Retold Narratives in America:
The Voice of Reclaiming Mourning for the Dead

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Introduction

1. Twice-Told Narratives: Retelling, Revising, or Republishing the Original

This dissertation aims to analyze how Nathaniel Hawthorne's characteristic "twice-told" narrative technique enables the reader to be reconnected with the past and reconstitute the stories of people who had been excluded from the official history or authorized narratives. Focusing on the "task of mourning" undertaken or re-imagined in Hawthorne's romance, this study seeks to answer the question of why exploring a literary space to "grieve" and "bury" others, who remain unrepresented, is a critical issue in terms of recovering the voices of others and building up an alternative narrative.

Nathaniel Hawthorne is said to have constructed the cornerstone of American Literature by writing four major full-length romances—*The Scarlet Letter, A Romance* (1850), *The House of the Seven Gables, A Romance* (1851), *The Blithedale Romance* (1852), and *The Marble Faun: Or, The Romance of Monte Beni* (1860). It is also notable that he began his career as a short-story writer mainly because of financial incentives. Without including his first novel *Fanshawe* (1828) published anonymously when he was twenty-four, Hawthorne made his debut as a professional writer at the age of twenty-six, with two short stories: "Sights from a Steeple" and "The Haunted Quack" in the *Token* in the autumn of 1830.

From his twenties to mid-forties, he produced as many as ninety-eight tales, including sixteen stories which were not compiled into any of the published collections, and wrote three prefaces for his collections.[1] Most of the tales were sold to commercial periodicals. The publication record shows that between 1830 and 1834, he published from two to four works annually, and in 1835 seventeen tales and sketches were printed. The number of publications increased with each passing year, and these stories were published in major magazines such as the *Token*, the *Salem Gazette*, the *New-England Magazine*, *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, and *American Monthly Magazine*, for which Hawthorne was paid an average of one dollar per page.[2]

When the stories gained popularity among contemporary audiences, Hawthorne had the idea of publishing books by collecting his short stories together.[3] As a result, three books were published in the form of short story collections: *Twice-Told Tales* (1837, 1842, 1851, 1853), *Mosses from an Old Manse* (1846, 1854), *The Snow-Image, and Other Twice-Told Tales* (1851, 1852). Looking at the titles of each collection, we notice that the term "Twice-Told" is used for two books out of the three. What does "telling a story twice" mean? How does Hawthorne's narrative scheme function in "retelling a story"? Labeling his books as "Twice-Told" is a convincing way because the short stories had first appeared in the magazines and were once more collected into a book.[4] We can say Hawthorne made his stories told twice—once in the periodicals; the second time in the books of collected works.

The repetitive strategy of telling his stories within Hawthorne's publications is also found in other phases of his career as a professional writer. Looking at the titles of the books and their years of publication, we find that *Twice-Told Tales* was re-published not only twice. The first edition appeared in spring of 1837; the second was published in two volumes in 1842, to which twenty-one pieces were added; and the third edition, with a short preface by

Hawthorne himself, was reissued in 1851; and a stereotyped resetting of the fourth edition was published in 1853.[5]

As for this peculiar title, many critics admitted that it was based on a line from William Shakespeare's *The Life and Death of King John* (Act III Sc. iv) spoken by the French Dauphin: "Life is as tedious as a twice-told tale, / Vexing the dull ear of a drowsy man" (Crowley 523; Howe 5; Matthiessen 219; Wineapple 92-93). According to the second edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the primary meaning of "twice-told" signifies the literal meaning as "counted or reckoned twice" (1.) and "narrated or related twice" (2.). Since then, the term of "twice-told" has come to be treated as equal to "tedious" by this playwright's arbitrary interpretation, and is used as "hackneyed" in the figurative sense rather than as its literal meaning (Tatsumi, "Twice-Told review" 239).

What did Hawthorne intend when he employed this term in the title of his collection? In a letter to Longfellow when Hawthorne sent him this collection just after its first publication—and marking the start of their friendly intercourse—he explained as follows:

> We were not, it is true, so well acquainted at college, that I can plead an absolute right to inflict my "twice-told" tediousness upon you; but I have regretted that we were not better known to each other, and have been glad of your success in literature …. The present volume contains such articles as seemed best worth offering to the public a second time…. (*XV* 255)[6]

Considering that Longfellow had already achieved fame and acquired a wide audience for his books, this might be one of the reasons why Hawthorne wrote this letter in such a strange, self-deprecatory tone. While seemingly adopting a humble attitude, the reader might have noticed that Hawthorne used the term of “twice-told” both literally and figuratively here. At first, to ask Longfellow to read his book, he rephrased its title to “‘twice-told’ tediousness,” while “tales” is put in the place of “tediousness” in his book title. Although initially remarking that his tales might be tedious for Longfellow, he unceremoniously revised his former remarks to state that his “second time” articles might be “best worth offering to the public.” Thus, just after adopting “twice-told [tales]” to mean “tediousness” as Shakespeare did, he negated it immediately and applied the original meaning of “narrated twice” to the re-publication of his first tales. Through these devices, even though all of his tales were retellings of magazines, newspapers, and annuals, it seems that Hawthorne tried to defend his second publishing of the tales from public prejudice by naming them “twice-told” in his title (Julian Hawthorne, *His Wife* 153).

Even though the title was borrowed from a line of Shakespeare, there is a definitive difference between their meanings. In the Shakespeare line, “Life” is described as tedious as “a twice-told tale,” so one man’s life is compared to a twice-told tale. While Shakespeare uses the singular form as “a twice-told tale,” what Hawthorne retold was a number of “tales” which had appeared separately in magazines. Thus, including their first appearance in magazines and counting the updated versions, the tales collected in the book entitled *Twice-Told Tales* appeared repeatedly in the printed form not just twice but as many as four times within twenty years.

2. Romance as a Self-Generating Power

The style of retelling narrative reminds us of Hawthorne’s habit of incorporating the materials of the past which he finds usable into his version of the story. He frequently adapts the early colonial history of New England where he was born and raised. From the tales he wrote in his early days, which focused on the colonial period, to the unfinished English romances in his late years, he repeatedly draws on the Puritan past.[7] The historical facts and materials are, therefore, woven into fictional tales in the imaginary space of Hawthorne's narrative.

This is exemplified in his early tales such as "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" (1832), which focuses on the unsettled conditions between the British colonial government and the first generation born in the American continent around the 1730s; "Young Goodman Brown" (1835) set in Salem at the time of William III (who reigned from 1689 to 1702), which deals with Puritan social piety and its hidden depravity; and "Roger Malvin's Burial" (1832), which is based on the historical battle in 1725 between frontier Indians and colonial farmers known as Lovell's Fight. Needless to say, his masterpiece *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) takes place in the Puritan society in the seventeenth century and its main characters are the first generation of English-origin settlers. This technique is defined as "Romance" by Hawthorne himself.

The theory of romance that Hawthorne introduced in his famous preface of his second novel *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851) has been most frequently quoted when we consider the difference between "romance" and "novel." Before starting the story, he presents his definition in order for his work to be recognized and accepted by his readers not as a traditional novel but as a "romance." We shall reaffirm Hawthorne's claim about the style of romance described in his preface and see how he tries to adapt it to his narrative.

By comparing the Novel's characteristic of "a very minute fidelity" to man's experience and degree of its reliability, the narrator claims "a certain latitude" in the style of "Romance" as follows:

> The former [a Romance] … has fairly a right to present that truth under circumstances, to a great extent, of the writer's own choosing or creation. If he think fit, also, he may so manage his atmospherical medium as to bring out or mellow the lights and deepen and enrich the shadows of the picture. (*II* 1)

Here, Hawthorne in the voice of narrator claims "a right" of a certain amount of freedom when the writer creates the narrative as a romance, in much the same way as a painter draws a picture selecting one motif and sheds a special light on it. This way of portrait is free from the restriction that the general novel has required, such as a sense of reality. Under such imaginary ground, the writer could represent the truth by imbuing a kind of actuality in his work, and this is what Hawthorne has declared to claim in his romance style. His concept of romance has become a certain criterion when we consider its function and effect in American literary history.

It is Richard Chase in his influential book of *The American Novel and its Tradition* (1957) that clearly differentiates the American novel from the British novel. Chase tries to assert that by incorporating an element of romance the earliest American novel with its "most original and characteristic form" has "worked out its destiny and defined itself." Approving the idea that the form of American novel had inevitably sprung from England, he insists that "American romance-novel" may be called "freer, more daring, more brilliant fiction" than the English novel. Moreover, it is different from the English tradition "by its perpetual reassessment and reconstitution of romance within the novel form" (Chase viii). In other words, romance has the innate ability of self-generating power within its style.

Here, we should pay attention to Chase's word choice of "reassessment" and "reconstitution"; both of them include the prefix "re-" as in "back" or "again," which indicates the act of repetition. Since the words "re-assessment" and "re-constitution" signify its repetitive nature, the latest version of romance is the result of perpetual repetition. Of course, American romance does not incubate and reproduce the narrative by itself such as AI (artificial intelligence) could do in our time. The repeating, self-generating power within the romance is derived by readers through the social context in which they live. This process could be achieved only after readers in different periods reinterpret the narrative context. Every time they discover a new meaning in the text by reflecting on their society and its philosophy, the romance will be reconstructed over and over again. The form of American novel, or romance, seems to have such a spontaneous power within its formula.

According to Nina Baym, "romance" is a distinct and defining American fictional form. It therefore has been "a concept indispensable for constructing a cannon of major works," and the romance category has become "a significant criterion for inclusion or exclusion" when people analyze the fictions (Baym, "Concepts" 426). Moreover, "to look in literature for the essence of 'the American experience' was necessarily to seek for something that could be found in the literature of no other nation," and this very "something" must be a form to identify its nationality. It might have been difficult to find "the American experience" since this country's history was actually a relatively short one and there was scarce material in both social and cultural fields compared to the Old World (Baym, “Concepts” 427). For that reason, the form of “romance,” combining the imaginary elements with the real material, seemed appropriate for its nation, and that is why it has survived up to the present day holding its originality and acquiring a wide audience.[8]

3. “Retelling” for Bridging the Time Difference

What made Hawthorne retell his stories again and again in different situations? To retell a story, the author makes the original story first. Occasionally, he uses historical materials written or recorded by another author, and bases his story on this “urtext.” “Urtext” means the original or the earliest version of a text or sometimes traditional lore or legends, from which Hawthorne makes a derivative by using those same parts from the source material while freely developing his versions.[9] In this way, another story can be retold repeatedly. The time difference between the first story and the retold one makes retelling a story possible and it seems that almost every historical discourse is a slight variation of the previous story retold by someone at a different point in time.

As we have reaffirmed, combining historical sources into the context of Hawthorne’s tales has been widely recognized as prominent characteristic. John Carlos Rowe points out that “Hawthorne finds literature an especially powerful, perhaps unique, means of working through our fantasies of the past toward more precise and useful interpretations of history” (Rowe, “Transnationality” 89). Thus, in the case of Hawthorne’s historical tales, “our fantasies of the past” are translated into “more precise and useful interpretations of history" by retelling the past. By "history" Rowe might mean the history not only of his native town but also of mid-nineteenth-century America as a nation. Hawthorne, as a writer of romance, proposed the "precise and useful interpretations" of not only the colonial period but of contemporary America in his "retold" narrative.

According to the *OED*, the definition of the word "retell" is "to tell again; to relate anew," as well as "to count again." *Merriam Webster Dictionary* on the Web defines it as "to tell again or in another form." To "retell" a story, we do not have to make an exact copy of the first one, which means we can relate the story "anew" and "in another form" to tell it "again." We have the discretion to tell the story differently in order to endow it with an arbitrary nature which makes the retold story fresh.

Every time a story is retold, it is updated into a new version not only in its rhetoric but also in its account of the events. It is true that the two stories—the previous one and the retold one—are different, but they should be *partly* identical to each other, because both are supposed to tell the same source of events which occurred at the historical moment for the society. What makes the two stories different? The retold narrative is an account of the events made from the point of view of the narrator who comes later than the one who had told of the same event before in time. Each narrator is free to make their own version on condition that the re-told story is derived from the original one.

It is this time difference between the two narrators—the previous one and the retold one—that separates as well as connects the two distinct periods in which each narrative is told. I would like to emphasize that what Hawthorne intended in his literary endeavors of retelling a story is to connect the two distinct periods—the past and the present—by making his own new version of the "history." In his preface to *The House of the Seven Gables*, Hawthorne writes about his technique of retelling as "the attempt to connect a by-gone time with the very Present that is flitting away from us" (*II* 2). Writing "twice-told tales" or a Romance is, to Hawthorne, his unique attempt to resurrect the historical materials and represent them in his own way to his contemporary audience.

4. A Decent Burial, or Writing an Obituary of Others

In Hawthorne's narratives of retelling the events of the past, he frequently focuses on topics in which people were oppressed in the contemporary New England community and had been erased from the official narratives. Ilbrahim in "The Gentle Boy" (1832), a son of Quakers who lost his parents, is victimized by the New England Puritan community. Matthew Maule in *The House of the Seven Gables* who had been unjustly deprived of his land by Colonel Pyncheon is executed for the crime of witchcraft. When the events of the Puritan past are re-told in Hawthorne's stories, they are told from the viewpoint of the oppressed, not from that of the oppressor. Hawthorne sheds light on the past of the community which he and his characters inhabit by focusing on and listening to the voices of those who were regarded as "others" in the official narratives.

