

The Removal of the Preface of Hawthorne's "Rappaccini's Daughter" and the Indian Question

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The preface to "Rappaccini's Daughter" helps demonstrate the fact that Nathaniel Hawthorne's literary career was interwoven into the politics of Indian Removal. The preface has an interesting history: it appeared in the 1844 issue of the *Democratic Review*, but was removed from *Mosses from an Old Manse* in 1846 and 1851, and then restored to the story proper in the 1854 and subsequent editions. J. Donald Crowley argues in the Historical Commentary of the Centenary Edition that Hawthorne deleted the preface in 1846 "because, since it had paid tribute briefly to O'Sullivan and the *Democratic Review*, he may have felt that even such innocent remarks would run the risk of endangering a political appointment."¹ However, the preface has a tinge of irony sufficiently illuminating to counterbalance Hawthorne's superficial unctuous praise for John L. O'Sullivan, founder and editor of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*. Hawthorne removed the preface in the 1846 *Mosses* because he was well aware that it did not agree with O'Sullivan's "defence of liberal principles and popular rights, with a faithfulness and ability worthy of all praise"(CE 10: 93). Beverly Haviland, on the other hand, sees Hawthorne as "the allegorist who must negotiate between metaphor, which can substitute 'one name [for] another,' and metonymy, which would substitute the means of production, 'pen-and-ink,' for the producer"(283), and points out that "Hawthorne's vacillation about whether the preface should be a part of the text enacts his distrust of the audience that might not have 'precisely the proper point of view'"(282) which depends on "recognizing the metonymic connections as finally more important than the metaphoric"(283). Yet Hawthorne says that his "inveterate love of allegory"(CE 10: 91), despite "little or no reference either to time or space" and "the faintest possible counterfeit of real life," makes us feel "as if, after all, we were yet within the limits of our native earth"(CE 10: 92). In the pages that follow I will point out that "the proper point of view" involves a political one, and then argue that it should be discussed and analyzed from the viewpoint quite different from Crowley's argument: Indian Removal.

In the "Introduction" which describes its "character and design"(1), the first issue of the *Democratic Review* advocates in 1837 "that high and holy DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE which was designed to be the fundamental element of the new social and political system created by the 'American experiment'"(1). Referring to the fact that "the anti-democratic cause possesses at least two-thirds of the press of the country"(13), it declares that "The vital principle of an American literature must be democracy"(14): "Our mind" must "think for itself" and "express itself"(12). It denounces in an Emersonian way "our mind . . . enslaved to the past and present literature of England," and "a literature moulded on the whole . . . by the ideas and feelings of an utterly anti-democratic social system"(12). O'Sullivan's authors included Hawthorne and Edgar A. Poe as well as William C. Bryant, Henry D. Thoreau and Walt Whitman.

Since "the natural laws which will establish themselves and find their own level are the best laws"(7), and "Democracy has faith in human nature"(11), the American experiment, in the view of the *Democratic Review*, brings "improvement . . . under the banner of the democratic principle, which is borne onward by an unseen hand of Providence, to lead our race toward the high destinies of which every human soul contains the God-implanted germ; and of the advent of which—certain, however distant—a dim prophetic presentiment has existed, in one form or another, among all nations in all ages"(9). Despite the admixture of politics and literature, the magazine aligned itself politically with the radical wing of the Democratic Party and supported freedom of trade and business pursuits, serving as an organ of the administration (Schlesinger 372; 427). O'Sullivan himself coined "manifest destiny" in July, 1845. The February 1844 issue, by an unknown author, approved the Indian policy of Andrew Jackson, who encouraged the magazine and became the first subscriber:

“Our population is on the broad move West. Nothing, it is evident, will now repress them” (184).

The date of the earliest citation for the word “democracy” in the OED is 1576, and Alexis de Tocqueville had already published the first and second volumes of *La Democratie en Amerique*. However, it was still associated in the early nineteenth century with mob and anarchy in the United States as well as in Western Europe. Since “So many false ideas have insensibly attached themselves to the term ‘democracy,’” the Introduction of the first issue of the *Democratic Review* makes “a full and free profession of the cardinal principles of political faith on which we take our stand; principles to which we are devoted with an unwavering force of conviction and earnestness of enthusiasm which, ever since they were first presented to our minds, have consistently grown and strengthened by contemplation of them, and of the incalculable capabilities of social improvement of which they contain the germs” (2). Hawthorne’s translating “the *Democratic Review*” as “*La Revue Anti-Aristocratique*” —the first issue of the journal carried a favorable notice of Tocqueville’s publication “entitled *Democracy in the United States*” (91) —affords an important clue to his real intention that he never keeps to himself: he does not share O’Sullivan’s innocent view of democracy.

