Slaves and Fauns: Hawthorne and the Uses of Primitivism

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SLAVES AND FAUNS: HAWTHORNE AND THE USES OF PRIMITIVISM

BY NANCY BENTLEY

In an 1862 travel essay about his trip to wartime Washington, Hawthorne compared a group of escaped slaves with mythic fauns. The black men walking north on a Virginia road, he wrote, "were unlike the specimens of their race whom we are accustomed to see at the North."

> 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 black man), that they seem a kind of creature by themselves, not altogether human, but perhaps quite as good, and akin to the fauns and rustic dieties of olden times.

This striking fantasy appears in the middle of a narrative piece that Hawthorne wrote in the name of realism. He begins the essay by distinguishing it from his fiction, telling of his reluctant turn away from the "fantasies" of romance in order to face the "dread time of civil war": "I determined to look a little more closely at matters with my own eyes." Hawthorne takes up a new role as eye-witness, tracking the "signs" of war from New England to Virginia.[1]

The fanciful image of a faun, of course, had been central to Hawthorne's most recent romance novel, *The Marble Faun*, published just over a year earlier. The faun reappears here in his travel record at a moment of heightened anxiety: the sight of the slaves is introduced in the passage as "one very pregnant token of a social system thoroughly disturbed." The slaves are Hawthorne's emblems of the real political crisis, yet it is precisely his sense of the unreal that he highlights by basing his description on a mythic creature "of olden times." The image of slave as faun, then, creates a contradictory link between two dimensions—between a contemporary "social system" and a world of myth, between the eye-witnessing of travel observations and the reinvention of pagan fantasy. This structure of contrast produces a double image of the American black, with the rustic slave-faun distinguished from "the northern black man." Like Belinda's scissors, the passage joins to divide.

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While the figure of the faun in Hawthorne's travel essay is deliberately juxtaposed with contemporary politics and race, the "modern faun" in his novel appears far removed from antebellum conflicts. The distance is not only geographic but thematic: with its Italian setting the novel presents a meditation on art and world history. The sprite-like character Donatello, teasingly presented as a descendent of the fauns of ancient poetry, is a recreation of Praxiteles's sculpted faun, and classical statuary and paintings serve as the medium of Hawthorne's ruminative story about moral awakening. But while the dominant vocabulary of *The Marble Faun* is derived from the art and history of Rome, I will argue that its faun is still linked to American anxieties about a "social system thoroughly disturbed." The foreground of the novel presents the legends, ruins and galleries of the "Eternal City." But the thematics of Rome spring out of an antebellum matrix, a moment preoccupied with the destinies of races, with revolution and rebellion, and with new consolidations of power. The Old World of Italy and the even older one of classical myth serve as a stage for a second drama beyond the themes of "innocence and evil"; Hawthorne's Italy also stages new questions about the social dislocations erupting in the mid-nineteenth century. Just as Rousseau's Noble Savage signified Europe's past in order to forge a political weapon for its present moment (usurping "noble" from the nobles), so too Hawthorne's fanciful faun is part of a nineteenth century primitivism that is entangled with contemporary social energies and fears.[2] My purpose in this essay is to trace the relations between the Italian themes and what they signify in an American context on the eve of the Civil War.

Hawthorne's description of the escaped slaves, a fusion of observed fact and pagan fantasy, can serve as an interpretive model for *The Marble Faun*. The slave-faun bears the character of a fetish. The figure of an African faun is logically absurd, but it derives its sense—and its power—from an ability to grasp a psychological set or posture. Like a fetish, Hawthorne's black faun seems an object of displaced interest: diffuse feelings about a conflicted society and about the people that Hawthorne elsewhere in the essay calls America's "dark progeny" (especially the "specimens of their race" in the North) are transmuted into the figure of the faun of "primeval simplicity." The figure joins two contradictory meanings, the sense of both innocence and menace that Hawthorne derives from the sight of slaves. Its efficacy comes from the way it articulates—

makes thinkable—an illogical belief. In the passage the black man is and is not like a faun. Through an antithesis that separates the more pleasing fantasy from an anxious reality the figure stabilizes a disordered scene.

Hawthorne's description of Praxiteles's sculpture *The Faun* in his Italian notebook uses this same structure of antithesis. The charming, fanciful faun reminds him of an actual and repellent figure, though he makes the comparison finally to insist on a difference between the two.

> I like these strange, sweet, playful, rustic creatures, almost entirely human as they are, yet linked so prettily, without monstrosity, to the lower tribes. . . . In my mind, they connect themselves with that ugly, bearded woman, who was lately exhibited in England, and by some supposed to have been engendered betwixt a human mother and an orang-outang; but she was a wretched monster—the faun, a natural and delightful link betwixt human and brute life.[3]

Once again the faun is for Hawthorne a pleasing image *set against* a more disturbing actuality. As we will see, it is also pertinent that the figure raises (or rather deflects) questions about the relation between humans and "lower" species—with the faun the connection is a happy one; with the bearded woman it is transgressive. What I stress here is the antithetical rhetoric that draws a parallel in order to separate a desirable image from a distressing one.

As with the image of the slave-faun, *The Marble Faun* embraces a discontinuity. In particular, the text combines an idealist fable about the "Human Soul, with its choice of Innocence or Evil close at hand" with closely rendered details of the sights and artifacts of modern Rome.[4] According to critics the conjunction fails. For many readers the novel's disparate materials—moments of action, scenic descriptions, the narrator's observations—do not hold together in a common narrative structure. Plot development is broken up by lengthy descriptions of art and landscapes imported from Hawthorne's Italian travel notebooks. As a "modern faun" in Italy, Donatello is closer to his mythic origins than are the slave-fauns on the roads of Virginia, but the novel deploys the same anachronistic troping. Hawthorne's "fanciful story" replays the Fall of Man in a modern setting. The American artists Hilda and Kenyon wander through Rome with Donatello and the mysterious Miriam, whose European background is unknown but hinted to conceal sinister family intrigue. When Donatello, out of love for Miriam, kills the

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menacing old man from her past, his tragic guilt and penance awaken a "thousand high capabilities" and bring him fully into the human condition. But because the allegorical tale is broken up by long descriptions of the Campagna or the "visitor's" sensations at Carnival time, most contemporary critics have labeled the novel incoherent. Its affinity with travel writing is seen as a flaw, a case of a parasitic travelogue attaching itself to a host of an altogether different narrative species.

But the fusion of disparate narrative materials serves a purpose. Like the amalgamation of the mimetic and mythic in Hawthorne's black faun, it is the heterogeneous relation between travel record and romance fable that is at the source of the novel's fetish-like power. By writing a romance and a travel book simultaneously, Hawthorne captures a complex constellation of beliefs about race, culture and American progress. Italy allowed Hawthorne to join the overtly political language of national difference with the allusive language of reinvented myth. The resulting discourse provides a centaur-like body for some of the conflicting ideas in midcentury America.

TWO ITALIES

For many modern readers schooled in theories of romance and the greater "latitude" of American Renaissance fiction, *The Marble Faun* exhibits curious lapses from an imaginative world into a (literally) pedestrian sphere of the tourist's excursions in Rome. In this view, the Italian setting should have provided Hawthorne with an enchanted ground free at last from the constraints of American "actualities."[5] And the novel's opening scene does indeed present Rome as an optimal locale for the romancer's transformations. Within a single paragraph, the "four individuals" who stand in the sculpture gallery in the Capitol are modulated into representative figures of the "Human Soul, with its choice of Innocence or Evil close at hand." The paragraph creates a metonymic chain that links the four main characters to the "ideal life" of famous sculptures, and finally to a tableaux of extracted (though typically ambiguous) moral meaning—"the pretty figure of a child, clasping a dove to her bosom, but assaulted by a snake" (857). Much of the novel follows this explicit movement from the story as vehicle to a tenor of abstracted ideal meaning.

But while this practice seems aimed at deflecting or at least broadening any reference to the nineteenth century world, the ac-

tual unfolding of the narrative repeatedly lapses from this idealized diction. The process of reading *The Marble Faun* requires a series of perceptual shifts in and out of the special territory of romance (a space "artfully and airily removed from our mundane sphere" as Hawthorne describes it in his postscript [1239]). The narrative digressions create a doubled novel in which a number of *topoi* are represented in contradictory ways, sometimes ideal, sometimes debased. The most prominent of these doubled components is the image of Rome itself. It appears, alternatively, as the mythic Eternal City and as a degraded space of emergent urban blight. Here is the ethereal Rome:

> [Rome brings] a vague sense of ponderous remembrances; a perception of such weight and density in a by-gone life, of which this past was the centre, that the present moment is pressed down or crowded out. . . . Viewed through this medium our narrative . . . may seem not widely different from the texture of all our lives. Side by side with the massiveness of the Roman Past, all matters, that we handle or dream of, now-a-days, look evanescent and visionary alike. (858)

The mass of history is so great that finally time itself is displaced. Rome becomes a "visionary" space on which the narrator can write an eternal story of human nature.

But despite the careful construction of an "airy" narrative texture from the very stones of Rome, Hawthorne goes on to disengage this allegorical diction through scenes that return the full time-bound density of the city:

> Rome, *as it now exists,* has grown up under the Popes, and seems like *nothing but* a heap of broken rubbish, thrown into the great chasm between our own days and the Empire, merely to fill it up; and, for the better part of two thousand years, its annals of obscure policies, and wars, and continually recurring misfortunes, seem also but broken rubbish. . . . (944, emphasis added)

Rome here is resistant to allegorical reading (offering only "annals of obscure policies"). And unlike the earlier general description of Rome that signified "the texture of all our lives," this world can't be allegorically written either: "We know not how to characterize, in any accordant and compatible terms, the Rome that lies before us." An impoverished mimetic Rome ("as it now exists") will repeatedly break into the transparent romance discourse. In order to return to the larger meaning of his tale, the narrator must re-engage the language of an eternal Rome: "Yet how is it possible to say an unkind

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or irreverential word of Rome?—the City of all time, and of all the world!" (945).