It is the lives of others, dead others, that Hawthorne tries to make alive by retelling the story of the past. According to Judith Butler, a life cannot become "a life worth noting, … a life that qualifies for recognition" (*Precarious* 34) until an obituary is written. The obituary, or printed note of someone's death, "functions as the instrument by which grievability is publicly distributed" (*Precarious* 34). Hawthorne's retold stories could be considered as a kind of obituary which brings the erased lives of others back to life. Butler further points out that a life which is not grievable "does not qualify as a life and is not worth a note" and remains "the unburied, if not the unburiable" (*Precarious* 34). This is why death and burial are the main topics for the author of Romance.

The "dead" depicted in Hawthorne's stories signify not only those who had been erased from the official narratives but also ancestors of Hawthorne himself. Holgrave, a daguerreotypist, who lives in an attic in the house of the Seven Gables tells Phoebe, a young maiden who also happens to live in this house, about the task of his generation being metaphorically as carrying a dead body on their back:

> "Shall we never, never get rid of this Past? … It lies upon the Present like a giant's dead body. In fact, the case is just as if a young giant were compelled to waste all his strength in carrying about the corpse of the old giant, his grandfather, who died a long while ago, and only needs to be decently buried. Just think a moment, and it will startle you to see what slaves we are to bygone times, —to Death, if we give the matter the right word!" (*II* 182)

Holgrave insists on the unavoidable influence of the Past on the Present. He depicts the Past by using the metaphor of "a giant's dead body" of an ancestor and laments that "a young giant," as an unfortunate descendant struggles to carry about the heavy body of his ancestor.

Why does one generation have to bear such a burden on their backs as if they are "slaves to bygone times?" It is because the ancestors who died long ago require secretly and stubbornly, “to be decently buried.” The bodies of people, including those who suffered violent deaths in the past, have to be properly placed in a grave. This is an urgent claim not only by the dead but also by “bygone times,” which Holgrave calls “Death.”

How can one generation enable the dead to be properly buried? What kind of duty do they have as descendants? First, they should perform an actual rite at the burial ground in front of the tomb. This is, however, not enough. Secondly, to be buried properly, the grief for the death of those who died in the past should be expressed in words and be publicly known so that the lives of the dead be made “grievable.” The latter is what Butler proposes as the function of the obituary “by which grievability is publicly distributed” (*Precarious* 34).

It is this task of burying the dead decently that Hawthorne tries to do by telling the story of the past in his retelling form. If Hawthorne, a descendant of Puritan ancestors, made grief, especially that which is caused by the death of people in the past, verbalized, the stories written by him become the official sites of mourning where sorrow for the loss of people in the past is shared and expressed in a community.

5. “Twice-Told” Techniques as Working Through Trauma

Here I would like to return to the question Holgrave asks: “Shall we never, never get rid of the Past?” By this rhetorical question, Holgrave/Hawthorne asserts that we are never able to free ourselves from the Past. Though one generation makes every effort to bury those of the past properly either in the actual burial ground—in the tombs; or in the textual burial ground—in the twice-told stories as an obituary; the task is never accomplished. As the Past "lies upon the Present," the next generation will also be constantly aware of the voice of the ancestors who are demanding decent burial. Why is it impossible for each generation to unburden themselves from what is passed on from the previous generation? Something which is left unrecognized returns repeatedly to the contemporary generation.

When considering the mysterious kind of memory called trauma, Cathy Caruth says that the truth appears belatedly and is "linked not only to what is known, but also to *what remains unknown* in our very action and our language" (Caruth, *Unclaimed* 4; emphasis added). However hard one generation tries to listen to the voice of the dead, complete access to the past experience of the dead is unachievable, because "we may not have direct access to other's, or even our own, histories" (Caruth, *Unclaimed* 10). The insistent return of the claim of the dead, in the case of Hawthorne's stories, is a typical symptom of trauma, at the enigmatic core of which lies "the delay or incompletion in knowing" (Caruth, *Trauma* 5).

The term "trauma" originally means severe physical injury, but later is used to signify a wound of the mind triggered by emotional shock or sudden fright "without being prepared for it."[10] The survivor of the traumatic event fails to grasp its meaning as it occurs and suffers from the literal return of the event in repeated flashbacks, nightmares, and other repetitive phenomena. According to Caruth, history functions as a kind of trauma "to the extent that it is not fully perceived as it occurs; … that a history can be grasped only in the very inaccessibility of its occurrence" (Caruth, *Unclaimed* 18).

In Hawthorne's narrative, what his ancestors during the colonial period did is not fully known to contemporary historians because they could not perceive what was happening at that time. The unverbalized memories keep returning through the successive generations claiming to be heard. What Hawthorne did in his writing texts of retelling is a continuous endeavor to give voice to "the story of a wound that cries out, that addresses us in the attempt to tell us of a reality or truth that is not otherwise available" (Caruth, *Unclaimed* 4). Within Hawthorne's works, it seems that we hear a questioning voice echoing, "You can't even remember that you had already forgotten your memories, can you?" (Shimokobe, *Rekishi* ; my trans.; 316).[11]

It seems that the repetitive nature of Hawthorne's twice-told technique works as the mechanism of working through trauma. The most prominent function of telling "twice-told" tales is to provide the reader with the opportunity to stand at the spot where traumatic events occurred in order to witness what happened in the past, especially among the Puritan community of the seventeenth century.

My endeavor in this dissertation is to examine how Hawthorne's narrative style of "twice-told" reconnects with the past and reconstructs the stories of people who had been excluded from the official history or authentic narratives. Living in the midst of the rapid national expansion, Hawthorne must have known that this nation was based on the sacrifice of "others" such as native Americans living in the North American continent who inhabited the land prior to the arrival of the colonists. Hawthorne took a sympathetic view of those who had suffered violent deaths and who were totally ignored not in his contemporary society but in the Puritan community of the seventeenth century, to make his readers notice that their present history is built upon the previous one. Reading Hawthorne not only as a romancer but also as an obituary writer, I would like to explore how he responds to the persistent imploring voice to place unrecognized memory, as the dead bodies of the ancestors in their final resting place, *properly* into history by telling their story of the past. Considering the locations where these voices are addressed, I would like to investigate the reasons why the rite of burial and public mourning are indispensable for constructing America and its history as a national memory.

Chapter One begins with a consideration of one of Hawthorne's earliest works of "Alice Doane's Appeal" (1835) to trace the initial adaptation of the "twice-told" style within his narrative. The extant version is a reconstruction of an earlier manuscript named "Alice Doane" that was composed around 1825, which uses the historical source of the Salem witch trials. First, I will deconstruct the narrative structure and clarify the characteristics of inner tale and outer frame. Then, focusing on the author's experiment that is to judge "whether truth were more powerful than fiction" (*XI* 278) in his narrative, I will consider how his style of Romance was generated by using the technique of "retelling" in his early career.

In Hawthorne's Romance, he frequently adapts actual materials such as historical events, real places, or existing characters in his works in order to provide them with authenticity. These "past" materials are sometimes strongly related to graves, burial grounds, and mourning that evoke the image of death. In Chapter Two, I will read "Roger Malvin's Burial" (1832), which is based on "Lovell's Fight" in 1725, as a survivor's narrative. Comparing the posture of the corpse in Indian burial and the Western way shown in Philip Freneau's poem, I would like to analyze the differences in burial rites from a cultural point of view. Then, assisted by Freud's "Mourning and Melancholia" (1917), I will consider if failure of burial induces misfortune not only within a family but also how it generates a harmful effect on the growth of America.

In Chapter Three, I will give an interpretation of Hawthorne's representative work *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) that retold of the early colonial community, by focusing on Dimmesdale's "tremulous voice." I would like to trace not the contents of his speech but his voice, which elicits an effect to unite the minds of people through an emotional reaction of "sympathy." In order to consider Dimmesdale's position in the Puritan community, I will clarify the philosophy of emigration from Europe to New England and the meaning of speaking in the election sermon. Then, taking "Custom-House" and the final chapter entitled "Conclusion" into account, I will investigate how Hawthorne made his private colonial tale survive over two hundred years through the relay of testimonies into the transhistorical narrative of *The Scarlet Letter*.

What I focus on in Chapter Four is the modern technology of early photography of "daguerreotype" brought by Holgrave into *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851). By using the technique of photography, I shall examine how his daguerreotypes settle the long-lasting family issue retold from the seventeenth century concerning land and property ownership. By focusing on two types of "original" —one being a photograph and the other the earliest ancestor—I would like to consider the unavoidable influence of the Past on the Present, and how this problem was resolved by the help of Holgrave's technological device. Then, by decoding the meaning of "security" and focusing on the sanitary problem in nineteenth-century America, I reconsider the reason why all the characters had to leave this House at the end of the story.

In his later years, Hawthorne crossed the Atlantic and lived in England as American consul in Liverpool between 1853 and 1857, the country his ancestors had left over two hundred years before. While there, Hawthorne conceived the idea of the “Claimant Narrative” which focused on a young American's attempt to reclaim his ancestral English estate and its titles. In spite of his endeavor in revising and rewriting several versions, all were unfinished and set aside for a long time. In Chapter Five, in order to consider Hawthorne’s vision toward England and America from the point of the mid-nineteenth century, I will include discussion of the second version entitled “Etherege” as well as referring to his English travel essay *Our Old Home* (1863) and letters to his close friends. By focusing on the term and performance of “connection” in the text, I intend to explore what sorts of national anxieties interrupt Hawthorne’s claimant narratives, and how they even led Hawthorne to desire to assimilate England with America.

From classic studies to the most recent ones, Hawthorne scholarship has treated his work as “psychological romance[s]” (Duyckenck 23), and not a small number of critics have employed Freudian psychoanalytic approaches to decipher his works by focusing on psychological aspects. Among them are Frederick Crews and Joel Pfister. In the twenty-first century, there are modest numbers of critics who apply Freud’s discussion of “Mourning and Melancholia” for establishing a link between narratives’ or characters’ underlying melancholic temperaments and an obsession from the past, such as Neill Matheson, Christopher Castiglia, and Naochika Takao. However, there is a small coterie of scholars who employ Judith Butler’s argument to interpret

Hawthorne's works.[12]

In this dissertation, I propose to read Hawthorne's works depending on Judith Butler's discussion in *Precarious Life* (2004) as to the "others" who have suffered arbitrary violence, and the collective responsibility to "grieve" and "mourn" those oppressed people.[13] To the best of my knowledge, reading Hawthorne's romances while employing Butler's argument about mourning is my original approach, may start a new theoretical discussion which expands the author's moral and public dimensions. Furthermore, considering Hawthorne's works in the context of "national melancholia" and the demand for the public mourning for those "others" (Butler, *Precarious* xii, xiv), my study will contribute to answering the conundrum of why Hawthorne so repeatedly and obsessively returned to the US colonial past and its lingering memories in his contemporary period. This study will provide a new perspective on his unique style of "twice-told" narratives and their capacity to address the "untold" or "unclaimed" histories of the United States of America.

Chapter 1

Constructing Another Monument in Romance: Twice-Told Narratives in "Alice Doane's Appeal"

1. "Alice Doane": An Aborted Tale or a Survived Narrative

One of the clearest examples of "twice-told tale" technique in Hawthorne's works was written as an initial study in his youth. To investigate the practical narrative style of "twice-told," I would like to examine one of his earliest short stories: "Alice Doane's Appeal." The extant version which first appeared in *The Token* in 1835 is a reconstruction of an earlier piece composed around 1825. However, having been omitted from any other Hawthorne collection during his lifetime, it was finally included in the Centenary edition in 1974. Due to its problematic structure, many critics have bitterly commented on various aspects: its fragmentary structure, scattered episodes, lack of coherence, long framework, and the implication of an incestuous relationship. In relation to the narrative framework, for instance, Seymour L. Gross asserts that "this tale came to be the most poorly structured and chaotically organized of all of Hawthorne's stories" (Gross 232), while Hyatt H. Waggoner notes that "the strands are not woven in this tale, they are loosely tangled" (Waggoner 50).[14]

The reason for why the story's loose structure invites the barrage of criticism might be related to the author's process of constructing its narrative structure. Hawthorne's sister Elizabeth testified that the original version had been written in 1825, the year of his graduation from Bowdoin College, and that this version was intended to be included in his first collection *Seven Tales of My Native Land*, but he aborted the plan itself and abandoned some manuscripts because of the publishers' rejection (Waggoner 48-9).[15] Before Hawthorne submitted it to *The Token* in 1835, he revised and rewrote this original manuscript, re-titling "Alice Doane" as "Alice Doane's Appeal" following the advice of Samuel Griswold Goodrich, the editor of *The Token*. Muting inappropriate descriptions like evoking incest directly, he revised the tale in order to be accepted by the "genteel readers" of that magazine (Gross 232-36). At the same time, he reused some original parts from "Alice Doane" as the inner tale and constructed the new version that we have in the present "Alice Doane's Appeal" (Brodwin 49). This is how this work incorporated the two tales and constructed a double-frame narrative. In the outer frame part, the narrator reads the inner story, which deals with incest and fratricidal murder, to the two young women represented as an audience on Gallows Hill where the historical event of witch trials occurred in 1692.

As it is constructed in this format, many critics have tried to consider this narrative by differentiating the retold part from the reworked framework.[16] Frederick C. Crews, who reads this tale through a psychoanalytic approach, extracted "three distinct plot-strands" that were incorporated "ineptly and confusingly" from the whole narrative, and suggests that they should be distinguished from the "surviving tale" (Crews 45). Here we should take note of the term that Crews used: "surviving." As Hawthorne himself mentioned in the narrative, the original manuscripts had actually escaped from being burned. This explicitly indicates that there is a time difference between the surviving tale and the reworked part of the narrative's frame. Since we can no longer examine the full version of "Alice Doane," it is difficult to decide whether the revised version upgraded or downgraded the original.