Hawthorne humorously refers to O’Sullivan as “the Count” in his letter to Sophia of August 26, 1843 and writes in 1853 in *The English Notebooks* that O’Sullivan has “hereditary claims to a Spanish countship” (CE 21: 93). One of O’Sullivan’s Irish ancestors, Donal O’Sullivan Beare (or Bere), was created by Philip III of Spain Knight of St. James and Count of Bearehaven (or Berehaven). Hawthorne is being ironical when he says that “*La Revue Anti-Aristocratique*, edited by the Comte de Bearhaven, has for some years past, led the defence of liberal principles and popular rights” (CE 10: 93). Beare or Bere originally means “grove.” Kent Bales asserts that the name Bearhaven is strongly associated with Hermann Boerhaavn or Boerhaave, a Dutch empirical physician and medical doctor who “directed Leiden’s botanical garden” (78), linking O’Sullivan with Doctor Rappaccini, but the name sounds more like English and yet goes beyond its original meaning; the ancestor who devoted himself to fighting and the heraldry of O’Sullivan-Beare with “in chief a boar passant and in base another counter passant” suggest a more interesting reading of Bearhaven as a man who fights with vigor to obtain a place of shelter for himself and his family. It could even mean a place for strife and clamor by its phonic analogy to “bear-haven” (bear-garden).

The *Democratic Review* had published twenty-one of Hawthorne’s new tales and sketches before the printed appearance of “Rappaccini’s Daughter,” but in the preface he introduces only the titles of his six tales as “some of his more recent works” (CE 10: 92). They were all issued in 1843 and 1844, but he assigns to them the consecutive dates from 1838 to 1843. He rearranges them in chronological order, beginning with the year 1838—a preliminary issue of the *Democratic Review* appeared in October, 1837, but “the work was not begun with regularity until the next January” (Mott 678-79)—and ending with the year before the appearance of “Rappaccini’s Daughter” in the *Democratic Review*. *Twice-Told Tales* was published in 1837 and 1842, but the preface remains silent about when the two editions appeared. He just condenses such historical tales as “Legends of the Province-House,” published in the same journal in 1838 and 1839 and collected in *Twice-Told Tales*, into “a long series of volumes, entitled ‘*Contes deux fois racontees*,’” ingeniously explaining that as Aubepine’s name is “unknown to many of his own countrymen” (CE 10: 91), it is certain that readers “do not remember to have seen” (CE 10: 91) his “first appearance . . . by a collection of stories” (CE 10: 92). The six tales he cites in the preface have “little or no reference either to time or space” in American history. Crowley hits the mark in stating that many of Hawthorne’s tales and sketches written between 1837 and 1839 “manifest his apparent loss of interest in the historical themes of his earliest tales” (CE 9: 515). It is small wonder that Hawthorne removed *Twice-Told Tales* from his “startling catalogue of volumes” in rearranging his work in chronological order.

Yet Hawthorne’s removal of *Twice-Told Tales* requires more careful analysis. In his letter to Henry W. Longfellow of June 4, 1837 he blames himself for having “seen so little of the world, that I have nothing but thin air to concoct my stories of, and it is not easy to give a life-like semblance to such shadowy stuff” but also says that his literary efforts “would have been better, I trust, if written under more favorable circumstances” (CE 15: 252). In his 1851 preface to *Twice-Told Tales* he states about the 1837 and 1842 editions that the volumes are “not the talk of a secluded man with his own mind and heart . . . but his attempts, and very imperfectly successful ones, to open an intercourse with the world” (CE 9: 6). It is true that the reviewers

avored his descriptive sketches and simple allegories more than his ambiguous historical tales in *Twice-Told Tales*, but this critical response eventuated from his modesty in his claims and his own effort to "ingratiate himself with the reading public" (Mellow 83) by interspersing his stories with pleasant sketches. And it is also true that he complained about the sale of his book, but it ended his anonymity and facilitated a new relationship with the readers. It is also worthy of note that he assigns the date 1842 to "A Select Party," the only tale of the five which conspicuously motivates the reader to delve into American experience. The years 1837 and 1842, then, are notable dates in his literary career.