But the narrator increases the frequency and intensity of the lapses. In one set piece, the language of disillusion reaches its highest pitch: the narrator builds a single page-long sentence that is a mounting diatribe against modern Rome. The opening clause presents the city as a dead corpse:

> When we have once known Rome, and left her where she lies, like a long decaying corpse, retaining a trace of the noble shape it was, but with accumulated dust and a fungous overspreading all its more admirable features—

The narrator then proceeds to add clause after clause of parallel invective:

> —left her in utter weariness, no doubt, of her narrow, crooked, intricate streets . . . so indescribably ugly . . . left her, tired of the sight of those immense, seven-storied, yellow-washed hovels, or call them palaces, . . .—left her, worn out with shivering at the cheerless and smokey fireside, by day, and feasting with our own substance the ravenous little populace of a Roman bed, at night . . .—left her, sick at heart of Italian trickery, which has uprooted whatever faith in man's integrity had endured till now (1123).

and so on for several more iterations. The passage is built on a trope of the real, an unveiling figure used throughout the novel that discovers the "reality" behind the surface illusions. The narrator closes the onslaught with a reversal: "when we have left Rome in such mood as this, we are astonished by the discovery, by-and-by, that our heart-strings have mysteriously attached themselves to the Eternal City, and are drawing us thitherward again."

With this switching between discontinuous narrative styles, the novel's material appears in alternating aspects. At times Catholicism serves as a figure of universal religious spirit; at other moments the same Roman Catholic signs are dead forms behind which are "scarlet superstitions" or worse. The characters in the novel exist in different fictional planes: Donatello and Miriam are descendents of legend, and Hawthorne is careful to supply pedigrees linking them to mythic stories; but other human figures—Italian "ruffians" and "unwashed babies," "Roman housekeepers," the characters defined by "German ingenuity" and "Italian superstition"—are standard national types. Works of art often function in *The Marble Faun* as resonant symbols that stream forth mystic

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meaning like the scarlet A; yet at times art appears as lifeless museum pieces, as stressed in the chapter title, "The Emptiness of Picture-Galleries."

To today's readers this discontinuity seems the result of a breakdown in generic purity; the biographical Hawthorne keeps intruding into the domain of his romance to inscribe the more empirical "Italian reminiscences" of his travel. Hawthorne's contemporary readers, however, sensed no such bastardizing. This is true even though they were quite aware of the difference in the novel's voices. That is to say, they consumed the novel both as travel writing *and* as a fictional story. Scores of American travelers packed their copy in trunks to consult when they reached the famed sites themselves. Others picked up *The Marble Faun* for vicarious transatlantic sight-seeing, just as they did Goethe's *Italianische Reise* or journalist N. P. Willis's *Pencillings in Europe*. But these nonfictional uses did not hinder readers' absorption in the novel's characters and plot. Hawthorne's readers leant themselves to the "thoughtful moral" of the "fanciful story" even as they compared the descriptions of the Campagna and catacombs with daguerreotypes in souvenir picture books.[6]

For these contemporaries, fictional purity was not yet a literary doctrine. But their acceptance of Hawthorne's mixed discourses goes beyond changes in critical decorum. It hinges on a cultural reflex that prepared American readers to see a double image of Italy. By the time *The Marble Faun* was published, masses of travel volumes had already made conventional the coexistence of two divergent registers in writing about Italy. On one hand, travelers laid before their readers the ideal beauty and ahistorical meaning captured in the classical forms from antiquity (especially as inscribed in statuary and famous ruins). On the other hand they offered quasi-sociological descriptions that were linked to both a long history of customs-and-manners portraits and to the writings of the emerging professional observer, the anthropologist. The habits and habitations of contemporary Italians were represented in a style of empiricist observation, Italian art and landscapes in a diction of aestheticized vision.

These categories were not always kept distinct from one another. Glimpses of peasants or even beggars, for instance, were often blended into picturesque landscapes that were as ageless to American eyes as the Pantheon, as when Harriet Beecher Stowe described the sight of a young girl and old woman selling oranges in

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the Sorrento Gorge: "the whole golden scene receded centuries back, and they saw them in a vision as they might and must have been in other days." (Melville mockingly referred to the practice of aestheticizing the poor as the "povertiresque" style). But in general these two subjects—the spirit or "genius" of Italy that can be recovered from nature and art, and the behavior and appearance of present day Romans—inhabit different, often antagonistic representational spaces. When in a travel letter Shelley distinguished two Italies, one poetic and one debased, he was only thematizing a practice of splitting that was standard for Anglo-American travelers:

> There are two Italies; one composed of the green earth and transparent sea and the mighty ruins of ancient times, and aerial mountains, and the warm and radiant atmosphere which is interfused through all things. The other consists of the Italians of the present day, their works and ways. The one is the most sublime and lovely contemplation that can be conceived by the imagination of man; the other the most degrading, disgusting and odious.[7]

Not all travel accounts are as condemning as Shelley's; some writers show a genuine interest in modern Italians. But his polarization of "two Italies" marks a fundamental binarism that governs most Anglo-American travel writing about Italy, an opposition between a diminished modern society and a numinous indwelling presence associated with eternal art and antiquity. What is more, his brief description points to a key distinction in the traveler's dominant styles—the discourse of data-gathering used to represent contemporary Romans ("their works and ways"), and the language of spirit ("radiant atmosphere," "contemplation," "imagination") that defines the Italy of nature and the deep past.

I will later examine these styles in more concrete detail. My point here is that it is more than Hawthorne's descriptions of the Villa Borghese and Trevi fountain that links *The Marble Faun* with a tradition of travel writing. The novel shares the genre's central discursive figure, a figure of antithesis that separates the vital spirit of a place from its deadened vestiges. Shelley's remark points to the fact that the degraded or diminished sphere is usually signified by modern inhabitants. Anglo-American travel accounts most often present contemporary Romans as disconnected from their past—as one writer described them, a "poor superstitious priest ridden race having no affinity to their heroic ancestors."[8]

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Like Hawthorne with his oscillations between a picture of Rome as a "decaying corpse" and an Eternal City, travel writers emphasized the paradoxical notion that two worlds, grand and degraded, inhabited the same country. For Henry Tuckerman, author of a best-seller *The Italian Sketch Book* (1848), visiting Rome presented dizzying shifts between worlds:

> The degeneracy of modern Rome is a subject ever forced upon the thoughtful resident. . . . He cannot rejoice unreservedly in the splendors of human art, when humanity is a wreck around him; he cannot indulge in stirring retrospection over the sculptured figure of an old Roman, while it serves but to render more prominent the moral deformity of his descendent. . . . Throughout all that art of antiquity here unfolds, he feels as if wandering in a beautiful garden, once blest with a presence which shall know it no more.

Sometimes the mood was not so much melancholy as indignant. "The Rome that *is* seemed but an intruder," wrote another American visitor, "as impertinent a thing within these precincts as a street of work-shops would be among the cypresses and yews of an ancient cemetery." But the fact that two Italies or (to borrow a formulation) two bodies could occupy the same space at the same time was only a seeming paradox. For the antithetical figure the novel shares with travel writing is ultimately a temporal trope—the two Italies *don't* share the same time. They coexist but are separated by a temporal difference that travelers saw everywhere in the face of the country.[9]

To put it another way, time is spatialized. As James's Isabelle Archer described it, "the very modern quality" of the present-day Rome "detached itself and grew objective." This detachment of past and present, a visible discontinuity, paradoxically supported an assumed continuity: an unbroken line of cultural evolution that could be traced east to west, from antiquity to modernity. The origins of civilization were preserved in Italy's past; at the same time the absence of modern "splendours" supported the idea that progress was located elsewhere.[10]

The same temporal disjunction divides the characters of *The Marble Faun*. Hawthorne stated in his preface that he "did not purpose attempting a portraiture of Italian manners and charac-

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ters," a protest that itself marks the affiliation between the novel and the travel genre (854). The statement is really a disclaimer for the portions of the narrative that *are* devoted to portraying the appearance and customs of the native Italians: "There are many things in the religious customs of these people that seem good; many things, at least, that might be both good and beautiful, if the soul of goodness and the sense of beauty were as much alive in the Italians, now, as they must have been when those customs were first imagined and adopted" (1098). This is the voice of the narrator-as-traveler, the cultural outsider who observes and records his impressions for a distant home audience.[11]

Of course the narrator presents Donatello and Miriam in a style markedly different from these generalized portraits of Italian customs. But by telling the fanciful stories of Donatello and Miriam, Hawthorne has not abandoned the travel genre but rather adapted for his plot its world of ideal Italian antiquity. The difference again is a temporal one. As fanciful recreations of character types from legend—the rustic woodland creature that lives the sentient life of animals, the maiden of centuries-old tragedy stained by the inviolable crimes of her family—Donatello and Miriam exist in the mythic time of cultural origins. The artists Hilda and Kenyon, on the other hand, are certainly stylized romance characters but they inhabit a different sphere, the world of the nineteenth century American expatriate. Though the Americans share the plot with their two "Italian friends," the couples are separated by a boundary not just of cultural difference but of fictional kind. Kenyon sculpts his Cleopatra in a "repose of despair'" but Miriam *is* that despairing Cleopatra—like the statue, an aesthetic object representing tragic "womanhood." The American visitors gaze upon Praxitiles's *The Faun* in the Capitol gallery but Donatello *is* a reanimated faun. Hilda and Kenyon belong in the midcentury colony of American artists while Donatello and Miriam belong to the collection of myths that had an imaginative life in the paintings and sculptures those artists copied.

