

Gender Role Models, Abolition and the Map of Revolution in Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun*

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Nathaniel Hawthorne's novel, *The Marble Faun*, can be interpreted as a coded map of revolution in the city of Rome when correlated with his *French and Italian Notebooks*. The monuments correspond to forces of time, change and progress brought about by the great historic characters of the past, good or evil. This map of monuments and revolutions is intended to be read as a Ouija board that predicts the future based on the forces of the past and the factors that influence the present. The forces which permeate the novel, including the polarities of past and present, male and female, good and evil, individual and society, suggest that the author discerns those forces that impacted ancient civilizations and continue to impact his own time. However, his novel, *The Marble Faun*, places a special emphasis on the role of women and the potential of the women's movement to overthrow the existing order of society.

The novel includes a description of the clasped hands by Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning created by American sculptor Harriet Hosmer (Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY). They serve to illustrate some of the major themes of the novel which include relationships among men and women and American artists in Italy. The cuffs of the wrists indicate gender as does their size and position. Robert's hand is placed on the underside with Elizabeth's hand resting on top. The reciprocal symbol of friendship thus has gender overtones with the male member serving a supporting role for the female. As a married couple and creative authors, the couple symbolized the dichotomy between the active roles of men and women in the arts and efforts to recognize women as equal partners. The context of the reference is Hilda's hand sculpted in marble by Kenyon which he presents to Miriam when she visits his studio. The same chapter also references Kenyon's clay model of Cleopatra which was inspired by William Wetmore Story's version modeled in 1859 and carved from marble in 1869. Hawthorne's clarifies his opinion about independent women by showing Miriam the lovingly carved hand of the woman he will ultimately marry: his soul-mate and fellow artist, though her medium is the most feminine one of painting:

"I partly agree with you," said Miriam. "It is a mistaken idea, which men generally entertain, that nature has made women especially prone to throw their whole being into what is technically called love. We have, to say the least, no more necessity for it than yourselves; only we have nothing else to do with our hearts. When women have other objects in life, they are not apt to fall in love. I can think of many women distinguished in

art, literature, and science,—and multitudes whose hearts and minds find good employment in less ostentatious ways,—who lead high, lonely lives, and are conscious of no sacrifice so far as your sex is concerned."¹

In Hawthorne's view, independent women may be successful, but at the cost of being lonely. Love is the ultimate goal that they should pursue since that is the area of their domain and greatest success. This attitude is further reinforced by his reference to Cleopatra, a woman who symbolized independence and depravity in her alliance with Marc Antony and challenge to the Roman Empire under Augustus. Hawthorne describes the delicately dimpled hand of Hilda as an appropriate representation of the weaker sex. Story's sculpture depicts the voluptuous erotic queen dying in an ecstatic gasp on her throne as she rests her head on one arm contemplating her tragic fate. The Brownings' relationship epitomized perfect gender compatibility. As a creative couple, they shared the same media in writing. Robert's poetry expressed a male perspective, while Elizabeth's expressed a female perspective. After their marriage in 1846, they moved from England to Italy, and Robert published his collection of poems, *Men and Women*, in 1855. His poem, "My Last Duchess" (1842) anticipates his move to Italy with a sardonic poem about an Italian duke who murders his wife for infidelity but continues to admire her portrait by an Italian Renaissance master. By contrast, Elizabeth was a stereotypical Victorian woman. As an invalid, she was dependent upon her husband's strength and supportive care. She began writing poetry as a child which was published by her mother. Her most famous poem is "How Do I Love Thee? Let Me Count the Ways" (Sonnet 43, 1845) exhibits the traits of demure femininity deemed appropriate for her sex. Their reciprocal relationship which made them famous also reinforced traditional Victorian gender roles which abound in Hawthorne's novel despite recent strides towards women's equality. This is not surprising since the novel places its characters in a dependent relationship with the past as the source of their artistic futures. The models of antiquity are not only presented as appropriate models for artists, they become models for contemporary social behavior. The pagan revelry which classical works exhibit is placed in direct conflict with the values of the Catholic church represented by the geographic location of Rome and its religious art treasures. The four characters, Hilda and Kenyon, Donatello and Miriam, act out gender roles by comparing their developing social values and morals against the standards of Ancient Rome and Counter-Reformation Rome. The dichotomy is clearly intended to be ironic and is one of the twists of the novel in which Hawthorne questions the appropriateness of antiquated cultural values in the emerging modern era.² But he was in good company. The time period was fraught with such contradictions.

Hiram Powers' clay model for his sculpture *The Greek Slave* was first exhibited in his Florence studio in 1843, and the marble version was completed a year later. It was wildly popular when it was exhibited in London at the Crystal Palace in 1851 and later in Paris. Based on the pose of the Greco-Roman Venus Pudica, the Greek Slave referenced the recent conflict between Turkey and Greece, as well as the issue of the slave trade and the abolitionist movement

¹ Nathaniel Hawthorne. *The Marble Faun*. V.I. Project Gutenberg. 2006.

<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/2181/2181-h/2181-h.htm>, Ch 13.