By removing *Twice-Told Tales* from the list, Hawthorne hints that he is as consciously removing some historic events in American experience. By removing the two editions and the notable dates, that is to say, he insinuates to the reader as "the obscurest man of letters in America" (CE 9: 3) that both his work and the historic events are doomed to be buried in oblivion, and at the same time detracts attention from American experience "chiefly confined to New England" to that of the present day. The dates help us identify some specific historic events contributing toward defending "liberal principles and popular rights": The removal of the Cherokee, which began in 1837, culminated in the Trail of Tears in 1838, and the Second Seminole War came to an end in 1842 with no peace treaty ever signed. The July, 1842 issue of the *Democratic Review* plays down George Catlin's "over-enthusiasm for savage life" (45) and comments on his delineation of the Indian character: it "exhibits an odd mixture of generosity and barbarity, of nobleness and low cunning; and though he strives to conceal the dark points in their natures, they will often peep out unintentionally from the very midst of his laudations" (49). The November, 1842 issue refers to *The Climate of the United States and its Endemic Influences* as an excellent book by a "laborious and judicious" (449) author who "being attached in January, 1838, to a boat expedition, the double object of which was to operate against the Seminoles and to explore the sources of the St. John's, found, in the midst of winter, the high crane-grass, which covers its banks, intertwined with a variety of blooming morning-glory" (460). The December, 1842 issue of the same journal runs an essay which says that Tecumseh is not "a suitable theme for poetry to move the heart or satisfy the mind of the grown world of civilization" (644). Native Americans, in short, were mentioned and reviewed into oblivion and nonexistence in this democratic journal.

In the 1830s Hawthorne took a mounting yet ambivalent interest in Native Americans. He shows no small surprise at their existence in "The Seven Vagabonds" (1833) and finds himself haunted by Indian Ghosts in "Our Evening Party among the Mountains" (1835). Renee L. Bergland, who analyzes the internalized ghosts and specters of Native Americans which haunted the white imagination, by using Freud's definition of the uncanny (unsettledness contrasted with home), concludes that Hawthorne could not help getting interested in Indian Removal as follows:

The debate over Indian rights moved much closer to Hawthorne's home in 1833 with the Mashpee Revolt on Cape Cod. William Apess, the Mashpees' advocate, had been Hawthorne's fellow resident of Essex County, Massachusetts, until he moved to Mashpee in 1833. In 1835, Apess published *Indian Nullification*, his chronicle of the events at Mashpee. Apess's book documents the successful protest of the Mashpee Indians of Massachusetts against discriminatory policies of the state and of Harvard College. That very year, while Apess was trumpeting the legislative victories of New England's nineteenth-century Indians, Hawthorne published "Our Evening Party among the Mountains," lamenting their supposed disappearance, describing New England as a region haunted by their ghosts, and declaring his abhorrence for their stories. (149)

"The Great Carbuncle," which is founded on Abneki tradition, was published in *The Token* in 1837. Interestingly enough, in "Howe's Masquerade," the first of the four "Legends of the Province-House" published in the May, 1838 issue of the *Democratic Review*, Hawthorne places a Native American on the side of the old royal governors of Massachusetts in their conflict with Americans; on the top of a cupola which surmounts the old Province-House stands "a gilded Indian . . . with his bow bent and his arrow on the string, as if aiming at the weathercock on the spire of the Old South" (CE 9: 239). This production by Shem Drowne, says Hawthorne in "Drowne's Wooden Image" (1844), bedazzles "the eyes of those who looked upward, like an angel of the sun"

(CE 10: 319). Also in "Chippings with a Chisel," published in the September, 1838 issue of the journal, he portrays a sculptor of tombs who "exerted his best skill to carve a broken arrow and scattered sheaf of arrows, in memory of the hunters and warriors whose race was ended here [on Martha's Vineyard]" and "a cherub, to denote that the poor Indian had shared the Christian's hope of immortality" (CE 9: 416). It is important to note here that "Roger Malvin's Burial," which describes the protagonist's subjective justification of whites' heroic fights against Native Americans, was reprinted by the same journal in 1843. In the preface to "Rappaccini's Daughter" Hawthorne not only introduces himself jocosely as a voluminous author "favorably to the American public" (CE 10: 93) but also sketches out a secret history of the Native Americans to make them "appear" before "many of his own countrymen."