By examining the surviving part, however, we can reach some clue to Hawthorne's intention in rescuing the original story of "Alice Doane" and considering it worth "retelling." I agree with Waggoner's reproaches that the surviving fragments "do not justify the emphasis given by the title to Alice, who exists in the fragments merely as a name" (Waggoner 50), but rather we should consider that the title of "Alice Doane" represents not just a heroine's name but a form of text. If there is a meaning in the process of construction from the original to the revised version, we can find the author's "appeal" in the outer frame of the text. In this chapter, I will analyze how Hawthorne tries to make the text of "Alice Doane" survive and what he hopes to "appeal" in his revised narrative of "Alice Doane's Appeal" by using the style of "retelling" early in his career.

2. Textual Structure: One Author, Two Narrators, and Two Types of Audience

The story starts with "a pleasant afternoon of June," when the narrator escorts two young ladies to Gallows Hill outside Salem. Sitting upon the hill, he decides to read "the manuscript" that is "one of a series written years ago" and has "escaped destruction" (*XI* 269). About the spot where they sit, the narrator describes as follows:

> … the spot, where guilt and phrenzy consummated the most execrable scene, that our history blushes to record. For this was the field where superstition won her darkest triumph; the high place where our fathers set up their shame, to the mournful gaze of generations far remote. The dust of martyrs was beneath our feet. We stood on Gallows Hill. (*XI* 267)

As this depiction suggests, the "guilt and phrenzy" drove "our fathers" of seventeenth-century Salem to kill those accused of witchcraft. He informs the two ladies that they are now sitting on its very spot where innocent people were killed. Thus, the stage setting of his narrative clearly corresponds with the real place in Salem, where “people of the present” who have “no heartfelt interest in the olden time” (*XI* 267) live. Bringing those people who have a certain detachment from the past to the historical site, the narrator tries to make his audience become conscious of the historical event of the Salem witch trial. In other words, Hawthorne invites his contemporary readers to be the witness of the historical event in his narrative space. Even as this tale is an incomplete narrative construction, by using the witch trial that “our history blushes to record,” Hawthorne attempts an adventurous experiment on his contemporary American readers to witness an historical event through the text.

A brief outline of the tale of “Alice Doane’s Appeal” is as follows: The narrator as a storyteller, reads a tale that is a portion of the surviving manuscript of “Alice Doane,” which deals with incest and fratricide within a family. In fact, Leonard and Alice Doane are survivors of the Indian raiding party, while their parents were killed in front of them by Native Americans. After the reading, though, the narrator could not get the reaction he expected from his two companions. Then, he makes another attempt to talk about the actual event of the Salem witch trial. When those ladies are moved enough to shed tears, he stops narrating and they leave that spot, and the story of “Alice Doane’s Appeal” is ended as well.

As the inner tale takes place around 1692 (Bell 69), this narrative’s urtext is not a real textbook but it might be the collective memory in the seventeenth century related to Salem witchcraft in 1692 and the battles against Indians that occurred frequently during the expansion of the frontier at that time. These historical memories are forgotten, buried, and almost repressed in the consciousness of contemporary people. Therefore, Hawthorne reuses this repressed memory as an urtext when he reconstructs his narrative using an original tale that would be worth being retold.

Turning to the structure, as soon as the inner story of "Alice Doane" starts we may find that the story of "Alice Doane's Appeal" is narrated by two different narrators. Many critics have tried to analyze this tangled textual structure by dividing sections and forms, but I will explain it by employing Douglas Robinson's classification.[17] He defines the relations between narrators and readers of this complicated narrative frame as follows: "the primary narrator," who tells his tales on Gallows Hill, and "the recalled narrator," who is present only in the original "Alice Doane" text (Robinson 214). As for the audience, there are also two types: "the external audience," the readers of the text like us, and "the internal audience" that implies the two girls with him on the hill. In the actual text, when the original "Alice Doane" is narrated, those two narrators appear alternately in each paragraph as the story proceeds. Therefore, the primary narrator, who might be identified as the persona of Hawthorne, can freely reveal his craft to us as his external audience, by illustrating his purpose in relating the tale that is told to the internal audience of his two girls (Robinson 214), while those girls can only hear the contents written by the recalled narrator in the voice of the primary narrator.

This textual structure indicates that we can read the text of "Alice Doane's Appeal" by watching the reactions of those two girls and listening to the interpretations by the primary narrator, in parallel with reading the original text of “Alice Doane” written by the recalled narrator. Thus, the structure provides us with two perspectives: one as an ordinary reader of the text, and the other as “the witness” of the internal audience who will be affected by this story as the narrative progresses. Then, what parts are left from the original version as an inner tale?

When I trace the fragments of the inner narrative’s excerpts, all parts are related to the love-hate affair that could be translated as an Oedipal triangle between Leonard Doane, Alice, and Leonard’s secret twin brother Walter Brome. Why does the primary narrator decide to leave these parts in the text? When we consider this question, the author, Nathaniel Hawthorne, comes into our field of vision, who stands above the primary narrator and recalled narrator. Since the author makes a certain selection and has discretion over the material, Hawthorne’s specific intention is retained in the excerpted parts of “Alice Doane,” the parts that should survive from the original and should be voiced again by his recalled narrator. What kinds of narrative had been passed on to the revised version?

There are five extracted parts that seem to be quoted from the original, and these are incorporated into three scenes. The first is when Leonard visits the wizard and confesses that he realizes his strong affection for his sister Alice after becoming aware of his twin brother Walter Brome’s presence. The second is when Leonard murders Walter, and the dead face reminds him of a likeness to their murdered father in the Indian attack when they were still young. The third scene is when Leonard and Alice visit a graveyard at night where all the dead in Salem were buried, and witness a spectral pageant. All of the scenes that seem to have been extracted from the original manuscript (primary text) are connected to the moment that both a small family unit and a large community rooted in the same ground are filled with “guilt and phrenzy” (*XI* 267).

The most prominent feature is that these three scenes are all traced back to Leonard’s initial action: after the murder by Leonard, their father’s face from a generation before appears on the dead face of Walter; and when Leonard and Alice visit the graveyard, they find the apparitions of every generation gathered from “the first corpse in that ancient town, to the murdered man who was buried three days before” (*XI* 275). By reading these sequences through psychoanalytic theory, Frederick C. Crews suggests that Leonard shows us in this moment of vision that by killing Walter, he is “symbolically reliving the murder of a prior ‘dead enemy,’ his father” (Crews 55). Therefore, Crews concludes that Leonard’s fratricide emergences unconsciously from a patricidal obsession and incestuous wishes for his sister (Crews 56). Of course, it is an Indian who performs the previous slaughter, but “Leonard’s fantasy ambiguously casts himself in the Indians’ place” and by virtue of Walter’s resemblance to his father, Leonard must have seen in Walter “a reincarnation” of his dead father (Crews 55).

In fact, in the final extracted part, all generations of ancestors who are resurrected from their graves are depicted. What I would like to emphasize here is the flow of time that the text of “Alice Doane” depicts: each scene goes further back in time from the present to the past in turn. A violent rage against others triggers murder, then another face appears on the face of the victim, the face of one who has suffered a previous violence. Finally, “All, in short, were there” (*XI* 276) in the graveyard. Here, not only those two girls but also we the readers are made to face those dead in the text. The last murder, though it was chronologically the first murder is, of course, the Salem witch trial. There "the whole miserable multitude, both sinful souls and false spectres of good men" (*XI* 276) gather in the graveyard.

This retrospective description suggests that the common elements of crime and sin have taken over, or have been inherited by people who were born and buried in the same soil. They are the people who were buried "without a coffin or a prayer" (*XI* 267), which means they have not been given any respect or appropriate mourning not only at that time, but still now. In fact, Leonard personally fails in his twin brother's burial after killing him. He wished to carry "the body to the lake, and would have buried it there," but when he "heard the voices of two travellers" he "fled" (*XI* 273). On the other hand, the historical past of witchcraft collectively fails to bury the victims. Depicting from the personal failure to the collective one, this description suggests that this community keeps failing to bury and mourn the dead decently throughout its history. To trace this fact retrospectively, Hawthorne tries to make us notice the unburied dead in the past in their community through his "survived" original text and demands to deal with it appropriately.

3. The Narrative Spot of "Gallows Hill"

The tale of "Alice Doane's Appeal" starts and ends its narrative on Gallows Hill, and the original text of "Alice Doane" is placed inside its narrative space. In short, the original text is sandwiched in between the narratives taking place on this spot. Moving our eyes to the external text, we notice that the narrator refers to this spot twice from the historical viewpoint:

before and after reading the original text.[18] In this section, taking into consideration the function of “wood-wax”, a noxious weed spreading all over the hill, I will examine the meaning of Gallows Hill as a narrative spot.

Before starting to read the manuscript, the narrator tries to make us imagine a particular past, the scene about 140 years before. He said “we threw, in imagination, a veil of deep forest over the land, and pictured a few scattered villages” that is “the town in 1692.” He suggests that this vision “served to introduce a wondrous tale of those old times” (*XI* 268-69). This remark seems to be directed not only to his two companions but also to the audience outside of the text. Why does Hawthorne try to involve the audience in his narrative so intensely?

According to Terence Martin, when the American writer struggled to compensate for “the lack of a national history,” Hawthorne found “his way into history by exploring a local and ancestral past” (Martin 182). To cover for the absence of antiquity, “Hawthorne responded by testing the relation of the imagination and society” (Martin 182-83). What Hawthorne did is “to couple his sense of the past with a sense of community” that is sometimes “transformed into a hope for an audience” (Martin 183). Martin’s remark suggests that from the beginning of his career, Hawthorne seems to endeavor to construct an interactive relationship with his readers by evoking their imagination towards the local history. He hopes to rely on their imaginative power to recall the past.

Thus, it is reasonable to conjure up for his audience an image of the old town of Salem in 1692 before the reading in order to enter his narrative space. It is “wood-wax” that he first uses to connect the history to the contemporary world of the 1830s:

> But the curious wanderer on the hill will perceive that all the grass, and every thing that should nourish man or beast, has been destroyed by this vile and ineradicable weed: its tufted roots make the soil their own, and permit nothing else to vegetate among them… . (*XI* 267)

Here, the narrator brings the vegetative problem as a metaphor for "a physical curse" (*XI* 267). Despite its fruitful appearance, a plentiful crop of "wood-wax" is an "ineradicable weed" and they spread out their roots so as to "permit nothing else to vegetate among them." That means nothing can grow nor survive around these weeds. At the same time, the narrator reveals that this is a spot where "guilt and phrenzy consummated the most execrable scene" (*XI* 267).

Carl H. Sederholm notes that these obsessive feelings "transformed Gallows Hill from the site of a vegetative curiosity into the site of an unprecedented scene of capital punishment" (Sederholm 50). Therefore, Hawthorne uses the symbol of the wood-wax "to solve the emotional problem that lead to the execution of the accused witches" (Sederholm 50). Using the metaphor of vegetation life, he represents the unresolved past event through the ecological system of wood-wax that could not permit coexistence with other plants. Therefore, in order to reconsider the "historic influence" remembered in "the shadowy past" (*XI* 267), the narrator tries to access the past by examining further the ground of Gallows Hill.

To borrow Stanley Brodwin's phrase, this weed, "the wood-wax, functions as a characteristic symbol of evil growing out of the soil of unexpiated crimes" (Brodwin 117-18). This implies a direct connection between the historical event and the present life by sharing the spatial relevance. The narrator makes use of this "ineradicable weed" as a perennial curse that originally sprung from the Salem witch trial, and tries to make his audience imagine and witness the past on this very spot. In other words, the narrator, or Hawthorne, makes a trial of whether his narrative of "Alice Doane," that links to the Salem witch trial, has the power to disturb and grip the human heart by reading it in this very historical site.

In the inner tale of "Alice Doane," it is revealed that all the incidents were attributed to "the machinations of the wizard" (*XI* 277). The wizard had cunningly devised that "Walter Brome should tempt his unknown sister to guilt and shame, and himself perish by the hand of his twin-brother" (*XI* 277). Then, what is this wizard's role in the inner tale? Does he have any connection with the outer frame, too? As Brodwin suggests, both the murder of Walter Brome and the Salem witch trial are "the product of psychological instability and moral blindness" (Brodwin 121) of people by losing their healthy instincts. In this sense, it is appropriate to call the wizard "a symbol of Deception" (Brodwin 121) in the inner tale and he is analogous to those who executed the innocent people as witches on Gallows Hill. However, I found that his real function as the influencer is written in the outer frame.

After the reading, the story moves from the inner tale to the outer frame and the narrative goes back to the same spot of Gallows Hill. Returning to the external frame part, the narrator tries to redirect the two women's attention to the spot where they are sitting, Gallows Hill, where many martyrs were put to death in 1692. As we have seen, just before reading the inner tale, he has provided background briefing for those girls about witchcraft delusion, "the dust of martyrs was beneath our feet", and announced they "stood on Gallows Hill" (*XI* 267). Added to this prior knowledge, when the narrator has finished his reading, he brings in material evidence that is intended to bridge the two times and spaces. It is "the wood-wax" spreading over the hill and this fictional wizard.

He tells the ladies that "the wizard's grave was close beside us, and that the wood-wax had sprouted originally from his unhallowed bones" (*XI* 277). This information supposes to connect the inner tale of "Alice Doane" and the outer narrative. That means, his performance is intended to make the audience sufficiently aware of the connection with the past on the very spot of Gallows Hill with the sense of reality.

