity that reached the point of crisis both in Italy and the United States in the midnineteenth century. Although the political dimension of civil conflict has been ignored by students of this novel, the recognition of its presence is essential to an understanding of how allegory (perhaps it may be called a symbolic system) functions on different levels in Hawthorne's last book-length fiction, one level being the allegorical representation of the creative mind's relation to time, art, morality, and politics. The political dimension is introduced in a subtle and subdued fashion, but it has its necessary place beside the intellectual, artistic, and spiritual dimensions of the novel.

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Chapter Three in this examination of The Marble Faun discusses how Miriam becomes the embodiment of the violent impulses that threaten social order in Italy and in America. Miriam represents the Romantic individualist, or the American disciple of intuition, a figure of central concern in Hawthorne's fictions. As Chapter Four makes clear, her relationship with Donatello and her killing of her Model suggest multiple links between the ironies of idealistic involvement with the Italian war for national amalgamation on the one hand and with the American Abolitionist struggle on the other. Hawthorne imitates the conflation of European national movements and the anti-slavery struggle performed by Margaret Fuller, among others of Hawthorne's contemporaries, who urged civil conflict in the name of a higher morality. He judges enthusiasm for messianic civil warfare very harshly, seeing this as leading to destruction both of the messiahs and the societies they try to lead out of bondage. Miriam, we are quietly reminded, is not Moses, but Aaron's sister who worshiped false gods.

To the mode of violent perfectionist action in The Marble Faun Hawthorne opposes the image of individual and 

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Lewis P. Simpson traces the logical relation between the mental acts which led to the Revolution and the extension of that thinking in Transcendental Concord which led to the Civil War in Mind and the American Civil War: A Meditation on Lost Causes (Baton Rouge: Louisiana UP, 1989). If Emerson did not want to see where the implications of the "Moral Sentiment" would lead, at least by the middle of the war, "Hawthorne, Melville, and even Whitman knew what was happening," p.88.
communal response and penance. In the fifth chapter the judgmental action of the heroine, Hilda, is exemplary of the highest level of human action. She fulfills her communal obligations to Miriam, even at the cost of self-sacrifice, presenting a model of ethical, political, and religious behavior that combines personal purity and communal feeling. Hilda's character combines obedience to transcendent value and human norms which unites her to others in a way that Miriam may never achieve. Her character seems to have been suggested to Hawthorne, as it was to James and to Henry Adams, by the image of the Virgin Mary brought into contemporary focus in Pope Pius IX's dogmatic declaration of the Immaculate Conception.

Hawthorne expands the implication of the relation of spirit to matter and flesh by his consideration in *The Marble Faun* of harmony in the arts—most especially architecture and sculpture—and in politics and religion. The sixth chapter will explore how he uses the metaphor of the gothic cathedral and Saint Peter's Basilica to show the contact possible between the individual heart and the Christian community throughout time. Taking a cue from Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, Hawthorne makes the cathedral the dominant structural metaphor for his book, contrasting its inclusivity and community with the pagan eye of the Pantheon that isolates the mind into its own vision of Godhood.
The great cathedral serves as the image of macrocosmic harmony, just as the marriage of Kenyon and Hilda serves as the microcosm. The multitude of discrete images which were once mistaken for random images of travel instead form the niches and shrines of Hawthorne's most comprehensive consideration of the claims of the personal and the transpersonal; the national and the human; the American and the European; the temporal and the eternal. The Epilogue looks at the alternative visions Hawthorne presents, seeing in them a prefiguring of both American history and letters.
Chapter I. ON THE EDGE OF A PRECIPICE:

HAWTHORNE AND THE AMERICAN SITUATION IN THE 1850S

Nathaniel Hawthorne's appointment as consul to Liverpool in 1853, was his reward from President Franklin Pierce for writing his campaign biography. Presenting the facts of Pierce's service to the country, and his warm endorsement of a friend, Hawthorne made his most important contribution to Pierce's successful election in rationalizing his position on the divisive issue of slavery.\(^1\) Pierce's support for the Compromise of 1850 was the act of an "unshaken advocate of Union," Hawthorne declared, who understood that slavery could not be subverted "except by tearing to pieces the Constitution, breaking the pledges which it sanctions, and severing into distracted fragments that common country which Providence brought into one nation."\(^2\)

Agreeing with Pierce's gradualist approach to the American national sin, Hawthorne contrasted the relative beneficence of American slavery with the harshness of European serfdom. Pierce, he said, conceived that the


abolitionist movement was responsible for increasing the "aggravated injury of those whose condition it aimed to ameliorate, and terminating, in its possible triumph,—if such possibility there were,—with the ruin of two races which now dwell together in greater peace and affection, it is not too much to say, than had ever elsewhere existed between the taskmaster and the serf."\textsuperscript{3} Under American auspices, Hawthorne argued, the ending of slavery was to be regarded as the final phase in the providential scheme of freedom. The wise view "looks upon slavery as one of those evils which divine Providence does not leave to be remedied by human contrivances, but which, in its own good time, by some means impossible to be anticipated, but of the simplest and easiest operation, when all its uses shall have been fulfilled, it causes to vanish like a dream."\textsuperscript{4} The next eight years were to prove this visionary providentialism a vain hope as the abolitionists became ever surer that they could effect an immediate and moral solution to the viciously divisive issue of slavery.

But since he remained in Europe until 1860 Hawthorne did not see this "gathering storm" at first hand. True, in the


\textsuperscript{4}Hawthorne, \textit{Life of Franklin Pierce}, p.417.
partisan reactions to his biography of Pierce he had a taste of the treatment given to dissenters by the free-spirits of Concord who preached the integrity of the individual conscience. Yet Hawthorne did not publicly rebut these critics nor portray them in his fiction. Hawthorne's apparent silence about slavery has led to the argument that, given Hawthorne's opposition to the crude excesses of cultural nationalism, "his only autobiographical and self-creating recourse was to substitute the inner for the outer world." This notion of his retirement into romance is a variant on Hawthorne's own family's conception of him as a natural inhabitant of art's dream world, largely indifferent to gross actualities. Such an image underlies Randall Stewart's inference that even though Hawthorne had kept well-abreast of the most critical issue of his time, the developing crisis over slavery and his moral disgust at the

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5Hawthorne wrote Horatio Bridges that "the biography has cost me hundreds of friends, here at the north, who had a purer regard for me than Frank Pierce or any other politician ever gained, and who drop off from me like autumn leaves, in consequence of what I say on the slavery question. But they were my real sentiments, and I do not now regret that they are on record." See "To Horatio Bridge," October 13, 1852, letter 581 of The Letters: 1843-1853, vol. 16 of The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne, eds. William Charvat et al, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1962--), p. 605. Future references to volumes in this edition will be by title, Centenary Edition, volume and page number.

possible extinction of the Republic in the horrors of civil war led to his withdrawal from his only subject, life in America. This "crippled his creative faculties and hastened his death."\(^7\)

Jean Yellin is more condemnatory than Stewart. Even though Hawthorne was quite aware of the moral and political implications of the slavery issues, she observes, he deliberately chose to write "romances, in which any recognition of these issues is conspicuously lacking."\(^8\)

Although Yellin notes that Hawthorne does dramatize the sinful usurpation of one person's will by another "by locating characters within a social context that is inevitably oppressive," she asserts that, "he distances this drama in time and in space, instead of connecting it to the context with which every New Englander of his generation would unavoidably have associated it: American chattel slavery."\(^9\)

The reason for this neglect, she contends, is


that Hawthorne regarded both "reformers" and their ideas with contempt because of his racial attitudes.\textsuperscript{10}

But in \textit{The Marble Faun} is Hawthorne truly withdrawn from his life-long interest in the moral drama of history as this was embodied in the drama of New England? A somewhat broader view than Yellin's might suggest that Hawthorne did not want the usurpation of one person's will by another to be unavoidably and simple-mindedly associated with a single issue. Although his biography of Pierce suggests that he agreed with Hegel—who provides the Ur-text for much of Transcendentalist-Abolitionist thinking—that the master-slave relation is central in human history, the Christian view that the misuse of power by rulers is a permanent consequence of the Fall is more germane to Hawthorne's thought. Seeing the problem of power in this way, Hawthorne was deeply sensitive to the danger of associating the evil inherent in the condition of human existence with a specific socio-political problem, which easily leads to the conviction that the elimination of the issue at any cost is justified as an advance toward the millennium.

The fact that Hawthorne did not choose to deal explicitly with the issues raised by slavery in the 1850s should not suggest that his attention to the slavery crisis

was less than constant. His awareness before he traveled abroad is indicated not only by his campaign biography for Pierce, but in his editing of Horatio Bridges' *Journal of An African Slave Cruiser*. While he was consul in Liverpool, Hawthorne was kept abreast of the increasingly critical situation in his homeland by the almost daily conversations with ship captains arriving from America who reported to his office. His attention to the situation in America was enhanced in a personal way by the letters of his abolitionist sister-in-law, Elizabeth Peabody, who once provoked an indignant outburst from Hawthorne when she sent Sophia a pamphlet to share with their daughter, Una, on the grisly details of slave auctions. Outside his office and his home Hawthorne found that, as was the case in his initial conversation with the British poet, W.C. Bennett, "the slavery question came up, as it always does in one way or another".\(^1\) This would surely have been the case in his contacts with William Henry Channing, an ardent abolitionist-poet, who became minister at the Renfrew Street Chapel of Liverpool in 1854.\(^2\) (As a reminder of the inconsistency of the reforming temperament, he also had occasion to hear the pacific Channing breath "blood and vengeance" against the British over the neutrality crisis [in 1855], when Britons


enlisted American men for military service.)\textsuperscript{13} Then, too, Hawthorne's conversations with James Buchanan, as recorded in his \textit{English Notebooks}, demonstrate his continuing cognizance of the slavery issue and the shifting forces it was evoking in America's political parties.\textsuperscript{14} In a letter of April 1854 to Horatio Bridge Hawthorne expresses his concern about the growing political and personal difficulties the slavery issue is causing his friend, President Pierce, because of the slavery issue.\textsuperscript{15}

A major source of information for Hawthorne about events in America was the hundreds of American newspapers—"whig, democrat, free soil and all kinds"—received at the consular office in Liverpool. Reacting against the violent and vituperative reactions to the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which in effect repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1850 and allowed slavery in the new territories until they applied for statehood, Hawthorne wrote to his friend and publisher William Ticknor, that "I find it impossible to read American newspapers of whatever political party without being ashamed of my own country."\textsuperscript{16} This theme of shame and distaste was

\textsuperscript{13}Hawthorne, \textit{The Letters, 1853-1856, Centenary Edition, vol.17, p.399.}

\textsuperscript{14}Stewart, \textit{The English Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 221.}

\textsuperscript{15}Hawthorne, \textit{The Letters, 1853-1856, Centenary Edition, vol.17, p.207.}

repeated throughout his correspondence from abroad, although often balanced by a sense of love for his home state. Although after he left Liverpool Hawthorne occasionally complained about not seeing American newspapers, when he was in residence at Rome he made a practice of frequenting "The Bank" where he could "read Galagnani [Galagnani's Messenger, a European digest of the world's news] and the American newspapers." 

Supplementing private correspondence and conversation, newspapers helped keep Hawthorne current, not only with the fight over slavery but, as his letters demonstrate, with such diverse American topics as the railroad stock-crisis of 1854, the critical reception of Maria Cummins' novel, The Lamplighter, the new Massachusetts liquor law, the Walker expedition which seized control of Nicaragua, and Pierce's loss of the Democratic nomination. In fact, Hawthorne was so much in contact with his native country's difficulties that, as he complained to William Ticknor, he was "sick of America," and felt it would be "a relief to escape all

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17 See Centenary Edition, vol. 17, pp.276, 406, 413 for some of the many examples of this theme in his correspondence. References to the newspaper accounts of the Kansas difficulties may be found on pp.245 and 257.


knowledge of its affairs, for a week or two."\textsuperscript{20} Far from divorcing him from America, his residence abroad, as Hawthorne said specifically of his consulship, enabled him to gain "a better acquaintance with my own countrymen...than in all my previous life."\textsuperscript{21}

As the crisis deepened in America, Hawthorne's visitors in Rome included three key Americans—William Cullen Bryant in May of 1858, Charles Sumner in April of 1859, and Franklin Pierce in March and April of the same year—each of whom would have been important sources for news about the state of the American Republic. Bryant was the editor of a major newspaper, Sumner was the senator who had been brutally caned at his desk in 1856 for his attack on defenders of the slave states, Pierce was by then the ex-president of the United States. In his Italian journal Hawthorne describes a conversation with Bryant in which he spoke both of the Kansas question and the attack on Sumner, of whom Hawthorne says, "he was not naturally of the stuff that martyrs are made of, and it is altogether by mistake that he has thrust himself into the position of one. He was merely one of the best fellows in the world."\textsuperscript{22} Remarkable for his ability to keep political differences from creating personal animosity, Hawthorne maintained the opinion that "The states are too


\textsuperscript{22}Hawthorne, \textit{Centenary Edition}, vol.14, p.223.
various and too extended to form really one country." Writing that "New England is quite as large a lump of earth as my heart can really take in," Hawthorne was reluctant to see the Union be torn apart over an issue which he did not see as unique in its wrongs, but as one part of the general evil inherent in the human race. "There is nothing in slavery so bad," he told Horatio Bridge, "as many things that have come to my knowledge, as occurring on board of our merchant ships." He expressed his perception of the difficulty of true reform when he said to Elizabeth Peabody: "I presume you think the abolition of flogging was a vast boon to seamen," but in reality "many murders and an immense mass of unpunishable cruelty" are the unintended direct result of that reform. He went on to say of his own performance as an government official:

I only know that I have done no good; none whatever. Vengeance and beneficence are things that God claims for Himself. His instruments have no consciousness of His purpose; if they imagine they have, it is a pretty sure token they are not his instruments. The good of others, like our own happiness, is not to be attained by direct

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effort, but incidentally. All history and observation confirms this.26

Echoing the providentialism of his Biography of Franklin Pierce, these words, written in 1857, indicate an attitude that was at the heart of Hawthorne's dismay at the Abolitionists. Even members of his own family perceived themselves to be the instruments of God and the agents of the millennial consciousness.

Hawthorne saw millennial arrogance present in other countries as well as his own. When George Sanders wrote to Hawthorne as consul at Liverpool concerning a letter of Giuseppi Mazzini, published in the Manchester Daily News, May 30, 1854, stating the Italian revolutionary's wish for "the emancipation of the black race" and calling all Europeans to "appeal for the abolition of slavery in other lands," Hawthorne, in a typical reaction, responded that he disapproved of the stirring of passions in a situation Mazzini knew little about, but that he wished Mazzini's fellow-revolutionary, Kossuth, had written a "stronger condemnation of slavery" in a response Kossuth had made to Mazzini.27 Hawthorne was not a satisfactory partisan in the dispute over slavery. Disliking both slave holding and abolitionism, he refused to vilify one group or exalt the moral righteousness of the other but sought to place both

groups in a larger perspective, one that might illumine which of two evils, slavery or its self-righteous reformers, were the greater long-term threat to humanity.

A major underlying significance of *The Marble Faun* is that Hawthorne takes on a single issue, slavery versus abolitionism in America, by placing it in the broad perspective of the evil of power in human history. His story presents two American expatriate artists, Hilda and Kenyon, and their rootless, *quondam*-artist friend, Miriam, who all become acquainted in Rome. After Donatello, a young Italian noble and the semi-savage Faun of the title, falls in love with Miriam, she prompts him to murder her Model, a sinister figure whom she has known before and accidentally meets again in Rome. The Model is connected with some shameful incident in her past which she wishes to hide. The world of these four friends is shattered by the crime. Their suffering, repentance, penance, and growth in wisdom become the moral focus of Hawthorne's work.

The strong associations of art, time, and religion with the Eternal City, the setting of *The Marble Faun*, have tended to dictate that its meaning be discussed in terms of these broad categories. The connection between this novel and Hawthorne's previous work has been said to include particularly Hawthorne's interest in American mores, in Transcendentalism, and in the Gothic. But the appearance of these motifs in the novel has been discussed as if there were
a kind of unbridgeable gap between them, as if Hawthorne were failing to shape his life-long themes into a coherent whole.  

To grasp the full dimensions of *The Marble Faun*, one must first grasp its political dimensions. Hawthorne, like most people, thought of political or civil obligations as marking the mid-point on a continuum between personal ethics and religious truth, and of civil norms as functioning on a level parallel to artistic norms, which mediate between individual perception and the beautiful *in se*. Both politics and aesthetics, as Aristotle observes, are subsets of the ethical. To overlook the political dimension in *The Marble Faun* is to lose the unity of Hawthorne's conception.

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Conceiving Hawthorne narrowly either as an aesthete or a theologian in *The Marble Faun* is to ignore the full human vision we admire in his other great works.

Hawthorne's has one basic goal in all his work: to subvert the cult of the imperial self and the dehumanized politics that result from the undue elevation of the self, for he saw clearly that the delusion of the self's imperial freedom was the new form of personal enslavement in his time. It had tainted the Revolution and threatened to poison the moral atmosphere of the new nation. It had produced a spurious apology for destroying the civil peace by which common people manage to survive with some stable sense of their rights and of their society. The attainment of the autonomous self in the abstract name of pure liberty provided the perfect excuse for the Godlike posturing of millennial egotists.

In *The Scarlet Letter* Hawthorne depicts the reformer's egotistic zeal both in the Puritan community's shunning of Hester and in her contemptuous disregard of any moral guide but her own mind. In "Rappacini's Daughter," "The Birth-Mark," and "Dr. Grimshawe's Secret" scientific reformers come in for their knocks 29 Yet both religious and scientific reformers are merely variants of the social reformers who

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wish to make themselves into the more-than-human. These emblems of the Imperial Self, as Quentin Anderson says, destroy the human in seeking to go beyond it. If Carlyle "enclosed the spiritual possibilities within the body of society," Stoehr says, imperial selves enclose all possibilities in themselves.\(^{30}\) The grim fate of "imperial selves" in Hawthorne is the subject of "Ethan Brand," "Young Goodman Brown," or "The Great Carbuncle."

Recent studies in Hawthorne have emphasized that even the American Revolution was subject to Hawthorne's skepticism about millennial projects.\(^{31}\) Lewis P. Simpson, Michael Colaccurcio, and John McWilliams, among others, have shown how doubtful Hawthorne was, not only about the violent excesses of the Revolution but about the assumptions that lead to the redefinition of society by an act of the mind like the Declaration of Independence. In particular stories about the American Revolution like "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" and "Legends of the Province-House" indicate Hawthorne's deep suspicion of Romantic claims that human beings are naturally good and basically fit to recreate the world in the image of man's mind. The vulgarization of the

\(^{30}\)Stoehr, *Hawthorne's Mad Scientists*, p.29.

\(^{31}\)Sacvan Bercovitch relates the problems of individual assent and communal construction of values in *The Scarlet Letter* not only to the acts of separation from the past and the founding of the United States, but also to the growing unease over slavery in his chapter, "The Red Badge of Compromise" in *The Office of the Scarlet Letter*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1991), pp.73-112.
concept of natural goodness, as variously developed by Locke, Rousseau, Kant, Hegel, and Goethe ramified into the nineteenth-century social consciousness to be embodied by Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Byron, Carlyle, and countless others. In a similar way at a later date, vague versions of Freud, Darwin, and Einstein were popularized by Lawrence, Huxley, Joyce, and thousands of others as the ground of modern popular culture. In America, the great condenser and digester of European Romanticism was Emerson.

Fundamentally The Marble Faun is an allegory of Hawthorne's reaction to the Emersonian imperial self, of his rejection of the doctrine of inherent goodness and the radical forms of sovereign individualism as principles on which to build either the individual life or the life of society. Consistently representing these principles as destructive of family, Hawthorne envisions community, tradition, and religion as the real pillars upon which any moral or social improvements, including the abolition of slavery, must be based.
Chapter II. HAWTHORNE'S SENSE OF ROME: 
EMBLEMS OF ORDER AND DISORDER

A. Muses, Statues and Civil Unrest

If Hawthorne had ever entertained any notion of escaping from the harsh realities of political and civil strife, the Europe of the 1850's was hardly the place for him to do so, especially since, as an official representative of the United States of America, he would be made more aware of his own nation's problems than he had ever been. The Europe of 1853 was witnessing the decay and overthrow of traditional society which Burke had defined as "a partnership in all science, a partnership in all art, a partnership in every virtue and all perfection....between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born." Burke's principle was that, "Each contract of each particular state is but a clause in the great primaeval contract of eternal society, linking the lower with the higher natures, connecting the visible and invisible world."¹

In England, Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France (1790)—highlighting as it did the French spectacle of murder and rapine disguised as civic duty—served to bring the early Romantic enthusiasm for the revolution of 1789 to

a halt. English reform henceforward would proceed at a more gradual pace. The nations of the Continent, however, although still sustained by their traditions, remained racked with ideas of revolutionary and theoretical solutions to their woes. When national governments were not suppressing civic disruptions fed on dreams of reform, they were often interfering in the destinies of other lands, citing the necessity of reforming these lesser nations. In the single decade from 1850 to 1860 an observer like Hawthorne would have been aware of many of the following political upheavals: the Anglo-Kaffir War, the Crimean War, the Basuto War, Louis Napoleon's banishment of the Orleans family and seizure of imperial power, British annexations in India, the Anglo-Afghanistani War on Persia, the Anglo-Chinese War, the Sepoy Mutiny, Garibaldi's founding of the society for Italian Unification, the rise of the Fenians, revolt in Serbia, and the Franco-Austrian war for Sardinia, among others.

Considering the historical European scene it seems strange that there are those who take literally Hawthorne's famous declaration in the Preface to The Marble Faun, that the literary advantage of Italy is that it is "a sort of poetic or fairy precinct, where actualities" are not "so terribly insisted upon, as they are, and must needs be, in America" (MF 3). When the Hawthornes entered Italy in early 1858, Pius the Ninth maintained control of the city only with the aid of occupying French troops who had ejected Mazzini as
conqueror of Rome. By this time the Risorgimento, which sought to unify the Italian states divided by the Congress of Vienna and free them from Austrian domination, had formed several competing factions. Giuseppe Mazzini, who spent almost twenty years in exile, out of touch with his native land, had helped raise revolt in Milan in 1848 and forced the Pope from Rome in 1849. His party was openly anticlerical, espousing romantic and republican ideals. Camillo Cavour of Sardinia was the diplomatic and subtle leader who brought the soldier of fortune, Garibaldi, to work for him and his establishment of an Italian monarchy. Since his stay in Italy preceded Garibaldi's conquest of Sicily and Naples in 1860, Hawthorne and his family enjoyed the breathing space between one revolution and the next, although Sardinia waged war with Austria in 1859, with the contrivance of the same French government supporting the papacy.

It is equally puzzling why so many have accepted at face value Hawthorne's ironic assessment of America in 1859 as "a country where there is no shadow, no antiquity, no mystery, no picturesque and gloomy wrong," when the sense of something wrong and gloomy would have been almost inescapable to the author who had in 1850 shown in The Scarlet Letter and "Old News" just how dark the corners of the New Jerusalem could be. ² A particularly notable irony of the Preface to The

²George Curtis's ambivalent tribute, "Nathaniel Hawthorne," North American Review XCIX (October 1864): 539-
Marble Faun is that it is dated one day before John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry.

In his "Preface" Hawthorne offers an apology for laying "felonious" hands on the works of contemporary American sculptors and using them for his own purpose. Ostensibly the use of real works of sculpture is merely to give verisimilitude to the fictional sculptor, Kenyon. The sculpted pieces include a bust of Milton and the figure of a pearl diver by Paul Akers, William Wetmore Storey's Cleopatra, and Harriet Hosmer's Zenobia. He even goes so far as to tell the reader he meant to use Randolph Rogers' bas-relief doors depicting Columbus, (now on the Rotunda of the Capitol) but was unwilling to "meddle with public property."

This last is a rather scrupulous piece of confession if Hawthorne's intention was mere acknowledgement of artistic borrowing. After all, to acknowledge a debt he did not incur is gratuitous.

But Hawthorne was concerned neither merely with averting a charge of plagiarism nor with puffing the American artists he had met in Rome. He refers to works of art to establish an allegorical background for a story that is covertly about attempted reform and civil dissolution. The thematic pattern

57, a response to the publication of Ticknor and Fields collected edition of Hawthorne's works, detected this contradiction clearly. With a thinly-veiled bitterness, he assumes that Hawthorne's genius was so other-worldly that he was incapable of "positive sympathy" for the evils caused by the slavery issue (552).
invoked by the sculptures he mentions is not difficult to see. Thus in referring to the bust of Milton Hawthorne anticipates his own frequent use of echoes from *Paradise Lost* in *The Marble Faun*. Milton functions as a muse for Hawthorne because he too was concerned with original sin as well as a political background of civil strife that in his lifetime drastically modified the long tradition of English monarchy. In his great epic Milton explains the destruction of the traditionally constituted form of England and its millennial replacement, the Commonwealth, as he tries to clarify the relation of conscience and divine law.

Hawthorne uses Akers' statue of the pearl diver as if it were a creation of his own sculptor Kenyon. When Miriam visits Kenyon's studio she particularly admires the figure drowned among pearls and sea-wrack as an emblem of one "who has perished among the prizes that he sought." His innocence "entangled in the weeds at the bottom of the sea" makes the "beautiful youth" a fitting emblem of Donatello, who is caught up forever in Miriam's dark past. Miriam remarks, "But what a strange efficacy there is in Death! If we cannot all win pearls, it causes an empty shell to satisfy us just as well" (*MF* 117). Hawthorne turns this sense of a shell being valued as much as a real pearl into a criticism both of dead formalisms and of new abstract ideals which are only words.
The statues of Cleopatra and Zenobia bring the themes of the novel much more sharply into focus. Both figures are used as images of Miriam as the novel progresses, a fact which has been interpreted by Gene Barnett as a kind of sublimated compliment to her "strong, passionate" womanhood, while Margo Jones relates it to her "great beauty, strength, and nobility of heart." Margaret Morris sees the comparisons reflecting Miriam's role as a "femme fatale" who combines "aggression and seductiveness." The issue of Miriam's character will be considered in detail in the next chapter. For now it is sufficient to quote what Hawthorne thought every child should know about Cleopatra, as he wrote for the young readers of Peter Parley's Universal History, on the Basis of Geography:

She was one of the most beautiful women that ever lived, and her talents and accomplishments were equal to her personal beauty. But she was very wicked. Among other horrid crimes, Cleopatra poisoned her brother, who was only eleven years old. Yet, though all the world knew what an abandoned wretch she was, the greatest heroes

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could not or would not resist the enticements of her beauty."

While these terms are simplified for children, the words "wicked," "horrid," and "wretch" are neither ambiguous or ambivalent.

Hawthorne's emphasis on Cleopatra's gifts and beauty serves to make her evil all the more conspicuous. He presents her as the image of a woman whose abilities are misused to turn "an ambitious man and a valiant warrior" into "nothing but her slave." She is a figure who adds to the troubled civil conflicts of Rome, breeding enmity between Octavius and Antony and extending the nation's troubles for her vanity. Yet we are also aware that her suicide was a means of escaping a life of slavery in Rome, a threat brought on by the same physical beauty she used to enslave others. In the fourteenth chapter of The Marble Faun Hawthorne more explicitly connects the image of Cleopatra/Miriam with civil disorder and slavery by a discussion of Cleopatra's destructive sensuousness and an explicit use of the statue as an emblem of the Negro race with "full Nubian lips." He also hints that she is false idol created by the mind, as when "Aaron threw the gold of the Israelites into the furnace" (MF 127).