The plot reflects this difference in the couples' fictional status. Hilda and Kenyon are observers. The drama of Donatello's fall into experience is something they watch and finally abstractly reflect upon in order to extract the "moral" of his story. Critics have complained about the disjunction that results. After sympathetically rendering the process of Donatello's transformation, Hawthorne allows Hilda and Kenyon to turn away from what appeared to be the

novel's deepest insights: Kenyon suggests that sin, like sorrow, might be "merely an element of human education" but Hilda rejects this notion as a mockery of "moral law" (1236). The book contains a kind of fictional relativism: what appears to be "blessed" for his mythic Europeans is rejected by his visiting Americans.

Some have seen this resolution as a failure of Hawthorne's nerve, a drawing back from the story's more radical implications about art and transgression. But the disjunction is in perfect accord with the temporal logic of the Italian travel book. As echoes of traditional legends, Donatello and Miriam belong to the ideal world of Italy's past. The meanings associated with myths are appropriate objects of contemplation but are rarely acceptable as moral codes for modern New Englanders.[12] Italy's world of spirit—its art and ancient stories—remains disjoined from the modern world (though in this case the past is contrasted not with a degenerate modern Italy but the supposed progressive modernity of America's "moral law"). The legends in the past might contain governing truths for an earlier era of what Hilda calls the evolution of "religious sentiment," and yet be wholly immoral in a later moment. A belief in progress contains the contradiction; the contradiction supports a belief in progress.

In this sense, Donatello's transformation is a myth that is safely distanced from the laws, both moral and historical, that govern the world of Hilda and Kenyon. By the end of the novel, Miriam and Donatello have become almost purely iconic. Like powerful works of art based on pagan or Catholic subjects they are emblems which convey concentrated meaning yet which signify (for the Protestant American) only as oblique or second-order signs. In the concluding scenes Miriam and Donatello appear only as silent, disguised figures that Hilda and Kenyon gaze on from a distance, "as if . . . on the other side of a fathomless abyss" (1237). Miriam and Donatello may be mythic examples of redemption through tragic sin but they become myth *only*.

The iconic mode in which Miriam and Donatello are presented, then, both awards and delimits authority. Although the two characters are the novel's most vibrant, they serve as objects of contemplation more than subjects, as emblems rather than agents. The temporal distancing Hawthorne borrows from the travel genre allows him to present two conflicting worldviews, an ethos of radical transformation and of absolute "moral law." These coexist in the same novel, the tension diffused through a divergence of time and

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narrative kind: a symbology from a mythic past which can have only figural meaning, and a mimetic language representing a "real" contemporary scene.

The narrator explicitly marks this structure of difference in the novel's penultimate paragraph. America is the source of difference. As Hilda and Kenyon return, they will cross not just a geographical boundary but an ontological one.

> . . . they resolved to go back to their own land; because the years, after all, have a kind of *emptiness,* when we spend too many of them on a foreign shore. We *defer the reality of life,* in such cases, until *a future moment,* when we shall again breathe our native air; but by-and-by, there are *no future moments;* or, if we do return, we find that the native air has lost its invigorating quality, and that life has *shifted its reality* to the spot where we had deemed ourselves only temporary residents. Thus, between two countries, we have none at all, or only that little space of either, in which we finally lay down our discontented bones. It is wise, therefore, to come back betimes—or never. (1237, emphasis added)

Italy represents a difference not just of custom but of kind. The passage with its either/or logic marks the novel's governing opposition between a "reality" belonging to America and the world "on a foreign shore" in which such reality is deferred. The same reality cannot exist "between two countries" (though the narrator, with his uneasy language of *deferral* and *emptying* and *shifiting,* seems fearful that this quality might leak out of one world into the other.).

What motivates this heterogeneity? The framework of temporal difference allows Hawthorne to tell a bivalent story that *contains* (both *carries* and *defuses*) conflicting values: praise and condemnation of the transgressive figure of the faun. This configuration, I am suggesting, is akin to the discordant slave-faun from Hawthorne's travel sketch, "About War Matters." The Virginia faun served to articulate conflicts in the American politics of race. The Italian faun, we will see, articulates a broader politics of primitivism that uses the same structure of antithesis to give an historical order to racial and social uncertainties.

TRAVEL WRITING AND RACE

The fanciful Donatello and Miriam have their modern Italian counterparts that are *racial* in a distinctly nineteenth century sense. Along with mythic characters, the narrative offers sketches of cul-

tural others who are defined through an established travel rhetoric of national-racial character. The novel's penultimate paragraph, already cited above, outlines this travel rhetoric of the foreigner: an opposition of "native" and "foreign," an awareness of one's "temporary" engagement with a culture, a direct appeal to a shared "reality" with a home audience, the authority of "we" (we compatriots) as the controlling program. The framework draws upon a centuries-old textual construction organized around the positions of observer (traveler) and the observed (barbarian, savage, neighboring foreigner). Michel de Certeau offers an archeology of the travel account with Montaigne's essay "Of Cannibals" as an *Index locorum*. For Certeau, the structure of the travel report "combines a representation of the other" with "the fabrication and accreditation of the text as witness of the other."[13]

The genealogy of customs description includes medieval and Renaissance variants. Medieval enclyopedists established formulae for describing the national characters of their European neighbors that became standard epithets for centuries. From a seventh century Spaniard: the Franks are "uncouth" and show a "natural fierceness of spirit," the Saxon tribes "brave and active," the Britons "stupid." Gathered in large compendiums these collections of customs established the practice of setting down what Mandeville called the "diversity of folkys."[14] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the collection of customs became linked with emerging empiricist projects. Scholars invented the cosmography, an ethnological genre devoted to displaying the geography, history, manners and science of the world's peoples. Description in the cosmographies continued to draw attention first to physical differences— stature, skin shadings, color of eyes and hair—and second to "disposition." This latter was often concentrated into catalogues of national virtues and vices: "The unclenness & filthines of the Suevians. The foolishnes of the Saxons. The hardines of the Picts. The Luxurye of the Scots. The dronkennes and violency of the Spaniards. The anger of the Britaines. The rapacity and greediness of the Normans."[15]

This descriptive practice remained much the same in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; a familiar set of conventions govern ethnographic portraits from Marco Polo to Mungo Park. But while the strategies of customs description remained remarkably stable—the foreigners homogenized into a collective "they," often further contracted to a single "he," a timeless present verb tense, an

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arrested "bodyscape" presented like an inert topography—the practice of national description became distinctly *racial*.[16] That is to say, the content of the idea of race, its signified, underwent a marked change. Boundaries that had defined a foreign people before the eighteenth century were superseded by or conjoined with other criteria. It was no longer the unity of language, religion, and a common cultural memory that marked off a separate group. A new set of taxonomies came into play that were distinctly more physicalist, their object (a people) constituted by loosely-defined quantitative or empiricist measures. Rather than signifying cultural kinship, "race" came to mean an identity of inherited biological traits.[17]

The history of this change consists of a large and untidy body of phenomena. It includes the emergence of detailed racial taxonomies, attempts to determine the number of fundamental human kinds and their distinctive traits. Race classification became part of popular culture: systems were offered not only by scientists such as Linnaeus and Cuvier but by journalists and amateur ethnologists who reached vast audiences. The change also involved the new romanticist conception of *Volk* identity. Emphasis on unique national character and *geist* easily modulated into notions of inborn racial essence. The nineteenth century saw an array of disciplines and pseudosciences that were highly physicalist—craniology, phrenology, comparative anatomy. Altogether, established typologies of physical-cultural traits blurred the distinction between nation and race.

This shift toward what has been called racialist thinking was gradual but by 1860 racialist notions were dominant. The theories that grew out of data gathered in far-flung primitivist societies were transferred to European peoples, and what might earlier have been described as a national or cultural inheritance was increasingly assumed to be genetic. "Of the great influence of Race in the production of National Character," stated an 1844 article in the *Edinburgh Review*, "no reasonable inquirer can now doubt." Purists like Robert Knox proclaimed that "Race is everything . . . literature, science, art—in a word, civilization depends on it." Progress and civilization could be measured by color. E. B. Tylor, one of the leading founders of modern anthropology, offered a scale of otherness that placed all groups on a continuum stretching between savagery and Anglo-Saxon civilization. Tylor's ascending "order of culture" was really a color scale arranged from dark to light: after

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the savage, the Australian, Tahitian, Aztec, Chinese and Italian "races" marked the increments before the apex of the "white" European.[18]

The customs and manners topos in nineteenth century travel writing absorbed these strains of racialist thought. This was especially true in the case of travelers' descriptions of Italians: as Tylor's categories indicate, Italians were widely perceived as racially distanced from the Northern European nations, as close on the scale to dark skinned savages as to Anglo-Saxons. In *The Marble Faun*, the travel book diction adds a racial dimension to the novel's romance plot. Donatello and Miriam are characters from fable; at the same time, as dark Italian figures they are also associated with a collection of racial types that flourished in travel books. In patterning Miriam after Eve and Beatrice Cenci, Hawthorne creates an archetypal figure of sexual transgression and tragic knowledge. But while Miriam's "hidden significance" at one level signifies a "great error" or "fatal weakness" of the human condition, it is also a hidden *racial* significance. Kenyon translates the mystery into racial-national terms:

> We do not even know whether she is a countrywoman of ours, or an Englishwoman, or a German. There is Anglo-Saxon blood in her veins, one would say, and a right English accent on her tongue, but much that is not English breeding, nor American. (942)

The rumors about Miriam's origins are divided among a set of contrasting Aryan and darkly exotic identities. Some stories report she is a high-born northern European—the child of German or English nobleman. But the "rich Oriental character in her face" prompts the story that she is "the heiress of a great Jewish banker." And in the most charged racial reference Miriam is linked with an established antebellum type, the genteel Southern mulatta:

> According to a third [rumor], she was the offspring of a Southern American planter, who had given her an elaborate education and endowed her with his wealth; but the one burning drop of African blood in her veins so affected her with a sense of ignominy, that she relinquished all, and fled her country. (870)

The novel also suggests a resonance between Miriam and Kenyon's Cleopatra statue, a figure to which "the sculptor had not shunned to give full Nubian lips, and other characteristics of the Egyptian physiognomy" (957–8).