The result, however, turned out differently than the narrator expected. After he has completed the inner tale, the ladies begin to laugh as if they reject the linkage between the historical past and their present. In this way, his first trial, which is to make his inner audience experience the historical influence of the spot that his tale of "Alice Doane" would afford them, has failed. This failure, however, proceeds to another trial by the author.

4. The Birth of Romance and Becoming a Witness in the Text

The frame of "Alice Doane's Appeal" seems unstable as the narrator alters and develops his storytelling in response to his inner audience. As Martin asserts, the narrative frame is constructed as if "he [Hawthorne] tells a story about telling a story" (Martin 183). Not satisfied with his two companions' reaction of laughing, the narrator then "made a trial whether truth were more powerful than fiction" (*XI* 278) in his narrative space.

At this point, his twice-told style, which has been just to retell the original manuscript as a storyteller, begins to shift to an interactive style of judging the reader's response in the outer frame. Fueling his listeners' imagination, the narrator eloquently describes the practical visualization of 1692, the scene of when both victims and persecutors congregated on the hillside:

> With such eloquence as my share of feeling and fancy could supply, I called back hoar antiquity, and *bade my companions imagine* an ancient multitude of people, congregated on the hill side, spreading far below, clustering on the steep old roofs, and climbing the adjacent heights, wherever a glimpse of this spot might be obtained. (*XI* 278; emphasis added)

The narrator "bade" his companions imagine the scene of the gathering people who headed up the hillside to the trial, that was to be seen from the summit of Gallows Hill where they are standing now.

First, he describes the victims of the witchcraft delusion, or "the innocent who were to die" (*XI* 279) one by one; a tottering woman "in her dotage, knowing neither the crime imputed her, nor its punishment"; another woman who "almost believe[s] her guilt"; a once proud man who is "broken down by the intolerable hatred heaped upon him"; a mother who is accused by her own little son; an ordained pastor who prays for "his fellow sufferers and the frenzied multitude" (*XI* 278-79). Then, he depicts Cotton Mather who was "the representative of all the hateful features of his time" as "the one blood-thirsty man," and the guilty who were to "grow old in long remorse" (*XI* 279). Here, he is expected to retell the historical truth of the witch trials, but in fact, he goes beyond the boundaries of delineation: he transgresses the limits of historical fact by plunging into his imagination with “a blacker horror, and a deeper woe” (*XI* 279), that is the act of emphasizing the incident too much for telling the history.

At this moment, Hawthorne, intentionally or unintentionally, provides the technique of romance to “present the truth” under circumstances “of the writer’s own choosing or creation” (*II* 1). Attempting to represent the truth about the historical witch trials, Hawthorne makes “his trial” by fusing the historical elements with imaginary description, and he demonstrates the power of romance in front of the inside listeners and the outside readers as well. This is an attempt to examine the role of history in fiction as well as to demonstrate a fiction’s appeal for his readers who need imagination to link themselves to history.

What Hawthorne tested in his early tale is, as Brodwin suggests, to make his audience “witness” to the historical event through his narrative:

> Hawthorne concentrates on the value and force of history in converting the human heart from one state of being to another. Change is accomplished only by making people aware that they are *witnesses*—emotional martyrs, so to speak—to the truth of events they have ignored, forgotten or psychologically repressed. (Brodwin 117)

In his narrative, Hawthorne makes the history come alive by animating the historical material combined with the imaginative element, and presents it to his audience. He employs the potency of history and its influential power that will convert human minds and become “witnesses” through their sympathetic resonance. That will bring a crucial recognition within his audience that there were people who had bitterly suffered because of losing contact with the past without doing any appropriate act of burial and mourning.

Hawthorne's final trial is to judge "whether truth were more powerful than fiction" (*XI* 278), and this "truth" is not only the historical fact but the truth long repressed by the public. As the best way to set the authorized history free from the social repression, Hawthorne tries to make both the internal audience and the external readers of the text become witnesses to the event through the simulated collective-historical narrative of the colonial past. To become "the witness" of the past event, though it is impossible to re-experience one's life realistically, Hawthorne might have deliberately once failed to read the inner tale, but then gets a chance to retell the event using the power of romance. When the narrator's companions both seize his arms with their nerves "trembling" and tears welling up in their eyes, his trial is over as "now the past had done all it could" (*XI* 280).[19] This ending seems an assertive way indeed, but his narrative technique strongly affects their bodies and hearts enough to shake with fright, thus his new form of narrative performance demonstrates much more power than mere fiction or simple historical fact alone could tell.

Having failed to publish the original manuscript before, Hawthorne reuses that surviving tale as material for the inner text in his revised version. Then, he makes it fail to be retold again, so he repeats the failure to retell the original "Alice Doane" twice. However, he employs that failure as a foothold and tries to go beyond the boundary of the narrative frame to tell "the truth." This must be his "appeal" to have revised it as the updated version. Even though the tale of "Alice Doane's Appeal" is criticized for its narrative fragmentation and patched construction, it succeeds in making the audience witnesses to both the historical event of the 1692 Salem witch trials and the nascent moment when the style of romance emerges through this retelling style. Young Hawthorne tackles the challenge of how to appeal to his audience about the problems lurking behind history, having recognized that just retelling the facts could not work to achieve it. To do so, an alternative form of narrative has to be constructed. In this sense, “Alice Doane’s Appeal” can be seen as a critical turning point in terms of narrative form and be considered as a prototype of his well-known style of “Romance.”

5. Constructing a “Funereal Stone” in the Text

The final scene of “Alice Doane’s Appeal” finds the narrator who, on leaving Gallows Hill, reflects on the history of Salem witchcraft trials with a deep sense of regret. He makes the following comments:

> Yet ere *we* left the hill, we could not but regret, that there is nothing on its barren summit, no relic of old, nor lettered stone of later days, to assist the imagination in appealing to the heart. *We* build the memorial column on the height which our fathers made sacred with their blood, poured out in a holy cause. And here in dark, funereal stone, should rise another monument, sadly commemorative of the errors of an earlier race, and not to be cast down, while the human heart has one infirmity that may result in crime. (*XI* 280; emphasis added)

Here, the subject “we,” which signifies the people, is expanded in its extent. The first “we” indicates the narrator and his two companions in the narrative, and the second “we” means, adding to those three characters, Hawthorne’s external readers of the text including inhabitants in Salem. And the voices of “those who died … without a coffin or a prayer” (*XI* 267) become a “collective voice" to invite those contemporary people into the narrative, and to summon them in order to construct "another monument" upon the hill. Thus, this second "we" is expected [by Hawthorne] to become an agent to re-interpret the past and re-construct the national memory. While witchcraft in 1692 occurred at the real place of Gallows Hill in Salem and is revealed as a hard, historical fact, the public had not deservingly accepted nor corrected the error of their fathers up to Hawthorne's day. Hawthorne, therefore, demands that on this site should "rise another monument."

In fact, there was a certain reason that Hawthorne chose to use the word "another" in this context. Some critics have already pointed out this is a reaction to a local historian, Charles Wentworth Upham, who warned about the mixture of imagination and emotions (Ephreneis 116; Baym, *The Shape* 33-39; Swartzlander 122-123, 127; Reynolds, *Devils* 66-68). Upham delivered lectures on the Salem witch trials and produced books, one of which was published in 1831, a few years before Hawthorne worked on "Alice Doane's Appeal" and was accepted as a national narrative. Therefore, we can identify "an historian" (*XI* 267) referred to in the story as treating the subject as Charles W. Upham who delivered the lecture in Salem. From Hawthorne's view, Upham's lecture was delivered "in a manner that will keep his name alive, in the only desirable connection with the errors of our ancestry" (*XI* 267).

Then, what does Upham state in his speech? In his *Lectures on Witchcraft*, he emphasizes the danger of uncontrolled imagination and passion:

> Man is never safe while either his fancy or his feeling is the guiding principle of his nature. There is a strong and constant attraction between his imagination and his passions, and if either is permitted to exercise

> unlimited sway, the other will most certainly be drawn into cooperation with it, and when they are allowed to act without restraint upon each other and with each other, they lead to the derangement and convulsion of his whole system. … Reason, enlightened by revelation and guided by conscience, is the great conservative principle; while that exercises the sovereign power over the fancy and the passions, we are safe; if it is dethroned, no limit can be assigned to the ruin that may follow. (Upham 274-75)

Upham asserts that the conjunction of "imagination" and "passion" destroys human hearts, that leads to the "derangement" of the social system. To prevent that destruction and keep us "safe," "reason" and "conservative principle" are indispensable. Baym exceptionally believes that Hawthorne received a favorable influence from Upham's remark; however, I support the opposite opinions such as Susan Swartzlander who points out that Hawthorne's work is "an examination of this tension between the head and the heart" and that he explores "the implications of this tension" as "a writer of historical romans" (Swartzlander 123).[20] Reynolds also comments that "as an artist," Hawthorne "appreciated the imagination in ways Upham apparently did not" (Reynolds, *Devils* 68). Since Upham's way is achieved by "converting the hill of their disgrace into an honorable monument of his own antiquarian lore, and of that better wisdom" (*XI* 267), this is an unacceptable approach to address the history of Salem for Hawthorne, and as a reaction to him, he decides to try another method.

Therefore, "another monument," using "dark funereal stone" should be needed to commemorate their ancestors' historical errors so that the beholders could imagine the past misdeeds. To construct a monument as material evidence is one form of commemoration of the past, which will stimulate the imagination of future generations. His narrative style, Romance, must be another monument which imbues the historical fact into the fictional form to illustrate the truth of the event. One characteristic of romance is, as we have confirmed in the Introduction, that it has a self-generating power by being reassessed and reconstructed repeatedly by readers based on the social contexts in which they live. By re-interpreting the narrative continuously, his romance will provide a chance to reconsider the past in just the same way as a monument constructed of dark funereal stone.

Being retold, twice or more times, a difference in time is inevitably generated between the first tale and the retold one. In the case of “Alice Doane’s Appeal,” though the original manuscript of “Alice Doane” written around 1825 was mostly destroyed, some parts had survived and were integrated into the new frame of narrative created about ten years later. As discussed above, there are two levels of audience in the text: “two young ladies” within the story, and contemporary readers of the magazine. We can imagine that those readers could make a response to the tale immediately after the tale was issued, thus their reaction had a good chance of reaching the author, Hawthorne, directly or indirectly, and it would be possible to have mutual interaction.

In addition to the contemporary readers, other groups of audience are constantly generated as long as the tale is republished and reappears in the modern world. The future generations including present readers will make it possible to offer new interpretations of the works, broadly taking a panoramic perspective of American society that transcends eras. As we have seen through "Alice Doane's Appeal," this must be one of the most significant effects of "twice-told" narratives. For Hawthorne, retelling the narrative is an act that makes the audience re-inhabit the imaginary space of the past, and gives a chance to reconsider unresolved historical events. Thus, his "twice-told" style is not a simple retelling, but contains the manifest intention to connect the past to the present across the borders of historical time as well as narrative space. Though it might be an unmatured method at that time, this is what young Hawthorne achieved in "Alice Doane's Appeal" in his early period as a Romancer.

Chapter 2

From Private Grief to Public Mourning:
Roger Malvin's *Unaccomplished* Burial

1. Retelling a Historical Incident

Since Hawthorne defined his type of work as "Romance," combining history and imagination, he often used actual materials such as historical events, real places, or real-life characters in his works. These references to the "past" can symbolize "Death" (*II* 182), and as Holgrave mentions in *The House of the Seven Gables*, those materials are sometimes strongly related to the mourning ceremony like graves and burial that evoke the image of death itself. Among representative works of Hawthorne, the most impressive depiction of the grave is the sharing of one tombstone by two sleepers at the end of *The Scarlet Letter* (1850). Before attracting public attention through this work, Hawthorne wrote nearly one hundred tales and sketches. "Roger Malvin's Burial" (1832) is one of Hawthorne's earliest tales written in the style later termed as Romance, integrating the significance of characters' deaths into the plot, and trying to draw readers' attention to their past.[21]

The story of "Roger Malvin's Burial," which first appeared in *The Token* in 1832, is based on "Lovell's Fight" in 1725, the battle between the colonial farmers of Massachusetts and Pigwacket Indians.[22] Taking his inspiration from the historical source, Hawthorne eliminates the bloody battle scene itself, and depicts Reuben Bourne's subsequent life over eighteen years in the frame of family-community, focusing especially on his psychological aftermath of the Indian fight. Two types of death are placed into this narrative: Roger

Malvin's death is placed at the beginning of the story and Cyrus Bourne's death comes at the end of the story. Roger, Reuben's comrade as well as father-in-law-to-be, is left alone to die in the wilderness beneath the grave-like-rock, and at the very same spot that Reuben has left Roger, Cyrus is accidentally shot and killed by Reuben who perceives his son as a deer.

As this narrative's frame shapes a circulative structure, with Reuben's son passing away in the spot where his father-in-law had lain down to die, many critics interpret the shooting of Cyrus as being an act of expiation using Cyrus as Reuben's sacrifice.[23] One powerful vision that Frederick Crews presents uses Freudian psychoanalysis, in which he interprets this act as "a sacrificial murder" dictated by Reuben's unconscious charge of patricide (Crews 88). It seems fair to say that the act of "burial" itself has been treated collaterally, as even though the title includes "burial," the action of burying has been tactfully evaded in the principal argument.

Assuming that the cause of Reuben's family disruption arises from the delay of Malvin's burial, I would firstly like to examine whether Rueben had mourned over the loss of Malvin. Then, I will consider what the public act of mourning of the dead or ancestors means in the colonial period. This section, therefore, explores a parallel relationship between the function and the meaning of "burial" not only in the fictional/private sphere, but also in the real public/national space in the early period of American history. By focusing on the performance of burial, I would like to investigate the possibility that just as Reuben lost his future generation through his son's death, so too will this nation without a proper burial of its historical past.