² Dennis R. Perry. "Fairy Precincts Of The Real: Recovering The Miraculous In Hawthorne's The Marble Faun." *Nathaniel Hawthorne Review* 36.2 (2010): 70-93.

in the United States. She also references the women's movement which American and British writers flirted with in and out of the myriad of classical references that characterized aesthetics in the art and literature of the romantics.³ Elizabeth's poem "The Greek Slave" is based on her response to the statue which she saw in the artist's Florence studio in 1847; her poem was published in 1850:

They say Ideal beauty cannot enter
 The house of anguish. On the threshold stands
 An alien Image with shackled hands,
 Called the Greek Slave! as if the artist meant her
 (That passionless perfection which he lent her,
 Shadowed not darkened where the sill expands)
 To so confront man's crimes in different lands
 With man's ideal sense. Pierce to the centre,
 Art's fiery finger! and break up ere long
 The serfdom of this world. Appeal, fair stone,
 From God's pure heights of beauty against man's wrong!
 Catch up in thy divine face, not alone
 East grieves but west, and strike and shame the strong,
 By thunders of white silence, overthrown.⁴

There are further parallels between the two couples. Sophia Peabody Hawthorne was also a near invalid, and completely dependent upon Hawthorne. Her feminine decorum is what endeared her to the author in contrast to her outspoken intellectual sister, Elizabeth Peabody, who joined the transcendentalist lecture circuit. EBB and Sophia Peabody conformed to the emerging definition of the Victorian woman as virginal and virtuous, a veritable allegorical female role model in any media: marble, painting or literature.⁵ EBB attempted to reference the growing women's movement with her literary themes that also focus on strong female role models. For example, in her companion poems, "The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim's Point" and "A Curse for a Nation," she addresses the abolition theme of slavery. These poems were published first in an abolitionist anthology publication entitled, *The Liberty Bell* before her private collection appeared. But the allegorical role models which had their origins in the neoclassical allegories of the French Revolution and Early Republic, continue to serve as the reference point for female identity within the arts.

The history of role models in literature and marble statues can be traced to the federal period in which the new nation referenced its leaders in the neoclassical style which was associated with new democracies in America and France. Houdon's full-scale portrait of George Washington in his general's uniform was followed by Greenough's semi-nude statue that was initially rejected for display inside the Capitol building due to its nudity. Commissioned to

³Sabine Metzger. "'That Indefinable Nothing, That Inestimable Something': Empathy And The Miraculum Of Art In The Marble Faun." *Nathaniel Hawthorne Review* 37.1 (2011): 88-108.

⁴Elizabeth Barrett Browning. *Poetical Works*. 14th ed. 5 vols. London: Smith, Elder, 1886, III, 302.

⁵ U.C. Knoepfelmacher, U. C. "Projection And The Female Other: Romanticism, Browning, And The Victorian Dramatic Monologue." *Victorian Poetry* 22.2 (1984): 139-159.

celebrate the centennial of his birth in 1832, the portrayal of Washington proffering his sheathed sword in the guise of the Greek god Zeus after Phidias statue for the Temple of Olympia was completed in 1840 and deemed appropriate for outdoors display on the capitol lawn.

Hawthorne's preoccupation with role models clearly stems from this conscientious propaganda program which selected historic persons for their contributions to society and state and immortalized them as social landmarks. Hawthorne's own interest in the early Massachusetts' Puritan settlements corresponded to nineteenth-century histories which collated and evaluated the contributions of America's early ancestors. National propaganda was dependent upon such coded selections which emphasized the characters, virtues, and accomplishments of those citizens who best represented the collective goals and identity of the new nation. The production of state portraits in marble continued gained momentum during the Napoleonic Empire when neoclassical marble busts of the imperial family were placed in every official setting, and Napoleon and his sister, Pauline, were immortalized as Greek gods by the Italian sculptor, Antonio Canova. Hawthorne alludes to this recent history by placing the renowned sculptor's name above the doorway to Kenyon's Roman studio. Hawthorne further contemplates the historic impact of leaving "behind our features to be a dusty-white ghost among strangers of another generation..."⁶

This practice was reinforced by neoclassicism, the dominant stylistic movement of the revolutionary age and art that focused on allegory and deities as exemplars of ideal social values, and especially democracy. Applied to women, however, it had a regressive effect which reduced their accomplishments to flat allegories and ephemeral ideals of beauty and femininity. Thus, women, like EBB, who continued to extoll the virtues of ideal forms as synonymous with the women's movement, perpetuated Victorian gender stereotypes. EBB's "The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim's Point" alludes to the pilgrim ancestors whose whiteness was also committed to marble in writing the history of the new nation. The whiteness of the pilgrim is contrasted with the blackness of the slave who is also raped by white men and smothers her infant son as a result. The inferiority of the slave is contrasted with the power of the pilgrim, but also the gender inequity which pervades federal period classicism in the arts and literature of the nineteenth-century. EBB's idolization of the Greek slave captures the sentiment of the abolitionist movement from the perspective of the gender ideal captured in the artist's medium of marble. She denounces the practice of slavery as a moral crime, but speaks from the authority of a classical statue who represents allegorical virtues: "Appeal, fair stone, From God's pure heights of beauty against man's wrong!" Margaret Fuller also encountered such stumbling blocks in writing her *Woman in the Nineteenth-Century*. One version is rife with classical allegories and stereotypes in which she struggles to make a point about the equality of women in the workplace.⁷ By contrast, some women did achieve the practical side of the debate, such as Florence Nightingale, the founder of modern nursing, though she was eulogized with such stereotypes, as one might expect. She was named after her birthplace in Florence, Italy, while her sister was named after her birthplace in Parthenope, a Greek settlement near Naples. She trained

⁶Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*, ch. 13.

⁷Leverenz, David. "Working Women And Creative Doubles: Getting To The Marble Faun." *Hawthorne and the Real: Bicentennial Essays*. 144-158. Columbus, OH: Ohio State UP, 2005.

nurses serving in the Crimean War (1853-56) and founded the first secular school of nursing at St. Thomas hospital. The cause of the war involved the issue of Christians in the Holy Land and the distribution of territory of the Ottoman Empire. Nightingale became known as the Lady with the Lamp after an article in the *Times* described her tireless efforts to tend to sick and wounded. The phrase was also borrowed by the poet Longfellow in his 1857 poem, "The Lady with the Lamp:"

Honor to those whose words or deeds
Thus help us in our daily needs,
And by their overflow
Raise us from what is low!

Thus thought I, as by night I read
Of the great army of the dead,
The trenches cold and damp,
The starved and frozen camp,--

The wounded from the battle-plain,
In dreary hospitals of pain,
The cheerless corridors,
The cold and stony floors.

Lo! in that house of misery
A lady with a lamp I see
Pass through the glimmering gloom,
And flit from room to room.