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Donatello is likewise associated with a cluster of national-racial traits. His identity as a prelapsarian creature is an odd inversion of the eighteenth century noble savage; as the Count of Monte Beni, Donatello is a nobleman who has the savage's (romanticized) rustic simplicity. "Betwixt man and animal," he is likened to "a creature of the happy tribes below us" (917). At the same time, Donatello's "rude and uncultivated" nature bears traces of the more violent image of the savage that escaped Rousseau's rehabilitation. Miriam glimpses in a flash of Donatello's anger a "trait of savageness" that presages his ability to murder the model: "His lips were drawn apart, so as to disclose his set teeth, thus giving him a look of animal rage which we seldom see except in persons of the simplest and rudest natures" (927). Later in the novel, the narrator hints that Donatello's primitive simplicity will fade with age and become the degraded nature etched in the "physical features" of his ancestors.

> Beautiful, strong, brave, kindly, sincere, of honest impulses, and endowed with simple tastes, and the love of homely pleasures, he was believed to possess gifts by which he could associate himself with the wild things of the forests. . . . On the other hand, there were deficiences both of intellect and heart. . . . These defects were less perceptible in early youth, but showed themselves more strongly with advancing age, when, as the animal spirits settled down upon a lower level, the representative of the Monte Benis was apt to become sensual, addicted to gross pleasures, heavy, unsympathizing, and insulated within the narrow limits of a surly selfishness. (1046)

The Faun was apt to become, in other words, an Italian priest—or rather the Italian priest as he appeared in Anglo-American travel descriptions. Countless travel accounts show that the Roman Catholic clergyman served as America's Old World savage, an animal-like character whose features displayed his depravity. When Donatello tells Kenyon that he is thinking of becoming a monk, the American answers with a shocked speech that echoes the standard travel book portrait:

> A monk—I judge from their sensual physiognomies, which meet me at every turn—is inevitably a beast! Their souls, if they have any to begin with, perish out of them, before their sluggish, swinish existence is half-done. . . . (1074)

In her travel book *Notes in England and Italy* (1870), Sophia Hawthorne would represent the Florentine clergy in the same terms as her husband's fictional traveler: "they merely need to stoop upon

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their hands to be perfect likenesses of swine." Another visitor debated "whether the Capuchin or Franciscan monk, approached nearer in appearance to the lower order of animals."[19]

Donatello and Miriam, then, each weld together a mythic persona with a cluster of racial traits. Like Hawthorne's heterogeneous African faun, Miriam has a mixed literary ancestry: Daughter of the Cenci and American mulatta, she joins antebellum politics with antique legend. Donatello is a descendant both of pagan poetry and nineteenth century portraits of the savage (a figure further linked with a degraded national type, the Italian sensualist). In this sense, the rhetorical configuration that produces these two characters represents the economy of the whole text, an extended conceit that yokes discontinuous registers. Understood in its midcentury context, this is a rhetoric that conjoins "real" racial difference with universalist mythology. In a postscript added to a later edition, Hawthorne lightly scolds his readers for their desire for literal-minded details about the romance plot: I had hoped "to mystify this anomalous creature between the Real and the Fantastic," he wrote of his faun, "in such a manner that the reader's sympathies might be excited . . . without impelling him to ask how Cuvier would have classified poor Donatello" (1239). This disavowal, however, carries an irony. Like the disclaimer in the Preface that he was not attempting "a portraiture of Italian manners," Hawthorne's smiling reference to Cuvier signals more affiliations than it dismisses. By mixing an allegorically resonant romance tale with the travel book, he grafted into his novel a discourse of classification that was part of the same pervasive enterprise of racial-national cataloguing as Cuvier's comparative anatomy. Hawthorne's novel is filled with classifying and comparing, the "gothic race" and the "present Roman character" ranked alongside traits in "New England, or in Russia, or . . . the Esquimaux" (1166). With this inscribed discourse of racial traits, Hawthorne's romance articulates rather than mediates the difference between its two coexisting domains ("the Real and the Fantastic"). *The Marble Faun* is a *discordia concors* of race and fable.

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The political context for Hawthorne's similarly incongruous African faun was explicit: a nation visibly ruptured by civil war. In *The Marble Faun,* the historical ground for understanding his troping is not as clear. While the figure of the Virginia slave as "rustic

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diety" articulates anxiety about the politics of race, Hawthorne's Italian fantasy speaks to a more pervasive legitimation crisis. The international setting of *The Marble Faun* serves as a stage for testing an article of national faith: America's destiny as the world's leading republic. This central tenet was under strain. Ultimately the Civil War would become a symbol of a purified American progressivism (the symbols of war going to the victors); but during the conflicted years that led to the dissolving of the Union, history seemed to be challenging rather than fulfilling the belief in America's destined preeminence. In the 1830s and 1840s, the American continent could be said to display this belief in its very face, a destiny "manifest" in the expanding borders of the national territories. But as the exhiliation at the new national power subsided in the 1850s, the factions and sectional conflicts that had been obscured now reappeared with heightened urgency.

Europe offered an alternative site for evidence of the United States' democratic world mission. In the Old World, America's destiny was not manifest but implied. From the "visible decline" of European peoples and institutions, Americans projected a contrasting portrait of their nation's future. What undergirds Hawthorne's novel is a comparision of national powers, a set of theoretical paradigms that map the relative ascendency and decline of various cultures or peoples. These comparisons, found in histories, newspapers and travel books, could serve a number of functions; sometimes the perceived "fact" of a rising American empire, for instance, was invoked only to warn of an imminent decline and fall. And many Americans saw the European class warfare of 1848–49—the "red scares" in Germany, Poland, Italy, Austria, Hungary and elsewhere—as harbingers of social upheaval in America. But contrasts dominated parallels. Comparisons between Old and New Worlds most often supported beliefs about American progress and destiny. Behind countless observations about European cultures were a set of guiding axioms: the notion of a westward course of empire, a historical sweep that brought the germs of civilization from Asia through the forests of Germany to the shores of England, and finally across the Atlantic; the contrast between the energy of Northern peoples and the stagnation of southern Mediterranean cultures (a contrast illogically lifted and transferred to Northern and Southern Americans); the perception that England's forces were spent and that Anglo-Saxon blood could only exercise its vigor in the nation-building on the American continent.[20]

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It is clear these paradigms of European decline shape Hawthorne's novel. We have already seen that he invokes the language of a diminished modern Italy even as he uses the setting in other moments as a "poetic or fairy precinct" (854). Images of an emptied, vestigial Rome introduce the novel's concluding Carnival scene. Revelry in the modern age, the narrator says, "appears to be remarkably barren, when compared with the prolific originality of former times": "Now-a-days, the nosegays are gathered and tied up by sordid hands, chiefly of the most ordinary flowers, and are sold along the Corso at mean price. . . . But for the hordes of Anglo-Saxons, who annually take up the flagging mirth, the Carnival might long ago have been swept away." (1219, 1217).

The decay of this residual Italian world—whether picturesque or merely "sordid"—is contrasted with American energy and its Protestant virtues: the vigor of Kenyon and the purity of Hilda. Hawthorne is self-conscious enough to mock this commonplace contrast even though he repeats it. He has an American artist playfully ask what his countrymen would do with the water-power from the Trevi fountain: "Would they employ it to turn the machinery of a cotton-mill, I wonder!" Kenyon imagines Americans pulling down the pagan dieties and commissioning him to create a monument to "the grand reservoir of national prosperity" (974). Despite these swipes at American chauvinism, the novel reinscribes the conviction that a vital Italy existed in the past and in myth only, while "human promise," as the narrator terms it, belongs to an American future (1237).

This nineteenth century truism, however, is only superficially related to the novel's social concerns. In fact the tone of breezy confidence in American superiority that the narrator sometimes takes up is misleading. In a more profound way the book expresses a constellation of anxieties, national and personal, that were converging in the era in which it was written. These fears are addressed not in the explicit themes of national character but at a deeper structural level: in the novel's portmanteau conjunction of fantasy and fact. The fantasy implanted in modern Italy serves the same function we have seen at play in Hawthorne's domestic faun. Its idealized images displace apprehensions about perceived social threats at the same time that they define, through contrast, "real" objects of danger or disdain. The fantastic primitivism of the pagan faun is the innocuous half of a double image. Its counterpart, I have suggested, is the menacing figure representing dangerous classes

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that, like "the northern black man" in America, have outgrown childlike simplicity and seem to threaten social order. Through antithesis, the idealized Donatello articulates the Italian "savage": the priest ("pampered, sensual, with red and bloated cheeks, and carnal eyes . . . with apparently a grosser development of animal life than most men"), the debauched aristocrat ("an indolent nobility, with no high aims or opportunities . . . cultivating a vicious way of life as if it were an art")—or more generally, the Italian "population, high and low, that had no belief in virtue" (1197).