"Le Voyage Celeste a Chemin de Fer," whose publication date Hawthorne ascribes to 1838, is a French title of "The Celestial Railroad." "Voyage" is closely associated with the word "voyager" (CE 10: 112) used to describe Giovanni in the story proper of "Rappaccini's Daughter." In *The Pilgrim's Progress* John Bunyan sees Christian journey from the City of Destruction to the Heavenly City; he portrays the wilderness of his mind. The spiritual journey which Puritans saw in their voyage to the New World is transformed into a physical one in Hawthorne's story; the Indian wilderness is already conquered and "two cruel giants, Pope and Pagan" (196) are replaced by Transcendentalists. Among the passengers who set forward from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City are "characters of deserved eminence, magistrates, politicians, and men of wealth," who have "much pleasant conversation about the news of the day, topics of business, politics, or the lighter matters of amusement" (CE 10: 188). The railroad brings with it "great trade and a constant influx of strangers" (CE 10: 197) to the city of Vanity, where "capitalists" (CE 10: 197) and "eminent divines" (CE 10: 198) combine together to make "this great capital of human business and pleasure" (CE 10: 199).

While Bunyan's book portrays the spiritual features of the soul, Hawthorne's delineates the actual topography and social features of America. The steam engine hurries the train through caverns, hills and valleys in smoke and flame to the journey's end, and transforms itself into a steam ferry-boat which lies at the riverside "puffing, snorting, and emitting all those other disagreeable utterances" (CE 10: 205). The narrator sees two foot-travellers in "the old pilgrim-guise" (CE 10: 191) welcomed into the Celestial City, but when he hurries on board he realizes his guide Mr. Smooth-it-away is the devil, rushes to the side of the boat and wakes to discover his trip was a dream. Hawthorne's criticism is turned against American capitalism drawing largely upon territorial expansion in this tale.

As if to reinforce this sarcastic view of American expansion, Hawthorne next cites "Le nouveau Père Adam et la nouvelle Mère Eve" as a work published in 1839. This work criticizes "the visible symbols of [man's] intellectual cultivation and moral progress" (CE 10: 247) through the eyes of a newly created couple; "these pilgrims" (CE 10: 266) discover "the main-spring, the life, the very essence" (CE 10: 261) of capitalists and "shrewd men of traffic" (CE 10: 261). The narrator imagines "the Day of Doom" (CE 10: 247) sweeping away the white civilization, and applies to it the terms "the departed race" (CE, 10: 250; 257) and "the vanished race" (CE 10: 262) commonly used for Native Americans, even calling the signs in a narrow street "unintelligible hieroglyphics" (CE 10: 249). "The New Adam and Eve" was actually published in February, 1843, two months earlier than "The Celestial Railroad." Hawthorne reverses the publication dates of these two tales to imply that the white voyage brought with it the day of doom to the vanished race while satirizing the course the white civilization steers toward "[a]ll the perversions and sophistries, and false wisdom so aptly mimicking the true" (CE 10: 265).

Next on the list comes "Roderic; ou le Serpent a l'estomac," or "Egotism; or the Bosom Serpent," published in March, 1843. The French title, in which "egotism" is replaced by "Roderic," covers up the egotism of the white civilization with the allegories of the heart, but the story is tinged with cynicism toward American politics and history. Roderick, with a serpent in his bosom, seeks out "whatever was ugliest in man's heart" (CE 10: 274) in an ambitious statesman, a close-fisted old fellow of great wealth and a distinguished clergyman, vexing them with "satire" (CE 10: 275). It is also worthy of notice that he lives in a large somber edifice "built by a grandee of the race, early in the past century" when "land being of small comparative value, the garden and other grounds had formed quite an extensive domain" (CE 10: 280). Hawthorne's use of the word "grandee" leads us to read Roderick's mental disease as descending from Spanish or Portuguese

conquistadors. Tellingly Roderick tells the sculptor Herkimer about the snake which "lurked in this fountain . . . ever since it was known to the first settlers" or "[t]his insinuating personage [which] crept into the vitals of my great-grandfather" (CE 10: 282). Roderick's disease is cured by his wife at the end of the story who says ironically that "The past, dismal as it seems, shall fling no gloom upon the future" (CE 10: 283); his acceptance of her love, attributable to Hawthorne's own marital happiness, is "something stiff and mechanical" (James 51).