Zenobia, the rebellious queen of Palmyra, who was led to Rome in chains by Marcus Aurelius, is a similarly complex image of civil discord. While Hawthorne avers that he will not steal the statue of her since she is the property of a lady [Harriet Hosmer], Zenobia's name recalls the heroine of his own Blithedale Romance, thus locating The Marble Faun in an American as well as an Italian allegory. After her husband, Septimius Odenathus, was murdered Zenobia took over the kingdom in the name of her son, conquering Egypt and thus provoking the anger of Rome. Hosmer's bulky neo-classical figure of her, heavily draped and led as a slave in chains, provides an image that links civil strife, slavery, and the role of women in a way congenial to much abolitionist thinking of the time. Whittier remarked, when he viewed the statue on tour during the Civil War that, "In looking at it, I felt that the artist had been as truly serving her country...as our soldiers in the field."\(^5\) The statue also links ancient Rome and the nineteenth century in a way that is peculiar to Nathaniel Hawthorne.

The figure of the chained slave was already a staple of the 1850's, not because of the American tragedy (statues of American slaves would become popular during and after the Civil War) but because of Romantic visions of European conflicts. The most famous of these was Hiram Powers' The

Greek Slave (1841-42), sometimes called The Circassian Slave. Hawthorne was familiar with this statue since Powers was a friend of the family while they were in Rome; Powers is often accepted as the model for Kenyon. Richard Wunder's biography of the artist traces the extent to which The Greek Slave became an international cult-object. The sculpture combined an appeal to the current sympathy for Greece in its separation from the Ottoman Empire, with revulsion against the white slavery carried on by the Turks. But the real power of the work lay in its titillating quality of realistic, complete nudity in a full-length contemporary sculpture. It proved an irresistible combination, igniting pious outrage at its sexual provocativeness and pious defenses of its redeeming social consciousness.

Horace Greeley wrote of the figure sculpted by Powers, "in [her] nakedness she is unapproachable to any mean thought...she is more truly clad than a figure of lower character could be though ten times robed." Not everyone

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7Six full-size versions were made by the sculptor and innumerable smaller replicas were manufactured. The statue went on exhibition in New York, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston, Cincinnati, Louisville, New Orleans and in the American section of the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851. In Boston alone the statue attracted 19,987 paying customers.

agreed, and special afternoons were set aside so that ladies only might look at the statue without the mean presence of male eyes around them. But the real contradiction might have been best caught by Yankee Doodle's irreverent article:

If the object of Mr. Greeley's peculiar admiration had happened to be some poor negress from the rice fields of the South, we should no doubt have heard of great doings among the abolitionists, and read some fearful denunciations in the Tribune about the cruelty and hard-heartedness of slave owners. But no sooner is a beautiful Greek slave announced, than Presto!—the sympathy of Mr. Greeley takes another direction, his admiration is excited, and we find him perfectly willing that she should be continued in bondage. We ask Mr. Greeley if this is consistent?9

The Powers statue became a powerful and provocative over-simplification of a war which had been popular with the European liberal reformers of its era. The Circassian Slave remained a prototypical image of enslavement for decades to come, linking modern peoples with ancient, presumably more innocent virtues. It does not seem a great associative leap for Hawthorne to make between Hosmer's draped Zenobia and Powers's more sensational Greek Slave, which had made such an impact in the States. Certainly those who wished to attack

the undress of Powers's slave did not think so when they "sometimes pointedly compared" it to the decorum of Hosmer's statue.\(^{10}\)

The conflation of modern ethnic groups with classical ideals had been firmly established as a cliché by the propaganda of Byron's poetic romances. Yet Byron was not slow to acknowledge the distance between the contemporary Greek or Italian and his ancient counterpart. Childe Harold's Pilgrimage (1812) addresses the Attic present when he writes "Nor rise thy sons, but idly rail in vain,/ Trembling beneath the scourge of Turkish hand,/ From birth till death enslav'd, in word, in deed unmann'd."\(^{11}\) Although Byron was inspiring when he wrote, "Who would be free themselves must strike the blow," he spoke only too prophetically when he asked, "Will Gaul or Moscow redress ye? No!/ True, they may lay your proud despoilers low,/ But not for you will Freedom's altars flame."\(^{12}\)

Hawthorne put this less poetically but perhaps even more ironically for readers of Peter Parley's Universal History:

As the Greeks were not considered entirely fit to govern themselves, a new king was selected for


\(^{12}\)Byron, Complete Works, vol.II, p.76.
them, by England, France and Russia. The new king was a young man of eighteen named Otho. He was placed on the throne in 1829. This is the latest remarkable event in the history of Greece."  

Hawthorne could see how many revolutions, liberal or otherwise, had merely replaced one powerful elite with another at the expense of much blood and ordinary misery for the nation, often to the advantage of a foreign power which had little real interest in the nation liberated. Indeed, Hawthorne's lack of enthusiastic support for the great reform movements of his day may have been neither aesthetic absentmindedness nor some imagined lack of sympathy for the oppressed. Little enthusiasm may be expected from one who sees that

a large part of the actions of men, as related by historians, are evil. As you lift the curtain of the past, mankind seems from age to age engaged in constant strife, battle, and bloodshed. The master spirits generally stand forth as guided only by ambition, and superior to other man in wickedness as in power.  

Interestingly enough in The Marble Faun Hawthorne does not refer to Randolph Rogers colossal doors, which he had seen in full-sized plaster at the artist's studio. The eight

13Hawthorne, Peter Parley, p.246.
14Hawthorne, Peter Parley, p.viii.
panels convey the discovery of America: Columbus's efforts to finance his voyage, his landing in the New World, his forbidding his men to enslave the natives, and Columbus's being taken back to Spain in chains by Bobadilla. If the Indians were not enslaved in the United States of Hawthorne's day as they still were in Brazil, they were certainly not full citizens of the Republic. But with his miscellaneous "borrowing" of art works in The Marble Faun Hawthorne not only suggests the relation of Roman mythology and American life, but points toward slavery as the theme that binds the world of brave new hopes to tired old Europe's errors and institutions.

B. A Curious Grouping

In the first paragraph of the first chapter of The Marble Faun the four chief characters of the novel are described as being in the room of the Capitoline Museum "in the centre of which reclines the noble and most pathetic figure of the Dying Gladiator, just sinking into his death-swoon. Around the walls stand the Antinous, the Amazon, the Lycian Apollo, the Juno...Here, likewise, is seen a symbol (as apt, at this moment, as it was two thousand years ago) of the Human Soul, with its choice of Innocence or Evil close at hand, in the pretty figure of a child, clasping a dove to her bosom, but assaulted by a snake" (MF 5).
These four statues, chosen by Hawthorne out of a number of possible choices in the Stanza del Gladiatore of the Capitoline Museum, subtly reflect the characters. Antinous, sculpted as Mercury, originally nude, now wearing a fig leaf later placed on him, gives a pure sense of the natural, playful nature of Donatello, in the novel a figure of the natural man. Antinous is also emblematic of a person turned into a false god. The story of Hadrian's deification of his catamite is remarkable not only for its folly but for the popularity which the cult of Antinous achieved.\textsuperscript{15} The Lycian Apollo, as a figure of classical balance and harmony, is an apt symbol of Kenyon, a workmanlike artist, although the cither in Apollo's hand may recall the god's contest with Marsyas, the satyr, whom he flayed alive for his boast that he was the better musician. At times, Kenyon's judgments, like those of the unfortunate Marsyas, are almost as hasty.

To represent Hilda Hawthorne chose an Amazon. Hilda does not immediately strike one as bold or warlike, since she too is virginal and retiring from the world of men when we first meet her. But the more we see of her determination and independence of action, the closer her resemblance to the Amazon seems. Representing Miriam, Juno, with her imperious stature and her manic rage at not being the only woman for Jove, affords a tart comment both on Miriam's ego and her

physical attractiveness, and on the problem of sexual difference and antagonism between the sexes in The Marble Faun.

The characters, like the statuary, seem to surround the Dying Gladiators or dying Gaul, also called the dying slave, because of the rope around his neck. It is as if their destinies must be linked with this image of slavery in their own time. The nature of their dilemma is commented upon in the figure of the girl who, in her innocence, must try to protect the dove from the threat of the serpent beneath, while not falling into the violence and hatred which are the serpent's weapons. In other words, in The Marble Faun Hawthorne conceived an allegorical juxtaposition of his marble and fleshly figures. The effect is somehow like that created by the fountains of Rome.

The second paragraph in this first chapter of The Marble Faun sets the statuary Hawthorne refers to in a painterly landscape that enhances the meaning. A glance from one of the windows of the Stanza del Gladiatore leads the eye "descending alongside the antique and massive foundation of the Capitol, toward the battered triumphal arch of Septimus Severus" (MF 6). This arch celebrates the emperor's pacification of the Empire and honors his joint heirs, Caracalla and Geta. Unfortunately Caracalla killed his brother and tried to efface his presence from the arch. "Farther on," Hawthorne says, "the eye skirts along the edge
of the desolate Forum, (where Roman washerwomen hang out their linen to the sun,)" an act that is a monument both to the passing of generations and of paganism. "At a distance beyond—yet but a little way, considering how much history is heaped into the intervening space—rises the great sweep of the Coliseum," a structure that recalls more than any other how near is the present to the time when the Christians who now rule Rome were its slaves and sport. "Far off," Hawthorne observes, "the view is shut in by the Alban mountains, looking just the same, amid all this decay and change, as when Romulus gazed thitherward over his half-finished wall,"(MF 6) a reference evoking Plutarch's account of Romulus's murder of his brother, Remus, because he laughed at the incomplete fortifications. In the light of the massive perspective of the Roman past, Hawthorne points out, it will be no great wonder if "all matters, that we handle or dream of, now-a-days, look evanescent and visionary alike" (MF 6).

C. Symbolic Locations: Two Pontiffs and Saint Paul

Hawthorne continues to play the present off against the long past throughout The Marble Faun. Rome's status as political and religious cradle of the West and repository of its greatest artistic treasures made it possible for him to create living allegory. Instead of a palace of art reared in the imagination, like Spenser's, Hawthorne looked to a real
palace of art present before his eyes. By careful selection from the immense riches offered by Rome, he could allegorize while remaining quite realistic and historically faithful. If we are uncomfortable with meeting the figures of the past at every street corner, this is not solely because we have lost the taste for allegory but because we have lost the sense of history vividly continuing in the present. We are parochial in our time horizon in a way which would be almost unimaginable to Hawthorne, who was imbued with a sense of belonging to the "universal history of the world".

At least two of the crucial events in *The Marble Faun* occur in the symbolic space dominated by the memory of Roman popes. The first of these events is Miriam's encounter with her Model as he is called back into life in the catacombs of St. Calixtus. The second is the "marriage" of Donatello and Miriam performed by Kenyon under the statue of Julius III in Perugia. These locales reflect the design of the novel through the connection of both popes with disorder in their own times. While it is impossible to be sure how much Hawthorne knew about these pontiffs, the degree of congruence between their stories and the thematic concerns of *The Marble Faun* seem to be more than accidental.

Callistus I began life as a slave and ended it as a martyr, slain by the followers of the first antipope, Hippolytus. Callistus is known to history for condemning Sabellius and the Monarchian heresy that overemphasizes the
unity of persons in the Blessed Trinity. Sabellius' doctrine denied that the three parts of the Trinity are distinct persons; to him they were only names for "modes, energies, aspects or phases of the one divine person,"¹⁶ a concept that effectively denied the humanity of Christ and made him all God, as if He were a God-spirit merely hidden in an irrelevant human flesh. This position is a staple of gnosticism which, in one major variant, is given to despising the flesh to elevate the spirit. Marion Montgomery argues that Hawthorne recognized this sort of gnosticism as the basis of Emersonian thought.

Perhaps just as relevant for Hawthorne might have been Callistus' role in recognizing marriage between wealthy Roman women and their slaves, as well as his welcoming lapsi who had become temporarily apostate back into the Church. Callistus's contemporaries criticized him bitterly for both decisions and characterized him as an immoralist who did not care what sins people had committed. In fact, Callistus strongly defended the Church's power to forgive sins and emphasized the absolute need for those who had committed a wrong to be reunited with their faith.

The role of the community in recognizing and forgiving sins is crucial not only to The Scarlet Letter but also to The Marble Faun. In both novels the action centers on how

crime and sin can be dealt with in a way that restores the integrity of the person and the community. The Scarlet Letter plays a rigid but negligent community off against the power of Pearl's living admonition of wrong, Dimmesdale's sacrificial death, and years of exiled thought on Hester's part. The Marble Faun examines the individual conscience both inside and outside of Christianity. Miriam attempts to judge her murder of the model by her own standards, then by those of particular friends. In the end she seems to accept the authority of the church and state, but may in fact not do so. Hilda's conflict is between the need for confession and reluctance at the idea of being forgiven by any human agent.

The image of Calixtus brings all of these problems of forgiveness into focus. Thus it is appropriate that in these dark catacombs Miriam goes astray and meets the man from a past which she thought she had left far behind. He is linked to her by some crime, even though she is not apparently in any danger of the law's punishments. Yet Miriam is afraid that he will reveal her true identity and that will blast her reputation, regardless of the facts of the case. Because she is afraid of the name of criminal she makes herself a criminal in fact, implicating the Faun as she does so. Chapter Four argues that the relationship of Miriam and her Model is a figure of the situation existing between the North and the South. Guilty alike of the crime of slavery, both sides finally saw no means of achieving forgiveness for the
crime but participation in hatred and "righteous" violence. In this light Miriam and the Model's meeting in the tomb of a Saint associated both with the history of the institution of slavery and with early nominalism seems even more deliberate on Hawthorne's part.

Hawthorne describes the reconciliation of Donatello and Miriam as taking place under the statue of Julius III in Perugia. The statue is described with great reverence and affection: it is elevated above the common earth yet it gives a "benediction, which every man (so broad, so wise, and so serenely affectionate, was the bronze Pope's regard) might hope to feel quietly descending upon the need, or the distress, that he had closest at his heart" (MF 314-5). Donatello is embittered by the murder he has committed, and rejects Miriam because of his abhorrence for what he has done for her. Nevertheless, the two come together under this statue, in mutual recognition that their crime has tied them inextricably. They resolve on a marriage based on mutual penance.

Hawthorne chose very craftily when he used the figure of this Renaissance Pope. Julius III was of enormous importance for healing the damage done to Christianity by the bitterness about the Reformation. He opened the Council of Trent and wrote more than fifty briefs on church reform to correct the abuses which the reformists had cited. Although a few historians still prefer to present the council as a
conservative circling of the wagons against Protestantism, it was instead the consolidation of a long-considered response to the problem of the church's relation to the property of the world. Almost as interesting is Julius' role in sanctioning the Order of the Jesuits. Hawthorne was ahead of his time in rejecting the bigoted descriptions of the Jesuits as fanatical Inquisitors and super-subtle Machiavels. Instead he seemed to have a dispassionate admiration for their insistence on combining the sensual apprehension of religious history with spiritual rigor and devotion. Certainly he could not ignore their role in spreading Christianity to the Indians of America, a missionary zeal that the seaboard Republic obviously did not intend to imitate. Julius was also the pope who reached out for reunion with the Coptic church of Abyssinia and its Negro emperor. He was the pontiff to whom the English Parliament redeclared its Catholic allegiance for a brief period in the reign of Queen Mary. It was under his reign that Michaelangelo became chief architect of St. Peter's and Palestrina became its choir master. Julius can thus be used by Hawthorne as a symbol of reconciliation on many levels ranging from the religious and political to racial and artistic.

A third statue with a central role in the plot and theme of *The Marble Faun* is that of Saint Paul, which is placed upon the column of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. This statue is
first described in relation to Hilda's tower residence. She lives so far above the city streets that, "Only the domes of churches ascend into this airy region...except that, out of the very heart of Rome, the column of Antoninus thrusts itself upward, with St. Paul upon its summit, the sole human form that seems to have kept her company" (MF 53). The placement does not reflect isolation from the human as much as it suggests human proximity to the pure form of the divine. Certainly the invocation of St. Paul reflects her commitment to the virgin life, even though not in the religious vocation he advocated.

When Kenyon rediscovers Hilda near the end of the novel, after her disappearance in Rome, he is underneath this column, stranded in the middle of the Carnival. Swept helplessly by a tide of grotesque maskers, he fights his way to the Piazza Colonna where Hilda is, almost as if by magic, restored to him. Hawthorne uses an interesting phrase to describe Kenyon, who must "await a solution of the mystery in some mode that he could not yet anticipate" (MF 448). By doing so, at this point to which the movement of the novel has been propelling the two shy lovers from the beginning, Hawthorne echoes his own sentiment about slavery from the biography of Franklin Pierce. That too, he wrote, would be remedied "by some means impossible to be anticipated, but of the simplest and easiest operation." Hilda has to reassure herself that "the whole spectacle was not an illusion" (MF
453), just as Hawthorne believed that slavery would be caused "to vanish like a dream."

The solution to the lovers' problem does not come from violent action or fervent agitation against the powers which have somehow spirited Hilda away because of her connection with Miriam. Instead, in a manner appropriate to the faith with which Hilda lives and which Kenyon is learning, they receive a gift of Providence for which their faith has prepared them. St. Paul urges something like this quiet waiting for a redeeming act when he returns the slave Onesimus as the lawful property of Philemon yet urges him to treat Onesimus "Not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved" (Phil 16). He refers to himself as "a prisoner of Jesus Christ," to emphasize his consistent view that slavery or freedom is important only in relation to sin and grace, not as a civil status.17 The whole story of Paul's life is the movement from conducting an internal persecution among the Jews who followed Christ to becoming the great healer of the gap between Jews and Gentiles in the early church. He, like Hilda, is the symbol of a love which unifies in God. Paul trusts in Providence to heal the temporal wrongs which dominated the Roman Empire rather than calling Christians to a civil strife to amend them immediately.

17See also Paul's sense of slavery in I Corinthians 13:13; Ephesians 6:5-9; Timothy 6:1-2; Colossians 3:22-4:1
D. Beatrice Cenci and Joanna of Aragon

In contrast to figures who restored order in troubled times Hawthorne also presents images of figures associated with rebellion and strife. Miriam fits this mold, in so far as she may be associated with Zenobia or with the idolatrous sister of Moses stricken with leprosy. But there is a more immediate and subtle use of an art-historical figure in the novel. The portrait of Beatrice Cenci is central to our understanding both of Miriam and Hilda. The latter managed to copy perfectly, from memory, the reputed Guido original kept in a locked closet in the Barberini Palace.\(^{18}\) Her genius for copying and her sympathy with other humans enabled her, the most innocent of women, to portray the legendary Beatrice, who was popularly supposed to have committed incest with her father by force, and parricide by choice.

Hawthorne takes the story which Shelley had crafted into a summons to violent revolution and subtilizes it to his own use. Shelley portrays Beatrice as an innocent turned revolutionary who strikes at the church, the state and

\(^{18}\)This portrait is identified by Corrado Ricci merely as "Sibilla Samia" in his Beatrice Cenci (London: Heinemann, 1926), vol.II, p.287 (plate follows). The alleged Reni portrait of Beatrice on the frontispiece of his Volume One has no bearing on the picture cited in The Marble Faun. The picture in the Barberini Palace (now the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica) is currently rejected as being either Beatrice or by Guido Reni. D. Stephen Pepper speculates that "it is perhaps by Elisabetta Sirani, based on a tradition of turbaned sibyls derived from Guido and his studio." Guido Reni: A Complete Catalogue of his Works with an Introductory Text (New York: New York UP, 1984), p.304.
fatherly power. If Hawthorne did not turn her into the scandalous woman of some of the street legends, neither did he present the later view of Corrado Ricci, whose history presents her as mistreated but not violated, and uninnocent enough to take a servant lover who helped her murder her father so they might live undisturbed.

Hawthorne's Beatrice makes no call for revolution, but instead is the image of an innocence shattered by the presence of evil in her world. The nature of that evil is bifurcated so that Miriam and Hilda see it quite differently. To Hilda as she looks at her own work, "She is a fallen

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19 In a convoluted psychological self-portrait, Shelley lashes out at the father he hated for thinking him unworthy of a title and a fortune. All his republican life he converted his father into the image of tyrannic authority. At the same time he strikes viciously at himself for the incestuous abuse he heaped on Mary Godwin with her half-sisters, Claire Claremont and Fanny Imlay (who killed herself), and for driving his first wife to suicide. In Beatrice's voice we can hear Shelley turn his father into his pathetic image of God: "If all things then should be...my father's spirit,/ His eye, his voice, his touch surrounding me...he should come/ And wind me in his hellish arms, and fix/ His eyes on mine, and drag me down, down, down!" The Cenci, ed. Roland Duerksen (Indianapolis; New York: Library of Liberal Arts--Bobbs-Merrill, 1970) p. 104. The ever-faithful Mary wrote that this story was influenced by the death of their oldest child in Rome (110). Perhaps Shelley's drowning in July of 1822 had made her forget, or perhaps she was doing her best to ignore, Shelley's active role in bringing on the death of her infant daughter only the year before by his demands that she and the girl travel repeatedly in crushing heat, even when the child had severe fever. For an account of the nightmarish world of Shelley's pretensions to social liberalism and human welfare versus the reality of his self-service, materialism and pettiness see Paul Johnson, Intellectuals, (New York: Harper and Row, 1988) 28-51 or Richard Holmes, Shelley: The Pursuit (New York: Dutton, 1975).
angel, fallen, and yet sinless; and it is only this depth of sorrow, with its weight and darkness, that keeps her down upon earth, and brings her within our view even while it sets her beyond our reach" (MF 66). At this point, Hilda is describing what will soon happen to her.20 Miriam responds true to herself by declaring "Beatrice's own conscience does not acquit her of something evil, and never to be forgiven." Up to this point we know Miriam to be guilty only of some dark secret, not of the death of her Model. We are free to conjecture that she is indeed not fallen, even if she bitterly blames herself. But it is odd that she judges Beatrice's sin as impossible to forgive, since this is what Spenser calls the sin of Despair.

When Miriam reminds Hilda of the crimes of the historical Beatrice, however, the artist explains that her original remark was in response to "thinking of her only as the picture seems to reveal her character." Hilda agrees that in the world outside of art "Yes, yes; it was terrible guilt, an inexpiable crime...Her doom is just." This is far too much for Miriam, who only wanted to play at justice and moral severity. She immediately takes the opposite tack arguing, "Beatrice's sin may not have been so great; perhaps it was no sin at all, but the best virtue possible in the

circumstances. If she viewed it as a sin, it may have been because her nature was too feeble for the fate imposed on her (MF 66). Here Miriam argues like a precursor of Raskolnikov, justifying crimes in the name of fate and a higher law. It has the ring of a Chillingworth who argues that it was "iron necessity" that drove him to snatch up the office of a fiend. Significantly, it is at this moment that Miriam comes physically to resemble the portrait of Beatrice Cenci, not because she understands the picture better than the woman whose genius made it, but because her moral rationalizations will lead her to the same miserable state.

Hawthorne rewrites this scene of a character mirroring a painting when Hilda stands before da Vinci's portrait of Joanna of Aragon. Hilda's misery at knowing Miriam that urged Donatello to kill the model has destroyed all of her previous happiness and contentment in Rome. Joanna's portrait makes her think of Miriam, an unflattering but logical association. Joanna of Aragon was the dissolute queen of Naples who was deeply wronged by her husband but after his death went on to take lovers who fomented civil wars in her kingdom. Her reign destroyed both the unity and the loyalty of her citizens.

An artist called Panini (little bread), seeing Hilda before the Queen's painting, does a portrait of Hilda which shows her "gazing with sad and earnest horror, at a blood-spot which she seemed just then to have discovered on her white robe" (MF 330). Hawthorne writes that many in Rome saw a resemblance between this picture of Hilda and that of Beatrice Cenci, but notes ironically that "the modern artist strenuously upheld the originality of his own picture." For the author of The Marble Faun there is little original in the conception itself, it is merely a repetition of an age-old pattern. Nevertheless, Hawthorne also repeats the pattern of twin interpretations of the Reni picture since Panini holds to the perfect purity of his hastily-glimpsed model, Hilda. An art dealer, on the other hand, who will make a ten-fold profit on the work, has the last word since he changes the title from "Innocence, dying of a Blood-stain" to "The Signorina's Vengeance." The art-seller's interpretation of the picture as a woman who has stabbed her lover leads to the narrative comment, "It is more a coarse world than an unkind one" (MF 331).

E. A Fortress, Civil War, and Civic Virtue

Yet the world of Rome had proven sufficiently unkind in past eras. The tower in which the saintly Hilda lives is itself one of the devices which links The Marble Faun to the theme of civil warfare. Although much is made of how it sets
Hilda "at a height above the ordinary level of men's views and aspirations," it remains "a mediaeval tower, square, massive, lofty, and battlemented and machicolated at the summit" (MF 51). The most ethereal and spiritual character is placed in the middle of an architecture designed for warfare.²² The towers of the great Roman families were built specifically for the civil broils that continued for centuries within the boundaries of the eternal city. For Hawthorne they seem emblematic of the folly of a nation fighting among its own sons and daughters.

The tower however, is only part of Hawthorne's pattern of references to the protracted Guelph and Ghibelline struggle that destroyed the peace of Italy. If Milton serves as one muse behind this novel, David Kesterson has convincingly established Dantean parallels in the Monte Beni-Tuscany segment (chapters 24-35) that details the journey of Donatello from the depths of guilt and world-weariness to a kind of active penance for his crime. Kenyon, who reads

²²This tower rises out of a building owned by the Frangipani family, a noble line enmeshed in the struggle between the Roman Church and the Roman Emperor from 1060 when Cencius defended Anselm (Alexander II) to fifty years later when John Cencius the second and Leo Frangipani were partisans of the imperialist Ghibelline faction that betrayed Paschalis II and took prisoner Gelasius II. Yet the family changed sides according to their own interests in combating other rival noble houses. Oddo in 1167 was the chief general of Pope Alexander III at the disaster of Tusculum. One account of these shifts is found in Ferdinand Gregorovius, History of the city of Rome in the Middle Ages, eight vols., trans. Annie Hamilton (London: George Bell, 1896), vol. four, pp.129, 365-72, 378-88, 578-82.
Dante at Monte Beni, remarks of Donatello's mountain tower that, "with its difficult steps, and the dark prison-cells you speak of, your tower resembles the spiritual experience of many a sinful soul" (MF 253). Later the two men go on a pilgrimage through the surrounding landscape that requires the two weeks of Dante's Commedia before they arrive in Perugia for the reconciliation with Miriam.23

Kesterson makes the argument that the Donatello-Miriam relation contains the same potential horror as that of Paolo and Francesca,24 citing Donatello's fear of having a single companion in eternity in whom one might "see your own weary, weary sin, repeated in that inseparable soul" (MF 305). Kenyon invokes the name of Milton immediately after this moment as if to link the two great religious, literary, and civil guides. Kesterson's further contention that Miriam functions as a kind of Beatrice is weak, as he seems to admit. As we will establish in the next chapter, she is an ironic imitation of Beatrice at best, if not a dangerous parody.

The Dantean references re-emerge, in a manner that has drawn little attention, through the use of the colors black and white, which recall the Bianchi-Neri factions whose strife split Dante's family and drove him to exile. When


Hilda reappears from her confinement, she is dressed as a white domino (MF 451). Miriam and Donatello attend the Carnival dressed as a peasant and a contadina, but both wear black masks (MF 443). Donatello had previously appeared in the garb of a penitent, a white robe and a featureless mask which is called a "veil of penance," reminiscent of "The Minister's Black Veil" (MF 393). Kenyon himself is given no distinct outfit, yet we learn that his dark and somber face is whitened when a seven-foot monstrosity in the Carnival shoots him with a pop-gun full of lime powder.

It is true that all of these color images can be equally well-explained by reference to Hawthorne's overarching themes of sin and expiation. Hilda's clothing especially reflects her situation, as if touched delicately with spots of black from her exposure to Miriam's and Donatello's crime. Yet these costumes do not appear in a vacuum. In his vision of the riotous Carnival, Hawthorne constructs both the image of an endless flow of human life and of a comic warfare which threatens to grow serious. He writes, "The sport of mankind, like its deepest earnest, is a battle" and tells of how "the combatants threw handfuls of flour or lime into the air, where it hung like smoke over a battle-field" (MF 439).