It is not the shades of anti-Catholic sentiments that are important here. Hawthorne was actually more appreciative of Italian ways than most American visitors. Instead, the more interesting dynamic in these images can be understood when we see that, like Donatello, these Italian types were conceived as *primitive*. *The Marble Faun* is as much a novel about time as geography (space in fact made a function of time in the concept of the Old World), and Hilda and Kenyon's travel to Italy is a journey back into the earlier social forms that preceded American institutions. While Donatello represents what Kenyon calls "the childhood of the race," a simpler man that existed before the complex developments of civilized life, the Italians represent survivals of "early" institutions: the Catholicism that has been superseded by Protestant Christianity, the jumble of class ranks that are eliminated in American republicanism, the "petty industry" of household economies and village market-days erased in rational modern economies. "To the eyes of an observer from the Western world," the narrator tells us, these sights are sometimes charming, sometimes wretched, but always backward (1093). This temporal lens is the key to the politics of America's Italy. For it is the embedded evolutionary time scheme that marks the novel's concern with racial and social control.

Though always linked with questions of race, primitivism in the nineteenth century became a fundamental element of virtually all social thought. The concept of primitivism was transferred from "savage" cultures to European societies as an instrument to gauge the advancement of a nation or social class. The primitivism in *The Marble Faun* in part serves to supplant doubts about a middle-class Protestant model of progress, a master narrative that all versions of American destiny finally had in common. The novel's contradictory doubling of mythic innocence and modern savagery supplies an evolutionary history for the rise of American civilization. What is really at stake in the novel's mixed dictions (as in the mixed pic-

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ture of Italy which Hawthorne echoes) is a powerful story of social evolution.

As George Stocking demonstrates in his history of Victorian anthropology, Anglo-American theories of the rise of civilization out of savagery were strongly conditioned by a middle-class consciousness that emerged at the beginning of the century. The cultural values of the industrialized middle classes became the evolutionary principles of all human progress. Self-discipline and sexual restraint, rational control over instinct and superstition, the ability to delay economic gratifications and physical pleasures—these bourgeois virtues were writ large as universal forces in human history. The savage had failed to progress, in short, because he lacked the key ingredients in Weber's Protestant work ethic. Herbert Spencer's 1871 descriptions of "Primitive Man—Emotional" and "Primitive Man—Intellectual" distilled three decades of evolutionary theory about the operative traits of the "inferior races." The emotional life of the uncivilized man was dominated by "impulsiveness"—the "sudden, or approximately-reflex, passing of single passion into the conduct it prompts." Given to "childish mirthfulness," he is unable to conceive future consequences or needs; "desire goes at once to gratification." Primitive man had no "moral nature." His intellectual nature was marked by "acute senses and quick perceptions." But while "mental energies go out in restless perception, they cannot go out in deliberate thought." Altogether, in Tylor's formulation, the savage had "the mind of a child with the passions of a man."[21]

The phrase serves equally well as a description of Hawthorne's fictional faun. Donatello gave "the idea of being not precisely man, nor yet a child, but in a high and beautiful sense, an animal" (916). The figure of the classical faun or satyr had already been absorbed into the Renaissance version of *l'homme sauvage*, the Wild Man. But Hawthorne's reincarnation echoes peculiarly nineteenth century notions of the savage. As in the contemporary theory of primitive man, Donatello's life is determined by his impulsiveness: his sudden flaring of anger against the model leads him to murder in a "breathless instant." Aside from his bursts of passion, however, he is "mirthful," a "thing of sportive, animal nature" and his face shows a "simple expression and sensuous beauty" (984). Donatello is primitive not only because he harkens back to ancient Greece, then, but because he lacks the defining middle-class traits. He has "no principle of virtue, and would be incapable of comprehending

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such"; there is a "lack of moral severity" (860). Hawthorne's note-book entry linking Praxiteles's Faun with the "monstrous" woman rumored to be the offspring of an orang-outang further hints at a contemporary racial subtext.

But as an overtly mythic character, Donatello owes less to Spencerian evolution than to a strain of "soft" primitivism drawn to mythologies and folk legends. This branch of evolutionist thinking nostalgically looked back to a vanished preindustrial world. Nineteenth century antiquarians studied—and often idealized—prehistoric European societies and disappearing rural communities. Folk cultures were perceived as "survivals" of Europe's ancient societies. As "civilization" and "primitivism" became increasingly polarized abstractions, traditional social orders were absorbed into a single category of "antiquity." But where eighteenth-century antiquarians had included didactic "reflections" on the customs they catalogued, "shewing which may be retain'd and which ought to be laid aside," the later folk movement tended to celebrate what seemed to be the more organically rooted social customs that they studied. The admiration from these nineteenth–century scholars was less equivocal because the folk ways now seemed so utterly to belong to the past. Significantly, folk antiquarians devoted great attention to native mythologies: ballads, superstitions, legends—"folk-lore," in a pointedly literary sense (the term was coined in 1846).[22]

Hawthorne's juxtapositioning of myth and modernity, then, was not unique. It reflects in part a historical self-consciousness that set idealized lore against the rapidly transforming urban societies. "The belief in Fairies is by no means extinct in England", wrote one antiquarian. "Where steam engines, cotton mills, mail coaches, and similar exorcists have not yet penetrated, numerous legends might be collected." Hawthorne was also not alone in borrowing the classical faun to contrast with industrialized civilization. Explorer Alfred Russel Wallace, later a leading Darwinist, used the figure in a passage from his 1853 *A Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*. Although he saw the Brazilian tribes as free from the "annoyances of civilization," Wallace never lost faith in the "struggle for existence" in the civilized world that drew out "the highest powers and energies of our race." But if the "struggle" resulted in a society where millions suffered "dread miseries," while "but a few enjoy the grateful fruits," then Wallace declared

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he would rather live as an Indian native and watch his children grow like "wild fawns"—"rich without wealth, and happy without gold."[23]

As with Donatello, Wallace's faun signifies a nostalgic primitivism. But there is a crucial difference between this idealization and the eighteenth century notion of a Noble Savage. As George Stocking points out, the *bon sauvage* was the "fantasy of a precapitalist mentality that saw labor as the curse of a fallen man exiled from the Garden." The faun that Hawthorne and Wallace invoke, in contrast, is a fantasy of industrial capitalism. To middle-class observers, industrialized civilization was not without troubling effects (such as the "dread miseries" Wallace feared were suffered by poor masses), but it was an ascending triumph over nature rather than a corrupted decline from the natural state. The primitive faun, therefore, is a joyous but decidedly mythic creature, the "poet's imagining" of a simpler time that never existed. It represents a social alternative that is self-consciously an imaginary legend and therefore finally no alternative at all. The "moral" of Donatello's story, as Kenyon expounds it, is

> that human beings, of Donatello's character, compounded especially for happiness, have no longer any business on earth, or elsewhere. Life has grown so sadly serious, that such men must change their nature, or else perish, like the antediluvian creatures that required, as the condition of their exitence, a more summer-like atmosphere than ours. (1235–6)

The faun articulates discontent but contains and distances it as poetry. Where Rousseau's polemic held up the New World savage as an example of a superior human existence, Hawthorne's faun represents a wistfully imagined memory of a lower one. The only possible "earthly paradise" Wallace envisions in Brazil, in fact, is the future civilization that could be built there through the "energy of Saxon races."[24]

"Soft" primitivism, then, follows the logic of elegy in which language can both praise and bury in the same gesture. This became the dominant mode in which American authors represented North American tribes once natives no longer challenged white removal policies. Writers spoke with the same mournful inevitability in Kenyon's declaration that certain human beings who enjoy a natural "happiness, have no longer any business on earth": "Like all the

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tribes, however, this also dwindles away at the approach of the whites. A melancholy fact. The Indians' bones must enrich the soil, before the plough of civilized man can open it." However noble and inspirational, Indian culture ontologically belonged to an anterior, almost mythical world, admired and mourned precisely as it was disempowered. In remarks on the whites' treatment of Indians, Washington Irving made a canny acknowledgment of this elegiac strategy—and even more interesting for our purposes, he borrowed the figure of the faun to point to the tendency to replace political conflict with more pleasing poetic myth: "If, perchance, some dubious memorial of them should survive, it may be in the romantic dreams of the poet, to people in imagination his glades and groves, like the fauns and satyrs and sylvan dieties of antiquity."[25]

In a geography of myth, the primitive signified a "delightful link between human and brute life." But when the same primitive traits were assigned to contemporary European inhabitants they were met more harshly. The class vision of human progress was as important within the boundaries of industrialized Western societies as in colonial outposts. Since the forces which advanced the middle classes in America and Europe were assumed to be the forces of progress for all eras and races, the "inequalities of development" between social strata recapitulated the uneven development of racial groups. Victorian England and America perceived an "internal primitivism" of rural laborers and urban poor. "In a progressive community all the sections do not advance *pari passu*," wrote one social evolutionist, "so that we may see in the lower some of the phases through which the more advanced have passed."[26]

The primitivism of still existing lower "phases," however, was rarely depicted in elegiac tones, especially when it came to the "savagery" to be found in urban slums. Even for sympathetic observers like Friedrich Engels and Henry Mayhew the coarse behavior of the poor in Manchester and London made them seem alien, undeveloped creatures. Mayhew described the inhabitants of London slums as a "nomad race" without "the least faculty of prevision," incapable of hard work and sexual restraint. Slum dwellers were routinely compared to non-European savages—most frequently to African tribes, but also to Indians of North and South America, South Sea islanders, Eskimos and Australian aborigines. Some writers went so far as to argue that "native populations" in manufacturing districts were literally of a different race; one influential study reported that factory workers in England were devel-

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oping the physical characteristics of Africans.[27] Populations of freed American slaves (the prospect of which motivates Hawthorne's Virginia faun) would be only one of several dangerous classes of primitives enclosed within the borders of white civilization.