2. The Story of a Survivor

As the narrator states in the first pages of the story that "history and tradition are unusually minute in their memorials of this affair," the battle of "Lovell's Fight" is engraved in memory as part of the French and Indian War waged in the colonies of British America against New France in North America, in which each side was supported by American Indian allies.[24] A brief overview of this historical affair is as follows: On May 8, 1725, Captain John Lovewell organized a small company of colonists and ambushed the Abenaki villagers of the Pigwacket, tribe in their sleep. The little army slaughtered and scalped the Pigwacket peopl, and then set fire to their camp in the name of strengthening the frontier security (Slotkin, *Regeneration* 181). Lovewell and some other men were killed in the skirmish and the remaining men retreated from the field by their own efforts. During the battle, the Indian chief Paugus was shot to death and the Indian party was severely depleted as well. The four men including Captain Farwell who received a fatal injury ran away from the battle, but only two men survived: Eleazer Davis and another man who had fled from the field by a different route.[25]

It is not difficult to imagine that Hawthorne, who was known to be a keen reader of history books, knew and understood these historical facts.[26] In particular, in 1825, seven years before this work appeared in *The Token*, an event to commemorate the centenary of the battle at Lovell's Pond was held in Fryeburg, Maine. Hawthorne could hardly have failed to notice Bowdoin's Professor Thomas C. Upham's dedication of his ballad "Lovellpond" and that one of Hawthorne's schoolfellows Henry Longfellow scribed a poem for this ceremony of the battle in 1825 (Orians 314; Colacurcio 116). This commemorative event or nationalistic performance might have been intended to stimulate public self-consciousness about a 100-years-ago-battle at this moment of US history. In 1829, four years after the event, Andrew Jackson referred to the scheme of removing Native American tribes in his State of the Union address and then he signed the Indian Removal Act for the national government on May 28, 1830. This law authorized that southern Indians were forced to remove their territory to the west of the Mississippi River in exchange for their ancestral homelands. In order to justify the violence of depriving Native Americans of their territory, it was considered to be important to share and retain incidents from the past for making a stronger unity within the communities in the US. Therefore, for this community, which at this time was expanding its territory by removing the Indians who were in their way as they tried to form a nation, such commemorative events and shared historical accounts were of great importance.

Here, however, I would like to emphasize one thing: these historical records or memorial ballads were not written by people who had taken part in the battle a hundred years before. Yet even though such texts were not written by actual witnesses to the events, these accounts in effect constructed a collective memory which is believed by subsequent generations as a true fact. It should be noted that survivors' testimonies of their extreme situations are sometimes modified in accordance with the social contexts of later years, and facts are rewritten so that they would be easily accepted by subsequent communities. The nineteenth century was a time when leading personalities and major historical events became objects of commemorative veneration. Communities began to construct memorial monuments and rituals came to play in the public sphere in order to preserve their memory to register an official testimony of the events through a system of "group confirmation." Looking back on the historical facts, the purpose of Lovell's Fight seemed not to be a fight for justice but to be motivated by personal gain. According to Colacurcio, "having set out on an officially sponsored scalp-hunting expedition," Captain Lovewell's troops began slaughtering a party of Indians in their sleep (Colacurcio 118).[27] In addition, in spite of making a pre-emptive attack on the Indians, Lovell's party suffered a crucial setback in the end. By omitting these unfavorable facts, however, this historical event was recognized as a "tale of heroic triumph" through commemorative veneration in the nineteenth century.

Confronting the contemporary writers' and the community's admiration of "Lovell's Fight," Hawthorne's narrative uses the imaginary survivor's memory to function as the "counter-memory" of a national discourse. What Hawthorne adapts into his story from the historical facts is the viewpoint that there were two types of people who tried to retreat from the battle: those who survived the battle like Eleazer Davis, and those who were left to perish in the wilderness.[28] Thus, what Hawthorne fictionalized using "the moonlight of romance" (*X* 337) in his narrative is one survivor's aftermath of the Indian battle especially focusing on his shameful experience of leaving his friend on the verge of death, which the public was unaware of. Reuben's story tries to depict what the community repressed, and through this family romance and the relationship between Roger and Reuben, Hawthorne might have intended to invite readers to imagine what the past that was not included in the modified frame of history that the communities knew was really like. By shedding light on Reuben's long-lasting psychological conflict toward Roger who was left in the wilderness, we might find a new perspective on history. At the very heart of the narrative, there is one promise that is made between two men, one who is dying and the other who has survived.

3. Distance Between being Alive and being Dead: The Meaning of "Being Buried"

Judging from the result, Reuben Bourne had left Roger Malvin alone in the wilderness and had completely abandoned him, but this decision is actually based on mutual consent. Roger, who is seriously injured in the battle against the Indians, preferred to remain in the wilderness alone than to waste their two lives for nothing, so he persuades Reuben to leave him in the forest to die. However, Roger makes two solemn requests of Reuben before they part: one is to return there and "lay my bones in the grave, and say a prayer over them" (*X* 344) when Reuben's wounds are healed, and the other is to change his posture. Most critics have debated over only the first request by trying to link it to his guilt, but the second one is as significant as the first.[29] After asking for his future burial, he says "raise me, and let me lean against the rock" (*X* 345) in order to see Reuben off and Reuben offers his hands to Roger to sit him up in the leaves as he has requested. The key point to notice here is that Roger prefers a sitting position to a lying-down one on his deathbed. Furthermore, Roger raises his body with the support of Reuben's hands and alters his posture, and it is this image that haunts Reuben repeatedly after his return from the wilderness.

> For years, also, a thought would occasionally recur, which, though he perceived all its folly and extravagance, he had not power to banish from

> his mind; it was a haunting and torturing fancy, that his father-in-law was *yet sitting at the foot of the rock*, on the withered forest-leaves, alive, and awaiting his pledged assistance. (*X* 349; emphasis added)

The haunting image is that his father-in-law Roger is still "sitting at the foot of the rock" in the woods. According to the narrator, this extraordinary idea comes from a superstitious fear that was rumored among the frontier inhabitants.

It is believed that the Indians had a custom of battling against the dead as well as the living, so they were buried sitting up to watch. Janine A. Carson reports that around Ossipee Lake near Fryeburg, Maine, there is a large burial mound from which several Indian skeletons, "all buried in a sitting position," have been taken (Carson 108-18). In addition, Paul S. Juhasz, James McIntosh, and Tsuji Shoko point out that the last hours of Roger's posture of "sitting at the foot of the rock," or the burial style seems to accord with the burial custom of native cultures introduced in Freneau's poem "The Indian Burying Ground" (1787): The following passage is a quotation from his poem (Freneau 807-08):[30]

In spite of all the learned have said,
        I still my old opinion keep;
The posture, that we give the dead,
        Points out the soul's eternal sleep.

Not so the ancients of these lands—
        The Indian, when from life released,
And is seated with his friends,

And shares again the joyous feast. […]

His bow, for action ready bent,
And arrows, with a head of stone,
Can only mean that life is spent,
And not the old ideas gone. […]

They do not lie, but here they sit. (Freneau 807; emphasis added)

Since "I" in this poem believes that Indians' souls live beyond the years of their lives on earth, their sitting burial position has been interpreted as their war readiness. In order to take part in battle at any time, "they do not lie, but here they sit." Thus, the close resemblance between Roger's final bodily position and Native American burials is the main argument so far. As James McIntosh states, the action of Reuben leaving Roger "sitting upright in the posture of Freneau's Indian hunter" has the effect that "he[Reuben] has buried him[Roger] alive as if he were an Indian" (McIntosh 194).[31] Hitherto, Roger's last posture or the burial position seems to be interpreted in the context of the burial practices of Native American cultures.

Rather, I would like to especially focus on the typical western way of burial described in the first part of the poem. As "the posture, that *we* give the dead," when people in the West give family members or those close to them a decent burial, they make the body lay down in the ground. It means that in order to send the dead to eternal rest, the living people's hands inevitably work on them. Furthermore, "rites of sepulture" are not only for the dead but also for the living who survive their loved ones. Through the action of making the soulless body lay down in the ground, the performers, who may be close relatives, can acquire a sense of fulfillment that the entity is indeed already dead. This very performance is a funeral procedure that sets a clear boundary between life and death, and the people who are left behind can go into the process of mourning. However, in the case of Reuben, it is the other way round. By the action of making Roger sit up as he requested, Reuben intentionally creates a distance away from death.

The reason why the phantasm of Roger sitting and awaiting his pledged assistance haunts Reuben repeatedly must result from the missed opportunity to bury Roger properly with his own hands. By acting contrary to the tradition—raising the dying man up to lean against the rock—Reuben leaves his duty unfinished and fails to accept Roger's death, which causes psychological difficulties to increase day by day.

4. Reuben Bourne as a Melancholic Man

After leaving Roger, Reuben wanders in the wilderness under extreme exhaustion and hunger, until he is finally found by a search-and-rescue party and taken to his own residence. Although Reuben married Dorcas as her father Roger had expected, until returning to this promised spot, Reuben has been "transformed into a sad and downcast, yet irritable man" (*X* 350) over the subsequent eighteen years. His changes begin to be visible by those around him: his lands lay fallow, his neighbors quarrel with him, his debts mount and finally he was expelled from his community. Why does this happen to him as time passes? Here I would like to examine the reason why Reuben had to ruin himself even though he had survived the Indian battle and avoided death in the wilderness.

Critics such as Turner who explores this work from the theme of "guilt and expiation" point out that Reuben's guilt comes first from "when he allows Malvin's daughter, his fiancée, to believe, for her comfort that he stayed with her father and saw that he was buried, and after that when he breaks his vow to return and bury Malvin's bones" (Turner 31). Interpreting literally, there is no lie in his actual words when Dorcas asks about her father's fate. He does not say anything like "Roger was dead" or "I buried him with my hands," but just says "I did what I could" (*X* 348). Not Reuben but rather Dorcas speaks out that "he [Roger] died!" and by looking at Reuben's reaction when "he spoke not; he only bowed his head" (*X* 348), she interprets his gesture as his affirmation. Thus, as Juhasz suggests, if Reuben felt guilt toward Dorcas, "his was a crime of omission" and it is Dorcas who declares her father's death (Juhasz 53). If we read the text in this way, what is actually missing from the story is Reuben's real voice, the words to mourn Roger's death.

Repressed emotion over Roger alters with the lapse of time. Since Reuben fails to accept Roger's death properly, his psychological fear later conjures up the two uncanny phenomena: Roger's ghost "sitting at the foot of the rock and awaiting his pledged assistance" and his voice "calling to him, out of the wilderness" (*X* 349). At first this calling annoys him as Roger's voice is audible only to himself, but eventually it affects Reuben's repressed mental wounds directly to "command him to go forth and redeem his vow" (*X* 350). Year after year, that "unheard but felt" summons affects him continuously and when he recognizes this other's voice as his own, "he transformed into a sad and downcast, yet irritable man" (*X* 350). Then, how do we interpret this transformation of Reuben over those eighteen years?

Here, an examination of Freud's psychoanalytic discussion “Mourning and Melancholia” (1917) can be used to account for Reuben’s mental deterioration and his downfall (Freud, “Mourning” 243-58). Freud writes that both “mourning and melancholia are normal mental reactions to the loss of a loved person, or to the loss of some abstraction which has taken the place of one, such as one’s country, liberty, an ideal, and so on” (Freud, “Mourning” 243). Whereas mourning is conscious of the object who has died or whom he has lost, in the case of melancholia he not only “cannot see clearly what it is that has been lost” but also “cannot consciously perceive what he has lost” (Freud, “Mourning” 245). In melancholia, the notion of mourning itself has slipped from a patient’s mind and therefore he could not move on to the mourning process. The patient who is refusing to accept the loss of his object displays “an extraordinary diminution in his self-regard” and “an impoverishment of his ego on a grand scale” (Freud, “Mourning” 246). Furthermore, the patient displays melancholic symptoms like suffering from a painful dejection and gradually refuses to make contact with the outside world (Freud, “Mourning” 244).

In fact, Reuben loses interest in social interactions with his neighboring settlers and becomes a neglectful husbandman having frequent quarrels with them. In spite of surviving the verge of death, he finally becomes a ruined man over eighteen years. His long-term depression illustrates the melancholic trait where the acceptance of loss is never achieved, and in particular where the patient desires to be cast out and punished. It might, therefore, be concluded that the collapse of Reuben’s family results from the lack of a proper burial of the dead.

In addition, Freud's conception of melancholia's sense of time can be accountable for the phenomenon that Roger's living ghost irritates Reuben constantly, as mentioned before. David L. Eng and David Kazanjian explain the sense of time used in "Mourning and Melancholia" as follows:

> For instance, we might observe that in Freud's initial conception of melancholia, the past is neither fixed nor complete. Unlike mourning, in which the past is declared resolved, finished, and dead, in melancholia the past remains steadfastly alive in the present. By engaging in "countless separate struggles" with loss, melancholia might be said to constitute, as Benjamin would describe it, an ongoing and open relationship with the past—bringing its ghosts and specters, in flaring and fleeting images, into the present. (Eng and Kazanjian 3-4)

One of the features of melancholic patients is that they have an open relationship with the past as well as the present. This concept of time makes it possible to have a new relationship between two-time-flow with "present progressive form" bringing the symbolic past images like ghosts and specters into the present. "Present time" is supposed to emerge when people can make a boundary between life and death. Shimokobe Michiko writes "when people witness someone's death and its body and soul cross over to the next world," people who survived their beloved's death not only feel sorrow and anger but also they can realize that they "have to accept the vanished past is irrevocable" and move to the mourning process (Shimokobe, *Trauma*; my trans.; 174). On the other hand, as the melancholic patients' sense of time is a mixture of present and past tense, it prevents the flow of time which is supposed to move straight toward the future.