He lightens this image with a comparison to the tender battle of the sexes to win each other's hearts, but then he compares the fresh flowers thrown in an earlier age with flowers picked up from the mud and resold by contemporary
street vendors. Such flowers seem to represent hearts which "have been passed from hand to hand, along the muddy streetway of life, instead of being treasured in one faithful bosom" (MF 441).

That sense of fallen sexual morals is immediately linked with the show of military power which guards the Corso. Hawthorne does not let us forget that his characters are in a city whose peace was threatened by the nation-building ambitions of the Risorgimento. Mazzini and Cavour each had their plans for the conquest and melding together of the Italian states—which had only increased Austrian intervention in Italy and brought French troops to support the Pope in Rome.

Italy's was another of those revolutions which—although it seemed so romantic and liberal to visiting Europeans or Americans—was in reality a civil war. But Hawthorne does not encourage romantic illusions when he describes the French troops with stacked muskets in the Piazza del Popolo and at the Austrian Embassy on either end of the Corso. In the middle stands the column of Antoninus with St. Paul upon the top, placed as the perfect balance point between extremes. The Roman populace is compared to a chained tiger-cat, yet we are told that it is their "own gentle courtesy" which protected the city rather than French bayonets or muskets. Hawthorne believes that the customary virtues of a nation protect it from the worst of human excess, not transitory
political or intellectual commitments. He seems to call upon what Burke spoke of as prejudice long before that word acquired its current invidious sense: "Prejudice renders a man's virtue his habit; and not a series of unconnected acts." Thus Hawthorne can make the all-important distinction: "Everybody seemed lawless; nobody was rude" (MF 441). Traditional Italian social bonds were strong enough to contain the exuberance of the day without losing the sense of the worth of others upon which genuine good manners are based. That sense of worth, Hawthorne implies, is centered on a Pauline understanding of evil as inherent in the fallen creation, to be remedied only by time and Christian love.

But Hawthorne warns that any balance of passion and civil order is the achievement of centuries, one that the Americans and the English had not achieved. Overstepping the bounds may not be entirely bad, since he associates this behavior with the Gothic race and thus with the Gothic architecture which he so admires. Yet Hawthorne gives a comic-opera forecast of what lack of community may lead to when Kenyon hears the music of a military band, "roaring upward to the sky" preceding cavalry and mounted gendarmes. The troops escort a series of coaches that look like Cinderella's and seem as if they should carry "his Holiness in person," but this pomp is only for "the municipal authorities of Rome—illusory shadows, every one, and among
them a phantom, styled the Roman Senator--proceeding to the Capitol" (MF 443).

If this description suggests the impotence of the civic government of Rome, it also hints at the illusory nature of the power of republican government compared to the power of the religious continuity of mankind. The footmen in "three-cornered hats, and embroidered silk coats and breeches" suggest eighteenth-century Americans as readily as Europeans. Hawthorne drives this association home when he introduces "an impious New Englander" who hits the coachman of the Senator in the face with handfuls of powdered lime. To the latter, "It appeared to be his opinion, that the Republic was again crumbling into ruin, and that the dust of it now filled his nostrils" (MF 443).

Lest we miss the importance of these scenes, Hawthorne writes, "While the sculptor, with his dreamy eyes, was taking idle note of this trifling circumstance, two figures passed before him, hand in hand." The two figures are, of course, Donatello and Miriam in their black masks. Their dramatic crime is thus linked with the background of mock and real warfare in the Italian and American republics.

E. Slavery and Traitor's Rock

Hawthorne knew that Emerson's doctrine of the imperial self freed from social and religious tradition would undercut the individual's relation to his fellow human beings and
destroy the basis for civil ties among citizens. In many of his works he presents us with images of crime, civil discord, and millennial egotism. Yet usually he does so against a background of the American Revolution, or the Puritan separation from England, or the antinomian split within the New England religious community itself. But in Rome Hawthorne could place his characters in a historic city filled with monuments to those who had put their opinions before the collective wisdom and will of those in whose name they were supposed to rule. The complexity and density of Hawthorne's setting in The Marble Faun is such that we have often overlooked the way in which the setting is integral to the meaning of the novel.

Hawthorne occasionally makes explicit his connections between slavery and violence in the American Republic and the death of the Model. When the four friends are visiting the Trevi fountain by night with other artists, someone asks cynically if Americans would use the water "to turn the machinery of a cotton-mill." Kenyon responds that they would pay him "to carve the one-and-thirty (is that the number?) sister States, each pouring a silver stream from a separate can into one vast basin, which should represent the grand reservoir of national prosperity" (MF 146). But the issue

25This is an interesting parallel to one of Margaret Fuller's letters from Rome, where she depicts Americans celebrating a new semi-democratic Council. They "hurried to buy their silk, red, white, and blue, and inquired of recent
is not merely greed. The growth in the number of states was directly linked in every American's mind, since the Mexican War, with the political issue of whether there would be a preponderance of slave states or free states in the Congress. It is not coincidental then that the next remark in the scene at the Trevi fountain is by an Englishman who suggests that the personified states could be sculpted in Kenyon's imaginary statue in the act of "cleansing the national flag of any stains that it may have incurred." The "national stain" was already a cliched metaphor referring to the existence of slavery in the United States.

These remarks are followed by Miriam's evocation of Corrine, on whose heroine she is partly modeled. Unlike the happy moment when Corinne sees her Lord Neville's face reflected with hers in the virgin waters of the Trevi, Miriam sees three vague faces. These are "all so black and heavy that they sink in the water...as if all three were drowned together" (MF 147). The third face is that of the Model, peering between the reflection of Miriam and Donatello. When Miriam tries to exorcise him, he washes his hands in the fountain, peering into it "as if all the water of that great drinking-cup of Rome must needs be stained black or sanguine; and still he gesticulated to Miriam to follow his example."

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25(...continued)
arrivals how many states there are this winter in the Union, in order to make the proper number of stars." The Writings of Margaret Fuller, ed. Mason Wade (Clifton, NJ: Augustus Kelley, 1973), p.435.
Again, while advancing the larger theme of sin and its lasting stains, Hawthorne obliquely reflects on sin's specific political dimension in the American Republic, black slavery, and indirectly prophesies that the slavery issue will redden with blood the whole of the thirty-one sister states and their "grand reservoir of national prosperity."  

The friends move on to the forum of Trajan where other members of the party call out "Trajan! Trajan!" as if summoning the emperor of whom Gibbon wrote, "Trajan was ambitious of fame: and as long as mankind shall continue to bestow more liberal applause on their destroyers than on their benefactors, the thirst of military glory will ever be the vice of the most exalted characters." Images of strife multiply as Miriam, thinking herself unnoticed, is led by her wrath at the Model's reappearance to stamp her foot and throw her arms about (MF 157) in a manner that imitates Hawthorne's story of Major Howe "tossing his clenched hands into the air, and stamping his iron-shod boots upon the broad free-stone steps" as he exits in disgrace, forever forced out.

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26 Goldberger notes that Corinne is remarkable for what it excludes "Although the novel takes place between 1794 and 1803, nowhere are the emperor [Napoleon] or his victories in Italy mentioned. Nowhere are the French armies seen," Corinne, or Italy, Madame de Stael, trans. Avriel Goldberger (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1987), p.xxxii. Hawthorne seems to use a similar indirection throughout his novel, although with a very different thematic slant.

of the Province House in Massachusetts. A second reference to the Legends of the Province House follows when Miriam laments "I used to fancy that, at my need, I could bring the whole world to my feet. And, lo! here is my utmost need; and my beauty and my gifts have brought me only this poor, simple boy" (MF 158). Miriam is left with Donatello just as the lady Eleanore Rochcliffe is left only with the half-idiot Jervase Helwyse after she has brought smallpox to colonial Boston. Both are women who use their beauty selfishly with a pride that sets loose violence and retribution.

These hints reach their fulfillment in the much debated eighteenth chapter. Here the antithesis of the tower imagery appears when Kenyon declares that they are on the spot where the legendary Curtius hurled himself into a chasm that had opened up and threatened to destroy Rome. It closed only when it had received him, the most precious thing Rome had to offer. As one might imagine, psychological critics made much of this ancient story, but Hawthorne connects it quite directly with the political when Kenyon says that the story is prophetic of "Goths, and Gauls, and even of the French soldiers of to-day" (MF 161). Miriam echoes the rhetoric of

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29 Sheldon W. Liebman, "The Design of The Marble Faun," New England Quarterly 40 (March 1967): 61-78, shows the patterning of high and low places within the novel (pp.70-73), implicitly linking it with the descent to Avernus theme.
Carlyle's apocalyptic History of the French Revolution when she speculates that, "The firmest substance of human happiness is but a thin crust spread over [the abyss], with just reality enough to bear up the illusive stage-scenery amid which we tread....By-and-by, we inevitably sink!"  

But Hilda sees the philosophic assumption that Miriam is making and challenges it. Miriam scorns the self-sacrifice of Curtius and takes a fatalistic attitude toward changing history, even though, ironically, she will soon ask Donatello to sacrifice the Model in order to change her fate. Hilda argues that there is "no original necessity" in the performance of an evil act, either by an individual or a commonwealth. She annunciates the doctrine of communal atonement for guilt which is at the heart of the Christian church, "Every wrong thing helps to make the gulf deeper; every right one helps to fill it up."

Hawthorne continues to move his allegory rapidly between the universal religious dimension which Hilda cites, the personal crisis which Miriam is approaching, and the political dimension behind the novel when Kenyon exclaims, "The blood from the thirty wounds in Caesar's breast flowed hitherward, and that pure little rivulet from Virginia's bosom, too! Virginia, beyond all question, was stabbed by her father, precisely where we are standing." Caesar's

30Matthiessen's American Renaissance plausibly links these sentiments with Pascal, p.309.
murder was seen by Dante as a violation of civil order as serious as that of Judas against the religious order, and he places both in the mouth of Satan. Hawthorne connects this assassination and its ensuing civil war with the decline of sexual mores that led to the fall of the decemvirs when Virginia's father killed her rather than allow her to be debauched by Appius Crassus. Livy writes that Virginia's father cried out, "I meant her for a marriage-bed, not for a brothel. Are men and women to copulate like goats and rabbits?" The decemvirs had presented themselves as reformers but soon became the oppressors of the people, and Virginia's father led the army that restored the power of the tribunes over the group. Once again Hawthorne shows the connection between public morals and the stability of government. Even as the legend of the Roman martyr draws attention to the sexual and personal horrors of slavery, the name of Virginia, recalling the American south keeps the issue of American slavery in focus, with the self-sacrifice of virtuous figures presented as the historic solution. The group of artists singing "Hail, Columbia" in the distance gives ironic counterpoint to the theme.

The friends travel onward past the statue of Marcus Aurelius in the Campidoglio. Here Miriam reveals how easily the transcendental soul yields to dominion when she sighs,

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"One such man in an age, and one in all the world! Then, how speedily would the strife, wickedness, and sorrow, of us poor creatures be relieved!... The rightful King would see to all" (MF 166). So eager is she for a millennial revelation of history that she is willing to turn all power over to a heroic figure who will answer all her questions. Hawthorne saw that this temptation was almost inevitable for those who had lost the conceptions of humility and redemptive suffering. Surely mankind could produce one representative sage whom all could fall down and adore, surely one person knew a way out of the Fall? Hilda naturally responds that such trust cannot be placed in any earthly king.

In the last move of this night's pilgrimage the friends reach a parapet of the Capitoline Hill. Because Miriam doubts God's Providence, she tempts Donatello after Kenyon and Hilda have walked away. She urges that, "men that cumbered the world" were thrown off the Tarpeian Rock in the good old days. Hawthorne is careful to give the rock its popular name, the Traitor's Leap, to emphasize its association with civil treason and punishment. Miriam conflates the world with herself and so she regards the Model's disturbance of her peace as an encumbrance to the world, not to one person.

Donatello's response to her, "Was it well done?" may be a recollection of Tennyson's Maud, where the young man
questions God's justice when his father's corpse is found, broken at the bottom of a pit: "O father! O God! was it well?" Donatello often acts as if Miriam were a superior being or even a goddess. Her guidance of this inferior being is both manipulative and malignant. At this crucial moment she answers, "It was well done...innocent persons were saved by the destruction of a guilty one, who deserved his doom" (MF 170). While this argument has certain merits, in the context of the sacrificial ideas expressed by Hilda, Miriam exactly reverses the story of Christ. Real salvation occurred by the willing sacrifice of an innocent one so that the guilty might be saved. Certainly there is no real indication, other than Miriam's opinion, that she is innocent, that the model is guilty, or that he deserves destruction. In the context of the personal murder then, this argument is utterly false. In the theological context it is blasphemous. In the context of treason, civil war, and American issues which Hawthorne has implied as the historical background of the murder, he strongly suggests that a violent elimination of those whom some might consider treasonous to American ideals would also be a form of arrogant butchery.

Hawthorne made his position on this issue most explicit in another of his books for children, Biographical Stories. Mr. Franklin teaches his son Benjamin that no act "can

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possibly be for the benefit of the public generally which involves injustice to any individual...almost all the public and private misery of mankind arises from a general neglect of this great truth,—that evil can produce only evil,—that good ends must be wrought out by good means."33

After the murder it is apparent even to Miriam that they have done something that puts them in the same company as "the high and ever-sad fraternity of Caesar's murderers." She herself connects their crime with the kind of killing that sets in motion Civil War. In the central irony of the novel Hawthorne creates the image of a "democracy" of poisoner's, baby-killers, and patricides. In answer to those who were beginning to believe that their transcendent minds gave them an isolate and god-like right to tell others whom to kill Hawthorne writes, "It is a terrible thought, that an individual wrong-doing melts into the great mass of human crime, and makes us—who dreamed only of our own little separate sin—makes us guilty of the whole. And thus Miriam and her lover were not an insulated pair, but members of an innumerable confraternity of guilty ones, all shuddering at each other" (MF 177). The problem suggested in The Marble Faun is how to discover a better guide than the isolated Transcendental mind for the individual and for America.

Chapter III. THE CONSEQUENCES OF NATURAL SELF-RELIANCE

Yourself a newborn bard of the Holy Ghost,—cast behind you all conformity, and acquaint men at first hand with Deity.

An Address Delivered Before the Senior Class in Divinity College Cambridge, Sunday Evening, 15 July, 1838—Emerson

A. Words are Signs of Natural Facts

The extent of Hawthorne's disagreements with his Transcendentalist contemporaries has been debated at great length. Perhaps the most intricate reading of those disagreements is Marion Montgomery's extended meditation in Why Hawthorne Was Melancholy. Montgomery examines the relation of Emersonian ideas to the long history of gnosticism, which places mankind in fundamental opposition to the world of matter, exalting him to quasi-identity with Deity. Material objects are of no great value to the thinker when they are "kinds of scoriae of the substantial thoughts of the Creator," as Emerson writes in "Nature." The man who will become "The American Scholar" does not love or fear the Deity as otherness, instead once he "has learned to worship the soul...he shall look forward to an ever expanding

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3Emerson, vol.1, p.23.

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knowledge as to a becoming creator. 4 Since Nature's "laws are the laws of his own mind," the world can be reduced to the image created in his mind. "Nature then becomes to him," promises Emerson in a reductive phrase, "the measure of his attainments."

The extent of the mind's imperial sway is limitless: Emerson promises that man "can reduce under his will, not only particular events, but great classes, nay the whole series of events, and so conform all facts to his character. Nature is thoroughly mediate. It is made to serve. 5 Such a formulation is the ground for enormous problems in perception, politics, and morality. As Montgomery notes, there is a crucial difficulty in Emerson's resting his faith in the present moment of consciousness as the only active reality, since the present moment gives way to a new present. As in any millennial faith, therefore, the restlessness must be assuaged by focusing consciousness toward an always-future moment. The present must be sacrificed as the past is rejected. 6

If Emerson rejects the past—tradition, religion, the Old World, and old books—he also rejects the present moment

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6Montgomery, p.27.
since it is always/already gone. Since he has rejected a concept of essence that is not trapped in an eternal pursuit of progressive becoming, Emerson does indeed fall into Derrida's verbal black hole.

Emerson presents a moral problem in that he offers only what Hegel called "the Freedom of the Vacuum," in which man spins visions of nature, art, and godhood out of his own creative acts. How can Emerson write about morality and ethics when he argues in "Circles" that, "No love can be bound by oath or covenant to secure it against a higher love. No truth so sublime but it may be trivial tomorrow." The moral problem in Emerson becomes political in that while the mental power he envisions is theoretically available to every human being, it is in effect available only to the "superior" man. As for everyone else, he writes, "Men in history, men in the world of to-day are bugs, are spawn...The poor and the low find some amends to their immense moral capacity, for their acquiescence in a political and social inferiority. They are content to be brushed like flies from the path of a great person." Emerson has learned to look with gratified complacence upon an idea which filled King Lear with rage and horror.

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7Emerson, vol.2, p.189.

Hawthorne's adverse reaction to the excesses of Transcendental thought, implied or overt, is a major theme of his writings. Nowhere stated overtly with more force than in the parodic reworking of Bunyan called "The Celestial Railroad," it nowhere emerges by implication more powerfully than through the merciless light the characterization of Miriam Schaefer throws on the perceptual and moral inadequacies of Emersonian epistemology and ethics.

Such an interpretation is obviously not acceptable to students of Hawthorne like Clare Goldfarb or Peter Zivkovic who argue that Hilda is actually the Emersonian American; or to the numerous critics who see Miriam as European, Catholic, and altogether a person of the Old World, a view of her that Hawthorne gives some credibility because of his hints about her mysterious past and guilty relationship with Donatello. But Miriam is European in the sense in which Emerson is European as well. That is to say, all of their ideas seem patched together from European Romantic sources and carried to an American democratic extremity. When we look at Miriam closely, to be sure, we see that she represents the quintessence of Emersonian idealism. As embodied in her the spirit of American antinomianism returns to the world of its origins to redeem that world from its

continuing devotion to the corrupt spirit of the past. Her acts illuminate the motives of the new idealists of America and Europe. In her portrait is a commentary by Hawthorne on the Emerson who said, "There are no fixtures in nature...Permanence is but a word of degrees."  

Miriam attempts to evade fixed or permanent facts. She is therefore presented as a combination of pretense and pretentiousness. What is best about her, her common human weaknesses, she tries to suppress in favor of what is worst, the self she has fashioned from a pastiche of romantic and, more specifically, Emersonian dicta. Miriam is not an image of merely personal eccentricity since her assumption of the public role of moral leadership causes disastrous results.

Her name suggests Hawthorne's intention in creating her. Although she is one "whom her friends called Miriam," ironically, like Ishmael, she has no name. Recreating herself she has managed to destroy herself. According to the rabbinical tradition "Miriam" refers to "bitterness." St. Jerome interprets the name as a variant on Mary, meaning "star of the sea," one of the titles of the Mother of God. Miriam's dark past, which may include a quasi-incestuous relationship and possibly murder, and certainly holds some shadowy connection with the man who is her model, fits well

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with the first meaning but makes the second a mockery. It is Hilda, who seeks no new name for herself, who becomes in the course of the novel the star of the sea and the Dove of the Holy Spirit.

As noted previously, the name Miriam directly suggests Moses' and Aaron's sister, who led the Hebrew women, in a dance after the pursuing Egyptians die in the Red Sea (Ex. 15:20-21). But the biblical Miriam thought she should lead the Hebrew's with her prophesies, an error she shared with her brother Aaron (Numbers 12:2). Significantly for The Marble Faun perhaps, it is when Miriam and Aaron oppose Moses for marrying an Ethiopian woman that God challenges their prophesy, making it clear that he does not communicate with Moses in "dark speeches" but "mouth to mouth" (Num. 12:8). The biblical phrase describing Miriam's punishment is that she "became leprous, white as snow," a revealing phrase that may illuminate the context of Hawthorne's book and its contrasting of fleshly humans against marble men and women. There was no new, bright future in Miriam's prophecies; rather her punishment detained the progress of the Hebrew nation for seven days until God cured her, as Moses asked.

Miriam is the only central character in The Marble Faun with a last name, but the surname hides more than it reveals. Shaefer is the German for "shepherd," and Miriam plays shepherd to Donatello's nascent soul with tragic results. The implications of her self-consciously assuming the role of
guide, of the Good Shepherd, are both religious and political in the context of the situation which Hawthorne has created. By denying her family name, she tries to recreate her past, only to find that it will inexorably continue to shape her future.

Among the expatriate colony of artists in Rome she remains isolated, hiding herself in the midst of humanity: "The truth was, that nobody knew anything about Miriam, either for good or evil" (MF 20). She reduces herself to a cipher, going far beyond any normal self-protection or shyness. Yet Miriam has "great apparent freedom of intercourse" and seems "airy, free, and affable." Her apparently "generous and loving nature," has even misled critics like Nina Baym, who fails to see that, "By some subtile quality, she kept people at a distance, without so much as letting them know that they were excluded from her inner circle" (MF 21).

The reader is left to guess at Miriam's identity, choosing at his will from various options: Is she the heiress of a Jewish banker, a German princess, the daughter of a Southern American planter with "one burning drop of African blood in her veins," the lady of an English nobleman, or a ruined-merchant's daughter making a living with a brush? (MF 22-3) Or is Miriam of a more mysterious origin? Had she

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been "Plucked up out of a mystery...based, as it were, upon a cloud, and all surrounded with a misty substance"? Hawthorne does not romanticize her or obscure her sexuality, as Natalie Michta would contend, for dark Freudian or masculine reasons. Rather, the dark image of Miriam intensifies her comparison with "one of those images of light, which conjurors evoke and cause to shine before us, in apparent tangibility" (MF 21). Hawthorne expected his readers to associate this image of Miriam with someone like the false Florimel, created by Archimago in The Fairie Queene, an alluring but deceptive and ultimately soulless cheat. In the allegorical tradition such women are not warmly human. The reader should beware of thinking he has easily grasped a warm and living reality in the shadow that Hawthorne conjures up.

There is in all of Miriam's behavior a self-conscious, role-playing quality that reduces potential tragedy to parody. While Miriam's mad fit near the Tarpeian Rock resembles Howe's despairing gesture in "Howe's Masquerade," the literary source of both gestures is probably found in the

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fourth book of *Paradise Lost*. Satan, forsaking the good at a time when he might have repented, undergoes a visible declension through "pale, ire, envie and despair,/ Which marr'd his borrow'd visage, and betraid/Him counterfet."\(^{14}\) Uriel, who has allowed him to pass, since saintly-appearing deceit was yet unknown, "Saw him disfigur'd, more than could befal/ Spirit of happie sort: his gestures fierce/ He markd and mad demeanor, then alone,/ As he suppos'd, all unobserv'd, unseen.\(^{15}\)

When she has her fit, Donatello is watching while, "Unaware of his presence, and fancying herself wholly unseen, the beautiful Miriam began to gesticulate extravagantly, gnashing her teeth, flinging her arms wildly abroad, stamping with her foot" (*MF* 157). The beauty, the sense of isolation, the gestures, and the madness all seem consciously parallel to Satan's brief loss of control. When poor Donatello tries to commiserate, Miriam answers him in the grandiose, silly tones of a melodramatic heroine: "How dare you look at me!...men have been struck dead for a less offence." While she may have been involved in "striking dead" some previous suitor, it is hard to imagine that man as guilty of a "less offense."

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Miriam composes herself and tells her erstwhile lover of some evil hanging over her, comparing herself to an evil spirit and urging Donatello to reject her or be "lost forever." While her words convey a literal sense of trying to dismiss Donatello, it is hard to believe that she means to free him. She so challenges both his moral sense and his "faunly" pride that he has little alternative but to come to her defense. Miriam is adept at using the chivalry of the men around her, even as she claims to go her own way. Even if she is not hoping that Donatello will "follow" her, she is hardly in a position to tell whether anyone will be "lost forever." That decision is between God and the person who commits a sin. She is more of a garden variety sinner than a Satan, and her conceit smacks of the ridiculous.

Hawthorne makes the situation even more parodic by foreshadowing, in Miriam's studio, this moment at the Tarpeian Rock. When Donatello is allowed to visit her workplace, he is "half-startled at perceiving, duskily, a woman with long dark hair, who threw up her arms, with a wild gesture of tragic despair, and appeared to beckon him into the darkness along with her" (MF 41). But the apparition is only a clothes dummy which Miriam explains as:

now a heroine of romance, and now a rustic maid;
yet all for show, being created, indeed, on purpose to wear rich shawls and other garments in a becoming fashion. This is the true end of her
being, although she pretends to assume the most varied duties and perform many parts in life, while really the poor puppet has nothing on earth to do. Upon my word I am satirical unawares, and seem to be describing nine women out of ten in the person of my lay-figure. For most purposes, she has the advantages of the sisterhood. Would I were like her! (MF 42)

While Miriam's comment may be taken as reflection of nineteenth-century feminism, the real message of her words is two-fold. They show the contempt which Miriam has for her own sex, a feeling not very different from her contempt for Donatello. By imagining herself to be different from—and superior to—other women, she has effectively cut herself away from those whose freedom she is supposed to represent.16

Hawthorne reverses this scorn upon Miriam since the description of the clothes dummy fits her better than anyone in the novel. She is the one who has played so many roles that she has lost her national identity. She plays at being the lady and ends in the disguise of a rustic peasant on the

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Campagna and at the Carnival. She pretends to be an unconventional "fellow-artist," but Hawthorne later suggests that she was merely playing at life (MF 397). While she sneers at nine women out of ten, she is the one who is most like the lay-figure, even though she remains fatuously unaware of it. Like Isabella Thorpe in Northanger Abbey, Miriam usually contradicts herself since her only fixed principle is to follow her own impulses.

Miriam has her most convivial relations with Hilda and Kenyon. But these "friendships" are still characterized by "the strong, yearning grasp she laid upon them." We are told that Hilda and Kenyon think highly of her, but we rarely see any indication of why this should be, other than a similarity in age, in profession, and the Americans' odd sense that Miriam is somehow a countrywoman, regardless of her place of origin. Hawthorne chose his words carefully when he described the relation between the three as "a sort of intimacy" (MF 22). The unanswered question is, what sort? He approaches the mark when he writes that "Miriam's natural language, her generosity, kindliness, and native truth of character" were interpreted by the other two "as evident and genuine...never imagining that what was hidden must therefore be evil" (MF 23-4).

Miriam's work is largely a series of incomplete sketches. She specializes in women like Jael, Judith, or Herodias who slew men (sometimes for good reason). Yet each
one is turned by some "wayward quirk" of her pencil into either a vulgar, unfeeling murderess, or a weak, appalled, and remorseful one. Her other forte is domestic scenes in which she portrays herself lurking as a sad figure on the edge of the happiness of others. We sense that she could have done fine work since "the sketches intimated such a force and variety of imaginative sympathies as would enable Miriam to fill her life richly with the bliss and suffering of womanhood, however barren it might individually be" (MF 46). But the only picture which we know she has continued beyond the sketching stage and completed is her own portrait.

This is doubly ironic since she describes herself as "artist in oils" (MF 39). Her self-portrait is described as truly lovely and haunting, although we are told she "may have endowed herself with certain graces which other eyes might not discern" (MF 49). These touches come easily from the mind of a vain artist creating herself. For Hawthorne, such self-creation is neither a desirable political act or the necessity of social conditions. It is too easily a lie, based upon the bosom-serpent of egotism that stung Cleopatra long before the asp.

B. Natural Facts are the Symbols of Spiritual Facts

The self-absorption that spoils Miriam's art also impedes her ability to judge the art of others. If her own

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guilt makes her misjudge the expression of Hilda's Beatrice Cenci, she shows an even more serious insensitivity to Guido's *The Archangel St. Michael*. Hilda is thrilled to see what she believes may be Guido's original sketch at a gathering of the expatriate art colony, since she considers the archangel to be "the most beautiful and the divinest figure that mortal painter ever drew" (*MF* 139). Miriam typically sneers that the angel is too dainty and "never could have looked the demon in the face." While some critics defend Miriam's perception against Hilda's, there are at least two problems with their view. Certainly Miriam's view is not Hawthorne's, as a look at his Italian journals shows once again. A greater problem is that this same scene shows Miriam herself to be incapable of looking the demon in the face. In a neat reversal of Miriam's detecting a resemblance between Donatello and the Faun at the Capitol, after Kenyon and Hilda sense they know someone who looks like the head of Lucifer pinned under the foot of St. Michael, Donatello instantly recognizes the face of Lucifer in Miriam's Model. At this point Miriam stolidly denies that

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19While Hawthorne criticizes the mosaic copy at St. Peters, he thoroughly admires the original at the Capuchin Church of Santa Maria della Concezione, a distinction Miriam never makes. See *The French and Italian Notebooks*, *Centenary Edition*, vol. 14, pp.100 and 521.
there is any resemblance "at all." Although she has "drawn the face twenty times," she will not see her model clearly.