Nineteenth century primitivism, then, appeared in two antithetical forms, as nostalgic retrospection (civilization's childhood) and as debased behavior (civilization's other). The image of natural man has long been a double one; but for Hawthorne's generation, the split figure was bound up with a set of historically unique social problems. Concepts of primitivism helped to order new social spaces in societies undergoing radical reorganization at midcentury. In a broad sense, the industrial bourgeoisie had the burden of providing an ideology of social control to replace the one they had dismantled. The difficult problem of pursuing social mobility and individual liberties while keeping in check the radical energies such aspirations could unlease reached a state of crisis in 1848–52. The class warfare that erupted in Europe caused widespread fear in America. European conflicts were thought to have infected the New World, bringing "Communism, Socialism, Pillage, Murder, Anarchy, and the Guillotine vs. Law and Order, Family and Property." In antebellum American culture, moreover, class politics intersected with sectional strife. Like the "terrorists of France," abolitionists could appear eager to tear "to pieces the Constitution" and rend society "into distracted fragments."[28] Mob revolt could take the easily imaginable form of slave uprisings. The attempt to map out stable social boundaries took a peculiarly literal form as Compromise legislation tried to contain conflict through redefining territorial borders.

Against this range of volatilities, primitivism in its dual manifestations was an ordering principle. It was bound up with social segregation that was physical as well as conceptual. In the case of Indian resettlement, this segregation was an explicit policy. Spaces of primitive culture were located (and relocated) on the national map. The boundaries of physical geography and the parameters of social control were one and the same. In a simultaneous process of temporal removal, the American Indian ceased to be an adversarial contemporary and became an artifact from the past. As natives were increasingly seen as vestiges of America's prehistory, the perception of their relation to Anglo culture shifted. Among ethnologists, an emphasis on static racial hierarchies in the early part of the century gave way to ideas about stages of evolutionary develop-

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ment in the 1850s and 1860s. This can be correlated with a subtle change in the way the Indian problem was framed: the Jacksonian period spoke of a confrontation between two incompatible cultures, while later decades described a single line of development between red and white America, making Indian culture oddly continuous with U.S. expansion by distancing the natives in time. Henry Lewis Morgan sometimes wrote of the Indians as proto-democrats whose destiny was not terminated but rather fulfilled in an Anglo-American civilization. In the case of North American Indians, then, we see an almost perfect reciprocity between spatial and temporal distancing.[29]

Segregation in nineteenth century cities was less a matter of overt social policy than of the development of a differentiated urban landscape. White "primitives" found themselves in the rather more spontaneously formed reservations of ghettoes and work slums. The effect was much the same: a social topography that located an undeveloped stage of culture in a bounded space. The geographical metaphor governed the language of middle-class observers themselves. Perceiving the new urban spaces as a dark *terra incognita*, visitors became self-styled travelers who explored and recorded the details of an alien world just as did the famed Victorian explorers of Africa. A review of Mayhew's book on London stated that "he has travelled through the unknown regions of our metropolis, and returned with full reports concerning the strange tribes of men which he may be said to have discovered."[30]

The same idea of a dark space of savagery shaped descriptions of Jewish ghettoes in Italy and eastern Europe, as well as the "Celtic fringes" and other enclaves of undeveloped peasant communities. As American Bayard Taylor described his frightened passage through the "Jew's City" in Prague, its borders enclose a distinct and dangerous foreign world:

> We came first into a dark, narrow street whose sides were lined with booths of old clothes and second-hand articles. A sharp-faced woman thrust a coat before my face. Instantly a man assailed me on the other side: "Here are vests!" I broke loose from them and ran on. One seized me by the arm, crying, "Lieber Herr, buy some stockings!" I rushed desperately on and finally got safe through.[31]

Under the category of the primitive, these widely different social groups—the new manufacturing poor, the inhabitants of segregated

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ghettoes and rural clans, and the savages of America and colonial outposts—all three could be correlated as surviving fossils of civilization's origins. They existed, in Tylor's words, "as proofs and examples of an older condition of culture out of which a new has been evolved." The past, as measured by middle-class advancement, could be distributed in space and provide a visible map of progress. Evolutionist Johann Bachofen, whose treatise *Das Mutterrecht* was published in the same year as *The Marble Faun*, described his work to Lewis Morgan as an attempt to place "the phenomena of the so-called classical antiquity in parallel with other corresponding phenomena, whether of decayed peoples of civilization or of still existing barbarian races."[32]

The metaphoric equation of this triangle of cultures, I am arguing, is the same constellation that shapes Hawthorne's narrative. The primitivism from the classical world is set alongside the "decayed" modern Italians, with antebellum conflicts over "barbarian races" casting a shadow from across the Atlantic. Each is a localizing of the past, whether the ideal space of ancient myth or the degraded vestiges of Rome's imperial city. The novel conducts an imaginary journey into varied landscape of more primitive stages of civilization, and the temporal mapping provides a measure of rational control.

To explore the importance of spaces of primitivism in *The Marble Faun*, we can again return to the figure of the African faun. One unsettling aspect to the sight of the fugitives is that the slaves no longer belong to any established place in American society. I do not mean that Hawthorne sees the slaves as wrongfully liberated (no longer "in their place"). Rather, as the products of "a social system thoroughly disturbed," the fugitives are fundamentally displaced. They have no true dwelling space outside of a slave society. "For the sake of the manhood which is latent in them, I would not have turned them back; but I should have felt almost as reluctant, on their own account, to hasten them forward to the stranger's land." Hawthorne was far from being alone in his sense that "the specimens of their race" in the North were just as homeless. He was in the company of such champions of the Negro as Stowe and Lincoln, who could only imagine blacks restored to full social life on the African continent. True liberty for slaves was a separate *place*, "Liberia." The fantasy of the slave as faun is another kind of relocation. Through the transporting of metaphor, it returns the African to a place of "primeval simplicity." What is a troubling presence on

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the American landscape becomes a pleasing one when the slave is absorbed into the past.

The Marble Faun likewise creates a topography that orders a social world through a model of time. Much of the novel features the characters' wanderings through Rome and the countryside. Modern critics have read these journeys as signs of the unraveling of the narrative plot. But the excursions in fact serve to map out the territories of the Old World and focus them through the alternating lenses of antipathy and empathy. Like the figure of the black faun, this sorting offers resolution through antithesis. By surveying the spaces of the past the novel provides the authority of cultural origins as well as negative evidence of American progress. Hilda's walk through the alleys of Rome, for instance, brings into view the spaces of modern savagery that are explicitly contrasted with the "familiar street of her New England."

> Hilda's present expedition led her into what was—physically, at least—the foulest and ugliest part of Rome. In that vicinity lies the Ghetto, where thousands of Jews are crowded within a narrow compass, and lead a close, unclean, and multitudinous life. (1175–76)

Describing a second neighborhood "on the borders of this region," the narrator stresses that the place has been virtually untouched by the centuries of civilization since the "old Romans." He speculates "whether the ancient Romans were as unclean a people as we everywhere find those who have succeeded them." The inhabitants are literally autocthonous:

> Dirt was everywhere, strewing the narrow streets, and incrusting the tall shabbiness of the edifices, from the foundations to the roofs; it lay upon the thresholds, and looked out of windows, and assumed the guise of human life in the children, that seemed to be engendered out of it. Their father was the Sun, and their mother—a heap of Roman mud! (1176)

Hilda's "expedition," described in the same terms used by urban explorers, revisits a "condition of culture" that has survived centuries of progress. A temporal idea—that Italian culture is exhausted—is located and displayed in a concentrated space. These alien and vaguely threatening populations are defined and *confined* through interdependent dimensions of time and geography. Hilda *passes through* this space. Her physical act expresses the evolutionary frame determining that her New England world has

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surpassed this stage of primitive development. The logical extension of this act is her return to America when, after having passed through the layers of time concentrated in Rome, she finds that there are "no future moments" in Italy and returns to the forward-moving current of time in America as if obeying natural law.

The novel's spaces of the past are doubly articulated, like the conceptions of primitivism itself. Repellent tracts of urban primitive life are matched by ideal spaces of cultural origins. In the "enchanted ground" of the Villa Borghese, mythic time displaces "daily life" or modern time. Here "had the Golden Age come back again, within the precincts of this sunny glade" (925). Unlike a journey into the city slums, the return to primitive existence within these boundaries is knowingly fictional, a playful and uncensored masquerading of the past like the Roman Carnival or like Kenyon's "nomadic" journey through the countryside with Donatello that provides "a very little taste of [a] primitive mode of existence" (1093). Embracing these acknowledged fictions poses no conflict with the laws of progress. The restrictions that have advanced Western civilization can be suspended without danger: within the grounds of the Villa, Miriam and Donatello feel "as if they had strayed across the limits of Arcadia, and come under a civil polity" requiring "little restraint" (917). In the Roman ghettoes the lack of civilized restraints is disturbingly close, but relocated in a world of acknowledged myth it evokes all the pleasures of elegy—the gardens are a "glimpse far backward into Arcadian life," and "the result of all is a scene, pensive, lovely, dreamlike, enjoyable, and sad" (912).