And slow, as in a dream of bliss,
The speechless sufferer turns to kiss
Her shadow, as it falls
Upon the darkening walls.

As if a door in heaven should be
Opened, and then closed suddenly,
The vision came and went,
The light shone was spent.

On England's annals, through the long
Hereafter of her speech and song,
That light its rays shall cast
From portals of the past.

A lady with a lamp shall stand
In the great history of the land,
A noble type of good,
Heroic womanhood.

Nor even shall be wanting here
 The palm, the lily, and the spear,
 The symbols that of yore
 Saint Filomena bore.⁸

Longfellow follows the Victorian tradition of transforming women's accomplishments into a poem that celebrates the allegorical eternal feminine as an uplifting spiritual impulse that is complemented by women's natural inclinations. Thus, when Hawthorne begins matching his contemporary characters, Hilda and Miriam, to sculptures, he begins to assign them tropes, such as Old Maid, Virgin, Muse, and Vixen. Yet, he seems unaware of the ramifications for actual women and the women's movement towards legal gender equality. As Kenyon unveils his statue of Cleopatra, Miriam, aware of the danger of social gender stereotyping responds:

"My new statue!" said Kenyon, who had positively forgotten it in the thought of Hilda; "here it is, under this veil." "Not a nude figure, I hope," observed Miriam. "Every young sculptor seems to think that he must give the world some specimen of indecorous womanhood, and call it Eve, Venus, a Nymph, or any name that may apologize for a lack of decent clothing."⁹

In this chapter, Hawthorne attacks his female antitype, Miriam, again by associating her with the depraved Egyptian queen. Miriam also confesses that she has a burning secret, like a "red carbuncle," that she never completely reveals. The reader is left to wonder whether she has committed some heinous crime, like Cleopatra's treasonous pact with Marc Antony, or the murder of an innocent cleric by the Count of Monte Beni, or whether she is simply concealing her hidden Jewish ancestry.¹⁰ Her strong profile suggests it and lends itself to modeling for the medium of sculpture. Cleopatra is described as fierce, voluptuous, passionate, tender, wicked, terrible, and full of poisonous and rapturous enchantment..."¹¹ The analysis of Cleopatra's depravity leads into a contrast with the pure moral character of Hilda, his love interest which leaves Miriam feeling as though she may have some moral defect that must remain unmentioned.

"What I most marvel at," said Miriam, "is the womanhood that you have so thoroughly mixed up with all those seemingly discordant elements. Where did you get that secret? You never found it in your gentle Hilda, yet I recognize its truth."

"No, surely, it was not in Hilda," said Kenyon. "Her womanhood is of the ethereal type, and incompatible with any shadow of darkness or evil."

"You are right," rejoined Miriam; "there are women of that ethereal type, as you term it, and Hilda is one of them. She would die of her first wrong-doing,—supposing for a moment that she could be capable of doing wrong. Of sorrow, slender as she seems, Hilda might bear a great burden; of sin, not a feather's weight. Methinks now, were it my doom, I could

⁸Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. "Santa Filomena." *The Atlantic Monthly*. 1.1 (Nov. 1857): 22-23, lines 9-24.

⁹Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*, ch 14.

¹⁰Greven, David. "Hawthorne And The Gender Of Jewishness: Anti-Semitism, Aesthetics, And Sexual Politics In The Marble Faun." *Journal Of American Culture* 35.2 (2012): 135-152.

¹¹Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*, ch. 14.

bear either, or both at once; but my conscience is still as white as Hilda's. Do you question it?"¹²

Miriam astutely recognizes that Hilda conforms to female gender stereotypes for the virtuous Victorian woman. Her moral values are projected onto the same medium, marble, but in the representation of saints, the Virgin Mary, or classical allegorical virtues. By contrast, Miriam does a pronounced double-take and compares her own heart and moral values to the standard posed by the statue of Cleopatra. The flat two-dimensional characterization of women who are measured against marble connotations stands in stark contrast to the mileage men gained from using the same medium. The examination of sin or virtue which is a common theme in Hawthorne's plots now rests upon the binary interpretation of women- virgin or whore-who look to classically inspired art for their moral role models. Miriam is plagued by sin as much as she is by her secret, while Hilda naturally assumes the higher moral ground. In contrast to contemporary women's role models who were concurrently making real contributions to society, the aesthetics of the marble role model caused a regression in the women's movement. Nightingale managed both roles through her poetic celebration by Longfellow. On the other hand, Harriet Beecher Stowe and her sister, Catherine Beecher actively promoted abolition and the women's movement through their concrete contributions to society. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* portrayed the reality of the hardships experienced by slaves, while Catherine Beecher devoted herself to founding school for women and promoting education in the western frontier. She also organized a public demonstration led by the women's movement against the Indian Removal Act of President Andrew Jackson. Her *A Treatise on Domestic Economy for the Use of Young Ladies at Home and at School* (1841) attempted to redress the negative gender stereotyping of women by reassessing their roles in the workforce. Here she presented her view on the equality of women as a right that was unique to democracy:

In most other cases, in a truly Democratic State, each individual is allowed to choose for himself who shall take the position of his superior. No woman is forced to obey any husband but the one she chooses for herself; nor is she obliged to take a husband if she prefers to remain single. So every domestic, and every artisan or laborer, after passing from parental control, can choose the employer to whom he is to accord obedience, or if he prefers to relinquish certain advantages, he can remain without taking a subordinate place to any employer.¹³

By contrast, in Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun*, the question of liberty is also strangely regressive and placed within the context of the history of Ancient Roman prisoners, as opposed to contemporary democratic equality. The precipice that Hilda and Miriam spy foreshadows the ledge from which Donatello pushes the innocent monk to his death, without questioning the issue of Italian democratic independence then being fought in the Italian Revolution which began in 1848. The Italian revolt against Austrian rule continued in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars and Congress of Vienna (1818) and was important enough to draw Margaret Fuller to Italy in 1848 as the first woman correspondent for the *New York Tribune*, who married an Italian

¹²Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*, ch. 14.