The fourth tale "Le Culte du Feu" or "Fire-Worship" illustrates fire as "that quick and subtle spirit whom Prometheus lured from Heaven to civilize mankind" (CE 10: 138). Fire loves to "riot through our own dark forests, and sweep across our prairies," "forges the mighty anchor . . . and drives the steamboat and drags the railcar" (CE 10: 139); "the earth-born, heaven-aspiring fiend of Aetna . . . the devourer of cities, the forest rioter, and prairie sweeper—the future destroyer of our earth" (CE 10: 144) typifies "the picturesque, the poetic, and the beautiful" (CE 10: 139). The domestic fire gives the human spirit "so deep an insight into its fellows" and melt "all humanity into one cordial heart of hearts" (CE 10: 146), but it also brings "might and majesty, and wild Nature . . . into our inmost home and dwell[s] with us in such friendliness, that its mysteries and marvels excited no dismay" (CE 10: 139). Hawthorne says even more ironically that a man "who is true to the fireside" collides with and removes other cultures under the illusion of monoculturalism; he is "true to country and law—to the God whom his fathers worshipped . . . and to all things else which instinct or religion have taught us to consider sacred" (CE 10: 140). If an opportunity allows, the fire will "run riot through the peaceful house, wrap its inmates in his terrible embrace, and leave nothing of them save their whitened bones" (CE 10: 141). To fight for the Altar and the Hearth, or religion and fire, has been "considered the strongest appeal that could be made to patriotism" (CE 10: 146). The narrator misses the open fire-place, lamenting that the cheerless stove has replaced it and because of the invisibility of this symbol of "many-sided utility, and all-comprehensive destructiveness" (CE 10: 140) we cannot have "[a] warmth from the past—from the ashes of by-gone years, and the raked-up embers of long ago" (CE 10: 145).

The second to last story on the list is "A Select Party." No French can be more adequate as the translation of "the castle in the air" than "La Soiree du Chateau en Espagne" (Hawthorne referred to "Castles in the Air" as "Chateaus en Espagne" in *The American Notebooks*), and yet it is not a literal translation of "A Select Party." The French title is more "select" (meaning exclusive or fastidious in choice), hinting that the imaginative faith of the narrator is associated with the evening, castle and Spain. The mansion where the Man of Fancy entertains "a select number of distinguished personages" (CE 10: 57) gives so gloomy an effect that the castle looks like "a feudal fortress, or a monastery of the middle ages, or a state-prison of our own times" (CE 10: 57). Among the guests are the witness of a past age "whose negative reminiscences find their way into every newspaper" (CE 10: 59), the Wandering Jew covered with dust from "his continual wanderings along the highways of the world" who took his departure "on a ramble towards Oregon" (CE 10: 63), and "a character of superhuman capacity . . . who prefers the interests of others to his own" (CE 10: 60) and works as "the only mechanic acquainted with the principle of perpetual motion; . . . the only writer of the age whose genius is equal to the production of an epic poem" (CE 10: 61). The walls of the castle are not dense enough to keep out "an uninvited multitude of shapes," one of which appears as "the vision of a deformed old black woman, whom he [the Man of Fancy] imagined as lurking in the garret of his native home" (CE 10: 64). The witness of the past age does not recognize her; he just affirms that in his younger days he saw at the corners of every street "an incorruptible Patriot; . . . a Priest without worldly ambition . . . ; a Reformer, untrammelled by his theory," all of whom the host invited to his select party "chiefly out of humble deference to the judgment of society" because he is, ironically enough, not "one of the cynics who consider these patterns of excellence, without the fatal flaw, such rarities in the world" (CE 10: 65).

Last on the list comes "L'Artiste du Beau; ou le Papillon Mecanique," or "The Artist of the Beautiful." Though actually published in June, 1844, one month earlier than "A Select Party," it forms a sequel to the latter. Its protagonist, Owen Warland, is apprenticed to Peter Hovenden, a watchmaker who represents industry and utilitarianism, but he attempts to "imitate the beautiful movements of Nature" (CE 10: 450) so much that Hovenden thinks he seeks for the Perpetual Motion. Yet all around Owen are the steam-engine which is "monstrous and unnatural" (CE 10: 450) and "that steady and matter-of-fact class of people" (CE 10:

451) who hold the opinion that time is “the medium of advancement and prosperity in this world” (CE 10: 451). He is disturbed by his friend who forges iron and wins the hand of his former master’s daughter Annie. He strives to “put the very spirit of Beauty into form” (CE 10: 452), but his conception of the Beautiful is undermined by Annie’s term “spiritualization of matter” (CE 10: 459), and also by the contradiction between the narrator’s defense of the protagonist and the narrative. Owen thinks he is “either in advance of mankind, or apart from it” (CE 10: 459), and at the end of the story he looks placidly at his “mechanical butterfly” crashed by Annie’s child, but the story reads like an ironic advocacy of Transcendentalism. Despite Hawthorne’s deprecation of himself as an artist and his disillusionment with the world’s response to artistic creation, Owen’s characterization results from his notebook entry: “a person to spend all his life and splendid talents in trying to achieve something naturally impossible, —a conquest over Nature” (CE 8: 165). To Hawthorne, who says “The reason of the minute superiority of Nature’s work over man is, that the former works from the innermost germ, while the latter works merely superficially” (CE 8: 158), Owen’s idealism is liable to turn into “spiritualization” of a crass utilitarianism.