To many, the coexistence of these disparate narrative spaces makes the novel incoherent. Henry James's observation that "the action wavers between the streets of Rome, whose literal features the author perpetually sketches, and a vague realm of fancy, in which quite a different verisimilitude prevails" pinpoints what is now usually labeled a flaw.[33] But the difference in verisimilitude, I am arguing, is part of a crucial temporal logic. The divergent modes of representation are two different rhetorical constructions of the past. These modes function like grammatical mood, in which an attitude or assumption about content is expressed through linguistic form. On one hand, the "streets of Rome" contain still existing vestiges of the past. When presenting these "real" remnants (Hawthorne's indicative mood) of an uncivilized era, the language formalizes disdain or fear. The novel's "realm[s] of fancy," how-

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ever, present a world no longer existing (subjunctive mood) and give formal expression to desire and nostalgia.

This split is not a simple ambivalence about the meaning of American progress—though like most of his generation Hawthorne *was* ambivalent about the era's massive social changes. It is rather an instrument of thought that relies on the mutual play of both kinds of language. The idealizing and literalizing dictions function together toward a single effect. Both are harnessed to a model of national-cultural development. The traits that are loosely grouped together as *primitive*—traits signifying racial, national, class and historical identities interchangeably in the text and in broader cultural discourse—these are revered when located in the lost childhood of civilization's deep past, and then reviled as dangerous or stagnant remnants when found in the present. I speak here of the middle-class taboos that are central to a nineteenth century theory of cultural progress—impulsiveness, disregard for the future, sexual license, unrestrained will, exotic difference. As the term taboo itself suggests, these attributes conjoin desire and disapproval in Hawthorne and his audience. But the ambivalence is temporalized. The narrative gives free reign to desire in imagining civilization's prehistory, and manifests censure in the portraits of modern day "savagery." It is the same rhetorical function I have described in the figure of the slave faun: the effect requires the antithetical forms to play off one another, to polarize and hence stabilize a welter of feelings, ideas, and material facts.

Hawthorne's archeology of cultures certainly arises from what Peter Brooks describes as the nineteenth century's "obsession with questions of origin, evolution, progress, genealogy." And in a broad sense the novel also speaks to what Brooks suggests is the source of this obsession: an anxiety at the loss of religious or "providential plots" that had ordered human time around a timeless center. *The Marble Faun* could be said to stage a paradigm shift between sacred and secular masterplots, as the story of Adam and Eve is displaced by one of national history and progress (though as Johannes Fabian points out, the evolutionist paradigm is finally no less providential than Genesis).[34] But the text also needs to be situated more concretely in its historical moment. What has puzzled most twentieth century readers is the concluding renunciation that seems to take away everything the novel had imaginatively illuminated. This fi-

nal curbing, Hawthorne's ultimate siding with "law" over the energies and possibilities discovered in Italy, can be understood by looking to the antebellum context.

I have been arguing that the transgressions and freedoms rendered so sympathetically—will, radical change, eros—are displayed but finally contained. Hilda and Kenyon discover licence and impulse and erotic energy, but these taboos are safely enclosed in a flexible rhetoric of temporal and spatial distancing. Hawthorne must finally insist that these traits belong to the Old World and are therefore relevant only as a picture of an irrevocable time or an alien place. Italy serves as America's space of primitivism just as America had served that role for Europe.

The impetus for these restraints, I have suggested, comes from the unrepresented domestic world that was feeling the dislocations of industrial capitalism, compounded with the immediate cataclysm of civil war. Living overseas seemed to make Hawthorne all the more sensitive to social upheaval at home, "the most piercing shriek, the wildest yell, and all the ugly sounds of popular turmoil, inseparable from the life of a republic," he wrote, "being a million times more audible than the peaceful hum of prosperity and content." Hawthorne's letters and notebooks show that he brooded on the possibility of national rupture throughout his years abroad. As war approached, Hawthorne repeatedly referred to it in images of the violent rending apart of order—society "overturned from its foundations," in "utter ruin," convulsed in "death throes." Unlike the Indian problem, America's other racial conflict would not be contained by mapping new boundaries. When a British friend gave him a "shaded map of negrodom" that indicated proportions of black and white populations in the South, Hawthorne wrote "what a terrible amount of trouble and expense in washing that sheet white, and after all I am afraid we shall only variegate it with blood and dirt."[35]

While he was rewriting *The Marble Faun* in England Hawthorne was absorbed by the "miserable confusion" of American society. But what the novel offers is an America of "human promise." In 1862, this America could best be represented *in absentia*, that is, as a conceptual place (New World) defined only by implied contrast with (America's) Italy. The task of the novel is to structure a past that confirms the American future. But if Hawthorne's fiction finally aims to reign in potentially disruptive energies, if the pref-

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ace's description of America as a place of placid, "common-place prosperity" is as much a wish as a complaint, we should also acknowledge that the novel's transgressions are at least as powerful as its censures. Like Hilda and her almost involuntary attraction to St. Peter's and the freeing consolations of Catholicism, readers are allowed to experience the heterodox energies and outmoded institutions at their most compelling. At these moments the temporal restrictions, the partitioning that has confined these energies to the past, seem to drop away. What was assigned to history is rekindled into new life. For Hilda, the Cathedral presents her "with all the effect of a *new* creation." She confesses to a St. Peter's priest; rather than merely observe she *participates* in the "primitive" rituals that the novel's progressive, rational voices declare "childish rites" and "gaudy superstitions" (precisely the rites that Anglo–American ethnologists said linked Catholicism with pagan and primitive tribes).[36] I have argued that *The Marble Faun* shares a rhetoric of temporal control with nineteenth century anthropology and travel writing; Hawthorne's fictional exploration of the past, however, brings its history to life, sets it in imaginative motion in a way the other discourses do not. The power of sympathy and fascination liable to be generated in fiction pushes against the boundaries the novel's form is meant to enforce.

This may be the special brilliance of Hawthorne's fiction; not its reputed ambiguity, but its daring in giving such forceful illumination to what the narrative means finally to contain.[37] *The Marble Faun* guides its readers (identified explicitly as American readers) on a tour through the spaces of the past—some odious, but some intriguing, provocative and breath-taking—and then risks presenting the return home as a narrative resolution, a counter-weight to all preceding pages. The idea or "promise" of America alone is called upon to be a sufficient ballast. It could be said that this is strategic as well, that through this narrative asymmetry we are asked to imagine and supply an American future that equals and finally outstrips the "massive Roman past."

The Carnival scene displays this element of risk in Hawthorne's novel, the risk that fiction can dissolve its own cognitive order. I have suggested that Hawthorne allows these disruptions in Hilda's visit to St. Peter's. She discovers that Roman customs are efficacious, not wholly sealed in the past, and for a moment the governing order of temporal progress is transgressed. At the Carnival, Kenyon likewise finds himself experiencing Roman custom as a

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vitality in the present. This time the transgressive energies even threaten to overwhelm the novel's informing masterplot of progress.

As we have already noted, the Carnival is first presented as another dead vestige of the past. "To own the truth, the Carnival is alive, this present year, only because it has existed through centuries gone by. It is traditionary, not actual" (1216). As long as the narrator insists on this temporal perspective the riotous crowd remains an empty spectacle. But at a certain point the scene modulates. At the sight of military forces lining the street corners, the narrator describes not a time-worn repetition of custom but a potential scene of modern-day mob revolt.

> Yet the government seemed to imagine that there might be excitement enough, (wild mirth, perchance, following its antics beyond law, and frisking from frolic into earnest), to render it expedient to guard the Corso with an imposing show of military power. . . . Had that chained tiger-cat, the Roman populace, shown only so much as the tips of his claws, the sabres would have been flashing and the bullets whistling, in right earnest, among the combatants who now pelted one another with mock sugar-plums and wilted flowers. (1220)

No longer simply "traditionary," the scene becomes "actual," a disorder now uncontained by time. The Carnival is a palimpsest. Beneath the "merriment of this famous festival" we glimpse the idea of political rebellion and riot. Even more telling, a third level signifying the modern American scene is hinted at: while the narrator reminds himself that the Roman Carnival is a "hereditary festival" and therefore merely an illusion of anarchy ("in the end, he would see that all this apparently unbounded licence is kept strictly within a limit of its own"), his anxieties gravitate to the "popular rudeness" that he feels would be sure to break out "in any Anglo-Saxon city" under the same mob conditions (1220–21).

Where Hilda had passed through the disorder of the ghettoes untouched, Kenyon finds himself engulfed in the primitive antics of the Carnival. The spatio-temporal dimensions that had distanced Italian culture are gone, and the Old World comes to life with a vengeance.

> Hereupon, a whole host of absurd figures surrounded him. . . . orang-outangs; bear-headed, bull-headed, and dog-headed individuals; faces that would have been human but for their enormous noses. . . . (1224)

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We might well see in these beastial revellers a parodic return of the novel's carefully controlled spaces of primitivism. The "delightful link" between man and animal that Donatello symbolizes here reappears in grotesque form. And as the narrator himself had earlier done, we might read in the sight a displaced image of a mob of American "primitives." James's comment about Hawthorne's Pierce campaign biography—that it was an attempt to quiet "the many-headed monster of universal suffrage"—supports this parallel nicely, suggesting a resonance between these dog- and bear-headed creatures and the unrestrained clamor Hawthorne feared from abolitionists, slave mobs, anarchists and urban masses.[38]

Where Kenyon had been a controlling observer, he is now the object of scrutiny and ridicule; "in the view of the revellers" Kenyon is "absurd" (1228). Unlike Hilda's visit to St. Peter's, Hawthorne's Carnival does not risk creating heretical sympathies but rather a release of ridicule and laughter that might mock the orthodoxy of progress. Hilda's solemn affirmation of law is mocked by the ludicrous legal court acted in the Corso. The attraction between Hilda and Kenyon, all restraint, indirection and caution, is flung back at Kenyon in the grotesque mimicry of love from a "gigantic female figure" whose "assault upon his heart" is as hostile as it is amorous. In the preceding chapters Italy has been surveyed through the American lens of cultural progress; now Italy reflects those notions back in a deflating burlesque. A real, electric, present day Rome laughs at America's attempts to contain it through the rhetoric of time.