When Miriam and Donatello meet Kenyon at the Capuchin church to look at the actual painting, Hilda stays away because she saw her friends commit the murder the previous night. Miriam keeps the appointment in the hope that by acting normally she and Donatello will avert suspicion. This brings her, by circumstances she did not foresee, to the very place where her Model is laid out for burial. The three friends hear the De Profundis sung for him even as they look at the painting. Kenyon perceives the face of the archangel combining "a degree of pain, trouble, and disgust at being brought in contact with sin," yet he sees that "a celestial tranquillity pervades his whole being" (MF 183).

Miriam disagrees, arguing that if only Hilda's "soul were less white and pure--she would be a more competent critic." There is a transparent perversity in her contention that the more evil one becomes the better critic she will be. The obvious conclusion of her logic would be that God is the worst of all possible critics. She, who has lost her battle with evil the night before, now tries to dictate how to paint the picture of one who wins such a battle. She depicts the clothing of the archangel ironically, noting his "exquisitely fitting sky-blue tunic, cut in the latest Paradisaical mode! What a dainty air of the first celestial society!" (MF 184) As though he were an actor in a Romantic sturm und drang
melodrama, Miriam feels the struggle should have left Michael with his "armour crushed, his robes rent, his breast gory". In other words she would prefer a picture in which a titanic human crushes Satan and yet secretly is so attracted to the diabolic ethos that the battle would leave him deeply scarred. Her moral imagination is too narrow to include the image of an Archangel whose will, desire, and strength are united in a pure act that does not tear him apart, an act that is wholly good and therefore irresistibly powerful over temptation.

Because she attempts to humanize the divine, Miriam cannot imagine power sufficient to avoid temptation. She imagines Michael with a full third of his feathers torn from his wings, and the rest all ruffled until they look like Satan's own. As if unable to abide a vision of power that does not submit to evil as she has, Miriam wants a romantic image in which "with all this fierceness, this grimness, this unutterable horror, there should still be something high, tender, and holy, in Michael's eyes." She wants a creature that will fall in one third measure, but remain holy nevertheless. In imagining Michael, Miriam projects her own self image, the result of her "natural self-reliance." The problem with her vision of a romantic battle with a sympathetic devil is that not even she can believe in it. She acknowledges that, if she were to draw the battle between
Michael and Satan, "I am sadly afraid that the victory would fall on the wrong side."

This is the person who has just said, "No, no! I could have told Guido better" how to paint the struggle. The arrogance of an American sketcher telling Reni anything about art is transparent. Although Blake was fatuous in claiming that Milton was of the Devil's party without knowing it, Miriam seems to suspect that she is of that party. The real object of her creation lies only a short distance away on a marble slab. Since Miriam wishes to exercise the divine power with no conception of purity, her artistry is death.

C. It Demands Something Godlike in Him Who Has Cast Off the Common Motives of Humanity.20

Miriam attempts to put herself in God's role in a variety of awkward and unconvincing ways. Certainly when she tells the amazed Donatello that he should die even for looking at her, she is making her best attempt at restoring the mother goddess. A more sinister commandment, relayed through the expression in her eyes, results in Donatello killing the "guilty" Model for her. Then she offers the Faun her love as the reward for the horror of what he has done. She tells the one she thought of only the night before as a half-wit boy, "I love you, Donatello!" (MF 198) As if her love is the salvation for his crime she asks, "Is there no

comfort for you in this avowal?" The real irony of Miriam's words lie in the possibility that she may well be repeating what the Model had said to her after the crime in which they were once mutually involved.

Miriam's confidence in her capacity to become a moral law unto herself becomes very clear when she thinks: "He [Donatello] might have had a kind of bliss in the consequences of this deed, had he been impelled to it by a love vital enough to survive the frenzy of that terrible moment, mighty enough to make its own law, and justify itself against the natural remorse" (MF 199). In her embodiment of the Romantic ideal of the superior, energetic person making her own rules, Miriam sounds like a cross between a Carlylean hero and a Byronic Cain. Her notion of finding bliss in a murder suggests that she is actually a psychopath. In portraying Miriam, Hawthorne discerned all too clearly how "the bliss of the knife" is a frequent temptation for the Imperial self intent on reform.

So great is Miriam's belief that her mind can control reality, she tells Donatello that if he does not wish to claim her as a reward, he then should go home and forget about the murder. She urges him to regard it as merely a dream, as if she can name the murder into unreality. But Donatello recalls the brute fact of the "terrible" face of the model. Wounded because Donatello will not exchange his guilt for "blissful" possession of her, Miriam again speaks
like the heroine of melodrama, "you have bought me dear, and find me of little worth." When Miriam and Donatello part coldly as if they barely knew each other, Hawthorne offers an authorial comment: "So soon after the semblance of such mighty love" (MF 201).  

Miriam imagines herself as Donatello's savior again when she follows him to his tower on Monte Beni. Having acted as his temptress, she now hopes completely to assume all the roles in cosmic drama and be his redemptrix. After all, "Who else has the tender sympathy which he requires? Who else save only me--a woman, a sharer in the same dread secret, a partaker in one identical guilt" (MF 282). Because she is proud of her "intimate equality" in guilt as a dark Byronic achievement, she fails to understand that anyone is equally a sharer in guilt, by the event of the Fall. Completely forgotten is the role that God or religion must play in Donatello's redemption. Even if she were an adequate Eve, it is not Eve who redeems Adam.

Having already tried to make the world anew only to create a horror, she has learned nothing and is eager to go on remaking Donatello in her own image. Kenyon is puzzled why she should throw herself on a man "who, a little while before, had seemed the plaything of a moment." It is difficult to ascertain whether it is his voice or Hawthorne's

21 Much of this scene of vaporous exaltation followed by bitter recrimination is a direct echo of Milton in Book Nine of Paradise Lost, 11.1016-1066.
that reflects, "Beyond all question, since she loved him so, there was a force in Donatello worthy of her respect and love" (MF 284). The cynically circular logic of the musing suggests that Miriam is forced to respect Donatello because she could only love a superior person she could respect. Heedless of what he may be himself, she loves the Donatello who is the creation of her mind. As she follows Donatello and Kenyon in their wandering pilgrimage they sense her presence "like a dream that had strayed out of their slumber, and was haunting them in the daytime, when its shadowy substance could have neither density nor outline" (MF 299). Miriam has taken on the obsessed role of her own Model, following Donatello as the Model had haunted her. Perhaps this makes clear the double meaning of Hilda's exclamation on the steps of the museum, "Miriam, it is your Model!" The lurking Miriam seems to materialize out of nowhere under the statue of Julius III in Perugia.

Kenyon offers to lead her to Donatello but she makes a test of the Faun's free will: "Unless, of his own accord, he speaks my name--unless he bids me stay--no word shall ever pass between him and me" (MF 317). This echoes the pact of Faust, who must of his own free will ask one moment in his life to linger as a sign of his contentment, in order for the Devil to claim his soul. Donatello must similarly bid Miriam to stay; he must speak her name to bind himself to her power. At base the situation is a parody of how God offers himself
to the soul but always awaits the choice of the free will. Miriam feels called upon to explain that her test does not stem from pride. She complains to Kenyon that Hilda has caused her to throw away all pride even while claiming that she would be a burden to Donatello, "Except he feel infinite need of me." The word infinite reveals how much "need" it takes to appease her pride.

When Donatello once more accepts her company, Miriam demonstrates how drastically unfit she is to act as a reliable moral guide. After their reconciliation is accomplished—with the blessing from the statue of Julius III, and the quasi-marriage blessing of Kenyon—the sculptor loses track of the pair until he meets them again on the Roman Campagna. Donatello, in the meantime, has resolved to turn himself over to the authorities, acknowledging the need to do penance and the civil government's right to mediate in his actions. To him it is obvious that some sort of temporal accountability is needed, even though there is an ultimate accounting which he anticipates through his Catholic faith. He has not made this decision through an intellectual or a theological process. As he says, "I have no head for argument, but only a sense, an impulse, an instinct, I believe, which sometimes leads me right" (MF 433).

Miriam is baffled by such an impulse and seems completely unable to comprehend remorse for killing a man. "Here is Donatello haunted with strange remorse," she
complains to Kenyon, "and an immitigable resolve to obtain what he deems justice upon himself." Her word "immitigable" recollects her questions to the Model before the day of the crime: "Is the past then so indestructible? the future so immitigable?" Observing that Donatello "fancies (with a kind of direct simplicity, which I have vainly tried to combat) that, when a wrong has been done, the doer is bound to submit himself to whatever tribunal takes cognizance of such things, and abide its judgment" (MF 433), Miriam implies that she in effect desires to undermine the basis of any civil life that people may have together. If there is no agreed upon standard of wrong or tribunal for judgment, then there are no moral obligations which one person owes another. In fact Miriam seems to embody the ultimate implications of the Emersonian doctrine of the individual: to become the bard of the Holy Ghost. In Miriam democratic individualism has circled back to an "enlightened barbarism" where she stands alone in the state of nature, not for self-preservation but because she is so moral she must ignore all inferior souls.  

Miriam's "natural self-reliance" reveals her to be what today is recognized as the sociopath (MF 279).

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As Hawthorne well understood, this is also the stance of the Puritan ideologue like John Bunyan, or Roger Williams before his collapse into relativism. As he demonstrates in the parallels between the "Custom House" and The Scarlet Letter, the positions of Puritanism and Romanticism were variants on gnostic election.
Conceiving her moral sense as superior to law and tradition, Miriam assures Donatello "there is no such thing as earthly justice, and especially none here [in Rome], under the Head of Christendom [the Pope]" (MF 433). Of course, if her claim that there is no justice on earth is true, then Miriam lied to Donatello when she told him it is just to kill the guilty to aid the innocent. Fortunately, Donatello no longer takes Miriam's words so seriously as he once did. Because he is unsophisticated and acts on the basis of tradition he is finally beyond her ability to manipulate him with mere words.

Miriam's acceptance of the simple role as Donatello's wife comes about in a very curious way. Immediately after the murder, Miriam's assertion of scornful superiority ceases. She becomes embarrassingly self-abasing in the way that so puzzles Kenyon. If she retains her pride it becomes the sly pride of one demanding to be walked upon to prove her moral superiority. Her willingness to bow to power is evident not only in her relation to Donatello, but earlier when she knelt at the feet of her Model as they strolled through the Porta del Popolo. This attraction toward sheer power exhibited its political implications when she wished for the rule of an earthly king like Marcus Aurelius. Having abandoned faith in God and adopted a "progressive" contempt for ideas developed by the cumulative experience of the human race, Miriam is susceptible to the appeal of a powerful ruler
who will answer all questions and ease her anxieties. Miriam's sense of self-reliance having collapsed, she seeks someone who will rule the world for her. She has learned the subtle truth set forth in Emerson's essay on "Self-Reliance": "all history resolves itself very easily into the biography of a few stout and earnest persons." Criticism which would like to present Miriam as an independent and strong-willed woman of whom Hawthorne is subconsciously afraid has perhaps overlooked the irony that a character so closely associated with Zenobia (either of Blithedale or of Carthage) should be so eager to come to the feet of Marcus Aurelius, her historic conqueror.

D. Friendship and Holiness: Carbuncles and Pearls

In desiring the good opinions of others, Miriam is no different from others. For Hawthorne the reasonable way to secure a good opinion is by decent action, which includes sincere repentance for evil action. The wrong way is exemplified by a Dimmesdale who keeps good opinion by hypocrisy, who separates the good name from the good act. Miriam, who likes to think of herself as bold and true, has great difficulty in actually being so. She has a disturbing tendency to substitute the name of a thing for the thing itself, a logical mistake for an Emersonian to make. Her

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nominalism proves to be more than merely foolish, since it becomes extremely dangerous to those around her.

In Miriam's actions and attitude toward Hilda, the name "friend" is substituted for the "thing itself." Hilda feels Miriam to be "the dearest friend whom she had ever known" (MF 63), partly because the older and more experienced woman had helped to make possible her way of life in Rome. Miriam, it is true, can occasionally appreciate Hilda's talent and purity of life. She does, for instance, appreciate how strange and wonderful it is that "an innocent, delicate, white soul like [Hilda's] has been able to seize the subtle mystery" of Beatrice Cenci in her copy of Guido's portrait. Yet at the same time she is capable of declaring that since a woman did not paint the original, "I have a great mind to undertake to copy it myself, and try to give it what it lacks." Miriam seems rudely to compare her womanhood to Hilda's with a blithe assumption that hers is somehow deeper and more essential. Both here and in her criticism of Guido's painting of St. Michael, Miriam shows a desire to invade the Dove's domain and push herself forward as the superior being. While professing friendship and eliciting "striking testimony to the impression which Miriam's natural uprightness and impulsive generosity had made" on Hilda (MF 211), she seems compelled to attack and belittle the very strengths that set Hilda apart. Miriam's image is threatened
by Hilda's solid reality; she can respond only by attacking what she admires.

After Hilda shows her horror at the Model's murder, Miriam's ridicule becomes even more pointed. Surely something may be credited to human weakness and bitterness on Miriam's part, but she is the one who placed an unconscionable burden on Hilda, not the other way around. When she appears at Monte Beni to request Kenyon's help in reconciling Donatello to her, Miriam subtly blames her own desperate behavior on Hilda. "When you go back to Rome," she urges Kenyon, "tell Hilda what her severity has done! She was all Womanhood to me; and when she cast me off, I had no longer any terms to keep with the reserves and decorum of my sex. Hilda has set me free! Pray tell her so, from Miriam, and thank her" (MF 287). The ironies are patent. Miriam had already given up the "reserves and decorum" of her sex when she participated in the crime known only to her Model and later when she arranged his murder. It is strange to hear her say that Hilda is all woman when Miriam has always seemed to think that she is the real woman, and Hilda a kind of oddity. Finally, a woman desiring the love of a Faun, caring for his opinion before God's or man's, can hardly be called free. The petty spite and self-pity in Miriam's statement shows the level to which she has reduced herself. When Kenyon informs her that he has no intention of conveying such a message and, moreover, that he thinks Hilda was probably in
the right, Miriam says, with consummate irony, "But were there anything to forgive, I do forgive her."

Miriam's spitefulness and envy of Hilda are, however, of slight importance compared to the sinister betrayal of her "friend" when, having given Hilda a packet to deliver to the Cenci Palace shortly before the murder of her model, she fails ever to warn Hilda not to do so after the crime (MF 67-8). This packet is one of the mysteries of the novel, and Hawthorne never reveals what it contains. When Hilda delivers it, true to her word even after she must reject her friend, the packet seems to be the reason she is held captive for an unspecified period. In a sense the package is a passport to the underworld, from which Hilda emerges into new life. But there is no way that Miriam could know this would be so. While it is understandable that she might simply forget the package when she visits Hilda and obtains her moral judgment, why she does not warn Hilda through Kenyon, telling him either at Monte Beni or at Perugia two weeks later? Surely her friendship is a dangerous sort of affection when it allows Hilda unknowingly to sacrifice herself to deliver the package.

Miriam's act is partially redeemed when she and Donatello offer themselves up in return for Hilda's release. Yet when trying to talk Donatello out of surrendering, she seemed content to let the pure victim (Hilda) suffer for her, just as she was content to let the "guilty" Model do so.
Certainly it is Miriam who wants to hesitate and put the moment of reckoning off as long as possible. She is content that Hilda stay in custody a few days longer while she and Donatello remain free.

The same sort of selfish ambivalence marks Miriam's relationship with Kenyon, although it is carried to an even higher pitch. When she visits his studio she voices Hawthorne's own reservations about modern sculpture, including his opposition to nudity, tobacco juice-colored statues, and the repetitiveness of most contemporary sculptures.\textsuperscript{24} Her sarcastic comments about sculpture may reflect only the good natured raillery between people who feel free to disagree on a subject. But Miriam is insulting when she asks Kenyon to tell her what statue he will show her, lest she be unable to recognize it without a title. Miriam's crudity can only be excused because of her fear that the Model will soon reveal her "secret" past. When Kenyon shows Miriam his statue of Cleopatra, she is startled, impressed, and pleased by the degree to which he has captured her idea of womanhood. The conversation which follows conveys provocative innuendo on her part that forces a crisis

in their relationship and elicits a coldness from Kenyon for which he has often been unfairly blamed. 25

Miriam begins the sequence by asking, "Were you not afraid to touch her, as she grew more and more towards hot life beneath your hand?" (MF 127) As mistress of the teasing query, Miriam wants to show her identification with Kenyon's sultry figure of Cleopatra. The sculptor's answer is pure Hawthornean irony: Kenyon tells her that he was not sure how it was done but, "I kindled a great fire within my mind, and threw in the material--as Aaron threw the gold of the Israelites into the furnace" (MF 127). Aaron, the brother of Miriam in the Old Testament, misused the gold which God had commanded the Israelites to take out of Egypt with them by making the Golden Calf, whose worship not only provoked the anger of God, but led to the slaying of 3,000 Israelites by their brothers. 26 St. Augustine's famous comparison, in De Doctrina Christiana, uses the idea of carrying gold out of Egypt as a metaphor to show how non-Christian ideas might be

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25 Critics have been almost unanimous in viewing Kenyon's refusal as the consequence of a failed friendship or a subconscious cowardice to act on some dark, primal attraction. Indeed the influence of Freud and D.H. Lawrence still echoes portentously in portraits of Kenyon. Jehlen is one of the exceptions, as she sees that Miriam attempts to make Kenyon into what she calls "an actor/creator of her story (American Incarnation, p.160). Her argument that "Miriam tempts Kenyon to knowledge" needlessly exalts the commonplace. Kenyon already knows what she offers and tries to maintain his "courtesie" while showing that he does not intend to trade Rachel for Leah.

26 Exodus 32, see verses 26-29 for the story of civil bloodletting.
employed in the service of God. Kenyon, in his story, associates his attraction to Cleopatra with worship of a false idol, of turning his artistic gifts to a debased use.

Miriam's next question is more intimate. She asks where Kenyon observed womanhood composed of such "seemingly discordant elements. Where did you get the secret? You never found it in your gentle Hilda. Yet I recognize its truth." She seems to be hoping that Kenyon will say that she is his inspiration for what Miriam interprets as the quintessence of powerful womanhood. Kenyon's answer ignores this hint while rejecting any association with Hilda, not because his beloved is not woman enough, but because he sees clearly that the secret of his Cleopatra is "some shadow of darkness or evil."

At the mention of secrets, Miriam longs to make Kenyon her confessor. She wants to whisper to him the secret of her heart because, she says, perhaps "you might understand me." Kenyon draws back, not only because he can see no act which he can perform for her good, but because he senses that the release of her "pent-up heart" would change their relationship irrevocably. "Unless he could give her all the sympathy, and just the kind of sympathy that the occasion required," he knows that "Miriam would hate him, by-and-by, and herself still more, if he let her speak" (MF 129). Because he hesitates slightly and emphasizes his willingness to help as a friend, Miriam becomes cold and angry. Kenyon has not been lacking in sensitivity or sympathy, far from it.
Indeed, he read the situation perfectly and stopped Miriam from a revelation and an appeal which would have hurt her vanity and her self-conception even more.

Miriam herself hints at the nature of the exchange between them when she comments on the statue of the Pearl Diver, "My secret is not a pearl...yet a man might drown himself in plunging after it!" She wants an absolute romantic commitment of the man to whom she tells her secret. She admits this to herself as she leaves, "Unless I had his heart for my own, (and that is Hilda's, nor would I steal it from her,) it should never be the treasure-place of my secret" (MF 130). Hers is not a noble renunciation; she has just tried to gain that heart and been rebuffed. Kenyon, although he may sometimes be a little slow, clearly intuits the depth of what Miriam wants from him, and, in his fidelity to Hilda, he knows it is an impossibility. He would sculpt his Cleopatra, but he would not succumb to the worship of a living woman who is too much like her. Rather than leading him to a betrayal, as the Golden Calf did for Aaron, Kenyon's Cleopatra might be intended to function like Moses's Brazen Serpent, the sight of which cured men bitten by the fiery snakes of the desert.

Miriam knows that her secret is not like a pearl of great price; instead she compares it to a "dark-red carbuncle--red as blood." But in Hawthorne's tale, "The Great Carbuncle," the legendary jewel is a false and
destructive vision to those who seek it. It is of value only as a symbol for the love of Hannah and Matthew, the bridal couple who gain the splendor promised by the jewel when they forsake its promise of riches. Miriam blames Kenyon as a cold and insincere friend, but it is she who betrays two friendships at once and leaves herself more alone than before. Critics who interpret Kenyon as the culpable party in his relationship with Miriam ignore the romantic liason that Miriam would require of him.

Most critics, moreover, have accepted Miriam's idea that she is unjustly cast off by Hilda because the latter is not capable of true friendship. But it is too easy to ignore what Miriam is actually asking. Chapter Twenty-three shows that while she wanders toward Hilda's tower home Miriam is acutely concerned with the possibility that Hilda saw the scene at the Tarpeian Rock. While she could accept infamy before the whole world, Miriam wants to remain "spotless in the estimation of her white-souled friend" (MF 202). She is unsure whether she should try even to see her old friend, to "permit her sweet touch again." If Hilda knows of the crime, Miriam fears her judgment; if she does not, then Miriam fears her own hypocrisy in accepting her affection. Yet the moment she opens the door of Hilda's rooms, taking on the disguise of a sunny look, "She forgot, just one instant, all cause for holding herself aloof" (MF 206) and "she opened her arms to take Hilda in. 'Dearest, darling Hilda!'" she gushes with
forced cheer, "'It gives me new life to see you!'" (MF 207)
But Hilda has no intention of being taken in by Miriam; she
senses what Miriam would like to forget, that there was "a
great chasm opening itself between them two." Moreover,
Hilda knows that she has no power to give new life to Miriam
who herself feels "as if Hilda or Miriam were dead, and could
no longer hold intercourse without violating a spiritual
law."

Hawthorne writes that Miriam pretends everything is the
same as always simply because of "the wantonness of her
despair." This wantonness precludes any possibility
that Miriam will accept real help from her friend. After
trying to inspire Hilda with guilt by recalling their past
friendship, Miriam asks, "Am I not the same as yesterday?"
(MF 207) Hawthorne's answer is that of course she is not the
same as yesterday. The murder has changed her, changed
utterly her freedom to play any role of her imagining. She
has run up against the absolute fact of another person's life
and caused it to be taken. That is no mere idea or scoria of
the spirit. What forces Hilda to reject Miriam is not simply
the complete absence of any visible repentance but the total
lack of recognition of what she has done. Miriam does not
want to reveal a secret, she wants to talk her way out of it.

She argues that she may be different somehow, but that
possibility should not affect Hilda. After all she is "the
same for you." Miriam presents here a callous theory of
moral value based on undisguised self-interest, contending that when people chose friends, they can justifiably sever relationships only when one of them has hurt the other. She ask, "Have I deceived you? Then cast me off! Have I wronged you personally? Then forgive me if you can!" (MF 208). If Miriam were in a Shakespearean play her role would be clearer; she is the Machiavel who bends rhetoric to the worst of causes. Hilda's perception that Miriam's power over words, gained by acting as if there were no reality behind them, leads her to see that she is not the right person to "keep ever at [Miriam's] side, and try to lead you upward" (MF 208). Hilda realizes that she herself has a faithfulness of soul that does not rely on words, any more than Donatello's ethics rely on ratiocination. Miriam has attempted to bewilder her with the "powerful magnetism" of false rhetoric. Watching Miriam try to bend the meaning of friendship and hide the truth about her guilt shows her in a light even worse than upon the Rock. There the passion of the moment might yield some mitigation for her crime, but this is in colder blood.

Miriam accuses Hilda of being merciless, as if it is mercy to allow her to distort the truth about herself and lie away the evil of her act. While Miriam's accusation has been repeated by many readers of Hawthorne, Hilda seems to act as the one person honest enough to help her friend avoid putting this crime behind her and taking up yet another identity.
Sacvan Berkovitch recognizes the charitable importance of Hilda's harsh word spoken to turn Miriam toward potential redemption, but his seems to be the only defense of Hilda's action. Miriam has a limited sense of her own wrongdoing when she asks, "have I sinned against God and man, and deeply sinned? Then be more my friend than ever, for I need you more!" But this confession only shows that, to Miriam, sin against God and man is less of a bar to friendship than a direct attack on Hilda herself.

When Hilda asks God to forgive her, "if I have said a needlessly cruel word," Miriam goes back to her old game of God-playing and manipulation. "Let it pass,...I whose heart it has smitten upon, forgive you. And tell me, before we part, what have you seen or known of me, since we last met" (MF 209). Hilda did not ask for her forgiveness, she asked for that of God. Moreover, she asked conditionally, if she had said a needlessly cruel thing; what she has said is neither particularly cruel nor needless. But Miriam follows up her advantage to grill Hilda about what she witnessed since she wants to know if anyone else saw the murder. Rejecting Hilda's concept of what destroys friendship, Miriam is eager to place herself under Hilda's judgment about whether her eyes had commanded Donatello to throw the Model off the cliff. Hilda confirms what Miriam already heard from

the Faun, that her eyes bade him do so. Miriam achieves a kind of quiet at knowing the truth in a way that she cannot evade; she can even thank Hilda.

Yet she says, as if she is concerned with poor little Hilda, "This is a terrible secret to be kept in a young girl's bosom....What will you do with it, my poor child?" (MF 210) It is obvious that Miriam fears Hilda might betray her to legal authority. Hilda shows both weakness and humility when she asks Miriam what she should do, but Miriam's answer is entirely self-serving. She hastens hypocritically to assure Hilda that "If I deemed it good for your peace of mind...to bear testimony against me...no consideration of myself should weigh with me for an instant." Nevertheless she considers "what men call justice" only to consist in formal arrangements for ordering society. In the most smug and solipsistic statement of the sequence she reveals the pure imperial self: "I cannot be fairly tried and judged before an earthly tribunal" (MF 211).

Perhaps out of pity or because she does not trust Hilda's strength to keep the crime secret, Miriam advises her to tell Kenyon. In one of the misjudgments typical to her, Miriam feels that the story will "frighten his new-born love out of its little life, if that be your wish" (MF 212). She has also misjudged Hilda, who has no intention of darkening Kenyon's world by imposing this burden on him, as Miriam has done to her. Hilda sees through Miriam's game of trying to
ensure her silence. In her last words to Miriam she finally contradicts the selfish argument that Miriam had never hurt her directly. She does not complain about her own pain, but explains the scope of Miriam's crime: "While there is a single guilty person in the universe, each innocent one must feel his innocence tortured by that guilt. Your deed, Miriam, has darkened the whole sky!" (MF 212) Of course Miriam is more interested in what Donatello or Kenyon think of her than of the real nature of her act. She will continue to repeat her stale justifications and assert her superiority to human judgement even as she follows Donatello back to Rome.
Chapter IV. **FELIX CULPA AND CHILDREN EAGER TO LEARN**

The Roman people...showed themselves children eager to learn, quick to obey.

Fuller, October 18, 1847

The French... gave me the first clear idea of the incompetency of the Italians to resist organized armies.