Thus Hawthorne’s arrangement of six tales reveals his penetrating insight into American experience. He aligns himself with the Christian and the American Adam to disclose the monstrosity and destructiveness of American history in “The Celestial Railroad” and “The New Adam and Eve.” He next explores into the Puritan conscience which endeavors to free itself from the abhorrent past and realities in “Roderick; or the Bosom Serpent.” In “Fire-Worship” he calls our attention to the destructive patriotism of fire. In “A Select Party” and “The Artist of the Beautiful” he gives a minute analysis into the American imagination or Transcendentalism which justifies American experience.

Hawthorne says that he “seems to occupy an unfortunate position between the Transcendentalists . . . and the great body of pen-and-ink men” (CE 10: 91). In the preface he neither reveals his lively interest in “the habits and sentiments of that departed people” (CE 10: 428) nor laments that “I was shut out from the most peculiar field of American fiction, by an inability to see any romance, or poetry, or grandeur, or beauty in the Indian character” (CE 10: 429), as in “Our Evening Party among the Mountains.” Nor does he describe the haunting image of Native Americans who were removed and repressed in the progress of white American civilization, as in “Roger Malvin’s Burial.” He is “too remote, too shadowy and unsubstantial to share the taste of the latter” and “too popular to satisfy the spiritual or metaphysical requisitions of the former” (CE 10: 91); he does not find himself in all the current literature of *the world*,” nor does he “address the intellect and sympathies of *the multitude*” (CE 10: 91; emphasis added). He defines his writings as products of “an inveterate love of allegory,” then maintains his own view that they are “sometimes historical, sometimes of the present day, and sometimes, *so far as can be discovered*, have little or no reference either to time or space” (CE 10: 92; emphasis added). Allegory, he insists, creates an interest by “some less obvious peculiarity of the subject,” representing “the faintest possible counterfeit of real life” (CE 10: 92). The six tales whose French titles are introduced in the preface carry an abundance of “less obvious” irony and sarcasm in their rendering of the “counterfeit of real life”: they show how the capitalist drive for the territorial expansion has been sublimated in the name of democracy or Transcendentalism.

Democracy and Transcendentalism extend beyond American imagination and monoculturalism into abhorrence for racial mixture in a more lucid way when we take into account Hawthorne’s slight reference to Eugene Sue in the preface. He means it as irony when he says his works have “as much praiseworthy and indefatigable prolixity” (CE 10: 92) as Sue’s, but the remark itself serves to clarify Hawthorne’s interest in “less obvious peculiarity” of the Indian question.

Sue’s work published in 1844 or before can be identified as *Les Mystères de Paris*. It is a “roman” running to eight hundred pages in English translation, and in this sense it is the very type of “indefatigable prolixity.” Coinciding with Hawthorne’s chronological rearrangement of his six tales in the preface, the story begins “towards the end of October, 1838” (Sue 1) and ends with Rudolph’s letter to Clemence dated “January 12th, 1842” (Sue 790). Also, set in France, it incorporates the social commixture as an essential dominant constituent. Not only does it delineate “a maze of dark, narrow, and crooked streets . . . cast[ing] the net into these sewers” (Sue 1) but it posits Duke Gerolstein as a protagonist who as Rudolph lavishes sympathy on lower classes as a social reformer. In this popular novel violence and adventure are closely interwoven with

Fourierism. Take, for example, the following description of the prison La Force in which Sue insists that evil is unsubstantial:

Some day also, perhaps, society will know that evil is an accidental, not organic malady; that criminals are almost always good in substance, but false and wicked through ignorance, selfishness, or negligence of those governing; and that the health of the soul, like that of the body, is invincibly subordinate to the laws of a "hygiene" at once salubrious and preservative. . . . The man who only has as his share strength, good-will, and health, has the *right*, sovereign *right*, to a labour justly remunerated, which will assure him, not the superfluities, but the necessities of life, the means to be healthy and robust, active and industrious, therefore honest and virtuous, because his condition will be happy.²

Rudolph believes that it is "honouring God in His divinest forms, when we can raise from the mire one of those beings whom he was pleased to endow so richly" (Sue 57), and Fleur de Marie, who considers his dream to be "the castle in the air" (Sue 53), exclaims, "M. Rudolph, you must be one of those blessed angels sent by a merciful God to do good to those even who know Him not, and rescue poor fallen creatures from shame and misery" (Sue 54).