As for Reuben, the image of Roger sitting at the foot of the rock alive with his voice demanding the vow to be redeemed intrudes into Reuben's consciousness constantly. For eighteen years what actually attacked Reuben's mind is that he had helped Roger into a sitting position, which made the consciousness of not conducting a funeral for him more vivid.[32] If only Reuben had placed Roger in the ground with his own hands, or kept Roger lying on his bed of oak leaves, Reuben could have recognized that Roger was ready for his death and that he had done the preparation to send him to the other side. However, in the actual story, one decided to remain in the wilderness and the other, who had made a vow to bury his friend, survived. The purpose of a funeral or memorial service is to recognize the survivors' current position compared to the situation in which they might have been otherwise rather than to comfort the spirits of the dead (Uchida; my trans.; 162).[33] Thus, a memorial service attaches a much more valuable meaning to the people who survived as well as being their duty toward the dead. The source of Reuben's anguish is traced back to the vivid images of Roger's "sitting" ghost and his voice calling Reuben from the wilderness. Thus, what makes Reuben a ruined man is wholly ascribable to his one act: not having buried Roger. As a consequence, now Reuben is constantly in a melancholic state.

5. The Burial Outside the Text

Here, I would like to consider whether Reuben can ultimately accomplish his promise to Roger in this text. Then, I will examine the possibility that the long-term stagnation of melancholic time, and the mixed relationship between past and present, interrupts the circulation of the healthy time flow toward the future not only within the family but also at the wider community level.

Reuben has been in this melancholic state of mind once realizes that he needs to mourn Roger's loss when he accidentally happens to stand at the very spot where Roger was left for dead eighteen years before. He even hopes that "he might find the bones, so long unburied; and that, having laid the earth over them, peace would throw its sunlight into the sepulcher of his heart" (*X* 356). But the next moment, Reuben hears a sound in the underbrush and shoots at the prey with his rifle. He has accidentally killed his own son Cyrus where Roger had lain. This tragic family incident mirrors the theme of America's national destiny: it does not just mean the loss of a successor within the range of one family but it also signifies a loss of future in the American community. However, if we read this incident along with American history, people in his community anticipate that Cyrus will be "a future leader in the land" (*X* 351) and the narrator of this tale imagines he would be "the father of a race, the patriarch of a people, the founder of a mighty nation yet to be" (*X* 352).

Reflecting the time differences, in that Hawthorne writes this work about one century after Lovell's Fight, it is natural that he takes into account the subsequent American history. Eighteen years after Lovell's Fight, Cyrus becomes fifteen in 1743. According to historical facts, the battles with Indians fanned out throughout the North American lands, and once the French had given up all their territories in North America under the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the battle over land was reignited. Had Cyrus stayed alive, the time when he would have reached full manhood to old-age coincides with the time when America headed toward the War of Independence.[34] Thus, if the present time in this text accords to actual time, it is possible that Cyrus would have become a "the founder of a mighty nation" (*X* 352) as the narrator expected.

Has then Reuben who lost his beloved son fulfilled the promise that he had made eighteen years before? Let us examine the final part of the story. Reuben draws his wife Dorcas to the front of the rock where her father was left behind and now her son is lying, and says "this broad rock is the grave-stone of your near kindred" and "your tears will fall at once over your father and your son" (*X* 360). After Reuben has made his confession, even though his wife does not hear him at all, the oak leaves fall upon the rock, Rueben, his wife, their child, and Roger Malvin's bones, and this story concludes as follows:

> Then Reuben's heart was stricken, and the tears gushed out like water from a rock. The vow that the wounded youth had made, the blighted man had come to redeem. His sin was expiated, the curse was gone from him; and, in the hour, when he had shed blood dearer to him than his own, a prayer, the first for years, went up to Heaven from the lips of Reuben Bourne. (*X* 360)

Whereas the narrator says "the vow [he] had come to redeem," we could not find the clear answer, because the request that Roger made is "return to this wild rock, and lay my bones in the grave, and say a prayer over them" (*X* 344). As for the first request, we cannot find an exact description such as "Reuben buries Roger's bones with his own hands," but only that oak leaves cover the place where Roger had once been. Regarding the second request, it says that when he has shed blood "dearer to him than his own," words of prayer go up from Reuben's lips. As this last sentence is written not in Reuben's own voice but as a narrative part, we could interpret this part in several ways, such as his prayer is directed toward his father-in-law and his own son, or only toward his son, or just for himself. If we focus on the action of burial, there is some ambiguity in the text and it seems fair to say that the story of "Roger Malvin's Burial" is more like "Roger Malvin's *Unaccomplished* Burial." Then how do we, the readers outside the text, interpret and accept this ending when the story finishes so abruptly?

At the beginning of the text, Hawthorne explains using the narrator's voice that this story borrows some historical facts that later society confines "certain circumstances judiciously into the shade" (*X* 337). If we accept Hawthorne's words, since Roger's burial has not taken place within the text, the responsibility for his burial is left in the hands of his readers outside of the text. Since the time directly connects the past to the future, as Shimokobe notes, "history is created by those who look back on an event from a later perspective" (Shimokobe, *Trauma*; my trans.; 191). Assuming that if we substitute "past" and "future" in this text for the "grandfather" Roger and the "son" Cyrus and set this family's origin as Roger, it is natural that Roger's era is taken over by his son-in-law Reuben, who is placed in "present" position. But Reuben's "present time" is thoroughly affected by melancholia and is being constantly intervened into by "past time." Taking into account these facts, having neglected his duty of providing a proper funeral for Roger, who symbolizes "past," the most significant source of loss might be that of Cyrus who will carry his community into the future.

Burying of the dead by the living is the act of connecting the past with the future, which is why a proper funeral is the most significant issue for the people living in the present time. Larry Reynolds points out that “the tragic death of young Cyrus Bourne in the story can thus be read not only as expiation of Reuben Bourne’s personal guilt” but also, as Colacurcio put it as “a prophecy of some bloody purgation from national guilt” (Colacurcio 121; Reynolds, *Devils* 26). The time when Hawthorne wrote this text is around the same period as the Indian Removal Act (1830) was signed into law by Andrew Jackson. This act led to eliminating Native Americans, and America entered a new transition in her history on account of this movement. Hawthorne must have noticed that it was the time to reconsider the importance of the past. Therefore, the loss of Cyrus must not only be Reuben’s personal burden but also a serious matter that would endanger the future of his own community and put the future of the nation in crisis. Whereas in this story it is Reuben’s role to be responsible for burial, Hawthorne tries to impress upon his readers that contemporary readers outside the text are also responsible for carrying out a proper burial of their nation’s past.

6. Conquest of the Frontier and Ideology of American Expansionism

Even before the US became independent, frontier territory had expanded as soldiers and hunters were buried in the place where their death had occurred (Sloane 14). Burying their family or comrade in the very spot where they had died in battle and marking the land where they were buried, the community had changed this act into the ideology of American expansionism and conquest of the frontier. Gary Laderman suggests that this simple act of burial was considered as a public act to promote a national unity in the colonial period as follows:

> For peace on the frontier, prosperity in the settlements, and success in the move West, the dead—especially those who died in the fight to control the frontier—must be buried appropriately in the very land under contention. The domestication of the wilderness surrounding the colonists, and the subsequent conquest of the frontier in the nineteenth century, required the familiar presence of a "civilized" practice—"rites of sepulture"—that could transform a harsh natural landscape into a cultured, habitable environment. (Laderman 68)

When we put the "rites of sepulture" into a historical context, that could be linked to the fate of the nation as well. Taking this into consideration, it is quite natural that "The falsehood about Reuben's having conducted the burial was not only an individual moral problem, but also a breach of one's duty to the nation and society in the frontier regions in the early eighteenth century" as Masunaga notes (Masunaga; my trans.; 153).

By ensuring the dead had an appropriate burial, colonial communities negotiated the boundary between nature and culture, and to make clear the location of the burial ground, they justified their action as a rational discourse for control over the land. The importance of the act of burial as a social duty links to Hawthorne's description in the beginning of *The Scarlet Letter,* a story set in colonial Boston in the seventeenth century, as follows: "the founders of a new colony … have invariably recognized it among their earliest practical necessities to allot a portion of the virgin soil as a cemetery, and another portion as the site of a prison" (*I* 47). At the same time the act of mourning means making a clear line between their lost objects and those who survived. Laying down the dead and burying them with our own hands attaches a meaning to one absolute fact that we survived and they were survived by us.

In his subsequent writing, Hawthorne often creates works that make his contemporary readers aware of the importance of mourning for the past. As we see in Chapter One in "Alice Doane's Appeal" (1835), published just three years later than this story, the narrator appeals for a memorial column to be built on Gallows Hill, where innocent people had been executed as witches without coffins and prayers: "here in dark, funereal stone, should rise another monument, sadly commemorative of the errors of an earlier race" (*XI* 280). Also, in *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851), Hawthorne lets Holgrave say that if the burial of Past has not been completed properly, it affects their Future generations, explained by an analogy to a grandfather and the young:

> It lies upon the Present like a giant's dead body! In fact, the case is just as if a young giant were compelled to waste all his strength in carrying about the corpse of the old giant, his grandfather, who died a long while ago, and only needs to be decently buried. (*II* 182-83)

The decent burial or proper burial as Hawthorne mentions here means nothing other than completing the "work of mourning." That is to place the dead who struggled to establish the nation in the ground in the Past time, and this must be the survivors' duty.

In the text, however, through the narrative of Roger's unaccomplished burial, Hawthorne leaves this role to the contemporary reader outside of the text, who is still not reconciled with their collective guilt of their forefathers. Through this work it is suggested that just as Reuben lost his future generation through his son's death, so too will the US without a proper burial of its historical past.

Chapter 3

An Imagined History of a Resonant Community: Retold Oral Testimonies in *The Scarlet Letter*

Nathaniel Hawthorne's masterpiece *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) established his reputation from a short story writer to a representative American novelist. This work was produced just after going through his two personal crises, the "decapitation" at the Custom House and his mother's death. From 1846 to 1849, Hawthorne worked as a surveyor in the Salem Custom House for economic reasons, since the earnings from his writing of short tales did not provide enough to support his family. On June 8, 1849, he was dismissed from his post as a result of the Whig candidate Zachary Taylor's electoral victory, and then his sick mother died on July 31. Shortly after his mother's death, he started working on *The Scarlet Letter,* when he was in his mid-forties. Except for *Fanshawe* (1828), which was his first novel, though published anonymously, *The Scarlet Letter* became his first full-length novel. It took the author six months to compose the narrative and he completed it on February 3, 1850. The finished romance consists of two parts, a lengthy autobiographical introductory section entitled "Custom-House" and a tale of Puritan society of Boston in the seventeenth century.

The Scarlet Letter could be classified as a historical narrative based on the Puritan society of the early colonial period in New England. In order to construct this narrative, what kind of historical facts does Hawthorne employ as his primary material? As for the germ of the concept of this novel, we can find this specific entry in his notebook on July 27, 1844, five years before the writing of this story: “The life of a woman, who, by the old colony law, was condemned always to wear the letter A, sewed on her garment, in token of her having committed adultery” (*VIII* 254). As to the striking image of “the letter A,” Hawthorne seemed to have derived inspiration from Joseph B. Felt’s *The Annals of Salem, from Its First Settlement* (1827), where we can find a similar description of punishment for adultery under the date of May 5, 1649:

> Among such laws, passed this session, were two against Adultery and Polygamy. Those guilty of the first crime, … forever after wear a capital A, two inches long, cut out of cloth colored differently from their clothes, and sewed on the arms, or back parts of their garments so as always to be seen when they were about.”[35]

In addition to having to “wear a capital A” to indicate “Adultery” on their arms or backs, persons who committed “Adultery” or “Polygamy” had to “sit an hour on the gallows, with ropes about their necks” and be severely “whipt not above 40 stripes” (Felt 317). Not only the legal punishment for adultery, but the description of the cloth “A” is almost identical to what the narrator of “The Custom-House” found on the second floor of that building, except in its size.[36] It is highly likely that Hawthorne employed this penalty from his local source for the character of his heroine.

One more concept for a woman who wears this symbolic letter “A” is derived from another local source. The study by Boewe and Murphy detects the name of the character in the novel in the records of the Salem Quarterly Court which convened in November of 1668 (Boewe and Murphy 203). In this record are the names of the heroine and Hawthorne’s forefather as persons who were involved in the same trial:

> Hester Craford, for fornication with John Wedg, as she confessed, was ordered to be severely whipped and that security be given to save the town from the charge of keeping the child. Mordecaie Craford [her father] bound. The judgment of her being whipped was respited for a month or six weeks after the birth of the child, and it was left to the Worshipful Major William Hathorne to see it executed on a lecture day.[37]

The "Worshipful Major William Hathorne" is none other than Nathaniel Hawthorne's ancestor, the father of John Hathorne known as the witch trial judge, and a first-generation immigrant to Salem. I entirely agree with Boewe and Murphy's suggestion that Hawthorne must have been attracted by the name of "Hester" who committed fornication especially "since his own stern ancestor was involved in the trial and punishment" (Boewe and Murphy 203). Combining Felt's description of "a capital A" as a punishment and the character's name and involvement with his ancestor depicted in the local source employed as an authentic urtext, Hawthorne constructs his fictional drama of sin in a narrative space of a Puritan community in the seventeenth century.