Fuller, July 10, 1849

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**A. Felix Culpa?**

Donatello's striking transformation from an innocent to a care-ridden and repentant man has been interpreted as a reworking of the *felix culpa* theme supposedly present in *Paradise Lost*. The idea of "the happy fault" is often interpreted as meaning that the fall was a necessary event since it enabled man actively to fight evil and choose good and since it made Christ's entrance into the world necessary. Many critics deny that this theme is truly Milton's, since there is no indication in *Paradise Lost* that what occurs when the Son of God agrees to become flesh and sacrifice himself is the fulfillment God actually desired for his creation. Instead, the sacrifice of his Son seems to be a gracious solution he devises to ameliorate man's fall.²

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² Sheldon Liebman believes that "Hawthorne's vision of the 'fortunate fall' is much the same as Milton's" (since Liebman believes that Milton advocated this doctrine), "The
Although Merle Brown and other students of Hawthorne have pointed out several difficulties with applying the concept of the felix culpa to The Marble Faun—including the obvious fact that Donatello hardly represents natural man before the fall, being by birth an hereditary noble and a Catholic—they have yet insisted that it is of central significance to the novel. This insistence will not stand close scrutiny. Miriam and her theories about crime do not in any way lead Donatello to repentance or a higher spiritual awareness. Indeed, like Satan, her rationalizations of his crime have to be resisted. It might plausibly be argued that Donatello leads Miriam to some higher level of awareness when he takes her back to Rome where she at least arranges the release of Hilda. Yet, to anticipate the argument in Chapter Six, Miriam is in a very equivocal state indeed, praying under the great eye of the Pantheon, as if she is looking directly into the Transparent Eyeball of Emerson. What clearly does seem to redeem Donatello's soul is the reconnection with his old Catholicism as he prays to the

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But Donatello illustrates that it is difficult to fall from innocence when you are already under the dispensation of the grace of Christianity, which assumes the universal fall has already occurred. Once the allegorical *typos* is established in a culture, the individual varies from it within degrees of resemblance to the type.

Like Hester in *The Scarlet Letter*, however, Miriam believes that she can escape the past and its repeating types, refashioning the conditions of her moral existence. When she confronts her Model in the Borghese Grove after trying to recreate the merriment of a lost arcadia with Donatello, she urges him to go away with the argument, "Think how I had escaped from all the past! I had made for myself a new sphere, and found new friends, new occupations, new hopes and enjoyments. My heart, methinks, was almost as unburthened as if there had been no miserable life behind me. The human spirit does not perish of a single wound" (*MF* 96). In *The Marble Faun* if the spirit does not perish of a single wound, it falls from its Creator by the consequence of a single wound and sets in motion an endless chain of grave results. You "mistake your own will for an iron necessity," Miriam tells her Model. The problem is that, like Roger Chillingworth, so does she. If the Model wills to see only doom, she alternates between despair and the hope that her acts will be always for the best.
In the first moments after her eyes tempt Donatello to hurl the Model off the rock it seems to Miriam that, "So intimate, in those first moments, was the union [between her and Donatello], that it seemed as if their new sympathy annihilated all other ties, and that they were released from the chain of humanity; a new sphere, a special law, had been created for them alone. The world could not come near them; they were safe!" (MF 174) The belief that their crime can create a new world echoes Miriam's hope that flight from her past would create a new sphere. In a sense of course, it does; but only in the sense that she and Donatello further darken an already bad world. They effectively isolate themselves from humanity, but in breaking the chain they imprison themselves within themselves.

There is a kind of compensation, but it is a grim one. Miriam and Donatello are united, as they quickly realize, in "the ever-increasing loathesomeness of a union that consists in guilt. Cemented with blood, which would corrupt and grow more noisome forever and forever, but bind them none the less strictly for that!" (MF 175) The situation is a parodic reversal of that mystery celebrated in the Mass which enacts the uniting of mankind through innocent blood. Like the figures in the Laocoön, they are enveloped by their deed as they would be in "the coil of a serpent." Their guilt will entwine not only themselves and the Model, but capture Kenyon and Hilda in its coils too. Ultimately their act will have
repercussions not only on the civil government and religious authority but on the world of art.

Even while Donatello and Miriam sense their plight, for a short time they experience "an ecstatic sense of freedom. And thus there exhaled upward (out of their dark sympathy, at the base of which lay a human corpse) a bliss, or an insanity, which the unhappy pair imagined to be well-worth the sleepy innocence that was forever lost to them" (MF 176). This image is central both to the novel's depiction of Miriam and to its political implications for America. It parallels another image in Hawthorne's notebooks and in The Marble Faun where Hawthorne writes of Rome as the corpse of a dead giant, with ruins "suggesting the magnificence of a former epoch; everywhere, moreover, a Cross--and nastiness at the foot of it" (MF 111). The conjunction of these passages makes it apparent that Hawthorne was not contrasting the nastiness of an Old World or an old religion with a New World and a new religion. Rather he equates the nastiness both at the foot of the cross and the nastiness of the exhalation of bliss or insanity in which the murderous pair imagine that they are free at last. The difference in the images is that the crucifixion is a fact, for Hawthorne an eternal fact, caused by the sin beneath the cross. The Romantic ideal of Miriam—that by the power of mind she can create a new world,

a new law, a new morality—is only a kind of vaporous insanity, grounded just as firmly in crime and death. Her ecstatic feeling of freedom more firmly links the image of Miriam to Satan imagining himself freed through sin in *Paradise Lost.*

Like Satan's, Miriam freedom is a self-delusion which she is not able consistently to maintain. When she sees the corpse in the Capuchin Church, it becomes a symbol "of the deadly iteration with which she was doomed to behold the image of her crime reflected back upon her in a thousand ways, and converting the great, calm face of Nature, in the whole, and in its innumerable details, into a manifold reminiscence of that one dead visage" (MF 190). The conversion of the harmony and unity of Nature into an obsessive single image comments upon the theory of art and mind which Miriam espoused before the murder. At that time, she explained to Donatello that artists "think it necessary to put ourselves at odds with Nature before trying to imitate her" (MF 40). There are natural limits on how far the opposition to Nature may go before nature becomes a corpse reflecting one's own deadened sensibilities. The danger is

"Miriam's ecstasy seems to imply "society's sexual fixations" as Allan Smith suggests, but they are fixations turned into a principle of "liberation" by the new idealists. Miriam's connections with Satan in *Paradise Lost* strongly indicate that Hawthorne did not, as Smith argues, call for an "acceptance of incest, parricide and murder as the origins of the good." See *Eve Tempted: Writing and Sexuality in Hawthorne's Fiction* (London; Totowa: Croom Helm; Barnes and Noble, 1983), p.146."
that the rearranging mind which "creates" nature may come to see only its own face when it acknowledges no facts outside its will.

Miriam's whole perceptual system has been conquered by the fact of her crime, even as she tries to believe that she can dismiss the murder by an act of mind. When actual fact begins to shape the perceptions of an Emersonian mind, the consequence is a hard fall. In an ironic gesture Miriam touches a scar on the dead man's hands to assure herself of his identity (MF 191). Like Doubting Thomas she must touch, but her Model is not Christ and she no apostle. She, who claims to know the model better than anyone, is reduced to apprehending his reality by the lowest of the senses on the Platonic ladder, not by an intuition of the soul.

B. Miriam and Margaret: Freedom, Feminism, and Slavery

So strongly does Miriam embody the Emersonian philosophy that she has often been linked specifically with Margaret Fuller. Harry De Puy notes that the connections between Fuller and Miriam include the mystery that surrounded Fuller's past relationship with James Nathan, whom De Puy calls "Margaret's 'Wandering Jew,'" thus evoking the legend which Hawthorne associates with Miriam's Model. The relationship between Donatello and Miriam may be compared to

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Fuller's relationship with the Marquis Angelo Ossoli, a man regarded by Hawthorne as a simpleton, of whom De Puy writes, "All who knew Ossoli were in agreement on two things: he was deficient in intellect and he worshipped Margaret." De Puy also draws a comparison between the packet given to Hilda and Margaret's supposedly finished book on the Italian Revolution. He assumes that these details in The Marble Faun evoke Margaret for some personal, spiteful reason, even though noting that Miriam, unlike Margaret, is physically beautiful.

Hawthorne made Miriam beautiful, not merely to avoid direct identifications with the homely Margaret Fuller, but to emphasize her abuse of great gifts of body and mind. She is her own mistress, an artist in oils, probably independently wealthy, accepted (in Rome at least) on her own terms. Yet she kills because she cannot bear to have others know about her past. She is terrified at the possibility of being connected in the public mind with her own history. Even though it is clear that she is legally in no jeopardy, she will not tolerate her public association with guilt.

Miriam's attitude links her with those who favored violent opposition to slavery in America because they found it intolerable to live in a nation stained with the guilt of perpetuating this institution. Like Miriam, the northern abolitionists were and were not guilty of a dark past. No

6De Puy, "Another Portrait, p.172."
direct crime could be charged against them by law. But, as Hawthorne notes in his story, "Old News," the history of old New England contains not only accounts of the use of the Irish as bond-servants but of another people: who contributed "their dark shade to the picture of society," the Africans who were carried to America in New England ships. In "Old News" Hawthorne, with Swiftian irony, justifies slavery as "a patriarchal, and almost a beautiful, peculiarity of the times," one of its happiest peculiarities being that "When the slaves of a family were inconveniently prolific, it being not quite orthodox to drown the superfluous offspring, like a litter of kittens, notice was promulgated of 'a negro child to be given away.'" Because he does not parade his outrage or savage indignation it has been easy to miss Hawthorne's cold and quiet contempt of slavery.

But if Hawthorne held slave owners in contempt he had no higher opinion of the radical opponents of slavery. Hawthorne's sense that the New Englanders were deeply involved in the slave trade and that their past contains this unsavory skeleton comes across unmistakably in "Old News." Is it pure coincidence that the narrator's daughter in the story is called Miriam? In The Marble Faun, Miriam's desire to evade all association with her own past seems a subliminal

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image of the abolitionists' furious desire to rid themselves of sectional ties with the ugly crime of slavery. Hawthorne suggests this artistic equation by making Miriam an idealist, whose sense of reality is above the need for verification and who is therefore capable of violating any human and institutional bonds in pursuit of her goals. Abolitionism was guilty of such violations for Hawthorne, and he could never muster any of the enthusiasm for castigating the South shown in transcendental Concord. If the North could not convince the slaveholders of their errors by peaceable means, Hawthorne was perfectly content to let the south go its own way, shunned as Miriam is shunned by Hilda. The prospect of Northerners killing countrymen to free the North from the guilt of slavery filled him with dismay.

That abolitionists by and large opposed slavery on principle and failed to recognize the humanity of those whom they would free is by now a commonplace. Abolitionist meetings featured freed and runaway slaves who told horror stories for their emotional impact, but the neglect of the social and economic problems of freed slaves after the war speaks volumes about the abstract zeal of abolitionists. Hawthorne crafts Miriam's treatment of Donatello to point out the abstract and manipulative nature of her relationship with an "inferior" being whom she supposes herself to be trying to help. Like Fuller with respect to the Italian people, she regards him as a kind of child, "eager to learn, quick to
obey."9 Like Fuller, Miriam perceives the cause of freedom as an abstraction. She seeks to free Donatello without regard to the actualities of his situation. The evocation of Fuller enables Hawthorne to suggest that the context of the motives of his native land is becoming world-historical. Associating her with Margaret Fuller places Miriam in a world perspective of civil strife.

When we meet Donatello, he is an anomaly in Italian society because of his simplicity and spontaneity. Significantly, it is Miriam who connects him with the Faun of legend, a nonhuman but harmless figure. More than any of her friends, she rejects his humanity until he has killed for her. Donatello's characterization does not sustain the doctrine of the felix culpa; Donatello makes sense only as an image of a being regarded as an inferior by Miriam, his earthly "savior." Miriam is the only one who asserts, in the scene at the Capitoline Museum in the first chapter, that their Italian companion, Donatello, "is the very Faun of Praxiteles." Hilda is too conscious of Donatello's affection for Miriam to deny his manhood so easily. Yet Miriam bitterly regards the young man as a fool for his love of her.

9See The Writings of Margaret Fuller, ed. Mason Wade, p.416. Fuller's attitude toward Ossoli was, at times, very close to Miriam's judgment about Donatello. She wrote to Samuel Ward, of "the unspoiled nature and loveliness of [Ossoli's] character" even while she says that, "he is entirely without what is commonly called culture...I think he never used to go through with a book." In Paula Blanchard, Margaret Fuller: From Transcendentalism to Revolution (New York: Delacourt Press/Seymour Lawrence, 1978), p.327.
Hawthorne describes the statue of the Faun in details that, while accurate, sound strikingly like the terms in which the proponents of slavery characterized the Negro slave: "an amiable and sensual creature, easy, mirthful, apt for jollity, yet not incapable of being touched by pathos" (MF 9). Hawthorne does not attribute moral idealism to the Faun. "Endowed with no principle of virtue," he "would be incapable of comprehending such. But he would be true and honest, by dint of his simplicity." The best hope is "that the Faun might be educated through the medium of his emotions; so that the coarser, animal portion of his nature might eventually be thrown into the background, though never utterly expelled" (MF 9). This hope, of course, links the Faun with the human race even as it separates him, since the idea of a brute nature in man is a commonplace of Christianity.

But Hawthorne makes these narratorial comments apply to the statue, not Donatello. It is Miriam who wishes to make the fiction dominate the man. For her, there is a nameless charm in the idea of being "not supernatural, but just on the verge of Nature, and yet within it" (MF 13). Part of the attraction is that she imagines such a state to involve "no conscience, no remorse, no burthen on the heart." The real Donatello she treats like a pet dog, or "the merest unfledged chicken" (MF 15). While envying what she sees as his happy ignorance she scorns him for his "underwitted" look.
Although Kenyon later tries to defend this arrogance in Miriam as "a necessity of the case" Hilda does not accept that her friend's coldness must be "the penalty of refinement" (MF 105). As the friends are leaving the Capitoline, Miriam even denies that she had ever tried to convince Hilda and Kenyon of the resemblance. In complete contradiction to her previous logic she protests, "To say the truth, it never struck me so forcibly as it did Kenyon and yourself, though I gave in to whatever you were pleased to fancy" (MF 18). This inability to determine between truth and a word has grave results as the romance develops.

Miriam demonstrates the mental dynamics of reformers who seek to dominate the group they want to aid. Reform that drastically rearranges the traditionary lives of the befriended always has imperialist implications, whether on a personal or a political level. Miriam functions on a personal level but her statements about authority imply how she would extend her actions on the political level. The internal conflicts in America and Italy thus come together in a subtle and complex way in the figures of Miriam and Donatello.

While the critics who have noted the resemblance between Miriam and Margaret Fuller often overlook much of what Hawthorne says about Miriam, the comparison is worth examining. Fuller's dispatches on the Italian war to Horace Greeley's New York Tribune were examples of ill-informed
jingoism about a civil war that she understood from a parochial and sexually interested level. Fuller seemed to judge the war and its combatants according to whether they were her friends or whom she saw suffering most closely. Convinced that she had one of her famous "spiritual affinities" with the revolutionary, Mazzini, (who urged her actually to form a relationship with a man) she finally took her Italian lover, the ignorant Ossoli, who was a member of the dissident Republican guard.

The unsophisticated Fuller deprecated the intellect of Pius IX because he could see that the Republicans did not merely want a Christian amelioration of conditions but meant to swallow Italy, Rome, and the church wholesale. Once Pius ceased to support those who meant to destroy him, Fuller interpreted this as a betrayal of liberal ideals that he was too ignorant to understand.\(^{10}\) Several historians have since judged Pius as the great pope who saw the corrupting power of temporal collaboration with either traditional or

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\(^{10}\)See The Writings of Margaret Fuller, ed. Mason Wade, pp.439-443 (her article of Jan 10, 1848); 465-71 (April 19); 486-91 (Feb 20 1849). Fuller's lack of understanding of the realities of the situation is shown most clearly when she publishes a letter from Mazzini urging Pius IX to put himself at the head of Italy's changes, "whatever be the destiny of the creeds now existing" (p.444). Those destinies are "of little importance," he writes, but might include "leaving the foot of the cross." Mazzini's message is clear: religious truths are easily rewritten; what matters is being ahead of the pack. This letter, full of high ideals, vague threats, and transparent promises that the political revolution would naturally put the pontiff at the head of a perfect state, impressed Fuller with its "simple nobleness, its fervent truth."
radical forms of government. His refusal to validate the shifting tides of Italian politics allowed the church to keep its preeminence in moral questions, although at the cost of direct temporal engagement, a mode of action very close to the way of life which Hawthorne sketches for Hilda.

When governmental response to the civil disorder had made Italy too dangerous for Ossoli, Fuller fled with him and their child, leaving the situation she had helped to inflame. Those who had no such option were left to their own devices. For Fuller, as her writings in the Tribune show, the links between the Italian struggles, abolitionism, and her changing sense of women's roles were quite clear. It is evident in The Marble Faun that Hawthorne saw them clearly too as he links changes in sexual behavior, Miriam's dark and compromised past, individual crime for selfish reasons, and civil warfare. Miriam—based partly on Fuller, but equally upon the whole range of Romantic egotists—becomes an image of selfish passions masquerading as liberalism, urging on

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12See *The Writings of Margaret Fuller*, ed. Wade, p.427 (Letter 18); pp.485-6 (Dec.2). A typical nineteenth-century anti-Catholicism shows in her letter of January 10, 1848. That tone later disappears as her emotional and spiritual sense becomes increasingly fulfilled in the mass.
violence and destruction in a situation she comprehends only as it benefits her and feeds her sense of messianic glory.

In a chilling passage in her letter of December 2, 1848, Fuller flippantly condoned the assassination of Minister Rossi, stabbed in the back: "'I cannot,' observed a philosopher, 'sympathize under any circumstances with so immoral a deed; but surely the manner of doing it was great.'" On July 6, 1849, Fuller all but excuses the multiple knifings of an unarmed priest who merely shouted, "Viva Pio Nono." Logically interpreted, Fuller's attitude was that she was willing to have all Italians slain who stood in the way of progress. Although Miriam enacts in the private sphere what Fuller dreamed in the political, Hawthorne shows us that certain ideas and certain crimes intimately unite the spheres.

In the implied parallel between Margaret Fuller and Miriam in The Marble Faun Hawthorne creates a symbolic situation envisioning the relationship of sex and politics.

13 Fuller, Writings, ed. Wade, p.479.
14 Fuller, Writings, p.533.
15 Much to her credit, Fuller eventually came to know Italy closely enough, and love it so well that, "if she had the power, she would have given up the republic to save the city" of Rome from bombardment (Writings, p.309). Although this lack of socialist solidarity is decried by her biographer, Blanchard, it saved Fuller from becoming an ideological barbarian. Indeed, Margaret Fuller's increasing love for ordinary people, her husband, and her child are quite winning. It is a matter of pure conjecture whether she would ever have been able to reconcile her humanity with her theories.
Miriam's use of Donatello to kill her Model embodies the evil of Godlike control exercised by a woman reformer, just as Hollingworth's attitude toward Zenobia in The Blithedale Romance embodies the same problem in a male reformer.

C. Fauns and Slaves

When we consider Donatello as a representative of an ancient but now inferior race, one that is happy, carefree, degenerate, irresponsible, and volatile—in short in the light of American clichés about the Negro race—then Miriam's actions may seem to bear on, if not the whole abolitionist effort, at least on the Transcendentalist effort. The stormy relationship between William Garrison and Frederick Douglass reminds us how acute Hawthorne's perceptions were about the manner in which reformers limited the humanity of the race they sought to aid.

The strategy of speculation on Donatello as a member of an ancient race which is not of human origin is revealing. The Faun of Praxiteles is clad in a lion's skin that falls down his back, with the claw upon his shoulder, as if it is simply thrown over him. He is "an amiable and sensual creature, easy, mirthful, apt for jollity, yet not incapable of being touched by pathos" (MF 9). He is "Neither man nor animal, and yet no monster, but a being in whom both races meet, on friendly ground!" According to Hawthorne the lineage of Donatello arises when nymphs and satyrs are "in
the primeval woods" (MF 233) but that it would be as
difficult to follow his ancestry "as travellers have found
it, to reach the mysterious fountains of the Nile." When
Kenyon visits Donatello at his ancestral home of Monte Beni,
he hears the legend that the progenitor of his friend's
lineage, who mated with a mortal woman, was "not altogether
human, yet partaking so largely of the gentlest human
qualities, as to be neither awful nor shocking to the
imagination" (MF 233). The members of the family were
"pleasant and kindly...but capable of savage fierceness, and
never quite restrainable within the trammels of social law."
Yet such men were necessary for the long years "In the
constant warfare with which Italy was plagued, by the
dissensions of her petty states and republics" (MF 234). The
slavery question had led to a great deal of speculation on
ethnological questions in the decades before the Civil War:
was the enslavement of Africans justified by their racial
inferiority? Dr. Josiah Nott was among the most famous
advocates of the theory that the races did not come from a
common parentage, that historical processes could not create
racial differences, and that available evidence showed no
development from one race to another. Because this
conception had implications for the story of Genesis as well
as for the slavery question, as William Jenkins shows, there
was an impassioned and extended public debate between the
"unitarist and pluralist" schools of natural science.\textsuperscript{16} Hawthorne's use of an alternate race theory to explain Donatello's "furry ears" reflects that debate as well as recalling the pleasant myths of a by-gone age. It gives \textit{The Marble Faun} mythic reference and a specific reference to the controversies of Hawthorne's own political situation.

A careful reading of his famous essay, "Chiefly About War Matters," indicates that Hawthorne intended to suggest a parallel between Donatello and the American black people. These brave words by America's most famous serious novelist were as unpopular then as they are now. What is remarkable about the essay is that \textit{The Atlantic} published it at all; the editor made known his disagreements with the piece. Perhaps more remarkable is the way that this essay could serve as a genre model for anti-war rhetoric in Vietnam or more modern crises. It contains the same praise for the common soldiers, undermined by doubts about their knowledge of what they are fighting for, and even by a suggestion that they secretly sympathize with the other side.\textsuperscript{17} The piece suggests that the old fight the wars and let the young stay home. It displays a sly and subtle sarcasm against the capacities of the President and the Union officers (which was more than


\textsuperscript{17}Hawthorne,"Chiefly About War Matters," \textit{The Complete Works}, vol.12, p.314.
merited by General McClellan) as well as bitter praise of the benefits of war over peace, where one can "kill men blamelessly." The image of Leutze painting allegories of American ideals on the Capitol gave powerful point to Hawthorne's fear that the whole structure might fall into ruin since there were great cracks in the central edifice. The forecast of war passing into a deadly conflict of machinery is accurate as well as melancholy. Indeed if Hawthorne had not been speaking about a war privileged by most Americans, his essay would still have great current circulation. Few would resist the truth of his comment that "it is so odd, when we measure our advances from barbarism, and find ourselves just here!"

But Hawthorne did not favor the war; he favored shunning the south and letting it go its own way. The central government of the United States was not so monolithically present in the lives of its citizens then. Hawthorne believed that "the General Government claims [a citizen's] devotion only to an airy mode of law, and has no symbol but a flag." He portrays the central government to be a mere idea with no physical being, a kind of Emersonian abstraction. What people were loyal to, he felt, were their States, entities intimate enough and well-enough experienced

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that genuine ties of daily life could be formed. As in The Marble Faun he puts life before any set of theories. After all, Carlyle had shown how easily Rousseau's phrases could be turned into a justification for slavery when he wrote that a man "shall be permitted, encouraged, and if need be compelled," not to be free, but "to do what work the Maker of him has intended."²¹

Hawthorne compares the freed slaves with so many Donatellos when he writes:

So rudely were they attired,—as if their garb had grown upon them spontaneously,—so picturesquely natural in manners, and wearing such a crust of primeval simplicity (which is quite polished away from the northern blackman), that they seemed a kind of creature by themselves, not altogether human, but perhaps quite as good, and akin to the fauns and rustic deities of olden times. I wonder whether I shall excite anybody's wrath by saying this. It is no great matter.²²


²²Hawthorne, Collected Works, vol.12, pp.318-9. It is typical of Hawthorne that he does not mention that when he met those slaves on the Manassas battlefield, as Edward Dicey recalls, "we gave them food and wine, some small sums of money, and got them a lift on a train going northwards." Cited in Curtis, "Nathaniel Hawthorne," North American Review XCIX (October 1864): 554.
Not only does he make the direct comparison, but his question as to whether it will excite anger seems to point us toward the novel. Perhaps he asks us to examine *The Marble Faun* for what he had already said on this subject, but "it is no great matter." Hawthorne even uses the image of polishing away, as is done with marble statues after the major work has been complete, to make the connection between his work and the American scene more explicit. Perhaps he only saw the connection in retrospect, but that seems very unlikely. As he wrote in *The Marble Faun*, "One touch of Nature makes not only the whole world, but all time, akin" (MF 320).

Hawthorne's emphasis on the ferocity and potential savagery of an otherwise jovial race of Fauns may particularly suggest the shocked reaction of Americans and Europeans to the slave revolutions in Haiti and Jamaica. Anthony Trollop describes the freed Negro in Haiti, "sinking in the most resolute fashion to the savage state." Ex-governor Wood of Ohio, an anti-slavery man, wrote of Jamaica: "since the blacks have been liberated, they have become indolent, insolent, degraded, and dishonest." Figures were published showing the total collapse of Jamaica's economy while Cuba's rose precipitously. Even the jovial drinking at Monte Beni may have somber overtones in light of articles on the ravages of alcohol on freed black populations abroad and
in America. While theorists took sides about whether these problems were an inherent weakness of race or the result of years of slavery, Hawthorne shows the problem of sin as common to both Miriam and Donatello.

If Hawthorne stresses that "the Faun might be educated through the medium of his emotions" (MF 9), this theme is again picked up when discussing black slaves in "Chiefly About War Matters": "So far as the education of the heart is concerned, the negroes have apparently the advantage" over southern poor whites. In this implied comparison Hawthorne is not showing a dark and hidden racism that corrupts his humanity. After all, he notes, "the rest of us are partially tamed, though still the scent of blood excites some of the savage instincts of our nature." For him the distance between the types is only a matter of degree.

Donatello, like most of the other main characters, has no last name, although he is the Lord of Monte Beni. Little has been speculated as to why Hawthorne might have chosen that name. Perhaps the Renaissance sculptor's reintroduction of the free-standing bronze statue may have made an interesting contrast to the marble works in this novel. Or perhaps the artist's fierce temper and easy generosity may have been something of a model. In either event Donatello's

23From S.D.Carpenter, Logic of History: Five Hundred Political Texts, Being Concentrated Extracts of Abolitionism, 2nd ed. (Madison: Carpenter, 1864), pp.9-23.

apparent lack of a last name intensifies the feeling that he need not be taken seriously, that he is regarded by his friends as having no place in the social order. It also locates him in an earlier time, when the social order may have had less influence on the simpler life. The case seems somewhat different with Kenyon and Hilda, whose lack of last names help make them a type of the American Adam and Eve.

D. Masters and Nominalist Liberation

The most odd and difficult character in The Marble Faun is "the Model". He is given no other name until he is dead, and this name, Brother Antonio, was one he probably assumed upon entrance into the Capuchin brotherhood. Hawthorne means it to come as a great surprise that the sinister Model is actually a valued member of the Franciscan order. But the effect of that revelation is not, as Jane Lundblad has argued, to perpetuate the gothic stereotype of the mad monk of Charles Lewis or Maturin's Melmoth. The revelation has shock value because it turns the murder of one whom the reader has seen only as Miriam's sinister derelict into the murder of one who belongs to a community in a more real sense than the artists do. The revelation of who the model is makes apparent that there are social, political, and

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religious dimensions to his murder. When his nose runs with blood in the presence of his killers, the flow may recall gothic superstition, but it also evokes the long tradition of exsanguination as a sign of divine presence. It is a reminder that Miriam and Donatello will face judgment for their acts before laws which override their "right" to pass sentence on the monk.