But if Hawthorne here risks giving free reign to all the energies he meant to consign to the past, he closes the novel with an emblem that marks the novel's more pervasive tendency toward rhetorical control. The description of Miriam's bracelet brings back the temporal ordering that keeps these energies in check. The bracelet symbolizes the power of elegy. It gives token value to the vitality of Miriam and the values of her world but does so through a commemorative act that seals them off in "an immemorial time."

> Before they quitted Rome, a bridal gift was laid on Hilda's table. It was a bracelet, evidently of great cost, being composed of seven ancient Etruscan gems, dug out of seven sepulchres, and each one of them the signet of some princely personage, who had lived an immemorial time ago. . . . It had been Miriam's; and once, with the exuberance of fancy that distinguished her, she had amused herself with telling a mythical and magic legend for

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each gem, comprising the imaginary adventures and catastrophe of its former wearer. (1238–39)

Hilda will bring back the "exuberance" of Italy in a form that can be safely imported to America: as fanciful "legend" (reified even further as ornamental gems). Adventures and catastrophes are re-assuringly imaginary. Exotic foreigners that had threatened violence and anarchic ridicule in the Carnival are replaced by the prehistoric and now "princely" Etruscan, the primitive contained in romance.

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NOTES

[1] Nathaniel Hawthorne, "Chiefly About War Matters," *The Writings of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, 22 vols., (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1876), 17:386, 361, 362.

[2] Hayden White discusses this "suppressed function" in "The Noble Savage: Theme as Fetish," *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, vol. 1 of 2, ed. Fredi Chiappelli (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1976), 121–135. My essay draws from White's suggestions about the fetishistic nature of early images of primitivism.

[3] Hawthorne, *The French and Italian Notebooks*, ed. Thomas Woodson, vol. 14 of The 18 volume Centenary Edition (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State Univ. Press, 1980), 173–74.

[4] Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*, in *Novels*, ed. Millicent Bell (New York: The Library of America, 1983), 857. All future references to *The Marble Faun* will be indicated by page number at the end of the quote.

[5] See for instance James R. Mellow, *Nathaniel Hawthorne in His Times* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980), 521.

[6] Among Hawthorne's contemporaries *The Marble Faun* was probably the most widely-read of his novels; see Edward Wagenknecht, *Nathaniel Hawthorne: The Man, His Tales and Romances* (New York: Continuum, 1989), 126–27.

[7] Harriet Beecher Stowe, "Introductory Note" to *Agnes of Sorrento* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin), ix; Herman Melville, *Pierre; or, The Ambiguities* (New York: Library of America, 1984), 322; Shelley, quoted in R. S. Pine-Coffin, *Bibiography of British and American Travel in Italy to 1860* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1974), 39.

[8] Samuel Topliff, quoted in Paul R. Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims: Americans in Italy 1800–1860* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1964), 202.

[9] Henry T. Tuckerman, *The Italian Sketch Book* (New York: J. C. Riker, 1848), 84–5; John Mitchell, quoted in Baker (note 8), 42.

[10] Henry James, *Portrait of a Lady*, in *Novels 1881–1886*, ed. William T. Stafford (New York: Library of America, 1986), 723. For a valuable analysis of spatialized time and physical time, see Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1983). Fabian suggests that colonial expansion has employed a kind of "political physics" whereby two cultural bodies cannot occupy the same space at the same time, and therefore the "autochthonous body" is either removed or assigned to a different time, i.e. labeled as primitive.

[11] At times this voice even calls itself as a traveler: "The houses are of most uninviting aspect, neither picturesque, not homelike and social . . . and frown inhospitably upon the traveller through iron-grated windows" (1202).

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[12] William Vance discusses the variety of nineteenth century Americans' responses to the difficulty "of relating the ancient Roman ideal of beauty to the *ethos* of their native country." "The Roman Ideal of Beauty and the American Experience," in *Augustan Age* (1988), 56–69.

[13] Michel de Certeau, "Montaigne's 'Of Cannibals': The Savage 'I,' " in *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other,* trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1986), 68. On the relation between travel writing and nineteenth century ethnology see George W. Stocking, Jr., *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: The Free Press, 1987).

[14] Isidore, Bishop of Seville, *Etymologies,* in Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), 56, 69.

[15] Sebastian Muenster, *Cosmosgraphia,* in Hodgen (note 14) 179. See chapters 2–5.

[16] Mary Louise Pratt discusses this "widespread, and stable form of 'othering' " common to both modern anthropology and traditional manners and customs portraits. "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen," in *"Race," Writing, and Difference,* ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1985), 138–162.

[17] On the rise of racialist thought see Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1981), and Stocking (note 13).

[18] In Horsman (note 17) 60, 71; Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (2 vols., London: 1871; reprint, New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1920), 27.

[19] Sophia Hawthorne and Orville Horwitz, quoted in Baker (note 8), 170–71. The affinity between novel and travel book becomes even clearer in this episode when, immediately following Kenyon's speech about priests the narrator offers a broad cultural comparison between the homogenized figure of "an Italian" and his "system" and "our" American way ("An Italian, indeed, seldom dreams of being philanthropic, except in bestowing alms among the paupers who appeal to his beneficence at every step").

[20] Horsman (note 17) discusses these tenets of Anglo-Saxonism in chapters 1, 2, 4–6. Sacvan Bercovitch shows the importance of the "red forty-eight" and other radical energies for *The Scarlet Letter* in "Hawthorne's A-Morality of Compromise," *Representations* 24 (1988): 1–27. I am indebted to Bercovitch's analysis of Hawthorne's aesthetics of liberal compromise.

[21] See Stocking (note 13), Chapter Six, "Victorian Cultural Ideology and the Image of Savagery (1780–1870)," 186–237; Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology,* 3 vols., (New York: 1876; reprint, New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1923), 73, 61, 73, 70, 77.

[22] Stocking (note 13), 53–56.

[23] William John Thoms, quoted in Stocking (note 13), 56; Alfred Russel Wallace, *A Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro,* 3rd ed. (New York: Ward, Lock and Co., 1890), 83, 180.

[24] Stocking (note 13), 36; Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon,* 230, 261.

[25] Thomas Farnham, quoted in Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization* (1953; rev. ed., Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1988), 65.

[26] J. F. McLennan quoted in Stocking (note 13), 219.

[27] See F. S. Schwarzbach, "*Terra Incognita*—An Image of the City in English Literature, 1820–1855," in *The Art of Travel: Essays on Travel Writing,* ed. Philip Dodd (London: Frank Cass and Co., 1982), 61–84. In *The Manufacturing Population of England* (1833), Peter Gaskell drew upon anthropological researches in Africa to argue that the high temperatures and promiscuous intermingling in factories were changing the moral and physical constitution of mill children. He claimed adult workers exhibited short stature and broad noses and lips.

[28] *New York Courier and Inquirer,* quoted in Bercovitch (note 20), 5; Hawthorne, *Life of Franklin Pierce* (Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1852). Hawthorne's remarks are in support of Pierce's commitment to compromise measures on slavery: "The fiercest, the least scrupulous, and the most consistent of those who battle against slavery recognize the same fact that he does. They see that merely human wisdom and human efforts cannot subvert it 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, through a continued miracle of almost two hundred years, from the first settlement of the American wilderness until the Revolution" (111–12).

[29] Henry Lewis Morgan, *Ancient Society* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1877; reprint, Tucson, Arizona: Univ. of Arizona Press, 1985).

[30] *Eclectic Review,* quoted in Schwarzbach (note 27), 75.

[31] Bayard J. Taylor, *Views A-Foot* (Philadelphia, 1848; reprint, Philadelphia: David McKay Publisher, 1979), 171.

[32] E. B. Tylor (note 18), 16; Bachofen, quoted in George Stocking, "Some Problems in the Understanding of Nineteenth Century Cultural Evolutionism," in *Readings in the History of Anthropology,* ed. Regna Darnell (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 423.

[33] Henry James, *Nathaniel Hawthorne,* in *Literary Criticism,* vol 2, ed Leon Edel (New York: Library of America, 1984), 447.

[34] Peter Brooks, *Reading for the Plot* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), 6–7; Fabian (note 10), 1–35.

[35] Hawthorne, quoted in Mellow (note 5), 502–3, 562, 536, 549; Arlin Turner, *Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Biography* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1980), 370.

[36] Hawthorne, quoted in Mellow (note 35), 533. Stocking (note 13) summarizes the telescoping of pagan and Catholic belief by British folklorists: "In general, 'popular antiquities' represented the continuity of error and superstition in an enlightened age, and were explained in terms of the impact of Roman Catholicism on prior pagan belief." (54–5).

[37] See Bercovitch, (note 20) and Jonathan Arac, "The Politics of *The Scarlet Letter,*" in *Ideology and Classic American Literature,* ed. Sacvan Bercovitch and Myra Jehlen (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1986), 247–66.

[38] James (note 33), 425. Mellow (note 5) notes that the practice of stationing soldiers along the Corso had been established in 1848 when the population had turned against Pope Pius IX and driven him from Rome. French troops under Napoleon III had been called in to put down the revolution (486).

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