Furthermore, this motif appears not only once but twice in his writings. A woman who wears a letter A is also depicted in "Endicott and the Red Cross" (1838). This focuses on an event that happened in 1634, when, in a rebellious gesture, the Puritan governor John Endicott tore the Red Cross from the British ensign. In this tale, there is "a young woman" who is doomed to "wear the letter A on the breast of her gown" in "scarlet cloth" that signifies "Adulteress" (*IX* 435). Moreover, the description of the "scarlet cloth" embroidered "with golden thread, and the nicest art of needle-work" is also identical to the one produced by Hester's needlework. Hawthorne recycles this motif of this short tale by developing it into his Romance more than ten years later. In this sense, *The Scarlet Letter* is a twice-told tale involving the "retelling" style of using historical materials as a source of his narrative and integrating them into a fictional story. At the same time, he revises the original work to develop a story and creates a new version.

Then, does Hawthorne also just revive the original theme in the short tale and expand it into a longer version? Or, does he only reuse the impressive letter A and its meaning? The end of "Endicott and the Red Cross" depicts the desire for independence from England, which is shown by the gesture of violently ripping the cross from an English flag by the hands of Endicott. And the story is concluded as "the first omen of that deliverance which fathers consummated, after the bones of the stern Puritan had lain more than a century in the dust" (*IX* 441). Endicott's performance surely symbolized the emergence of the United States of America as an independent nation. If *The Scarlet Letter* originates from this short tale, is there any sign to predict a future event so as to move toward independence and American democracy in its narrative?

In this Chapter, I will investigate how Hawthorne reuses the historical source of his narrative and how he retells it from a double perspective of history, that is from a Puritan community in the seventeenth century to address the readers of his contemporary democratic community in the nineteenth century. First, I examine the practical function of the Market-Place in Puritan society and the role of the minister, as it is in that location that Dimmesdale's "voice" unites the minds of a group of people through their "sympathy." Then, I will consider the role of "sympathy" and the effect of Hester's "freedom of speculation” on Dimmesdale’s final speech. In order to consider what kind of national narrative is working in tandem with this historical narrative, taking Surveyor Pue’s manuscript found in “The Custom-House” and the final chapter entitled “Conclusion” into account, I will investigate the narrative technique of how Hawthorne’s private colonial tale has survived over two hundred years through the relay of testimonies as a transhistorical narrative.

1. Speech Act in the Market-Place

In Puritan society under the rigid theocracy where “religion and law were almost identical” (*I* 50), the market-place plays an important part since it functions as a public space of trial and punishment, distribution of information, surveillance, and visibility of power. Therefore, the special characteristics of its site are the scaffold of the pillory and the church constructed within the same space. As for the feature of its narrative space, the characters in *The Scarlet Letter* repeatedly return to the scaffold in the market-place in the acts of public punishment and private penance. In that place, the towns-people as well as the reader of the text can witness and share the two significant events that happened on the pillory. The first one is set in the very opening scene, when Hester Prynne emerges from the prison door holding her three-month-old illegitimate baby, Pearl, and ascends the pillory as the punishment for her sin of adultery. This is the first time when the mother and child are exposed to public ridicule in the market-place. The other scene is at the end of the story. After an ambiguous confession of the sin to the public, Dimmesdale passes away upon the same pillory under the gaze of the crowd.[38]

In this stage setting, I am particularly concerned with the function of "sympathy" as an affect. How is the feeling of sympathy aroused in the bosom of the audience by Dimmesdale's tremulous voice? Does it have any relation to the unification of the Puritan community? In order to consider Dimmesdale's position in the community, firstly, let us clarify the philosophy of their emigration from Europe to New England through the historical facts, and see how Hawthorne adapts those features into his narrative. At the same time, I will investigate the relation of market-place and ministers in early Puritan colonial society from the seventeenth-century perspective.

The story is set between 1642 and 1649, which is the same period as the time when John Winthrop established the Massachusetts Bay Colony. As the episodes of his death and the new Governor's arrival ceremony are also written in the text, Hawthorne faithfully wrote his narrative plot based on historical facts using actual figures in history. It is well known that in order to establish an ideal community having civil and religious perfection, the Puritans crossed the Atlantic and settled in New England.[39]

Their main spirit is declared in the sermon called "A Model of Christian Charity" in 1630 delivered by John Winthrop on the boat *Arbella* before landing in the New World. He urges his congregation to establish a new community that would be a "city upon the hill," a model of religion-based civil society shown for the rest of Europe. In order to create an ideal commonwealth, the spirit of joint co-operation is reaffirmed in his speech:

> We must uphold a familiar commerce together in all meekness, gentleness, patience and liberality. We must delight in each other; make others' conditions our own; rejoice together, mourn together, labor and suffer together, always having before our eyes our commission and community

> in the work, as members of the same body.[40]

As the term “together” appears repeatedly and the community members are compared to being as “the same body,” it is essential to keep their minds in unity, or conform to one another in establishing such a unified group for people of different social status. In this primitive and vulnerable community, the “Congregational Way,” which is firmly rooted in the philosophy of keeping local institutions, controls social order and maintains new settlers’ mental uniformity effectively. Thus, the first thing that Hawthorne does is to introduce this historical background in his narrative part. Hawthorne describes in “The Market-Place” of Chapter II, how it was a time when “religion and law were almost identical” and “whose character both were so thoroughly interfused” (*I* 50). Under the “Congregational Way,” the medium of the sermon and the place of the meetinghouse served an important function in the early New England community.

In this society, the ordained ministers who were endowed with the faculty of speaking with the voice of God, delivered sermons based on Scripture. In addition, they had a role to inform their people of daily news. As Harry S. Stout clarifies, “unlike modern mass media, the sermon stood alone in local New England context as the only regular (at least weekly) medium of public communication” (Stout 3), which provided the contemporary information for the community and referred to all areas of life such as religious, educational and journalistic categories. And it was the meetinghouse that provided a place of assembly in the new community; thus, town planning and the building placement were important for achieving to construct unified space.[41]

When the sermon was delivered in the meetinghouse, it was “veiled to the external eye" and "in a room filled to capacity," and the meetinghouse "ceased to be merely a building and became a church where God made his power and presence felt among the assembled" (Stout 14). Stout translates the church filled with people into "the gathered body of believers" (Stout 14), since a simple cabin becomes a special room by sharing the voice of God with those assembled. It should be noted that such a meetinghouse is "filled to capacity," becoming a sort of densely populated space. In that crowded space, the ordained ministers who were endowed to speak in between God and congregations conveyed the Word of God by means of their sermons.[42] When we recall the climax scene of *The Scarlet Letter*, we may notice that similar locations are described in the text of "The Procession" in Chapter XXII : "the meeting-house" in the market-place, where "the election sermon" is delivered, and "the gathered congregations" listen to "the voice of Dimmesdale" there (*I* 236-47). This becomes the very spot where his audience have simultaneously shared strong sympathy with Dimmesdale's voice.

Therefore, the market-place in seventeenth-century New England functions as a public space where the whole community of people could assemble together. Michael Gilmore, who juxtaposes the world of Puritan Boston with the market society of Jacksonian America, emphasizes that the setting of this social condition is "being scrutinized by others." He points out how "the novel presents a social environment in which seeing and being seen, observing others and being gazed at in turn, constitute the principal forms of human activity" (Gilmore 72). Admittedly, Hester, who has lived with the stigma of committing adultery, and Dimmesdale, who has been admired as a young clergyman, are each in a different way so conspicuous a presence in this community that they are constantly watched by townspeople wherever they walk. It is because of the social system of the Puritans and the Colony of Massachusetts "where iniquity is dragged out into the sunshine" (*I* 54), that townspeople habitually monitored each other's conduct. Seemingly, Hawthorne has depicted a community that exchanged information visually in order to describe characters' inner emotions. By reading the text carefully, however, it seems to me that what he has elaborately described is a community which is being gradually transformed into one united entity by the power of Dimmesdale's voice. Then, we might wonder why his voice would be such an attractive one? But, in reality, that is not the case. In fact, his voice seems to be produced with a great difficulty whenever he speaks. In the next section, I would like to trace a characteristic of Dimmesdale's voice and its function in the market-place in the context of *The Scarlet Letter*.

2. "A Foul Organ-Pipe": Internal Discord between Dimmesdale's Voice and Body

In the narrator's description, "the young pastor's voice was tremulously sweet, rich, deep," but at the same time it is "broken" (*I* 49). It is "the feeling that it so evidently manifested" rather than "the direct purport of the words" that causes his voice "to vibrate within all hearts, and brought the listeners into one accord of sympathy" (*I* 49). It shows that even if the content of his speech has slipped off, he possesses a charismatic voice to attract his listeners. His eloquence delivered with his tremulous vocal sound stimulates every one of the multitude in the market-place simultaneously. In other words, his voice affects every soul of the listeners and unites their hearts at the same frequency in unison, regardless of his sin of adultery. Then, what is the nature of his voice, and what are its inherent characteristics? How does his vocal effect change through the lapse of time? I will explore what kind of approach Hawthorne takes when he depicts Dimmesdale's voice. Considering how Dimmesdale's disorder of his nerves has affected his body and voice, I will trace the inseparable relationship between body and voice and its effect on his audience.

During those seven years, his vocal disorder derived from mental anguish which has affected his physical condition. When their illegitimate child Pearl becomes old enough to speak and run around, and when the townspeople become accustomed to seeing the letter "A" on Hester's chest, Dimmesdale's health noticeably begins to fail. His body becomes frail and thin, "his voice, though still rich and sweet," becoming to indicate "a certain melancholy prophecy of decay in it" (*I* 120). His fellows who are anxious about his health discover not only has "his voice" become "more tremulous than before" (*I* 122), but they also recognize his peculiar gesture of putting his hand over his heart continually. Since he stands in the pulpit on every Sabbath, the community could observe the gradual transformation of his form as well as his voice over the years.

As for his conspicuous physical changes, Chillingworth who had been Hester's husband in Europe but is now accepted as a skillful physician in this community, observes Dimmesdale's condition closely. Chillingworth approaches him as if he is an empathetic psychological counselor, and succeeds in entering his patient's mind. As a result, a kind of interconnectedness is gradually grown between his body and soul. Chillingworth finally reaches his diagnosis that Dimmesdale's spirit and body are so intermingled that he should "disburden the secret" from his mind:

> "A bodily disease, which we look upon as whole and entire within itself, may, after all, be but a symptom of some ailment in the spiritual part. … You, sir, of all men whom I have known, are he whose body is the closest conjoined, and imbued, and identified, so to speak, with the spirit whereof it is the instrument." (*I* 136)

In his diagnosis, bodily illness shows spiritual disorder as a symptom, and Dimmesdale's frayed nerves strongly affects his bodily condition more than before. Here, I would like to pay attention to the way that Dimmesdale's "body" is rephrased as "the instrument" in Chillingworth's testimony. The term of "instrument" means an implement or an apparatus used for a particular purpose such as scientific or medical work, but in another sense, it signifies a tool for producing musical sounds, such as a piano or violin. Chillingworth's diagnosis for Dimmesdale's strange pathological condition, thus, could be analyzed in terms of musical resonance.

In a general way, when people let their voice out, especially in a case that there is no microphone nor loudspeaker, the body frame plays a significant role in producing sound. According to Christopher Looby, who examines the power of the spoken word during the American Revolution, since voicing is a physical performance, sometimes "voice embodied a certain legitimating charisma" (Looby 4) that printed books could not express.[43] He states that "linguists speak of those speech sounds in which the vocal chords are clenched and the larynx is thereby made to vibrate as *voiced* phonemes." On the other hand, he also points out that "those speech sounds that do not involve such vibration are called *breathed* or *unvoiced*" (Looby 4). In Dimmesdale's case, it seems that these breathed or unvoiced vibrations are more significant than the voiced words themselves, since his unvoiced vibration has attracted his audience. Dimmesdale tries to put his true message into his voice over and over, but his audience merely sympathizes with its sound, therefore in his speech there is a large discrepancy between what he intends to transmit and what the audience receives. In other words, his breath just before making sounds and air vibration emitted from his inner body affect his listeners' hearts as sound independent of the uttered content.

To describe Dimmesdale's discordant body, Hawthorne really employs a metaphor of the musical instrument of "an organ-pipe." He writes that "heaven should see fit to transmit the grand and solemn music of its oracles through so foul an organ-pipe as he" (*I* 225).[44] It is true that since musical instruments only give tones or sounds, they might have nothing to do with any verbalized languages. But when we focus our attention on the structure of the pipe organ, we may notice that it is a kind of wind instrument that needs to blow a blast into its interior. The configuration of the pipe organ has a similar mechanism to the human vocal organ when it produces sounds.

Walter J. Ong, who studies the power of orality, describes this unique relationship of sound toward interiority of making sounds:

> Sounds all register the interior structures of whatever it is that produces them. A violin filled with concrete will not sound like a normal violin. A saxophone sounds differently from a flute: it is structured differently inside. And above all, the human voice comes from inside the human organism which provide the voice's resonances. (Ong 71)

Here Ong emphasizes that sound would be produced depending on its "interior structures." Since the breathed and unvoiced vibration will produce the sound, the mechanism of the voice consists of resounding from their interior like a musical instrument. First, reverberating sound is produced within a human body, then it comes out from the closed room to the open space around them, and the space becomes infused with the sound of their voice by reverberating echo. As the sound is produced through this process, healthy interiority is essential for making sound whether it is a musical instrument or a human being.