One of the ironies of Antonio's name is that it derives from Saint Anthony of Padua, the Franciscan monk who was later declared a teacher of the Church, who is the patron of the family, the great finder of lost objects, and a great preacher called the "golden tongue." In a sense the Model himself returns as a lost object, inevitably finding Miriam, but he finds no family to serve, and there is no indication that he is eloquent. Perhaps St. Anthony's Portuguese origins, and that nation's veneration of him were unknown or irrelevant to Hawthorne, although he might have known that the church of S. Antonio de Portughese was on the Via Portughese, close to where he chose to locate Hilda's tower residence. Hawthorne blamed the Portuguese for reintroducing slavery into the Christian world with the African slave trade, as he makes clear in Peter Parley's Universal History.26

When the Model meets Miriam in the catacombs of St. Calixtus, the guide suggests that this odd specter is

26Hawthorne, Peter Parley's Universal History, p.174.
Memmius, a spy for Diocletian who sought out the Christian hiding places. Memmius, the guide explains, was given by God one moment when he could have repented; but he rejected the chance, so he was left to wander forever in the maze (MF 32). This fable of Memmius's choice foreshadows the moment when Donatello lifts the model above his head on the Tarpeian Rock, and looks to Miriam for his instructions. That is her moment to change her mind and she too passes it by.

Yet Memmius was actually at one time a Roman commander who fought against the forces of Lucullus. Plutarch describes him as "the best commander in Pompey's army" at Saguntum, where he engaged Sertorius and his African army. Once again the imagery of civil strife including Africans lies behind a name casually associated with the novel's action. In one of his teasing details, Hawthorne tells us that the model wears a voluminous cloak of buffalo hide, as well as the goat-skin breeches which make him look like a satyr, the Faun's less civil cousin. While it is true that there are buffalo of a sort in Italy, the word strikes the reader as having a strangely American connotation.

When Kenyon is on the Campagna, heading toward a rendezvous with Miriam and Donatello, a buffalo calf appears as though a kind of guide for him. The animal appears at Kenyon's side near the tomb of Cecilia Metella, who was the

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daughter of the Quintus who opposed Pompey as well as the wife of Crassus, who Plutarch says divided the allegiance of Rome with Pompey and Caesar. Crassus is also credited with suppressing the slave rebellion of Spartacus. Hawthorne does not insist on explicitly relating all of these details to create the kind of allegorical figure of a Hester or an Ethan Brand, yet he surrounds every step of Miriam and her friends with the images of civil strife. Hawthorne seems not to want to limit the Model's resonances to the issue of a civil dispute or to slavery. He is a broader figure of dark criminality, with specific political and social characteristics that tie him to the decade of the 1850's.

The Model's connection with Miriam has been an intimate one, as she explains when she abandons (perhaps) all of her fanciful tales and confesses the truth about her relations with him. She tells Kenyon that she is a child of English extraction mixed with a Jewish strain on her mother's side; on her father's she is allied with the princely families of Italy. Betrothed without her consent to an aged marchese, who may have had insanity in his decadent bloodline, she repudiated the bond. Somehow, a great crime was committed in which she and the Model were linked. We are allowed to think that this crime may have been the murder of the old Marchese, although there is no certainty about it (MF 429-31). When she guesses that the Model has insanity "mixed up with his original composition," we are allowed to assume he may be of
the same blood as the marchese, perhaps even being his son, since this speculation closely parallels her description of the elder man. In any event the Model is cast as a criminal, and she is suspected of being an accomplice. Despite the fact that "the great influence of her family connections had shielded her from some of the consequences of her imputed guilt," Miriam fled to Rome, making it appear to those she left behind in her native land that she had committed suicide (MF 431). Hawthorne suggests that we should "trust, there may have been no crime in Miriam," but this is at best an equivocal hope.

If Miriam is innocent then she might indeed be like Hilda's momentary vision of Beatrice Cenci, a woman who only saw evil committed by another person, even if it were done by a madman to free her from an unwanted marriage. Even if guilty she is not quite as cold-blooded as the real-life Beatrice who hired men to kill her father. Yet we have to remember that these are only Miriam's explanations, and she is reliable neither in perception nor judgment. To drive that point home, immediately after this "confession" Miriam "advises" Donatello not to turn himself over to authority. She herself has no fear of the law, perhaps because she had so successfully escaped its consequences before.

The earlier meetings between the Model and Miriam are inconsistent with Miriam's account, even if they remain mysterious. When the model finds her he says, "Henceforth,
I am nothing but a shadow behind her footsteps. She came to me when I sought her not. She has called me forth, and must abide the consequences of my re-appearance in the world" (MF 31). If he is the guilty one it seems that he should be the one to fear her. True, his religious status might protect him while he is in Rome, but if she is at his mercy, why should he shadow her, rather than order her to him? Miriam's fanciful stories about the Model all end in a disastrous fate for herself. She seems sure of his power over her, rather than acknowledging any influence she has over him.

That impression is strengthened when Donatello and Miriam, as Faun and nymph, join with strangers in a kind of golden age processional dance in the Borghese Gardens that Hawthorne compares to the procession depicted on Keats's Grecian Urn. The Model joins them, shaking his garments, Liebman notes, as if he is a skeleton leading the old medieval Dance of Death. 28 Miriam follows the Model without question since he seems to possess a fascination for her "such as beasts and reptiles, of subtile and evil nature, sometimes exercise upon their victims" (MF 93). The intimate relation between the Model and Miriam is compared to a chain which seems to circle "round her feminine waist," an image that recalls Hosmer's statue of Zenobia. The sense of the model as persecutor is somewhat alleviated when Hawthorne

writes that between Miriam and him there exists "a bond equally torturing to each."

The Model asks Miriam to throw off her identity and leave Rome with him. When Miriam hints at the possibility of killing herself, he points out that his reappearance and "persecution" of her has "scarcely made your cheek paler than I saw it in your girlhood" (MF 94), implying that she has not suffered as much as she melodramatically imagines. The Model stresses that he had hoped never to meet her and that he is as horrified to see her as she is to find him. He believes their destinies are linked by fate, much like Chillingworth, who says to Hester that it is fate that has made him snatch a fiend's office. "Our fates cross and are entangled," the Model tells Miriam, the threads are "twisted into a strong cord, which is dragging us to an evil doom" (MF 95). The Model's language recalls the Dead Pearl Diver entwined in the grass at the bottom of the sea. Miriam urges him to pray for rescue, which is odd since she has already confessed an inability to believe in God's help.

Although Miriam can see that the Model mistakes his will for fate, she makes the same mistake when she says that she can foresee the end in death. He asks if she means his death, at which Miriam asks: "Do you imagine me a murderess?" He looks at her hand as if it were stained like Lady Macbeth's, implying that her relationship to his crime is much closer than merely witnessing it. When she responds
bitterly that her hand had no stain "until you grasped it in your own," she hints at the possibility of an intimate relationship between them before the crime. It is clear only that there is an "odour of guilt, and a scent of blood" around them. "How can we imagine that a stain of ensanguined crime should attach to Miriam!", the author interposes, "Or, how, on the other hand, should spotless innocence be subjected to a thraldom like that which she endured from the specter?" (MF 97) It is quite easy to imagine how Miriam could become ensanguined after we watch her actions on the Tarpeian Rock and see the general pattern of her deceptions and self-deceit.

The question which too often has been passed remains: what can the Model really do to Miriam? We know that she is protected from the major consequences of her past by her family connections. After the Model is killed, she never once shows real fear of consequences to herself and shows nothing but contempt for the law. Why should she so dread the model that she is in his thrall? The answer, at least as Miriam explains it, is so trivial as to be stunning: "Mad as he [the Model] was--and wicked as he was--with one word, he could have blasted me, in the belief of all the world. In your belief, too, and Hilda's! Even Donatello would have shrunk from me with horror!" (MF 432) The one word is her real name, and the horror she anticipates is that her real identity might be known, that she might have her past
reattached to her. So all of the misery, a murder, the death of the Faun's innocence, Hilda's descent into horror and imprisonment result simply because Miriam does not want her past to be a part of her new life! This is having an original relationship with the universe with a vengeance. Miriam's nominalism is complete. For her there is no past reality. Her only reality is her name, and therefore, at all costs, she must protect her name or she will be utterly destroyed. Trying to convince Hilda and Kenyon that she is innocent in spite of the doubts about her past, she somehow believes that the murder of the model does not affect her name.

Does Hawthorne intend a parallel between Miriam's defense of her new identity against her criminal past and the way that the abolitionists turned against the Southern states? Ignoring their own complicity in the history of slavery, the besmirching of the name of their new-found righteousness was all important to them. In the name of not being associated in the world's mind with an evil like slavery, they would take upon themselves the evil of killing their own countrymen. For Hawthorne such a violation of ethics in the name of possessing a good ethical name was a political act as insane as Miriam's. Her only justification is that the crime was an instantaneous lapse on her part, not a long drawn-out policy.
In the years before writing *The Marble Faun*, Hawthorne had seen the effects of abolitionist policy as it threatened to shatter the nation. A man of peace like Hawthorne might have wondered at the role of Henry Ward Beecher, Theodore Parker and other New England clerical figures sending guns, called "Beecher's Bibles," to John Brown in Bleeding Kansas.29 Especially after the Ossawatomie massacre, rightly or wrongly laid at Brown's doorstep, Hawthorne might wonder at the relative guilt of those who said yes to the killing and those who actually did the killing. Emerson, Alcott, and Thoreau had given money to Brown. So had hundreds who were asked in church by their ministers to contribute money for Sharps rifles for Kansas. Hawthorne must have wondered at the fate of members of the "Secret Six" who had helped finance the Harper's Ferry Raid:

Theodore Parker dying in Rome, Frederick Douglas was in flight for his life, Gerit Smith, his large wealth of little power now, was willing himself into insanity from the responsibility that was his, while the great Howe, the chevalier, was fleeing to Canada.30

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These ethical men had been led by their own visions to support fanaticism and murder at a safe distance. In the service of "the good state" they had unleashed civil bloodletting. The real enemies of civil order in *The Marble Faun* are Miriam and the Model, who likewise equate personal will and historical fate. In Miriam Hawthorne suggests that women are capable of becoming as Emersonian as men: willing to shape the world according to an idea rather than to have respect for the pattern of lived experience, willing to attempt to manipulate society, to eventually fall victim to the guilt of power.

Hawthorne seems bitter toward Miriam in this novel not because he fears womanhood, but because he had hoped for better from it. If the new woman is a Miriam, full of vanity, inconsistency, and pretense, then what could be expected of her? She would make the same self-serving mistakes of new men. Like other nineteenth-century authors, Hawthorne hoped womanhood would provide a purer and better way of being for an America that was already in moral trouble. When he saw that the new woman was going to look like the new man he became deeply doubtful.
"Hilda's faculty of genuine admiration is one of the rarest to be found in human nature; and let us try to recompense her in kind by adducing her generous self-surrender, and her brave, humble magnanimity in choosing to be the handmaid of those old magicians, instead of a minor enchantress within a circle of her own.

The handmaid of Raphael, whom she loved with a Virgin's love! The Marble Faun (60-1)

Hilda is recognizably one of the figures in nineteenth-century poetry and art who attempt to balance the demands of artistic vision with those of human engagement in their world. Characters who fail to achieve such balance include Arnold's Gypsy-Scholar and Tennyson's Lady of Shalott. In the Lady of Shalott's case, her failure to become engaged in real life destroys her illusion of the palace of art and ends in her suicide. More like Tennyson's Lady Godiva, Hilda succeeds in moving from a privileged, partially isolated sphere into the world. Thus at a time when English authors were posing the problem of an increasing separation between the world of art and of the real world, an issue that culminates in Pater's vision of the Renaissance, Hawthorne boldly attempts to show their interaction.

Hilda is a woman in the palace of art, the handmaid of Raphael. Her tower of refuge, atop a palace built for medieval warfare, is at a physical and moral height where the
only company is the statue of Saint Paul and the great spires of the Roman churches. Hilda worships in a shrine of the Virgin Mary, just as her role as the handmaid of Raphael recalls the Virgin Mary, whose response at the Annunciation, "Ecce ancilla tua" [Behold thy handmaiden] is Hilda's model. Hilda's virgin love for Raphael, the great painter of the Annunciation, reflects back both the vision of his art and of the ideal which was beyond it. Placing Hilda in a symbolic landscape where monumental works of art and architecture embody religious achievement, Hawthorne is careful from the first to emphasize the impossibility of separating art from the highest of moral aspirations. But Hawthorne is primarily concerned with showing that it is possible to make the transition from the heights of purity and aspiration to daily human life.

Hilda is the opposite of the Emersonian model represented by Miriam. Susan Sinclair rightly sees Hilda as a kind of spiritual guide, but she carries this idea to an extreme in interpreting her as a female Christ.¹ It is more accurate to say that she suggests parallels to Saint Paul and the Virgin. Hilda is capable of a devotion to the good that seems incredible in the light of the twentieth-century's commitment to materialism and Freudianism. While the first denies the existence of a spiritual good, the second denies

an innate desire for it. These judgments have little bearing on the time or circumstances in which Hawthorne wrote *The Marble Faun*.

Hawthorne and the largest part of his audience saw the real possibility of a woman or man who could act as a moral guide to redemption. Even today a majority of both the educated and uneducated still accept the possibility as what William James termed "a live option." But the extremity of purity and goodness which Hawthorne attributes to Hilda is not acceptable to readers who argue that she is too far above humanity to be in relationship with the world, or to others who feel that such elevated purity can only be a mask of self-righteousness. The refusal to acknowledge Hilda as a viable heroine has resulted in her general critical displacement from the role Hawthorne intended for her and its assignment to Miriam, whose portrayal in the novel, however, cannot possibly sustain the burden. Indeed to view Hilda as one who wishes to evade reality or live isolated from the human is grossly to misread *The Marble Faun*.

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It is easy to underestimate the importance which
Hawthorne places on purity of conscience as an active force
in human history. Despite secular legends of a Ghandi or a
Martin Luther King, it is difficult to believe that one who
possesses a pure conscience can become a force to lead others
to moral regeneration. Another reason one hesitates to take
Hilda seriously is that Hawthorne is so careful to show how
rare the desire for true goodness is and how much caution
must be exercised in assuming that someone possesses it.

Hilda has drawn almost universal execration, largely
because she embodies an incomprehensible image for modern
criticism; she is at once a secular saint and an artist, an
artist who is self-less, filled with a greater power than her
own will. Despite this limitation of our criticism, clearly
Hawthorne means Hilda to be the spiritual center of the
social and religious crisis depicted in The Marble Faun.3

3Even the sympathetic Conrad Shumaker sees the early
Hilda as a bit too other-worldly and in need of softening--"A
Daughter of the Puritans": History in Hawthorne's The Marble
"Hawthorne, Sophia, and Hilda as Copyists: Duplication and
Transformation in The Marble Faun," Browning Institute
Studies 12 (1984): 93-120, argues that Hilda is forced to be
a copyist because "she has neither the strength nor the
insight to handle original confrontation" (100). She also
denies Hilda any human eros. Zivkovic's "Isolated Intellect"
recognizes Hawthorne's admiration for her, yet he returns to
the thesis that blonde hair somehow distorted all of the
author's judgments about humanity. Goldfarb's "The Marble
Faun and Emersonian Self-Reliance" weighs in with the
judgment that "Hilda is a shell" and the remarkable argument
that she and Kenyon are Emersonian characters, not Miriam.
Hilda is weak in two ways, both of which are typical of spiritual exemplars who are solitaries. She has a deficient sense of what she is not (i.e. sinful), and she is unable to forgive herself after she has, in her own judgment, failed in some way to be charitable. Her reaction to Miriam is perfectly just and probably represents the greatest possible charity. Still, she cannot find a way to rid herself of the feeling of guilt which seizes her when she sees her friend abased and cannot assure herself that her response to the situation has been either necessary or sufficient. Such assurance can only come from self-conscious participation in the community of sinners. Hilda’s movement toward communal participation is one motif of *The Marble Faun*.

Miriam has several stories associated with her national and social origins as well as an invented family name; Hilda has almost no family background, and only a first name, save for sobriquets. Kenyon calls her "the dove," and Miriam calls her, for once with little irony, Saint Hilda. Kenyon’s fanciful name for Hilda suggests that she is a symbol of God’s continuing action in human history through the Holy Spirit, or in her case, an earnest moral spirit. If Hilda is "the Dove," she is also, as shown in the first chapter, the Amazon of the capitol grouping. Unlike the massive, statuesque Juno, she is shy, retiring, ready to evade the touch of men, yet strongly built and capable. The Amazons reputedly divided their band into two separate groups, one to
fight and one to stay home and care for the children. The groups alternated in their roles. In a sense Hilda's role in the novel is also a divided one. When we first meet her she is the artist, partially isolated from human contact although intimate with the great spirits of the painters. She moves by the end of the novel into the home, yet she does it in such a way that her active role as moral agent is combined with her role as nurturing wife. Hawthorne the artist thus heals the split depicted in the representation of Amazon legend in the classic statue.

That Hawthorne sees Hilda uniting the best of the artistic and the moral within herself is quite clear, despite occasional attempts to see in her depiction a covert attack on Hawthorne's wife, Sophia. Many have noticed that Hilda seems to be modeled on Sophia Hawthorne, whom the author gave the nickname of "the dove" in the days of their early courtship. Hawthorne's wife was so aware of this compliment to her that she felt it necessary to write with mandatory modesty that, "Mr. Hawthorne had no idea of portraying me in Hilda. Whatever resemblance one sees is accidental." One suspects that Sophia was very well pleased with her resemblance to Hilda as a tribute to the ideals she shared

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5Quoted in Rose Hawthorne Lathrop's Memories of Hawthorne (Boston: Riverside, 1897), p.348.
with her husband. It is more than puzzling to discover critics saying that Hawthorne has made Hilda a pale, blond, bodiless Puritan when she is modeled on a woman who bore three children under conditions few readers have to undergo today.6 Those who draw parallels between what they construe as passionlessness or fear of the physical in Hilda and Sophia ignore both the words of the text and the reality of a woman who served as wet-nurse for her neighbor, Mrs. Alcott, when she could not produce enough milk to feed her child.

But even those who recognize the love and respect conveyed in Hilda's similarity to Hawthorne's wife may think of Hilda as having inferior status (both as an artist and a moral exemplar). In The Marble Faun Hilda's art is the copying of paintings done by the great Renaissance painters; her copy of Guido Reni's "Beatrice" is the masterpiece of such work. Modern romantic assumptions which emphasize the all important role of the artist as creator and denigrate the copyist as a second-class citizen, have led to speculation and indignation about Hawthorne making Hilda inferior to godlike creative males. But it is an open questions whether

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Hawthorne thought that copying of great art is inferior to original, mediocre work. The deeper question is whether Hawthorne accepts the kind of distinction between copying and creativity which Coleridge implies in his distinction between the primary and secondary imagination in Biographia Literaria. "The primary IMAGINATION" he writes, "I hold to be the living Power and prime Agent of all human perception, and as a repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I AM." This type of imagination is the basis of the Romantic artist as priest and god-figure. In contrast, the secondary would be the mode fit for a copyist; while similar in kind to the primary imagination, it differs in degree and mode of operation since it "dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to re-create."

On the face of it, an author who wrote Twice-Told Tales did not share the preoccupation with originality. Hawthorne may have been so much a man of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that he sees literature as consisting more in imitation than in creation. He was living in a time, as Paul Brodtkorb has argued, when the copyist was still appreciated. A time when mass reproduction or real-time transmission was not yet available, it was a time when the

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distinction between seeing a copy and seeing the original of a painting was a more subtle question than it is today. If the copy of the Mona Lisa was the only one a backwoods American ever saw, what difference did the original mean to him?

The issue of originality in art is central to those who want to make the artistic creation an absolute. Yet when a tale is told and retold by an artist, which of the versions is the truly creative one? This problem is not unknown to textual editors. Deconstruction and reader-response criticisms have served at least to clear a little ground for reconsidering the old idea that an author's act is hardly a self-enclosed and perfected creation. Hawthorne, however, seems to argue that there is a definite creation to which everything refers, beyond the boundaries of art and human effort, of which all are merely copyists.

In this light Hilda's achievement may be viewed as considerable. Her gift is to perceive a work with "all the warmth and richness of a woman's sympathy; not by any intellectual effort, but by this strength of heart" (MF 56-7). Here we may justifiably ask if her heart can be trusted; as Richard H. Fogle points out, a "heart character" can go far astray. But Hawthorne, perhaps following St. Augustine, conceived that if the heart is true to reality, it can be a far more reliable source of truth than the intellect. Hilda's heart is so finely attuned, Hawthorne says, that "she
went straight to the central point, in which the Master had conceived his work. Thus, she viewed it, as it were, with his own eyes, and hence her comprehension of any picture that interested her was perfect" (MF 57). Hilda's interpretive authority, in other words, is all but absolute.

In contrast to the destruction resulting from Miriam's will to power, Hilda accomplishes miracles by reverence, loyalty, humility, and a desire "to diffuse those self-same beauties more widely among mankind." It is crucial not only to appreciate Hilda's Christian virtues but to understand that her art of copying is a profoundly social act. Her tower is one side of her story; the other side is her gift of art to those unprivileged to see the original creations she copies. She has something like an evangelical ministry to convey the beauties of great religious art to others: "the Virgin's celestial sorrow, for example, or a hovering Angel, imbued with immortal light, or a Saint, with the glow of Heaven in his dying face" (MF 58).

Her copies transcend the physical damages the old paintings may have suffered. She captures "what the beholder felt must be the light which the Old Master had left upon the original in bestowing his final and most ethereal touch." The turn of phrase, "what the beholder felt," alerts us to the fact that Hawthorne recognizes the distance between truth and our approximation of it in a fallen world. Yet the community of art that responds to her work asserts that Hilda
has come closer to that truth than anyone else of whom they know. Hawthorne pushes even farther in his praise of Hilda when he writes that sometimes "she had been enabled to execute what the great Master had conceived in his imagination, but had not so perfectly succeeded in putting upon canvas" (MF 59). Not only does this act make her a great "creative artist" in her own right, but it emphasizes her membership in a timeless community in which the continuity of art is perennial. This vision is cumulative and traditionary; each artist repeats attempts to copy the truth of the world accurately, each attempt being slightly altered by the individual soul in its own circumstances. Very closely related to Eliot's idea in "Tradition and the Individual Talent," this concept is a metaphor of art as creation through recovery.

Hawthorne makes a careful distinction between copying and recovery. He writes that sometimes Hilda is "but a finer

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instrument, a more exquisitely effective piece of mechanism, by the help of which the spirit of some great departed Painter, now first achieved his ideal, centuries after his own earthly hand, that other tool, had turned to dust" (MF 59). He delicately unsettles the reader by calling her an instrument and a mechanism, but restores perspective when he calls the hand "that other tool."\(^{10}\) This vision drastically undercuts the Emersonian vision of the world forming itself around the godlike mind of the seer. The prophet is more the instrument of those whose work he copies than he is a creator. Yet Hawthorne makes clear a distinction between the copies of Hilda and superficial imitations. He calls those who copy with mechanical perfection but with no spirit "Guido machines, or Raphaelic machines" (MF 59). Hilda's abilities make her able to copy in such a way that all of the community around her is revivified by it. George Steiner says that "the executant invests his own being in the process of interpretation. His readings, his enactments of chosen meanings and values, are not those of external survey. They are a commitment at risk, a response which is, in the root

\(^{10}\)Hawthorne does not denigrate the body or Hilda by pointing out that they have instrumentality. The hand is in service not only for the mind, but for others whom the artist has never met, whom he serves as instrument by his paintings. Hilda reciprocates the gift, willingly and generously. As instrument she most truly adds and creates. This is not a typecasting of gender-roles since male and female alike are involved constantly in being both instrument and partial creator, both copying in the world.
11 Critics who denigrate Hilda’s role as copyist might well ask themselves Steiner’s question: “To what, save pride of intellect or professional peerage, is the reviewer, the critic, the academic expert accountable?”

Hilda’s vision provides access into a world of spiritual integrity to which her society is almost blinded. Only someone with her sense of the pure will of Saint Michael the Archangel can appreciate Guido’s portrayal of him as beautiful, unruffled, even while his adversary, Satan, is a picture of pure malicious energy with contorted human features. Kenyon senses part of what Hilda sees, and if he cannot perceive all that she does, he realizes that his own deficiencies stifle full appreciation. It takes Hilda to teach him that the fight against evil might be conducted with such certainty and understanding that one is not driven to hatred or wild guilt by the battle. This is the difference between an image like the Laocoön, in which the victim is deeply implicated and engulfed in evil, and Hilda’s vision of Beatrice Cenci as one touched by evil that she has neither willed or desired. St. Michael, who is a pure spirit, is touched neither by desire for evil nor any self-defensive hatred of it. Without turning a feather, he can purely and calmly defeat evil for the sake of love.

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Hilda's achievement as a copyist seems more than to make up for the "original achievements" that might have been hers, as Hawthorne says, if she had "remained in her own country." Had she done so "it is not improbable that she might have produced original works, worthy to hang in that gallery of native art, which, we hope, is destined to extend its length through many future generations" (MF 55). This is highly ironic praise indeed. Hawthorne "hopes" that American painting will last through future generations, yet he seems to be uncertain that these productions will be worthy to hang in a European gallery alongside the old masters. Small wonder that he praises Hilda for "choosing to be the handmaid of those old magicians, instead of a minor enchantress within a circle of her own."

The cult of creativity had not yet reached the reductio ad absurdum where artists or critics blur the distinctions between great art and lesser art. An age which solemnly publishes the poetry of fifth graders may find it hard to feel Hilda's devotion to great art, but it should not willfully refuse to understand her. When concepts such as reader-response and decanonization place the critic's predilections before realities, one expects Hilda's self-sacrifice to be seen as self-immolation. Yet within the context of The Marble Faun her sacrifice of a minor ability to give "the world a picture or two which it would call original" opens up her world rather than closing it (MF 61).
Hawthorne may have derived his ironic image of the minor enchantress caught within her own circle from Holman Hunt's 1857 illustration of Tennyson's "Lady of Shalott" who is depicted as being almost trapped within the web of art she weaves, to be freed only by her own disastrous love for Lancelot. Miriam closely resembles Tennyson's enchantress, as she mistakes her sketches for artistry in oils and is unable to keep from mingling scenes of loving happiness with scenes of violence or voyeurism. Unable to perceive a law or a good beyond her self, Miriam is trapped within her vision of art until violent action drags her out of it and leaves her on the lowest level of society as an imitation contadina.

Hilda, on the other hand, is associated with her namesake Saint Hilda of Whitby, whose name cogently suggests the major themes of Hawthorne's romance. Saint Hild, as Hawthorne knew from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, was the pious and learned abbess of the joint monastery for men and women at Whitby, England.\(^{12}\) Visiting the abbey at Whitby in July 1859, if he did not already know, he would have learned of its fame as the seat of the Synod of Whitby in 664. At that council the issue was the claims of the Celtic rites of Catholicism, especially regarding Easter, as opposed to the Roman rites. Hild favored the Irish; King Oswiu who presided over the meeting disagreed on the issue with his own son,

Alhfrith, who followed Rome. The council peacefully negotiated what might have become a bitter and bloody schism in the church and in the royal family. The implications of this peaceful solution to a moral problem, equal in the passions it provoked to the bitter division over slavery in America, could hardly have been lost on as astute an observer of history as Hawthorne.

St. Hilda's career is also interesting for her role, as a woman, in guiding the men and women who lived lives of holiness in the unusual joint monastery at Whitby which had one wing for men and another for women. An emblem of sexual separateness and unity in the quest for God, the dual monasteries acknowledged the complementarity of sexual being, while emphasizing the control possible over the world of flesh. Hawthorne could not have chosen a more appropriate model for a heroine who lives within and yet above the world. (St. Hilda reputedly lived thirty-three years outside the walls of a monastery and then thirty-three years within.) The *Marble Faun*, suggesting Hawthorne's Protestant sensibility, reverses the situation and has Hilda move into the world at the end of the novel. Yet Hawthorne always conceives of Hilda as a moral guide, much as Jean Décarreaux conceived of Hild; whose "piety, virtue, culture, and judgment were such that she was obliged to spend a good deal

\[\text{\textsuperscript{13}Bede's Ecclesiastical History, pp.299-309.}\]
of her time receiving kings, princes, and abbots in search of advice."14

Hilda of Whitby is singled out by Bede "for her innate wisdom and love of God," stressing her moral rather than her intellectual approach to existence. It is easy to see why Hawthorne, who distrusted the isolate intellect, would prefer a Hild to female saints like Catherine of Sienna or Theresa of Avila who taught in the universities of their days. Hild's reliance on spirit rather than her learning may be compared to Hilda's reliance on intuition. We need to note that this reliance represents a purification of Miriam's mode of perception not a brittle opposition to it. In The Marble Faun, Hawthorne is still seeking, as he had in his earlier works, a mode of intuitive perception which is not isolated in its own self-reference. As he did so, he was drawn more and more toward traditional forms of communal perception against which intuition may measure itself. In contrast to Emerson Hawthorne would relink the individual to other persons, communities, and times.