Yet Rudolph's sympathetic understanding of poverty and vices of lower classes does not lead to amalgamation of the propertied and unpropertied classes of society. Princess Amelia, given up for dead for many years by Rudolph and raised as Fleur de Marie in the lowest scales of society, eventually determines to enter St. Hermangilda Abbey, just because of "the degradation which has withered for ever my future life" (Sue 791). Rudolph admits his daughter's resolution is "admirably logical, and suited to the position in society in which we are placed" (Sue 792), in his letter to Clemence in Chapter VII titled "The Profession":

Shaking sadly her head, she [Fleur de Marie] answered me, with that inflexible justness of reasoning which has so often struck us. ". . . Besides, I am grateful to God, with all the power of my soul, when I think that *He alone* can offer to your daughter an asylum and position worthy of her and former degradation, and in which I can deserve the only respect which is due to me, that which is granted to repentance and sincere humility." Alas! Clemence, what could I reply to that? Fatality! fatality! for this unfortunate child is endowed so to speak, with an inexorable logic in all that concerns the sensitiveness of the heart and one's honour. With such a mind and soul, one cannot think of palliating or hiding false positions—we must suffer the imperious consequences. (Sue 782)

Sue is as ambivalent toward racial amalgamation. True, he seeks to place blacks and whites on a footing of equality in this work. For example, its second chapter of Part III narrates how David, a black slave with "a singular talent for botany" (Sue 110), is sent from a Florida plantation to study medicine and returns home to firmly advocate racial equality among slaves there. Yet this chapter also hints Sue's ambivalence toward racial amalgamation. It describes how Rudolph rescued David and an octoroon named Cecily from the "stupid, malignant, sensual, and . . . very despotic" (Sue 111) slave-owner, in order to "*act, humbly, the part of a Providence*" (Sue 114). But Sue's representation of Cecily engages our keenest attention here; she is charged with the role of a monster due to "the natural perversity" (Sue 114). The "civilization and climatical influence of the North" (Sue 569) foster and develop her "detestable predilections, for some time restrained by her real attachment for David" (Sue 569) which cause a series of scandals. She is brought out of her prison in Germany by Rudolph, "who knew no fitter implement with which to chastise the notary [Jacques Ferrand]" (Sue 569). She is so white physically as to pass for a white. She fixes "on her victims her magnetic glances" and destroys them in "her homicidal embrace" (Sue 569). Sue says that Cecily is a monster who attracts a white male physically. She is portrayed as a "luxurious" woman with black hair:

Of tall and graceful stature, she is a quadroon in the flower of bloom and youth. The development of her fine shoulders, and of her luxurious person, makes her waist appear so marvellously slender, that one would believe that she might use her necklace for a girdle. . . . Taking off her cherry-coloured cap, to

replace it by a Madras kerchief, the Creole displayed her thick and magnificent hair of bluish black. . . . One must know the inimitable taste with which a Creole twists around her head these handkerchiefs, to have an idea of the graceful appearance, and of the piquant contrast of this tissue, variegated purple, azure, and orange, with her black hair, which escaping from the close folds, surround (sic) with their large, silky curls her pale, but plump and firm cheeks. (Sue 568-69; underlines mine)

Cecily is described as tall and graceful and “luxurious” just as Beatrice in “Rappaccini’s Daughter” looks “redundant with life, health, and energy; all of which attributes were bound down and compressed, as it were, and girdled tensely, in their luxuriance, by her virgin zone” (CE 10: 97). Also Cecily is a monster who defends herself with poison. Her monstrosity is strengthened by her poison, just as Giovanni fears “an intelligible power” (CE 10: 104) in Beatrice when a small orange-colored reptile “[f]or an instant . . . contorted itself violently, and then lay motionless in the sunshine” (CE 10: 103) because of a drop or two of moisture from the purple flower consigned to her “sole charge” (CE 10: 97):

Impregnated with a subtle and quick poison, the least wound from this poniard was mortal. Jacques Ferrand, having one day doubted the dangerous properties of this weapon, the Creole made before him an experiment *in anima vita*, that is to say, on the unfortunate house dog, who, slightly pricked in the nose, fell dead in horrible convulsions. . . . “Oh! how handsome you are!” murmured the notary. — “You think so?” answered the Creole: “this bandanna suits my hair?” “Every day I find you still more handsome.” “And see how white my arm is.” “*Monster!* go away! go away!” cried Jacques Ferrand, furiously. (Sue 574-75; underlines mine)

In Sue Transcendentalism and fear of commixture are merged.³ It would be fallacious to say that Hawthorne viewed as allegory for eugenics Sue’s adoption of a new name Eugene instead of his baptismal name Marie-Joseph, yet the argument seems indisputable that Hawthorne demonstrates through the citation of Sue that he subjects to criticism not only “the Transcendentalists” but “the great body of pen-and-ink men” as well.