¹³Catherine Beecher. *A Treatise on Domestic Economy for the Use of Young Ladies at Home and at School* (1841). Maureen E. Riedy. American Studies, UVA, 1997, ch. 1. <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~cap/utc/bchaps.html>

nobleman, Giovanni Angelo Ossoli, a supporter of the revolutionary leader, Giuseppe Mazzini. They helped to establish the Roman Republic of 1849. Fuller worked as a nurse tending to wounded soldiers while Ossoli fought on the front lines. When the tide of revolution turned in favor of the papacy and occupying forces of Napoleon III, the couple fled to America and died tragically in a shipwreck off the coast of Fire Island, New York. The manuscript of the history of Italy Fuller was writing was also lost.

Hawthorne's reader does not learn the truth about Miriam's secret until the publication of the second printing of the 1860 edition appeared that included a postscript explaining that Miriam was actively engaged in the Revolution of 1848. The Italian revolution in Rome created a short-lived Roman Republic in 1849 from the former Papal States which was overthrown within a year by the occupation of Napoleon III who ruled until 1870.¹⁴ This explains Miriam's strange identification with Cleopatra and her alternate attraction and revulsion to the tragic queen. Writing in the aftermath of Fuller's death, Hawthorne would also have had Fuller's untimely death in mind following her escape from the Revolution with her husband Ossoli and infant son. The implications of his nod to the women's movement are not fully spelled out. This provides a perplexing problem for the artist's role models since Miriam's actions would undermine the religious veneration of art and saints which permeate the text. If Miriam questions her own loyalty to the cause of Italian nationalism, she also wavers between her goal of becoming an independent artist and her goal of marriage. As an artist, she is dependent upon the traditions of the visual arts in classical and Christian sources fostered in Rome. As an American and a republican, she seeks to undermine these venerable traditions by joining in the revolutionary crusade to replace the Papal States with a Roman republic. In the aftermath of Fuller's tragic death, Hawthorne does not develop an independent woman in the character of Miriam. Instead, he allows her to vacillate among choices which limit her participation to copying sources for her art.

Kenyon observes:

"It ought to afford a good prospect," said the sculptor; "for it was from this point—at least we are at liberty to think so, if we choose—that many a famous Roman caught his last glimpse of his native city, and of all other earthly things. This is one of the sides of the Tarpeian Rock. Look over the parapet, and see what a sheer tumble there might still be for a traitor, in spite of the thirty feet of soil that have accumulated at the foot of the precipice."¹⁵

Hawthorne's fiction sanitized American history by creating role models who had been exorcised of their culpability. He glossed over the realities of brutal wars and economic exploitation to emphasize the psychology of sin and guilt within the founding Puritan

¹⁴ John Carlos Rowe. "Hawthorne's Ghost in James's Italy: Sculptural Form, Romantic Narrative, and the Function of Sexuality in *The Marble Faun*, "Adina," and *William Wetmore Story and His Friends*." *Roman Holidays: American Writers and Artists in Nineteenth-Century Italy*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2002, 74, 99 endnote 5; Robert S. Levine. "'Antebellum Rome' in *The Marble Faun*." *American Literary History* 2.1 (1990): 19-38.

¹⁵ Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*, ch. 14.

communities.¹⁶ The emphasis of Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Marble Faun* on black and white gender stereotyping joins together different social functions comprised of aesthetics, manual training for employment, love, marriage and crime. The preponderance on ideal female allegories as the touchstone for these various vocations reveals the conflation of several historic trends in American historiography. Art continued to be respected as a profession that required extensive academic and manual/studio training. The classical ideal was promoted as an academic ideal well into the nineteenth-century in America and Europe. This trend became conflated with the practice of writing American history and eulogizing the accomplishments of prominent individuals through the medium of neoclassical art. In the case of women, this practice tended to exclude practical accomplishments and ideals, thus creating aesthetic-allegorical role models for women which are beautiful and demonstrate spiritual values that represent either good or bad morals. In his *French and Italian Notebooks*, Hawthorne contrasts the two mutually exclusive trends of male and female subjects in sculpture.

Sculpture acquired a special significance for Hawthorne while he was in Rome visiting the studios of American sculptors. He also sat for his own portrait bust in marble in the studio with the name of Canova, the leading neoclassical sculptor of the Napoleonic era, above the doorway. After visiting Hiram Power's studio, he writes that they saw a sculpture of boy fisherman holding a shell to his ear and one of Prosperine. The ramifications for American history are clear in Hawthorne's text: "the consciousness of power is plainly to be seen, and the assertion of it by no means withheld, in his simple and natural character; nor does it give me an idea of vanity on his part to see and hear it. He appears to consider himself neglected by his country, -- by the government of it...and talks with indignations of the byways and political intrigue, which, he thinks, ought to be the rewards bestowed exclusively on merit."¹⁷ Hawthorne relates Powers' disappointment at about his commission for the Capitol Building which fell through, while an "inferior" artist, Clark Mill, received a commission for an equestrian portrait of Washington. Hawthorne visited Italy in 1858. Powers showed Hawthorne a statue of Washington in which he was dressed in his uniform for which Powers, who preferred classical drapery, showed his disdain. In 1859 Powers received two commissions from President James Buchanan for a bust of Thomas Jefferson and a full-length portrait of Benjamin Franklin which were installed in 1862-63. Powers' desire to receive a state commission that would enable him to endow the founding fathers with permanence in the tradition of Roman emperors is equally interesting to Hawthorne who develops this aspect of the sculptor's activities in his *Notebooks*. Powers created a bust of the Grand Duchess of Tuscany (Marie Louise of Austria/Duchess of Parma?) and claimed that it possessed a "certain look" that distinguishes royalty. The distinctive air was possessed by Prince Albert and Queen Victoria, according to Powers. He claimed that it was a feature lacking in American politicians, with the exception of Washington. This look was described by Powers to Hawthorne as a "coldness of demeanor" and eye which creates an "atmosphere through which the electricity of human brotherhood cannot pass."