Yet another consideration may have been almost as important in the choice of Hilda's name. St. Hild is also famous as the abbess who brought to the attention of the English speaking world its first poet, Caedmon. Under her guidance Caedmon was encouraged to make his poetic

translations of the Biblical stories which are one of the
glories of Old English. The shy and retiring Hawthorne would
have felt a spiritual kinship with this man who mixed manual
work and poetry, of whose habits Bede writes, "when he saw
the harp approaching him, he would rise up in the middle of
the feasting, go out, and return home."\textsuperscript{15} In The Marble Faun
Hilda serves as a muse who purifies the art of Kenyon, much
as Hawthorne seems to have felt Sophia had done in his own
case.

But Hawthorne is not content merely to elevate Hilda to
the status of sainthood. His language hints ever more
clearly, it has been noted, at a relation between her and the
Virgin Mary. Leonard Fick mentions the numerous references
to the Virgin in Hawthorne's French and Italian Notebooks.
He also suggests that the Virgin's apparition to Bernadette
Soubirous at Lourdes in 1858, and her declaration, "I am the
Immaculate Conception," may have influenced Hawthorne.\textsuperscript{16}
Pius IX had established the Immaculate Conception as dogma in
1854; while in Rome the Hawthornes attended the consecration
of a column commemorating this event. Fick minimizes the
importance of these historical circumstances, lest they make
Hawthorne's references to Hilda as the Virgin seem too much
an "historical afterthought." Yet it has become apparent

\textsuperscript{15}Bede's Ecclesiastical History, p.417.

\textsuperscript{16}Rev. Leonard Fick, The Light Beyond: A Study of
Hawthorne's Theology (Westminster, Maryland: Newman, 1955),
pp.28-9.
that Hawthorne did not use history as an afterthought but as a vivid and contextual pattern.

We do not need to speculate on whether Hawthorne's religious position was Arminian, Puritan, or even Roman Catholic\(^\text{17}\) to see the implications of the doctrine of immaculate conception in his novel. We can assume, for lack of better evidence, that he did not accept that the Virgin Mary was born, albeit in a completely natural physical manner, with no taint of original sin through divine intervention. The idea behind the doctrine is none the less present in his own desire to create a redemptive female figure like Phoebe in *The House of the Seven Gables* or Hilda in *The Marble Faun*. For Hawthorne the image of divine motherhood is far more than nineteenth-century sentimentality. It implies his recognition that Mary's role as *theotokos*, declared at Nicea, is the basis for western valuation of women's rights and complementarity of roles, and

that her role as co-redemptrix of the race had changed the ideal social model of the Christian world from the patriarchal (that ill-defined and over-used word) to that of the divine family.

It is small wonder that Hawthorne should turn to this image of the Virgin when he saw the growing failure of the American experiment to produce "new Adams." Before our own century he had already, in Hester, Zenobia, and Miriam, admitted the bankruptcy of the Emersonian new woman. She would act the same as the Emersonian man, with gender-related differences, or become the natural victim of self-reliant solipsists. Hawthorne's frail hope lay in the vision of a woman whose power came from less corruptible sources than her own imagination. Logically Hilda must go to Rome and imbibe the spirit of a community deeply rooted in time, art, architecture, culture, and religion. It was dangerous for Hawthorne to subscribe to an image of womanhood so connected with the Catholic Church. He had to risk the censure of a parochial nation and deal with his own conscience, as he attempted to discern the best of the western heritage without commitment to a church which embodied that heritage.

Much has been written about Kenyon's request at the end of the last chapter in the original version of the novel: "Oh Hilda, guide me home." His is not an unreasonable request once we see Hilda as a woman whose freedom from selfishness has enabled her to achieve a clarity of vision superior to
any of the other characters. As a representative woman patterned after Abbess Hild she would be a suitable guide, even if she has not experienced every possible physical or mental desire. No one seriously argues that the modern psychiatrist should steep himself in psychotic delusions in order to guide his patients. It is perverse to argue, as Miriam does, that Hilda needs more flaws in order to be a better critic or a guide. This obscures the fact that, without striving for it, Hilda achieves the kind of power Miriam seeks. By obedience to her best instincts she becomes the only realistic leader in the novel. She may not suit every reader's notion of how to "empower" herself, but she does just that for Hawthorne.

One important detail in Hawthorne's portrayal of Hilda usually goes unnoticed, her tending of the lamp before the shrine of the Virgin in her tower home. Hawthorne concocts a legend, perhaps entirely on his own, that if this lamp goes out, the ownership of palace and tower will revert from its present unnamed owner to the Church. Thus Hilda's devotion to trimming the lamp not only enacts a personal love for the Virgin but has a practical dimension as well. When Hilda, after delivering Miriam's packet to the authorities in the Palazzo Cenci, is detained as a kind of hostage for Miriam, the lamp does indeed go out. Through her action, the Palazzo del Torre, or palace of the tower, once again belongs to the church. Hilda almost literally conveys a sense of the
historical office of the Virgin Mary, who as the mother of the Christ restores the world that Adam and Eve had lost.

What does Hawthorne mean by creating a situation where Hilda allegorically restores part of the physical world to the Catholic Church? The stock answer is that he just lost his grip on the details of his story. As an alternative, we might argue that Hilda fails her trust to the unnamed agency that lent her the tower. Or we can argue that when Hilda fulfills her old promise to Miriam, not knowing the nature of the errand she performs for a murderess, she has found the kind of selfless charity that brings the ideals of the church back into the world and the world into the church. This last, after all, is the meaning of incarnation, with which her story is so directly related. What makes the problem more complex is the clear implication that the palace of the world is given back to the church, not the other way around.

The sense of the church owning the world directly undermines Leon Chai's argument that Hawthorne sees divine providence as a moral truth which "is and must necessarily be subjective" but which "can only be achieved through lived experience."18 Behind these statements is Chai's belief that "For Hawthorne the element that fuses individuals into a collective humanity subsists not in their common nature

(with its postulation of a metaphysical oneness) but rather in the psychological agency of the affections."19 This interpretation seeks to maintain the moral coherence found in Hawthorne while positing that he accepted the ontological chaos of Romanticism. Almost from the moment that Locke wrote his *Essay on Human Understanding*, writers like Swift and Walpole saw that the psyche, divorced from the concept of a common nature, exhibits hostility to human collectivity. Romanticism attempts to restore a doctrine of innate ideas while making radiantly obscure what those common concepts might be. Precisely for this reason Hawthorne eschews a limited psychological solution and looks for figures of incarnation, presenting Hilda as a type of the Immaculate Conception.20 His image is not one of mere inexperience, but of the ability to purify experience itself. Hilda is not of course presented as the equal of the Virgin. Hawthorne responds to the same need that Henry Adams examines in his autobiography, the need for a vision to counter the dynamo, the symbol of the mind's attempt to reduce the world to mind,


20This theme of incarnation is the reason that Hawthorne makes so much, not only of the Virgin Mother, but of Raphael's painting of *The Assumption*, and Sodoma's *Christ at the Pillar*. Both achievements emphasize the humanity of Christ over any of his supernatural virtues. In Sodoma's work, almost as fleshly as the sculptures of Donatello, the divinity is made manifest by the way that sheer pity and sorrow dominates Christ's reaction to his torturers. *The Assumption* seems to show an ordinary man rapt up into the heavens with a face more attentive than exalted.
and the reductiveness attendant upon that attempt. The peril is so real that at times it threatens even to engulf Kenyon, the male counterpart for Hilda.

Kenyon is a man far superior to Coverdale or Chillingworth. He does not play the voyeur as a Zenobia destroys herself, secretly desiring her from afar even as he does not act to help her. Kenyon offers his friendship and understanding to Miriam, even as he refuses her offer of herself as a lover. Having drawn Donatello to aid her by a crime, Miriam wants Kenyon to aid her by becoming her judge. Whether he will react by sanctioning her deed or by trying to lead her to an awareness of her sin is almost irrelevant to her. What she demands is his complete allegiance to her being, expressed in the only way she will accept, as personal passion. This Kenyon refuses to give, and her pride will accept no lesser offer.

Kenyon is so balanced in his character that he has been called bland, this with some justice since Kenyon so easily adapts to the world of expatriate Americans, who avoid genuine contact with Europe in their self-imposed ghetto. In his work as a sculptor Kenyon makes models then leaves the actual carving of the marble to his Italian workmen. Never covered with stone dust, he serves as a controlling mind; but divorced from the world of matter he, like Emerson, treats

matter as the scoriae hands because his own are too pure for work. Cabbage and lime dust thrown on him during the Carnival ridicule this artistic pretentiousness. Similarly, when he finds the lovely, although partly corrupted figure of Venus, which Miriam and Donatello have discovered and left for him on the Campagna, it serves as a reminder that it is precisely in the form of marble and earthly scoriae that ideal beauty can survive the ravages of time, albeit with some tragic loss (MF 423-5). The creator does not survive, the object of beauty does, implying the community of thought between individuals and an objective quality of beauty which is an infinite repetition of a formal pattern.

But Kenyon has his role to play too in the drama of the times. Hawthorne's manuscripts show that Kenyon's name, far into the compositional process, was Graydon, an unusual name that may be traceable to an interesting volume called Memoirs of His Own Time with Reminiscences of the Men and Events of the Revolution, written by Alexander Graydon and published in Philadelphia.22 Edited by John Littell of the Pennsylvania Historical Society and reissued in 1846, the work originally had been published in 1811 "at an obscure, provincial press." Meanwhile, John Galt had republished the book in Edinburgh in 1822, believing it to be "the best personal narrative that has yet appeared relative to the history of that great

conflict which terminated in establishing the Independence of the United States."\textsuperscript{23}

This book may have interested Hawthorne, who was ejected from his position at the Salem Custom House, because Graydon was removed from the prothonataryship of Dauphin County by "Governor McKean,—to whom belongs the unenviable distinction of being the father of political proscription in the United States."\textsuperscript{24} Perhaps even more interesting to Hawthorne was Graydon's anger against Jefferson and the supporters of permanent revolution. Graydon fulminates of Jefferson that, "It would appear to have been his primary object, to discredit the republican form of government, by illustrating the abuses to which it is susceptible, and its proneness to become the prey of unprincipled intriguers."\textsuperscript{25} More virulently and explicitly than Hawthorne, Graydon expressed the fear that "To the sad example of former Republics, we are eagerly adding our own, and certifying in colossal characters to the world, the melancholy result of 'this last and fairest experiment,' in favor of free government." In nineteenth-century Rome where revolutionists schemed amid the ruins of failed governments, Graydon's words would ring with an especially ominous note.

\textsuperscript{23} Graydon, \textit{Memoirs}, p.xix.

\textsuperscript{24} Graydon, \textit{Memoirs}, p.xiii.

\textsuperscript{25} Graydon, \textit{Memoirs}, p.399.
With an urbane, almost Hawthornesque tone, Graydon's editor, Littell, declares in his introduction that he cannot "permit the fears or the doubts of the Author, or of any other equally thoughtful and patriotic men, to weaken his firm and abiding faith in the permanency of our institutions." Like Hawthorne, Littell has the ability to speak straightforwardly out of both sides of his mouth. Both Hawthorne and Littell seem to agree with Graydon's assessment that "We go on, and are getting rich, and have no tyranny and injustice that we do not inflict ourselves; and the great problem that yet remains to be solved, is, how long a Republic can flourish or subsist without good morals." Littell, in 1846, seems to ask whether stains must be washed from the flag in the most vicious style of partisan quarrel.

Kenyon, the name Hawthorne substituted for Graydon, has its own curious resonances. Kenyon was a name much in the news when Bishop Philander Chase of the Episcopal Church founded the theological seminary in Gambier, Ohio, for the education of ministers for the frontier regions of America. Chase was convinced that the eastern theological schools would produce men who had neither the fitness nor the willingness to extend the Church into his wilderness episcopate. In truth the desire of the eastern Episcopal establishment to keep power and influence centralized in its

26Graydon, Memoirs, p.xxi.

27Graydon, Memoirs, p.399.
hands became evident when it not only refused to give Chase any money but publicly smeared his name when he went to England to appeal for funds. To cap things off, the Hartford and New York seminaries then wanted to split the money Chase had collected after he had overcome the calumnies against him. Successful in establishing his seminary in spite of these churchly shenanigans, Chase later lost the presidency of his institution in a sudden coup. He tells his story in the Reminiscences he published in 1848.28

The seminary was named after one of its largest English beneficiaries, the second Baron Kenyon, whose father, the first Lord Kenyon, was the judge who presided over Edmund Burke's long prosecution of Warren Hastings for corruption and "Rapacity, violence and oppression to subjects and dependents."29 Burke's description of the treatment of the inhabitants of Rangpur by Hasting's native agent matches any description of vile cruelty, past or present, including American abolitionist horror stories.30 It was Burke's own conviction, justified or not, that "Lord Kenyon takes the lead in the protection of Hastings; and as he is a violent, hotheaded vulgar man, without the least Tincture of

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30 See Burke, Writings, pp.412-27.
Liberality, or generous erudition...he scruples nothing in the way to any Objects he has to gratify on the part of passion or of interest." In his covert defense of the mistreatment of other races in the English empire, the first Lord Kenyon then provides an interesting evocation of American apologists for slavery. Lord Kenyon's name recalls the very different way that his adversary, Hastings' foe and the great defender of English freedom, Burke, sought to remedy the problem of oppression through appealing to law and a common morality rather than violence and division.

Another connection between Hawthorne's Kenyon and his historical model is perhaps the relation of Baron Kenyon to the issue of Catholic Emancipation. Baron Kenyon's advice to George III on this problem is partially credited with retarding the extension of civil rights to Irish Catholics. Perhaps the immediate figure behind the Kenyon of The Marble Faun, however, is George, the second Baron Kenyon. This is the man who financially supported Chase's dream of a frontier citadel of Episcopalianism. One of the most notorious anti-Catholic bigots in the fight against the extension of British civil rights to its Catholic minority, he was the motive force behind several Protestant "clubs," whose purpose was to

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foment hatred for Catholics, keep them in fear, and pressure the government to retain the status quo.

The Catholic Emancipation crisis, as G.I.T. Machin points out, "was largely responsible for the ministerial divisions of 1827, and wholly responsible for the tory split of 1829." It was an issue that pitted Whig against Tory but found the "conservative" Marquess of Londonderry voting for freedom and the "liberal" Peel voting for repression. When the Duke of Wellington's government pushed emancipation through in 1829 his government lost its Whig support and collapsed. Lord Kenyon's aunt wrote of the hero of Waterloo, "he does deserve hanging."

The effects of the Test Act of 1663 had been to keep Catholics out of political office, while the cumulative effect of the Corporation Act and the English Penal Laws eliminated Catholics from the military, the law, and the universities. Even after the Emancipation of 1829, the Nonconformist Marriage Act of 1836, while finally permitting Catholics to be married by their own priests, declared the children of these marriages illegitimate. As such they might be separated from their parents as paupers and sent, for

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instance, back to Ireland. The Irish Famine combined with centuries of degrading laws left what the London City Mission Magazine in 1851 called "millions of our Popish countrymen living at our own door, who are almost as thoroughly sunk in ignorance, idolatry, and moral degradation as are the Hottentots and the negroes of Africa." The inherent dangers of such a situation among a group who formed "more than a third of the total population of England and Wales" was made clear when Sydney Smith threatened that Catholics "once wrested from their allegiance with England, would in three years render its existence as an independent nation absolutely impossible."

Hawthorne would have some justification for feeling that if England could begin to free the Irish and her own Catholic population from centuries of oppression and denial of their humanity, America might well find a way to end slavery without the threat of war. Joseph Hernon notes that before and during the Civil War both Irish Unionists and Separatists kept a keen eye on the American scene, seeing in it a parallel to their own problems and wondering if it would be

35Holmes, More Roman than Rome, p.41.  
solved by constitutional means or by division.\textsuperscript{38} The figure of Kenyon as artist and moral participant in the story of Donatello and Miriam suggests that The Marble Faun covertly recalls the political struggle which was testing the Christianity and the unity of England. By using the name Kenyon instead of Graydon, Hawthorne gained a set of allegorical associations which pointed both to the growth of the American frontier (with all its implications for the slave issue) and to a bitter civil conflict over a great injustice in the mother country. Perhaps he conceived that the peaceful though gradual resolution of that conflict could, by implication, serve as a contemporary model for his own nation.

\textsuperscript{38}Joseph M. Hernon, Jr., Celts, Catholics and Copperheads: Ireland Views the American Civil War (Ohio State UP, 1968), pp.1-10.
Chapter VI. GOTHICISM AND WHITE LIGHT

Permanence is but a word of degrees...Our culture is the predominance of an idea which draws after it this train of cities and institutions. Let us rise into another idea: they will disappear."  

Emerson

Since Hilda functions in The Marble Faun as the truly extraordinary channel of moral authority, she poses an alternative to the violent, self-righteousness of Miriam’s imperial mind. As the destined bride of Kenyon she offers him a choice other than following a mode of isolate creation. They have at least some potential to form a new American community which will transcend the contemporary bigotries and inhumanities by a gradual, interior conversion rather than a violent political upheaval. They will not destroy their community to reform it. Instead, educated by the old world they have paradoxically rediscovered, they will move back toward a continuity of order provided by communal authority. The climax of their education in the old world occurs in their encounter with the Catholic Church, especially in the chapters on "The World’s Cathedral" and "Miriam, Hilda, Kenyon, Donatello."

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Emerson, "Circles," Collected Works, p.179.
This chapter focuses on three major symbols of church and community in *The Marble Faun*: the seven-branched candelabrum, the Gothic cathedral, and Saint Peter's Basilica. In the novel each of these emblems stands explicitly for the one in the many. As a stark contrast to these images of community Hawthorne depicts the Pantheon, the great symbol of pagan pantheism, as an emblem of disunity.

A. The Menorah and Saint Michael

In the chapter called "The Emptiness of Picture Galleries" Hilda's love of the great art of the world temporarily fails her. The brute reality of paint on canvas can evoke only dismal sensations as long as her spirit is in a wrong relationship with God. Hilda is forced by the pressure of conscience to confess her knowledge of the Model's murder to a priest at Saint Peter's. Kenyon, witnessing this confession while being himself unseen, tries to warp Hilda's happiness at her confession into an expression of need for him. He is deeply threatened by the thought that an institution might help her in a way that he cannot.

At this juncture Hilda appeals to the story of the seven-branched candelabrum of the Temple at Jerusalem, which has been buried in the Tiber since the time of Constantine. The menorah becomes the direct inspiration for her fanciful idea of an American poem to be sung by seven different poets
"As each branch is lighted," she says, "it shall have a differently coloured lustre from the other six; and when all seven are kindled, their radiance shall combine into the intense white light of Truth!" Sacvan Bercovitch has interpreted Hilda's depiction of the candelabrum as echoing Cotton Mather's use of the candelabrum image to denote New England's "golden Age," his recounting of which appears in the seven books of *Magnalia Christi Americana*. Bercovitch regards the implied connection with Mather as a comparison between Hilda's "merciless" and "inhuman" attitude and Mather's "self-righteous" attitude.²

This reading is an example of the extremes to which the denigration of Hilda may lead even a scholar like Bercovitch. The inherent force of the menorah image is at once inclusionary and pluralistic. The candelabrum, with its differently colored lights, suggests the alliance of diverse forces and gifts which remain separate yet function harmoniously. Was not Hawthorne appealing to the image of the menorah as a symbol of the lost promise of a harmonious American Republic, made up of sovereign states which came together to promote the common good but are now divided by civil strife?

The menorah image reinforces a previous reference to the arch of Titus, a monument which records the Roman

enslavement of the Jewish nation and features a large carving of the menorah, one of the spoils from the temple at Jerusalem (MF 159-60). Murray’s Handbook would have informed Hawthorne that the candlestick was lost when Maxentius fled across the Milvian Bridge from the victorious Constantine.\(^3\) If the arch of Titus depicts the story of an enslaved people, it also underscores how transitory was the glory of Roman power. The candlestick was lost exactly at the moment when the fulfillment of Judaism in Christianity had conquered the Roman empire and made Rome the servant of a peaceful Jewish messiah. The menorah disappears in thirty feet of Tiber mud, but now the symbol of the cross signifies the same message of universality. Here again, in a way impossible to be anticipated, divine history has solved the seemingly insuperable problem of Rome’s opposition to the Christians. The fratricidal religious war within the Roman Empire ends as the sign given in the heavens to Constantine supersedes both the menorah and pagan Rome.

The theme of divine intervention and civil turmoil unites the menorah with Hilda’s other fanciful tale that depicts St. Michael arguing with Hadrian about possession of his tomb. The Tomb of Hadrian was often used as a central fortress during the internal wars that swept Rome throughout

her centuries. At the time Hawthorne was in Rome and went to visit the fortress, it was a highly visible symbol of the French army's occupation of Rome to defend the Papacy against the Risorgimento.

The statue of St. Michael was placed on the top of Hadrian's Tomb to celebrate the lifting of a great plague that came to Rome in 589 when the Tiber overflowed its banks and spread disease throughout the city. At that time St. Gregory the Great had been elected pope but not yet confirmed by the emperor, in part because Gregory did not want the office and its vexing responsibilities, including the protection of orthodox Romans persecuted for religious and financial reasons by Arian Lombards, not to speak of the even more important task of reforming a clergy which had become too rich. Gregory had to deal immediately with the plague, however; so he called for penitential acts, including a great procession made up of seven separate streams of people—of clergy, of monks, sisters, children, laymen, widows, and married women—setting out from different places in the city and uniting at the Basilica of the Blessed Virgin. The story goes that Gregory, as he crossed the Bridge of Hadrian (Ponte San Angelo), saw a vision of St. Michael sheathing his sword as a sign that the plague would be contained.5 Hadrian's

tomb came to be called Castel San Angelo and the great statue of the Archangel Michael was later installed on the dome.

Hadrian's tomb surmounted by the statue of St. Michael symbolizes the replacement of one order with a transcendent order not anticipated in the plans or calculations of the original human (and pagan) artists. The new order arose from community of belief, not from a coup or violent millennial struggle. Hilda's suggestion to the poets of America is a suggestion to her politicians and thinkers. The true American order will not be achieved by violent separation in a civil conflict but by the reconciliation of differences in a community that transcends them.

B. Ruskin and the Gothic Cathedral

This idea is probably more a reflection of the thought of John Ruskin's Seven Lamps of Architecture than of Cotton Mather's Magnalia. Published in 1849, followed by a second edition in 1855, Ruskin's reinterpretation of the Gothic radically revised the myth of medieval barbarism. Modifying the American parochial animus against the Catholic imagination and its iconography, it opposed the ideal of a community of labor to the anomic life of the industrializing city. Ruskin's contributions to the Gothic revival influenced the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood just as his ideas
on the dignity of the workman influenced the early social-minded and socialist thinkers.  

We know that Hawthorne read Ruskin's earlier work, was interested in the Pre-Raphaelite painters, and would be frequently confronted with Ruskin's preeminent reputation in England.  

Ruskin's lamps—of sacrifice, truth, power, beauty, life, memory, and obedience—are, to be sure, central topoi in *The Marble Faun*. Dennis Berthold's article, "Hawthorne, Ruskin, and the Gothic Revival: Transcendent Gothic in *The Marble Faun,*" traces the importance of Ruskin to Hawthorne's growing love of the Gothic. Hawthorne admired Gothicism's ability to unite Nature and Classicism; Gothicism "represents the best of both worlds and is a link between the two," he said. "It is art made better by its adherence to natural models, and nature revealed to man's finite vision by the explanatory powers of art."  

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As Ruskin saw, Gothic is a mode which encompasses the ordinary and the extraordinary in human life, bringing them together in the great cathedral as a physical allegory of the divine. "The real power of Gothic for Hawthorne," Berthold writes, "lay in its ability to bridge [the] gulf between earth and spirit, man and God, and to provide a tangible link between the finite and the infinite even as it made us aware of our distance from the Absolute."\(^9\) It is not incidental that this is an exact description of what Hilda does. Gothic architecture is analogous in effect to the harmony of the occasional rare soul or saint.

Marjorie Elder says that the Gothic gave Hawthorne access to "(1) an increased majesty and (2) a more extensive minuteness" because it combines virtually limitless detail with grandeur of conception.\(^{10}\) When Donatello and Kenyon come to Perugia they find in "the shadow of the Cathedral and other old Gothic structures" a gathering of all types of people at a celebratory "country-fair." Here everything from yarn stockings to tin-ware, French novels, and crucifixes is on sale (MF 311). The ancient buildings and the contemporary babble blend effortlessly into community. Against the background of the inclusive, monumental past voices of daily life echo with "a kind of poetic rhythm."


Describing the central market square at Perugia, Hawthorne is in a way commenting on his own *Scarlet Letter*. The church and the jailhouse mark the borders of utopia in Boston. The Perugian square is bounded on one side by an immense gothic "edifice devoted to public purposes" and on the other by "the medieval front of the Cathedral" (MF 312). Hawthorne expresses his sense of the grandeur of common public life in Perugia when he says that although the edifice opposite the cathedral is "merely the municipal Council-House and Exchange of a decayed country-town," it is beautiful enough to hold both the Parliament and the palace of a nation.

As for the cathedral, it becomes an emblem of Hawthorne's conception of *The Marble Faun*. The cathedral so skillfully combines a grand design with a miracle of minute details that it seems as if the architect "must have softened the stone into wax, until his most delicate fancies were modeled in the pliant material, and then had hardened it to stone again." To put things in more literary terms: "The whole was a vast, black letter page of the richest and quaintest poetry" (MF 312). Hawthorne emphasizes the parallel between the ideas an architect turned into stone and those the author fixes in the word. Both architect and novelist desire to create a public space, an expression of the world which unites the private vision of the artist with the accumulated knowledge of the centuries.
The fountain outside of the cathedral helps us understand Hawthorne's affinity for the Gothic. Reflected in that fountain, "the Gothic imagination showed its overflow and gratuity of device in the manifold sculptures, which it lavished as freely as the water did its shifting shapes." Referring to the many works of human hands—whether painting, sculpture, architecture, or knowledge—Hawthorne creates his novel in the image of a cathedral, with its many niches and shrines, altars and gargoyles, that focus the reader on the world as it presents itself in specificity. Yet all these devices unite in a harmonizing vision of the disparate elements formed into a world. Immersed in the water of the fountain, marble and bronze change shape, just as, existing in time, individual perception alters the way each observer sees the enduring beneath the momentary.

That same interplay of essence and perception is evident in the differing ways Miriam and Hilda interpret Guido's portrait of Saint Michael. The interplay reemerges in the novel as Kenyon and Donatello take their pilgrimage through the Christianized arcadia of the Italian countryside. While Donatello is interested in shrines where he may offer penitential prayer, Kenyon is interested in the beauty which reminds him of Hilda. Stopping "whenever they found a cathedral, therefore, or a Gothic church," Kenyon is especially captivated by the stained glass windows: "as often as he gazed at them, the sculptor blessed the medieval time"
(MF 303). The windows represent for him the highest achievement of humanity, because they combine the purity of natural light and the purity of the artifice of color created by an artist and imparted by the stained glass. In the words of rich incarnational mystery, which seem to recall and answer Melville's comments on whiteness as "a colorless, all-color of atheism," Kenyon sees: "the unfading colors transmute the common daylight into a miracle of richness and glory, in its passage through the heavenly substance of the blessed and angelic shapes, which throng the high-arched window."