Hawthorne consciously cites his six tales and Sue in the preface to suggest that he has created what are “sometimes historical, sometimes of the present day, and sometimes, so far as can be discovered, have little or no reference either to time or space.” Michael T. Gilmore asserts that “Rappaccini’s Daughter” is, as Nina Baym sums up, “an allegory of faith, an allegory of science, and an allegory of sex all at once,” but that the poisonous plant in the American garden, ‘the Eden of the present world,’ is nothing less than the growth of capitalism” (53). The year 1837 saw the severe economic depression which hurt the sales of *Twice-Told Tales*, but it attracted Hawthorne’s attention to something more specific: Indian Removal. Hawthorne’s selection and chronological reordering of his stories reveal him more as an artistically and politically oriented writer than “an author estranged from his audience and also, in some degree, from his art” (Gilmore 68). “Rappaccini’s Daughter” takes a political and cultural approach to the politics of Indian Removal. Hawthorne pungently portrays the American experiment and experience in the tale in which he adroitly disclaims any slight connection with the geography and history of the United States. The English title of the tale, “Rappaccini’s Daughter,” moderates and makes ambivalent the critical pungency of the story, but its preface, in which Hawthorne translates it into French as “Beatrice; ou la Belle Empoisonneuse,” urges the reader to reconsider “our native earth” from “the proper point of view.” To offer a story which has, as he says in “The Old Manse,” “so little of external life about [it], yet claiming no profundity of purpose, —so reserved, even while [it] sometimes seem[s] so frank” (CE 10: 34), Hawthorne deleted the preface from the text of “Rappaccini’s Daughter” when he republished it in *Mosses from an Old Manse* in 1846.

Notes

* This article is an expanded version of a paper delivered at the 29th Conference of the Chu-Shikoku American Literature Society held on June 17, 2000 at Hiroshima University of Economics.

- 1 *Mosses from an Old Manse*, vol. X of *The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, ed. William Charvat et al. (Columbus: Ohio State U.P., 1974), 523. Further references to Hawthorne's works are to this edition, abbreviated as CE and cited in the text by volume and page number. Despite their entanglements with Mary C. Silsbee, Hawthorne and O'Sullivan remained steadfast friends, and despite the latter's failure to pay, the former continued to send his pieces to the *Democratic Review* because of the demise of other magazines. Hawthorne's financial situation worsened "[t]hroughout the fall and winter of 1844-1845" (Mellow 253), and he was eager to obtain an office. He had to rely upon Democrats, among whom were George Bancroft and O'Sullivan; he says in his letter of April 7, 1845 to Evert A. Duyckinck, who conveyed Wiley and Putnam's proposal to publish his third book *Mosses*, that "Our friend O'Sullivan is moving Heaven and Earth to get me an office" (CE 16: 87). In 1854, on the other hand, he was free from politics, because he was a consul in Liverpool, geographically and politically remote from the United States, thanks to his writing of a campaign biography of Franklin Pierce, the Democratic candidate for the Presidency; it was one of life's little ironies.
- 2 Eugene Sue, *The Mysteries of Paris* (London: George Routledge & Sons, Limited, n.d.), 584. References to this work are to this edition and cited as Sue in the text by page number. There is no evidence that Hawthorne read this romance in French or English (see Marion L. Kesslerling, *Hawthorne's Reading 1828-1850*, [1949; rpt. Folcroft Library Edotopms. 1975]), but he was good at French (see Randall Stewart, *Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Biography*, [1948: rpt., Archon Books, 1970, 17]), so that he could have read the romance in a magazine serial or book form. *The Mysteries of Paris* was published serially in 1842-43, and translated in 1844. The May, 1844 issue of the *Democratic Review* refers to *The Mysteries of Paris* briefly: "The spirited enterprise which could prompt the printing of a large octavo in a foreign language, after the country had been already almost strewn over with incredible editions of rival translations, certainly deserves a word of remark and praise. The publication of the Mysteries will long be remembered as na. event in the trade of New York" (550).
- 3 For the analysis of "Rappaccini's Daughter" in terms of Indian Removal and racial amalgamation, see my paper, "American Experience/Experiment and the Indian Policy in 'Rappaccini's Daughter,'" *The Kaleidoscope of Culture*, ed. Harunori Hisada (Tokyo: Eihosha, 2003) 127-42.

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