¹⁶John Michael. "History and Romance, Sympathy and Uncertainty: The Moral of the Stones in Hawthorne's *Marble Faun*." *PMLA* 103.2 (1988): 150-161.

¹⁷Nathaniel Hawthorne. *French and Italian Notebooks. Passages from the French and Italian Notebooks*. V.1. Project Gutenberg. 2003: <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/7879/7879-h/7879-h.htm>

The mid-nineteenth-century interest in committing role models to marble became all the more urgent during the periods of the Civil War in America and Revolution in Italy. Both nations looked back to the classical traditions revived in Italy upon which the art of American and French republics was based. States and their artists also looked to the sense of historic permanence fostered by aristocratic dynasties since the Napoleonic Empire and its revival under Napoleon III. The Austrian dynasty and British dynasties were now the oldest in the wake of recent revolutions in France. The Revolution of 1848 had ended the reign of Louis-Philippe and replaced it with the short-lived Second Republic followed by the Second Empire under Napoleon III. The reign of Tuscany was returned to the Austrian ruler, Leopold II, after the death of Napoleon's second wife, Marie Louise, who was the Duchess of Parma until her death in 1847. The classical style in marble communicated a sense of authority during a period of civil war in both nations. While Hawthorne's *Marble Faun* appears to address the issues of identity, art, and gender, it is far more concerned with the psychology of art and its impact on national identity through the portrayal of national heroes. The women's movement is relevant in this context since it addresses the potential of women's power. Women, who comprised approximately half of the population had the capacity to compete with men in the labor force, but also to lower the birth rate by doing so, thereby decreasing the labor force. The issue of women's competence was the one that was most often voiced in debates, not the threats that they posed to competition.¹⁸ To view Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun* as a revolutionary subtext expands the author's attitude towards women as one factor that could influence the outcome of the smoldering embers of civil discontent.

His journey begins in Paris where after visiting the Louvre Museum where he saw a number of visitors who were veterans, some of whom wore medals of the Crimean War. He describes the galleries and the collections of sculpture. Next, he begins to identify the monuments that mark the French Revolution. In his *Notebooks*, Hawthorne notes the display of relics of princes and kings, including:

a little brass canon, two or three inches long, which had been a toy of the unfortunate Dauphin, son of Louis XVI. There was a map,—a hemisphere of the world,—which his father had drawn for this poor boy; very neatly done, too. The sword of Louis XVI., a magnificent rapier, with a beautifully damasked blade, and a jeweled scabbard, but without a hilt, is likewise preserved, as is the hilt of Henry IV.'s sword. But it is useless to begin a catalog of these things. What a collection it is, including Charlemagne's sword and scepter, and the last Dauphin's little toy cannon, and so much between the two!

In the aftermath of the Napoleonic era, Hawthorne's visit to Paris outlines a map of revolution stretching from the French Revolution of 1789 to the reign of Napoleon III. This subtext of revolution is also articulated in Rome and Florence. The author marks the correlation between historic epochs and contemporary revolutions that indicate that his own fictional account of artists is intended as a subterfuge of the broader issue of political propaganda and crowd control. This point of view is apparent in Hawthorne's account of his meeting with the

¹⁸David Greven. *The Fragility Of Manhood: Hawthorne, Freud, And The Politics Of Gender*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2012.

American minister (ambassador) in Paris, in order to secure his passport, and the conversation about patriotism which followed:

Mr. _____ said that he had once asked a diplomatic friend of long experience, what was the first duty of a minister. "To love his own country, and to watch over its interests," answered the diplomatist. "And his second duty?" asked Mr. _____. "To love and to promote the interests of the country to which he is accredited," said his friend. This is a very Christian and sensible view of the matter; but it can scarcely have happened once in our whole diplomatic history, that a minister can have had time to overcome his first rude and ignorant prejudice against the country of his mission; and if there were any suspicion of his having done so, it would be held abundantly sufficient ground for his recall. I like Mr. _____, a good-hearted, sensible old man.

From this conversation, it is apparent that one of the most important issues of Hawthorne's day was the conflict between revolution and patriotism. Further evidence is supplied by Hawthorne's narrative. The next relic that he is introduced to are fragments of the backbone of the former Archbishop of Paris who was killed in the insurrection of 1848. However, once the Second Republic was replaced by the Second Empire, Napoleon III, continued to create an atmosphere of imperial decorum. Thus, after Hawthorne arrives in Rome, his contemplation of the historic epoch ruins of the Ancient Romans is contrasted with his awareness of the contemporary French empire and the French soldiers who maintained public order. His narration vacillates between art and empire and concerns the cyclical nature of empire which extends to the present remnants of the Napoleonic empires and the recent collapse of the Roman republic in 1849. For example, he visits St. Peter's basilica and admires the mosaic after Raphael's *Transfiguration*, but also takes note of the Stuarts' epitaph which had been installed during the first Napoleonic Empire. It serves as a reminder of the original British Stuart dynasty and the rebellion led by Charles Stuart who was given asylum in Italy, and whose estranged wife left him for the Italian playwright and patriot, Vittorio Alfieri:

Emerging from the church, I saw a French sergeant drilling his men in the piazza. These French soldiers are prominent objects everywhere about the city, and make up more of its sight and sound than anything else that lives. They stroll about individually; they pace as sentinels in all the public places; and they march up and down in squads, companies, and battalions, always with a very great din of drum, fife, and trumpet; ten times the proportion of music that the same number of men would require elsewhere; and it reverberates with ten times the noise, between the high edifices of these lanes, that it could make in broader streets.