But where Kenyon finds beauty and glory, Donatello, fearing the wrath of the truly divine, finds terror. Asserting that "each must interpret for himself," he sees "wrath, not Love!" (MF 306). Hawthorne sets the confrontation between divine wrath and love in the context of a religious tradition in which the two alternate modes are the part of a continuing summons to the good. Hawthorne makes this difference between the essence and the outward appearance of something more clear when his characters move outside the church to look at the dullness of the windows when viewed from without. Kenyon points out the moral that "Christian Faith is a grand Cathedral, with divinely pictured windows. Standing without, you see no glory, nor can

possibly imagine any; standing within, every ray of light reveals a harmony of unspeakable splendours!"

An accurate vision of the church is far beyond the time-bound capacity of the New Man, whom Donatello momentarily resembles before his decision to confess. His isolation leaves him virtually blind since he sees only darkness. The deceptive character of the Transparent Eyeball becomes apparent when any one man regards the public body of knowledge about the faith, defined long ago and yet continuously defined anew. Hawthorne's vision of the edifice of knowledge is an inclusive metaphor of reality which demands the participation of the human race throughout time.  

C. The Cathedral of the World

Hawthorne perceived the multiplicity of the Gothic, which so closely resembles nature, in a great architectural work which is not Gothic at all but which exhibits the same universality, St. Peter's Basilica. Hilda's "pre-conception

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12 This drive toward inclusive vision lies behind both the Gothicism of the middle ages, and the Gothic of Walpole, Radcliffe et al. The characteristics of terror and mystery in the later gothic arises when the mind cannot control or properly correlate its diverse phantasmagoria. Eighteenth-century Gothicism shows the inability to move comfortably between the spiritual and physical dimensions of allegory. The nineteenth-century tries, sometimes feebly, to inhabit both worlds again. Certainly Hawthorne uses what Lundblad calls "the whole machinery of Gothic Romance" but he pushes beyond even "sterne and psychological truth" toward a coherent ontology and epistemology, The Tradition of Gothic Romance, pp. 29, 95.
of Saint Peter's was a structure of no definite outline, misty in its architecture, dim, and gray, and huge" (MF 348). She was so enamoured of her own imagining that when she sees the reality she "profanely" calls it "a great prettiness...a jewel-casket, marvelously magnified." Her deprecation of the cathedral recalls Miriam's scorning Guido's Michael, with his "prettily sandalled foot" (MF 184). Like Miriam, not even Hilda is totally immune to the gnostic temptation to construct her own personal vision of the divine: "her childish vision seemed preferable to the Cathedral, which Michael Angelo, and all the great architects, had built."

There are two main reasons why Hilda, has such difficulty. The first is gnostic pride: "Beneath that vast breadth and height, as she had fancied them" of her hazy image of the cathedral, "the personal man might feel his littleness, and the soul triumph in its immensity" (MF 349). This apparent humility about the "personal man" is little more than the old gnostic despising of the flesh and the material in order to worship man as a soul so immense that it is God-like. Christian doctrine concentrates on the cleansing of the soul, not on glorifying its immensity, which, without purity, may contain immense evil.

In addition to the fall in man's will, there is the problem of the resulting fall in the world itself. In the post-lapsarian state, what Hawthorne writes about the physical church is just as true of the metaphysical church,
"it can nowhere be made visible at one glance. It stands in its own way." A flawed creature composed of spirit and flesh likewise stands in its own way, since its dualism does not cohere. The great promise of gnostic thought is that it can simplify the situation by legislating one or the other side of the dualism out of existence, or reducing it to a mere obstruction. In the context of Romantic epistemology, duality is difficult to keep in focus because the physical sensations which are said to be the basis of ideas must be mediated by a non-physical, possibly divine inspiration. Small wonder that Hawthorne comments that the church stands in its own way. In the church, the world, and the individual, the material element pushes the mind toward the over-particular while the spiritual pulls it toward the unseeable.

Hawthorne's vision does not promise to eliminate that problem. Instead he presents the inclusive and expansive history of human community through time, in the arts, in intellect, ethics, politics, and the church. Both the Gothic cathedral and Saint Peter's Cathedral exhibit the inclusive and grand united with the minute and particular. "For all response" to the demands of individual perspective the church says, "'Look at me!'--and if you still murmur for the loss of your shadowy perspective, there comes no reply, save, 'Look at me!'--in endless repetition, as the one thing to be said" (MF 350)
Repetition of "Look at me"—which recalls "Ecce Homo," the demand for attention to the intersection of God and man in the Incarnation—calls a person to look "many times, with long intervals between." Hawthorne, in other words, suggests a visionary process that will allow no one moment of insight to become absolute. What is achieved in responding to the imperative "Look at me" is not the ratiocinative proof of anything; rather, "you discover that the Cathedral has gradually extended itself over the whole compass of your idea; it covers all the site of your visionary temple, and has room for its cloudy pinnacles beneath the Dome" (MF 350).

Eventually the real structure proves to have dwarfed what had appeared, owing to its mistiness and lack of definite outline, to be so vast. It seems as if Hawthorne were consciously reversing Emerson's dictum from The Divinity School Address that "the moment the mind opens, and reveals the laws which traverse the universe, and makes things what they are, then shrinks the great world at once into a mere illustration and fable of this mind." 13 Compared to the substantial and public edifices built by human community, the imperial vision eventually becomes evanescent and insubstantial.

Hawthorne marvels that the enclosed Dome of the cathedral opens up the structure as a bridge between the material and the heavenly: "those lofty depths seemed to

13Emerson, Collected Works, p.76.
translate the heavens to mortal comprehension, and help the spirit upward to a yet higher and wider sphere" (MF 351). Without a tangible, publicly apprehendable standard for comparison, infinity as imagined by any one person may only be Hamlet's kingdom in a nutshell. In this image, as in so many other places, Hawthorne demonstrates the problems which the psychology of personal sensation creates. When Hilda is in her tower home, she says that "A height of some fifty feet above the roofs of Rome gives me all the advantages that I could get from fifty miles of distance" (MF 54). It is as if she experiences the dislocation of perspective which Gulliver undergoes in Lilliputa or Brobdignag; fifty feet are suddenly as effective as fifty miles. Kenyon's metaphor about the difference between being inside versus outside of the stained glass windows, as well as his dispute with Donatello about love and wrath return to the same subject. Hilda's quarrel with the reality of Saint Peter's is of the same order.

These examples of the uncertainty about sense information and the thoughts which they accompany do not fit easily into a Lockean psychology, a commonsense epistemology or modern skepticism. In each case the sensual differences point to an essential fact which may be ignored or not. Hilda's height above the city is not mistaken by her as distance, but is symptomatic of the change that her moral being makes in the whole world around her, bypassing the noisome aspects of city life for sunshine and clouds. Her
slight extra height above the other characters directly changes the quantity and quality of what she can know and how she effects others. The interior of the Gothic church is not an illusion that contradicts the exterior, but a completion of the knowledge that is available outside, on the other side of the colored windows. As Hawthorne explicitly notes, Saint Peter's has more than enough room to contain Hilda's vision and have generous surplus. In each case the apparent difference of psychological perspective is drawn toward and completed in a much larger public truth. The act of perception need not separate us into incommunicable monads, but can lead to an accumulative picture of what has inspired each response. Then an idea may indeed change the course of civilization, but not the sort of idea to which Emerson casually suggests we rise at our own good fancy. The only ideas that will serve are manifold enough that they are ones to which most honest minds can find their ways to assent.

D. Restoring the Golden Bowl?

Architecture is a major medium for representing the truth of a culture. As Hilda and Kenyon observe how all classes and conditions of society find themselves at home amid the multitudinous detail and inclusive grandeur of St. Peter's, they discover how the cathedral is matched by the Catholic religion itself (MF 297-8, 344-7). As Edward Wagenknecht notes, Hawthorne was far ahead of his time in his
open-mindedness toward the Catholic church. Hawthorne admires the way that the faith evidenced by and in the cathedrals extends into the life of the countryside, as shown by the many roadside shrines at which Donatello and Kenyon stop on their journeying (MF 296-8). He is taken with the devotion of the Italians to the image of sacred motherhood, and with their sense of the community between dead saints and living persons. Hawthorne probably crossed the line of nineteenth-century Protestant tolerance, however, when he allows Hilda, "a daughter of the Puritans," gratefully to confess to an old Catholic priest.

Hawthorne was greatly struck by the confessional booths in St. Peter's, marked with signs for all the major languages of the world, as an expression of the universal nature of the Catholic faith, and its embrace of all people in one community. In the confessional "there was access to the Divine Grace for every Christian soul; there was an ear for what the overburthened heart might have to murmur, speak in what native tongue it would" (MF 356). In the confessional Hilda finally rids herself of the pain of her guilty knowledge about the crime of Miriam and Donatello. More than anyone in the novel but Donatello, she moves outward to the living unity of Christian belief in a community of faith.

But the inhering weakness of even Hilda's position emerges after her confession, as she tries to explain to the old priest, himself from New England fifty years ago, why she would take advantage of the confessional although not a Catholic.

I am a motherless girl, and a stranger here in Italy. I had only God to take care of me, and be my closest friend; and the terrible, terrible crime, which I have revealed to you, thrust itself between Him and me; so that I grasped for Him in the darkness, as it were, and found Him not--found nothing but a dreadful solitude, and this crime in the midst of it!" (MF 359)

Her sense of being motherless comes from her acknowledged lack of a maternal image of holiness in her American Protestantism, a lack that she sees supplied in Italian life by the saints and the Virgin Mary. Her sense of isolation, and of separation from God, even though the result of the sins of another, point out the despair natural to a soul facing evil without any community to act as the body of God's intercession.

Hilda's understanding of the power she is calling on is naive. She expects the priest to maintain the seal of confession even though she herself neither fully grasps nor assents to the sacrament. In other words she expects the priest to be bound by an eternal act while she remains
outside of its force, bound only by her own conscience. The seal is on the confessional because the words are directed to God through the priest, just as absolution is directed from God to the person through him. If Hilda does not believe in the absolution or even the need of the priest for the confession, as she says, then she is merely having a heart-to-heart chat with a kindly stranger. That she should then feel the stranger to be bound not to speak to the authorities about a matter of life and death is illogical. The truth is that Hilda recognizes the holiness of the act but is herself not yet willing to be bound by it. To this extent her title as "daughter of the Puritans" is well earned. In this sense she is once again the sister of Miriam, both within and outside of the community whose rights she seeks to claim.

The priest clearly explains the limits of her heart's sense of rightness: "you confuse yourself between right-feelings and very foolish inferences" (MF 361). While being careful to hint that the authorities already know about Miriam and Donatello, he makes it clear that he is not bound by how she feels about the situation, that there is an objective component as well. Her marginalized status in her encounter with the priest has nothing to do with her sex or her country of origin, but with her own withholding of responsibility to the community whose legitimacy she seeks. Yet with Hilda, there is a sense that she is acting in ignorance, not in pure presumption. When he asks if she will
come the rest of the way into the Church she says to her benefactor, "I dare not come a step further than Providence shall guide me." She remains open to guidance beyond herself, even if she is not very clear about how such guidance can come. She emphasizes that she will remember his kindness and someday may "thank you for it, in the better land!" (MF 362)

Hilda later tells Kenyon that she would have confessed to him had he been there. But it is part of Hawthorne's point that a suitable "personal" confessor is often not there when the soul needs such aid. Moreover, Kenyon's own lack of wisdom to see through Miriam's sophistic arguments might have made him a very poor sort of confessor indeed. Had he reassured Hilda with the same sort of lame excuses he accepted from Miriam, or vague murmurings concerning a "felix culpa," she might have responded with the kind of candor that disturbed the complacency of her self-exculpating friend.

Kenyon is filled with a priggish horror at Hilda's confession. The American abroad, full of admiration for Rome and its culture, he still shares the virulent anti-Catholicism of most Americans in the nineteenth-century. He rants about "that mass of unspeakable corruption, the Roman Church" and "the arts of a priesthood." Kenyon is stung by Hilda's action into the most petty and vindictive statements he makes in the novel. Kenyon resists the idea that any
institution could have the moral authority which he so willingly grants to this young woman.

While he is willing to ask Hilda to "guide him home," he shudders from the thought of the sinful men who must be used to run the machinery of a universal yet earthly church. Hilda asks, "Why should I not be a Catholic" and wonders at "the exhuberance with which [the church] adapts itself to all the demands of human infirmity" (MF 368). Yet she says if it were run by ministers "a little more than human, above all errour, pure from all iniquity, what a religion it would be!" Kenyon sees this as a fine piece of bitter sarcasm against the "corrupt priesthood," although Hilda makes it clear she meant no biting humor. Neither Hilda nor Kenyon perceives that while her caveat applies to the Catholic church, it is even more applicable to the antinomian believer in the priesthood of each member of the faith. Neither the members of the universal church nor the Protestant priesthood of the believer are above all error or iniquity. But the story of each--Kenyon, Hilda, Miriam, and Donatello--underscores the fact that the individual who listens only to his or her own soul is in the most danger of immoral action and despair.

The ironic lack of understanding by the Americans is driven home when Kenyon suggests that Saint Peter's needs stained glass windows to filter its clear white light. Then it would have a fairy tale splendour like the palace of Aladdin, suitable for what he derides as that "brilliant
illusion" of Catholic faith (MF 366). He has conveniently forgotten his remarks to Donatello about the religious quality of stained glass windows; he also ignores the fact that Saint Peter's accomplishes a Gothic-like expression of the heavenly, while still maintaining the purity of the white light. In a way that he refuses to recognize, the white light of St. Peters has deeply moved Hilda.

Hilda is able to achieve a partial sense of community, first with the great masters of painting, then with the externals of the Church, finally in her decision to marry Kenyon. Kenyon is more alienated than Hilda; he has some feeling of communion with artists but only with one other person, Hilda. He will allow her to serve as his moral guide but he cannot subscribe to the institutional guidance of the Church. This is not because he doubts the absolute reality of which the church is the scoriæ, but because he cannot free himself from the power of his own will. He demands the final word in the interplay between his subjectivity and the evidences of that absolute. To give over the power of absolution to an earthly man is to Kenyon to give up his own being.

Hilda is not threatened by such a thought. She feels the necessity of confessing to more than her own soul and mind, the necessity of which Hester, in The Scarlet Letter, is also aware, although she never truly achieves it. Kenyon, like the Reverend Dimmesdale, cannot bring himself to
objectify the soul. Unlike Dimmesdale he is never forced by events to do so, so his conversion is not complete. Believing in an objective law, as he amply demonstrates in his "marriage sermon" to Miriam and Donatello, Kenyon yet refuses to believe anyone can truly accept it.\(^{15}\) Thus Kenyon must return to America, and divorce himself at least spatially from Europe. Although he has moved far out and away from Emerson's desire to in effect identify himself with the Holy Ghost, Kenyon has reached a point where he must simply become silent, not, as Henry Sussman suggests, because he has realized that words have no reference,\(^{16}\) but because he has reached the point that Eliot reaches in the wasteland where the next thing said may bring "the awful daring of a moment's surrender/ which an age of prudence can never retract." Kenyon's acceptance of Hilda's guidance may someday undo his mind's solipsistic effort to change the relation of human being to deity and natural law. The next steps will take him out of America and back to the community of Europe and the Church as Fairbanks and Fick suggest.\(^{17}\)

\(^{15}\)He speaks as a priest as the two respond antiphonally of his attempt at "the absolute truth." This includes Providence, mystery, another state of being, black threads of sin, penitence, and Heaven (MF 322-24).


\(^{17}\)Fairbanks, The Lasting Loneliness of Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Fick, The Light Beyond.
This may not have been what Hawthorne himself desired to do, but as Marion Montgomery suggests, it may be why Hawthorne was "melancholy."

Marriage is the most inclusive fulfillment Hilda and Kenyon together are able to achieve. But this is not the divine marriage envisioned by Shakespeare, where the earthly marriage symbolizes the harmony of the political community and of heaven with earth. Nor is it the marriage of all the world that occurs in Spenser's *Epithalamion*. Hilda and Kenyon will return to America, where they will live without a tradition of art, without a common Christianity, perhaps even without a common nation if the dispute over slavery pushes further apart the contentious factions in the land.

E. The Pantheon and Transparent Eyeballs

In *The Marble Faun* the Pantheon is ironically described as a something that "often presents itself before the bewildered stranger, when he is in search of other objects" (*MF* 456). It is, so to speak, like an erroneous answer that seems to thrust itself forward when one really wants to find another solution. The nature of that wrong answer is hinted at by Kenyon when he declares that the open Dome of the Pantheon, "that great Eye, gazing heavenward," is heathenish. Hilda hopes that the sunshine coming fitfully through the aperture might reveal "angels hovering there" whose presence would be, in a phrase reminiscent of Kenyon's stained glass
windows, "not intercepting the light, but only transmuting it into beautiful colors" (MF 457). Yet in reality the sunlight reveals only a tabby cat setting herself up on a saint's shrine. Kenyon says that the only fit place for a pure spirit to pray is under the great eye, where one is "face to face with the Deity." But the reality is that the open eye is an aperture through which "so much rain has fallen there, in the last two thousand years, that it is green with small, fine moss, such as grows over tombstones in a damp English churchyard" (MF 457).

Kenyon's concept of the Pantheon is further undercut by the appearance of Miriam, whose face is "invisible, behind a veil or mask," in exactly the space which he suggests "as the only one whence prayers should ascend" (MF 459). His final sight of Miriam sets up a direct confrontation in the mind of Kenyon between the sophistic, egocentric presumptions of Miriam and the humble, sympathetic understanding of Hilda. Reflecting on Miriam's "felix culpa" excuse for her guilt in urging Donatello to murder her "model," Kenyon wonders aloud whether sin, like sorrow, is "merely an element of human education, through which we struggle to a higher and purer state than we could otherwise have attained."

Hilda's response to Kenyon is logical and clear. She pities him and "could weep" for his moral bankruptcy if she did not suspect that he may not, really, believe what he posits. She sees, as Kenyon seems incapable of doing, that
the axiom which he is parroting makes a mockery "not only of religious sentiment, but of moral law" (MF 460). If one assumes that God wanted Adam to sin so that man might be punished and then glorified, then the Christian vision is distorted into sadism. Hilda might just as easily have gone on to say that Kenyon's doctrine would destroy free will and moral choice.

Kenyon's distortion of the paradox that God returns good for evil seems to end here as he submits himself to the wisdom of Hilda and asks her for guidance in the oft-noted plea, "Oh, Hilda, guide me home!" This is among Hawthorne's most positive comments on the role of woman's wisdom in the mutual moral guidance of a family. Although Miriam arises from the floor of the Pantheon and extends "her hands with a gesture of benediction," Hilda and Kenyon allow her to go without a word. Their former companion's extended hands "even while they blessed, seemed to repel, as if Miriam stood on the other side of a fathomless abyss, and warned them from its verge" (MF 461). Miriam wears the veil of a penitent, but we are left to wonder whether it has become the sign of repentance or, like "the Minister's Black Veil," the sign of a still greater separation from humanity? Miriam's gesture of benediction is curious, paralleling, as it does, Kenyon's ambiguous assumption of the role of priest in Perugia. In another ironic aside we find that the two lovers recognize her only when Miriam makes this gesture (perhaps imagining
herself the Juno to whom Hawthorne compares her in the first chapter, now returned to her natural home in the Pantheon).

What is more ominous is the attraction which the great eye of the Pantheon holds for Miriam. The possibility of a direct sight of God—which Kenyon half believes the great eye of the Pantheon offers—may confirm Miriam's sense that she is fit to play God. That "open Eye" which Kenyon and Miriam try to defend against the humanly mediated church is a bitter comment on Emerson's Transparent Eyeball and its unique fitness to declare the truth of things. Kenyon's attraction to the Great Eyeball collapses into the admission that he needs the human mediation of Hilda, even if he temporarily remains the foe of Christianity. If Miriam is no longer trying to become the transparent eyeball of Emerson's "Nature," she seeks to make her "religion" into such a marvelous optic. Is it purely coincidental that out of all the hundreds of churches in Rome she seeks out the one that puts her in the direct eyeshot of Heaven? Miriam seeks no community in her religion, none of the mediating love of the earthly virgin or the grand community of St. Peter's. We find her alone in the old center of pantheistic worship, praying at no Catholic or Christian shrine, but to the sight of the unreachable sky. No wonder that she seems to repel; her penance has not drawn her deeper into a community of belief, but sent her off alone again.
There is little to wonder at that she should either warn her old friends away from the chasm, or repel their friendship. We can speculate charitably that perhaps she is so new to the road of repentance that she can neither cross over from the chasm that isolates her nor ask help in crossing it. Then warning them would be all that she could do. On the other hand, she may be as confirmed as ever in her belief that she alone can decide the right from wrong, who is worthy to live, who should be murdered. Then it might be very inconvenient indeed to talk to these friends who know her as she is. They might even be indelicate enough to ask where Donatello is or how he does.

Miriam does send a bridal present to Hilda, a costly bracelet, made from seven stones dug from seven separate Etruscan princely tombs. Miriam had once told fanciful tales about each stone, thus enfolding them in a "sevenfold sepulchral gloom." To Hilda the gift is "in its entire circle, the symbol of as sad a mystery as any that Miriam had attached to the separate gems." To those who see the stones as symbolic of the artistic imagination, Hilda's attitude is

18 Certainly there is little of Baym's generous and loving Miriam here (The Shape of Hawthorne's Career, p.241) or Morris's "knowledge that lies beyond Kenyon's scruples or Hilda 's purity in a realm that has great creative potential" ("Rhetoric in a Romance: An Unstable Synthesis in The Marble Faun," p.212). If that potential is realizable only by displacing passion from the comic world to "the tragic world associated with art" then Sussman leaves little room for the comic vision in Hawthorne or anyone else (The Marble Faun and the Space of American Letters," p.218).
the rejection of a free play of fancy. But if we see in the 
bracelet Miriam's associations with death and the plundering 
of the grave, we may interpret it as a symbol of the self-
enclosed circle of mind from which Miriam cannot and does not 
escape, as a symbol of the true death of art, of the 
aesthetic collapsed into the self.

If Hilda is devoted to the art of Raphael and his 
religious subjects, if she is at home in the architecture of 
resurrection, Miriam's art is that of death and her home in 
the pantheon's white light (Melville's all-color of atheism) 
or the darkness of the Etruscan sepulchre. For her the dead 
stay dead and the lover goes to the prison house. It is 
small wonder that if there is any lightening in the vision of 
her fate it comes because "Hilda had a hopeful soul, and saw 
sunlight on the mountain-tops" (MF 462). This does not 
imply that Hilda is mindlessly hopeful, in despite of 
knowledge she does not possess. But in The House of the 
Seven Gables, Hawthorne writes that those who have wandered 
out of the common way of life "desire nothing so much as to 
be led back. They shiver in their loneliness, be it on a 
mountain-top or in a dungeon." Hilda is the only Hawthorne 
character who ascends to the mountain-top and is not left to 
shiver in the dark.
EPILOGUE

This study will have achieved its purpose if it helps lay to rest two critical misconceptions about The Marble Faun. The first is that it is an incoherent romance about a heroine who commits murder for almost no reason, when it is instead a many-leveled attack on the isolation of the imperial mind. Hawthorne mocks the ethical pretenses of the self-contradictory new woman or man as embodied in the person of Miriam. In a portrait far less ambiguous than that of Hester in The Scarlet Letter, he has Miriam commit a crime for which amends cannot be made to the victim, as Hester tries to do in the case of Chillingworth. Miriam implicates Donatello, innocent of all but rage, in a crime that destroys him, then offers herself as reward and salvation. Hawthorne in a sense anticipates the new aesthetics—predicts an art cut off from the past, banal and given to cultic elitism. He demands that we face the need for a Christian standard against which to judge the vagaries of sensual perception and our own private visions of life. Against Emerson he asserts the continuity of human effort in art, philosophy, ethics, and religion.

The second great error in the critical understanding of The Marble Faun is the failure to recognize Hilda as the
heroin. Representing both achieved strength and promised potential—one whose womanliness requires community with the male to complete it—she is the exemplar of Hawthorne's concept of the redemptive power of the feminine acting in purity of conscience.

If we clarify these two errors in the interpretation of The Marble Faun, we may see the political implications of the novel, its attack on the developing value system of the young Republic's "progressive" elite. Having abandoned their faith in the Christian doctrine of sin and suffering, they tended to locate the force of godhead as inherent in the human mind, where it waits to be actualized. If this actualization was to occur, then the culture would have to be purified, here, now, quickly. The new American would be messianic, full of the rationalist projector's solutions combined with stern Puritanic zeal. If there was a wrong, the American would need to pick up a gun and right it. They would show that the elect still existed, in the Congregation of the Holy Individual.

Hawthorne saw that such an elite, especially as represented by the New England Americans, was ripe for almost any adventure: reforming Europe or scourging the slave South. Following the model of a perpetually new relation to the universe, who could learn from past mistakes of other cultures, or other contemporaries? The mood of his countrymen did not acknowledge the common humanity of men,
but was geared to lead the states to the promised land, and kill anyone who got in the way. Ironically, Americans would do so in the name of a "racial type" they despised, even as they played messiah to it. Against this mood Hawthorne poses his story of the wrong involved in killing one man to "reform" his ways, and makes Miriam the exemplar of the will to control the representative of a savage, "semi-human" race, which she, the controller, regarded with scorn even as she enjoyed his usefulness. After Donatello had been wrenched out of all relationship to the land and customs he lived by, she attempted to substitute herself for what he had lost—morality, law, and religion.

Miriam's attempt fails. In a surprising move the semi-savage assumes the moral leadership of the situation, revealing the emptiness of Miriam's promises. In a strategy that long predates William Faulkner, Hawthorne suggests the role of the despised and less sophisticated as a morally redeeming center for those who are most fully lost. Like the Negroes of Yoknapatawpha County, Donatello represents a race that sees with directness of spirit, sees the need for the oldest traditions of his faith. The Faun's reaction to his own crime points to the necessity of community—embbodying a continuous tradition of ethical and religious standards—as the judge of the individual conscience. The community, based on its tradition and religion, judges the individual, whether Hester Prynne, Zenobia, Miriam Schaefer, the elusive
Kenyon, the semi-savage Donatello, or the singularly-named Hilda. On a larger scale it judges the society of a young Republic in the light of past civilizations. The new republic in history exists not in a new relation to deity but in relation to the enduring ideas which have been reiterated through many painful ages.

One of these ideas is marriage, which emphasizes being in the flesh as a social bond. The dislocation of soul from both mind and flesh is the distortion which Hawthorne warns against. In a nation that seems to have abandoned all other past wisdom, he celebrates the primacy of marriage against the isolate mind. This might be all he has to pose against "the terrible swift sword" of New England judgment. Let the perfected couple shun, but not destroy the errant sister or brother. Learn in the harmony of marriage how to live in society more tolerantly, both of the contemporary and of the temporal "other." So Hawthorne ends a novel that is basically an allegorical comment on the issues of war, of mind, of art, and religion, in the simplicity of marriage. Adherence to this sacrament was perhaps the last hope Hawthorne could offer a nation moving inexorably in millennial anger toward its fate.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


VITA

Henry M.W. Russell received the B.A in English at Princeton University in 1976, and the M.A. in English, with special concentration in Creative Writing, under the direction of James Dickey at the University of South Carolina in 1981. He has published articles on John Crowe Ransom, Ulysses S. Grant, Hawthorne, Tennyson, Kipling, Solzhenitsyn, and Sidney. Associate editor of the sole journal that publishes metrical poetry only, The Formalist, he has published poems in that journal and The Southern Review. He is currently an Instructor at Wake Forest University.
Candidate:  Henry M.W. Russell

Major Field:  English

Title of Dissertation:  Community Versus the Imperial Mind: Images of Civil Strife in Hawthorne's The Marble Faun

Approved:

[Signatures]

Major Professor and Chairman

[Signatures]

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

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