The dialog between sculpture and civil war is the most prominent element of this debate. It is subliminally present in the fictional novel, and more fully articulated in Hawthorne's *Italian Notebook*. Male and female sculptures are contrasted. For example, Hawthorne appreciates a colossal statue of Castor and Pollux with the names of the artists, Phidias and Praxiteles engraved on their pedestals. These heroic figures are subsequently contrasted with sculptures of women in Story's studio, including Cleopatra and Goethe's Gretchen from *Faust*, which Hawthorne describes as exemplifying perfect "virginity and simplicity." Afterward, in his

narrative, Hawthorne sits for his portrait bust in Canova's former studio. The theme of preserving the past in the medium of marble statues applies to contemporary art as well since the history of the future is written in the present. Women are ever present in the novel in sculpture and references to sculptures by women. Hawthorne visited Hosmer in Rome where she had become apprenticed to the British neoclassical sculptor, John Gibson. Hawthorne viewed her sculpture of *Beatrice Cenci* in her Roman studio, and scholars believe that his character, Hilda was based on Hosmer. A medieval character who murders her abusive father, Cenci is also an important subject for the artist, Miriam, in the *Marble Faun*. She represents the feminist impulse towards self-assertion, but also revolutionary tendencies to overthrow the patriarchal order of society. Harriet Hosmer's *Zenobia in Chains* (1859) epitomizes the role of women in sculpture and civil war. Zenobia was a queen of Palmyra and the third queen who the Roman emperor, Aurelian, took prisoner and marched through the streets of Rome in chains. Like Power's *Greek Slave*, she represents the women's movement and the abolitionist movement which women often led. She also represents the debate of women's rights during periods of civil strife. Hosmer demonstrated that women could compete with men by producing work in a medium that had formerly been limited to men. She was one of a group of women sculptors in Rome, including Emma Stebbins and Edmonia Lewis, who James described as "that strange sisterhood of American lady sculptors who at one time settled upon the seven hills [of Rome] in a white marmorean (marble-like) flock."¹⁹

Chapter 16 of the *Marble Faun* begin with a moonlight promenade while a French sentinel paces in front of the entrance to a Roman palace. Hilda and Miriam admire a sketch for Guido Reni's painting of *St. Michael crushing Satan*. The painting is located in the chapel of the Capuchins monks, dedicated the St. Mary of the Conception, which is described in Hawthorne's *Italian Notebooks*.²⁰ The original painting is in the chapel located on the piazza Barberini, while the crypt beneath is decorated with 4,000 skeletons of Capuchin monks. In the *Marble Faun*, Hawthorne mentions the legend that Cardinal Giovanni Battista Pamphilj (later Pope Innocent X) was the model for Satan in Reni's painting. His family was a rival of the Barberini family; Mafeo Barberini was then pope and his brother, Cardinal Antonio Barberini was a Capuchin monk.²¹ The ostensible anti-Catholic sentiments of Hawthorne, the Puritan descendant, acquire greater significance in the context of his historical map of revolution and relics where conflicts leave an indelible imprint on time that lends itself to reflection in the Eternal City. Reni's demon also resembles the contemporary revolutionary leader, Mazzini, who after leading the first successful Revolution of 1848 for Italian independence, escaped to London and in 1858, and founded the revolutionary journal, *Thought and Action*. Mazzini was the driving force behind the 1848 revolution and he threw his support behind Garibaldi who achieved Italian unification. He

¹⁹ Bruno Monfort. "Clothing The Marmorean Flock: Sartorial Historicism And The Marble Faun." *Fashioning the Nineteenth Century: Habits of Being* 3. 106-129. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2014; Bruno Monfort. "Clothing The Marmorean Flock: Women, Statues, And Clothes In The Marble Faun." *Abito e Identità: Ricerche di Storia Letteraria e Cultura, Volume II*. 107-127. Rome, Italy: Ila Palma, 2007.

²⁰ John A. Huzzard. "Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun*." *Italica* 35.2 (June 1958): 119-124. Rpt. in *Nineteenth-Century Literature Criticism*. Ed. Jessica Bomarito and Russel Whitaker. Vol. 171. Detroit: Gale, 2006.

²¹ Andrea Pollett. A Demon with a Pope's Face; the revenge of a famous painter. *Legendary Rome*. <http://roma.andreapollett.com/S2/roma-c17.htm>

circulated a manifesto among republicans opposing the alliance between the Italian state of Piedmont and Napoleon III's Second Empire that also supported the subsequent Second War of Italian Independence in 1859 in which the Second Empire and Sardinia fought against Austrian rule. The traces of empire encroach upon the four art students who admire the beauty of the past. The neoclassical marble sculptures which the city inspires are established to do subliminal combat with the revolutionaries of the 1860s that would move forward to Italian independence and the abolition of slavery in the United States. Hawthorne deftly places the characters within the antiquated art of neoclassical romanticism of the Napoleonic Empire, while ignoring the realist and revolutionary movement which had superseded it. His temporal shifts rely on references to art and empire that illustrate the volatility of the republic in America which attempted to establish itself as an empire on the eve of the Civil War, and the struggling Risorgimento movement in Italy which would ultimately be victorious.²² The Trevi Fountain becomes a metaphor for the philosophical contemplation of history: "when the tumult of the city is hushed; for consuls, emperors, and popes, the great men of every age, have found no better way of immortalizing their memories than by the shifting, indestructible, ever new, yet unchanging, uppush and downfall of water. They have written their names in that unstable element, and proved it a more durable record than brass or marble." The American context shifts the point of reference to modern technology and the industrial revolution, but the cyclical lesson of the course of empire remains constant:

"What would be done with this water power," suggested an artist, "if we had it in one of our American cities? Would they employ it to turn the machinery of a cotton mill, I wonder?"

"The good people would pull down those rampant marble deities," said Kenyon, "and, possibly, they would give me a commission to carve the one-and-thirty (is that the number?) sister States, each pouring a silver stream from a separate can into one vast basin, which should represent the grand reservoir of national prosperity."

"Or, if they wanted a bit of satire," remarked an English artist, "you could set those same one-and-thirty States to cleansing the national flag of any stains that it may have incurred. The Roman washerwomen at the lavatory yonder, plying their labor in the open air, would serve admirably as models."

"I have often intended to visit this fountain by moonlight", said Miriam, "because it was here that the interview took place between Corinne and Lord Neville, after their separation and temporary estrangement. Pray come behind me, one of you, and let me try whether the face can be recognized in the water."

The reference to Germaine de Staël's romantic heroine, *Corinne*, clarifies the context of revolution and empire. Staël's setting occurs in the early Napoleonic wars during the invasion of Italy by France. Staël's romantic lovers epitomized the conflict between patriarchy and

²²Parker, Joshua. "War and union in little America: the space of Hawthorne's Rome." *Nathaniel Hawthorne Review* 40.2 (2014): 60+.

republicanism. The neoclassical romantic setting of Italy in the context of Staël's novel is associated with republican symbols that vied with emerging imperialism for their political authority. Staël's novel, like Hawthorne's *Marble Faun*, is set among the most important ruins and monuments of Rome which serve as a pretext for the literary plot about liberty. Corinne becomes a priestess and allegory of liberty who continues to celebrate its rites among the ancient Greco-Roman temples. Hawthorne's identification of his heroine, Miriam, with Staël's heroine, Corinne, suggests that he also intended the *Marble Faun* to read as a historical map of revolution in which one looked to the past for signposts and markers to support one's own contemporary convictions.²³

Leaning over the stone brim of the basin, she heard footsteps stealing behind her, and knew that somebody was looking over her shoulder. The moonshine fell directly behind Miriam, illuminating the palace front and the whole scene of statues and rocks, and filling the basin, as it were, with tremulous and palpable light. Corinne, it will be remembered, knew Lord Neville by the reflection of his face in the water. In Miriam's case, however (owing to the agitation of the water, its transparency, and the angle at which she was compelled to lean over), no reflected image appeared; nor, from the same causes, would it have been possible for the recognition between Corinne and her lover to take place. The moon, indeed, flung Miriam's shadow at the bottom of the basin, as well as two more shadows of persons who had followed her, on either side.

Instead of seeing Corinne's lover, Neville, whom she rejects in favor her independence and ending her life in Italy, Miriam sees the three shadows in the water: one is Donatello and one murky shadow is the Capuchin monk:

Dipping his hands into the capacious washbowl before him, the model rubbed them together with the utmost vehemence. Ever and anon, too, he peeped into the water, as if expecting to see the whole Fountain of Trevi turbid with the results of his ablution. Miriam looked at him, some little time, with an aspect of real terror, and even imitated him by leaning over to peep into the basin. Recovering herself, she took up some of the water in the hollow of her hand, and practiced an old form of exorcism by flinging it in her persecutor's face.

"In the name of all the Saints," cried she, "vanish, Demon, and let me be free of you now and forever!"

"It will not suffice," said some of the mirthful party, "unless the Fountain of Trevi gushes with holy water."

The murky water reveals the monk who has been stalking her since she emerged from the catacombs. He represents a myriad of concepts, from sin to modernity, but the murky water also suggests the alchemical process of looking into the past to predict the future course of events based on an analysis of the past. Artists must play an important role in this process, according to

²³Rodier, Katharine. "Nathaniel Hawthorne And The Marble Faun: Textual And Contextual Reflections Of Corinne, Or Italy." *The Novel's Seductions: Staël's Corinne in Critical Inquiry*. 221-242. Lewisburg, PA; London, England: Bucknell UP; Associated UP, 1999.

Hawthorne, since they preserve the past in art which is then interpreted by future generations as landmarks in recorded time. In this context, Miriam assumes Corinne's identify as a priestess of liberty, but also of revolution. The scene also suggests Percy Bysshe Shelley's poem, "The Mask of Anarchy" (1819), which likewise views the recent Napoleonic past in Italy as the source of future revolutions:

As I lay asleep in Italy
There came a voice from over the Sea,
And with great power it forth led me
To walk in the visions of Poesy.

I met Murder on the way—
He had a mask like Castlereagh...

Then all cried with one accord,
'Thou art King, and God, and Lord ;
Anarchy, to thee we bow,
Be thy name made holy now!'

And Anarchy, the Skeleton,
Bowed and grinned to every one,
As well as if his education
Had cost ten millions to the nation.

For Hawthorne, the preservation of the past in art and literature serves as markers in his map of revolution which could easily be read and inferred by the majority who continued to be confronted with the signs of the past. The vacillation between good and evil in the events of history recorded in Rome form a model of western society which could easily be interpreted. Popes who were corrupt exemplified the abuse of power and miscarriage of moral justice which resulted in violent upheavals in the nation. A decade after the deaths of Fuller and Ossoli, Garibaldi continued to fight for the independence of Italy and the elimination of the papacy:

All over the surface of what once was Rome, it seems to be the effort of Time to bury up the ancient city, as if it were a corpse, and he the sexton; so that, in eighteen centuries, the soil over its grave has grown very deep, by the slow scattering of dust, and the accumulation of more modern decay upon older ruin.²⁴

Hawthorne's character, Kenyon, comments on the significance of his historical lesson for future monuments which will likewise preserve the past. He regards the bloody violent acts of Emperor Trajan as now preserved in the form of "sermons in stone." Hawthorne must have had in mind the imminent Civil War conflict which would erupt within several years in America over

²⁴Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*, ch. 16.

the issue of slavery, but continues to rely on the historical lessons of the past to comment on contemporary events:

"Dead emperors have very little delight in their columns, I am afraid," observed Kenyon.
"All that rich sculpture of Trajan's bloody warfare, twining from the base of the pillar to its capital, may be but an ugly spectacle for his ghostly eyes, if he considers that this huge, storied shaft must be laid before the judgment-seat, as a piece of the evidence of what he did in the flesh. If ever I am employed to sculpture a hero's monument, I shall think of this, as I put in the bas-reliefs of the pedestal!"

"There are sermons in stones," said Hilda thoughtfully, smiling at Kenyon's morality; "and especially in the stones of Rome."²⁵

Women had the potential to destabilize society through their own revolutionary activities, according to Hawthorne. Given the rights of suffrage and property ownership, they would have the potential to alter political destinies. Miriam is easily influenced by her surroundings and lacks good judgment in determining her own destiny.

"I tell you," Miriam went on, "there is a great evil hanging over me! I know it; I see it in the sky; I feel it in the air! It will overwhelm me as utterly as if this arch should crumble down upon our heads! It will crush you, too, if you stand at my side! Depart, then; and make the sign of the cross, as your faith bids you, when an evil spirit is nigh. Cast me off, or you are lost forever."²⁶

Hawthorne's narrative oscillates between the great monuments left by the Roman emperors and the horrors they inflicted on people as a result of their conquests. Through the character of Miriam, he suggests that her social instability as a *woman* will cause her to engage in treasonous alliances that will shift the balance of power from good to evil. As a man, he also suggests that women lack the ability to rationally navigate the natural world, and that this impairment will lead to future cataclysmic events. He certainly had Margaret Fuller in mind as a woman who married an Italian prince and participated directly in the events of the Revolution of 1848. Fuller actively called upon the women of the Rome to defy the pope, while writing that women should assume any employment, including that of sea captains. On the other hand, if women were given absolute equality with men, they could be easily manipulated into treasonous alliances like that of Cleopatra and Marc Antony. The classical and neoclassical literature fostered by Hawthorne's novel supports such gender biases. The great heroines of classical literature are dominated by men. Those who successfully demonstrate their complete independence, also fall prey to their own weaknesses, such as Racine's version of Euripides' *Phèdre*. Miriam's fantasy of the moonlit encounter between Corinne and Oswald, Lord Neville, quickly turns into a nightmare and suggests that she cannot tolerate evil and uncertainty in the world. The murky water also suggests the witches' caldron from Shakespeare's Macbeth and women who make poor decisions that foster anarchy and regicide:

²⁵Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*, ch. 16.

²⁶Ibid, ch. 17.

Double, double toil and trouble;
Fire burn and caldron bubble.
Fillet of a fenny snake,
In the caldron boil and bake;
Eye of newt and toe of frog,
Wool of bat and tongue of dog,
Adder's fork and blind-worm's sting,
Lizard's leg and howlet's wing,
For a charm of powerful trouble,
Like a hell-broth boil and bubble.

Women sculptors, however, such as Hosmer, demonstrated that they could complete in a field generally reserved for men, and could contribute to the historical dialog on sculpture and the future of the republic. On the other hand, the classical subjects of sculpture reinforced the bias against women as autonomous players in the global market. Frozen allegories of virtue demonstrate role models for women, without providing clear paths to equality in labor and citizenship. The sculpture produced by American artists in Italy continued the classical tradition in style, but also in expressing moral and cultural values. A coded map of revolution and republic thus emerges from an analysis of Hawthorne's sojourn in Italy. The recent Napoleonic era had reinforced the importance of women in the arts. Napoleon's sisters assumed the thrones of Italy and became important patrons of the arts by commissioning their own portraits. They expected to build an empire based on the model of Rome which would last for centuries, and their portraits expressed this ambition through references to Imperial Rome. The marble quarries at Carrara were devoted to this project almost exclusively by Elisa, Queen of Etruria, and had not held the same importance since Michelangelo chose his blocks of marble there. Thus, Hawthorne's protagonist, Miriam, struggles to fit into the appropriate category, without condemning herself to the eternal damnation of the old maid, nun or vixen in the Eternal City.

Hawthorne's glaring oversight of the most important issue of the day for women in the rapidly expanding and industrialized new nation suggests something about his own relationship with the past and the practice of writing American history and national identity through the mediums of art and literature. As regional historical societies began collecting the genealogies and material culture of their early ancestors, the national regional identities of Puritan or plantation emerged along a north-south coastal axis. The issue of women's rights is often absent from these early historical institutions and texts which concerned themselves with preserving the past rather than contemporary political debates, while the contributions of wealthy prominent male citizens to the growth of towns were emphasized in the collection of historical data. In fact, late 20th-century contemporary literary critics have had to write it themselves or fill in the blanks for previous authors, such as Susanna Rowson, author of *Charlotte Temple* (1790; 1797). This is somewhat surprising, given that early feminists had written pivotal texts addressing the issue of women's rights during the Revolutionary Age, including Judith Sargent Murray and Mary Wollstonecraft. What is apparent from Hawthorne's plot is that his female protagonist will support herself as an artist, and she has come to Rome to acquire this skill. The tragedy she encounters has less to do with her own tragic personality flaw of hubris, than with the dialog

which takes place between the female subjects or iconography of art (virgins, goddesses, queens) and the social burden they project onto contemporary women through their limited forms and flat characters. In fact, in the North, women found employment in textile mills and other industries, while in the South, negro women slaves worked in the cotton fields. Women's involvement in art and literature, however, tends to exclude these practical pursuits and instead places emphasis upon women as revolutionary archetypes who could fall into enemy hands. Thus, their portrayal in art and literature tends to manipulate their identities along the lines of classical allegories instead which were intended to edify and indoctrinate people with social and political propaganda. In Hawthorne's literary Ouija board or chess set, as a collective group, women become large-scale marble queens who have the power to win or lose the game of empire or republic. The Ouija board, in fact, was first issued a patent in 1891 to a Pittsburgh toy manufacturer. The fascination with predicting the future was attendant with America's interest in spiritualism and communicating with the spirits of the deceased in an era when the average life span was 50 or less.²⁷ But in the recent aftermath of the revolutions in America, France, and Italy, and with civil war looming on the American and Italian horizons, a systematic method for identifying and objectifying the forces of revolution was within the acceptable realm of the novelist's art.

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