Dimmesdale does not have such gentle harmony within his body because his secret is gnawing him inside. Even if his voice is gifted with the ability of "Tongues of Flame" (*I* 142), his mental condition contaminates his body.[45] His voice appears to have played grand and solemn music that succeeds in moving his listeners' hearts, yet his voice is produced from "a foul organ-pipe" (*I* 225) of his unharmonious interiority. Therefore, Dimmesdale's body organ is literally polluted with his secret that he has contained within himself, and his phonatory organ also badly infects his mental condition.

3. Power of Sympathy: Passport into Another Sphere, and Hester's Role

When we think about the relation constructed between Dimmesdale and his audience, why do people react especially to this young pastor's voice, rather than to other elder ministers or the governor who occupy high positions in the community? What kind of disposition do Dimmesdale and his people share? To answer these questions, we may now pause to consider the function of "sympathy" distributed in every space of this narrative, and Hester's attitude towards Dimmesdale considering her role in this narrative.

It is one of the well-known observations by Henry James that the terms "sphere" and "sympathy" which represent his vague ideas, frequently appear in Hawthorne's works (James, *Hawthorne* 95).[46] To borrow William Riley Manierre's phrase, "it [sympathy] serves on the level both of technique and of meaning" since it adds "connotative and denotative richness to a book already rich in suggestion, symbol, and ambivalence" (Manierre 507). In fact, the term appears as many as forty-one times (or excluding "The Custom-House" it counts as thirty-five times) in the text.[47] The origin of the word "sympathy" is derived from the Latin word "feeling to suffer." To recall the *OED* definition, it is "(real or supposed) affinity between certain things, by virtue of which they are similarly or correspondingly affected by the same influence, affect or influence on another, or attract or tend towards each other" (1.a.). This description can be divided into two parts: The first half provides for two people having the same disposition provoked by an outer stimulation: on the other hand, the latter half shows two persons having the same disposition internally attracted to each other. The concept of "affinity" itself implies natural personal attraction, which makes a certain relationship between things, or suggests the resemblance between them, which derived from the common origin. If we take these conditions into account, people who sympathize with each other would have the sameness or homogeneous elements that were being shared privately.

Another meaning of "sympathy" is "the fact or capacity of entering into or sharing the feeling of another or others" that is typified by "fellow-feeling" (3.b.). Actually, Hester is endowed with this capacity. Owing to the scarlet letter, she acquires the ability to penetrate others' minds, since it becomes "her passport into regions where other women dared not tread" (*I* 199). The affinity between Hester and the other women is transmitted by a physical vibration.

She feels a “throb of pain” (*I* 86), “a sympathetic throb” (*I* 87), and “the electric thrill” (*I* 87) from others through her red stigma, which enables her to tell “the hidden sin in other hearts.” Moreover, “the throb” tells her that not a few people are attracted by the symbol of the passion “A” unconsciously. These discoveries are analogous to what Goodman Brown found out in the nightly forest.[48] On the surface level, they have unconnected relations with Hester but on a deeper level, they sympathize mutually, that shows the townspeople have the same passionate disposition even if it has been well suppressed. Of course, what is rooted in their deeper minds has not been recognized by themselves at this time. Only Hester recognizes who has the sense of “sympathy” and who does not have it through her capacity.[49]

Hester Prynne, a woman that sees “the world’s law was no law for her mind” (*I* 164) has “a mind of native courage and activity” (*I* 199), and her long-isolated life from community endows her with “a freedom of speculation” (*I* 164). She has established the “estranged point of view at human institutions” and even criticizes them (*I* 199). Having that disposition, Hester seems to embody a nineteenth-century radical woman rather than a seventeenth-century colonial woman. Thomas Mitchell who studies the relationship between Margaret Fuller and Hawthorne asserts that “Fuller was at the heart of Hawthorne’s very conception of Hester” (Mitchell 133) and other critics also recognize that Fuller, who was a social reformer and a feminist, inspires Hawthorne to depict the figure of Hester as a woman with radical inclinations and ways of thinking.[50] While Hester harbors those subversive ideas within herself, she does not show them off to the community, but only infuses it into Dimmesdale. She has sensed the reverberation between Dimmesdale and the multitude's adaptability since she perceives both of them share a common sympathy.

In addition, only Dimmesdale possesses the exclusive disposition of a passionate nature that induced him to commit adultery. It seems that there is a strong relationship between "sympathy" and "passion" in this community. According to Chillingworth, Dimmesdale has inherited "a strong animal nature" (*I* 130) that is a rough, violent, and vivid temperament which might yield to impulse or passion. It might be expected that the reason why the multitude perceive mighty power within his voice lies in his young and impulsive disposition. Therefore, whenever Dimmesdale addresses his audience, they are attracted by his tremulous voice and feel strong sympathy with his voice, in which the influential "impulse" inheres in his passionate nature.

Klaus P. Hansen asserts "sympathy links all sinners and indeed all humanity together" by forming a community that Hawthorne calls "a brotherhood," that consists of "mutual understanding and compassion" (Hansen 60). By using the term and function of "sympathy," Hawthorne tries to construct a seemingly unstable and unambiguous but adhesive relation based on emotional connection between Dimmesdale and his audience by using his vocal resonance. They are united in "one accord of sympathy" (*I* 49) through the latency of sinfulness and vibrate together in pain. But not until the election sermon, which became his final public address, does each person recognize their own impulsive natures that are inherent within them.

Before advancing to the Election Day, we should clarify how and why Dimmesdale transforms himself into "another man" after the secret interview with Hester and Pearl in the forest. Discovering that Chillingworth is her husband, Dimmesdale becomes overwhelmed by the fact and feebly asks her to "Think for me … Resolve for me" and "Advise me what to do?" (*I* 196). Then she resolutely answers "Is the world then so narrow?" (*I* 197) and encourages him to "Up, and away!" (*I* 198) across the Atlantic Ocean and back to Europe. Not by exerting influence in a direct way in the seventeenth-century Puritan community, but by infusing him with her radical thought just as she had seduced him eight years before, Hester animates his suppressed passionate nature and maximizes his "sympathy" before the election sermon. Indeed, as if he had sold his soul to the fiend, "the infectious poison of that sin had been thus rapidly diffused throughout his moral system" (*I* 222), and for sure, he becomes "a wiser one; with a knowledge of hidden mysteries" (*I* 233).

Partaking of his supper, he puts the unfinished pages of the election sermon into the fire, and begins to rewrite a new one as if he has been inspired with "an impulsive flow of thought and emotion" (*I* 245) by Hester. Thus, as "the grand and solemn music of its oracles" which had been transmitted by his "foul an organ-pipe" (*I* 225), it is constructed from his emotional and passionate nature awakened by Hester, who is like a radical woman in the nineteenth-century.

4. Resonant Community: Assembling in the Market-Place in the Seventeenth Century

On the morning of the Election Day for a new governor, which is a New England Holiday, the ceremony is to be held at the meetinghouse in the market-place.[51] Stout explains that election day was the most important day of the year since the sermon reminded the inhabitants that "they were part of a larger experiment and mission" (Stout 29). Therefore, New Englanders "would keep the covenant alive" in themselves and "signify that fact on election day" (Stout 29). This sermon was limited to "a single day in the year" and was spoken "by only one minister" (Stout 29). Reverend Arthur Dimmesdale is appointed to deliver "the religious discourse of the anniversary" (*I* 238) on the election of John Endicott. In this section, I would like to analyze the final scenes of "The Procession" in Chapter XXII and "The Revelation of the Scarlet Letter" in Chapter XXIII in order to investigate how Dimmesdale's extraordinary voice affects the gathered people. Acknowledging the importance of the election sermon in the Puritan society, I will consider what kind of "change" had occurred in the market-place of Hawthorne's seventeenth-century story in *The Scarlet Letter*.

In seventeenth-century Puritan society, the election sermon, which began in 1634, had a special meaning to the community. According to Alan J. Silva, it was "a formal, annual religious oration" and served as "a testament to the social responsibilities of each Puritan in the commonwealth" (Silva 48). Silva states that the election sermons are a "public declaration of the New England Way" by using "the rhetorical design," which allows Puritans "to believe they have achieved consensus" because they all "appeal to the same language and they always seem to resolve their differences" (Silva 49). Thus, the minister who gives the election sermon requires a special capacity to create "consensus-building rhetoric" and "self-empowering strategy" through his imaginative power.

Following this tradition, Hawthorne describes Dimmesdale's profession in which "intellectual ability displayed itself far more than in political life" because his speech induces “the most worshipping respect of the community” that will lead to “win the most aspiring ambition into its service” (*I* 238). That position could also control the political power “as in the case of Increase Mather” who had preached as many as four times at the election sermons in the Massachusetts Bay Colony (*I* 238).[52]

Then, how is Dimmesdale’s sermon depicted when it is delivered to the people in this community? During his sermon, people are divided into two groups depending on their social status.[53] One group consists of the people of exalted status in the procession such as the military company, the men of civil eminence and magistrates. They are allowed to enter the meetinghouse and are able to listen to the sermon directly.[54] On the other hand, most of the townspeople and people who do not belong to this community like wild Indians and seafaring men remain in the market-place and listen to Dimmesdale’s voice leaking out from the meetinghouse. That moment when “the sacred edifice was too much thronged to admit another auditor” (*I* 242), and it is estimated that the meetinghouse is full of people, is just the same as when Stout suggests that a mere humble cabin transforms into a church by the power of a sermon with the voice of an ordained minister.

Undoubtedly, there is a large audience in the meetinghouse who witness and listen to his voice, yet meanwhile the people outside are left uninformed of the contents of his sermon. As Lawrence Buell points out, the narrative “make[s] sure to put the reader at a great distance” from Dimmesdale’s performance, and puts us “outside the church alongside Hester” who does not catch a word of it (Buell 78). Indeed, what Dimmesdale said is not written in the text using double quotation marks [“ ”] that would indicate the direct speech. It is only described by using speculative terms such as "his subject, it appeared, had been the relation between the Deity and the communities of mankind" (*I* 249) and on the glorious destiny of New England, that is a fairly standard topic on ceremonial occasions.[55] In spite of the large numbers assembled in the meetinghouse, his real voice is omitted or concealed from both the audience in the text and the readers of the text. Instead, there is a long and detailed analysis of Dimmesdale's voice that Hester has caught near the scaffold of the pillory:

> This vocal organ was itself a rich endowment; insomuch that a listener, comprehending nothing of the language in which the preacher spoke, *might still have been swayed to and fro by the mere tone and cadence*. Like all other music, it breathed passion and pathos, and emotions high or tender in a tongue native to the human heart, wherever educated. (*I* 243; emphasis added)

What Hester catches is not the words of the minister but the vibrancy of musical sound from his "vocal organ," that is "a tongue native to the human heart." That medium of communication does not consist of the semiotic relations between signifier and signified, but relies on the theory of "natural language" that is universally acceptable, that would "tear down all barriers between nations as well as social classes" (Hansen 61). His non-verbal signal, or impressive and inspirational musical effect stimulates all sorts of people at once, and shakes their bodies and souls like an audience at a concert. At this time, however, his "low undertone," which contains the soundless messages to beseech "its [his listeners'] sympathy or forgiveness" (*I* 243) echoes from the meetinghouse. This very "undertone" reverberates among the people both inside and outside the meetinghouse, and this reverberation causes a great transformation in his audience.

That process is achieved in a dynamic way by mixing the musical effect of resonance with the accompanying huge swelling of emotion. Just after finishing his “eloquent voice,” Hawthorne describes how there is a momentary silence as if they have heard “the utterance of oracles” (*I* 248). Then, one certain reaction occurs: “a murmur and half-hushed tumult” ensues following the silence in its closed space. People who have been once drawn into “the region of another’s [Dimmesdale’s] mind” are returning to themselves, and the accompanying “awe and wonder” in them impetuously “needed to other breath” (*I* 248) in order to make their own sound. So, the audience inside the room bursts into the market-place from the church doors and “their rapture broke into speech” (*I* 248).

From the street to the market-place, it is filled with their babbling, as those from inside mix with the people outside to applaud their minister. When Dimmesdale emerges from the meetinghouse, they greet him with “a shout” (*I* 250). Hawthorne describes this enthusiastic scene as follows:

> This … was felt to be an irrepressible outburst of the enthusiasm kindled in the auditors by that high strain of eloquence which was yet reverberating in their ears. *Each felt the impulse in himself, and, in the same breath, caught it from his neighbor*. Within the church, it had hardly been kept down; beneath the sky, it pealed upward to the zenith. (*I* 250; emphasis added)

Here, Dimmesdale’s resounding voice causes a sympathetic resonance involving all the people in the community gathered in the market-place. The influence of Dimmesdale is so strong that his eloquent speech controls the listeners' minds and sets them on fire. Under his resounding voice, the people feel a sameness within them and a sympathy toward others. This phenomenon among the mass mind is a good illustration of "the conformity of feeling" that the definition of "sympathy" suggests.[56]

The people, who have conformed their feeling through Dimmesdale's voice, finally begin to sympathize with their neighbors as to make a huge symphonious circle.

> There were human beings enough, and enough of highly wrought and symphonious feeling to produce that more impressive sound than the organ-tones of the blast, or the thunder, or the roar of the sea; even that mighty swell of many voices, blended into one great voice by the universal impulse which makes likewise one vast heart out of the many. (*I* 250)

It seems that the numbers of people assembled in the market-place function as a resonator. Unlike seven years before when Dimmesdale talked to Hester in this same market-place, and the audience remained silent, this time they react with their own voices, and their united voice gains a wide resonance within the public. When we go back to the original concept of the election sermon, it functions to resolve the audience's differences and to make a consensus by using a rhetoric of speech (Silva 49). In that sense, Dimmesdale's "rhetorical" voice erases the differences between his audience to become "blend[ed] into one great voice" (*I* 250).

Hawthorne emphasizes that "Never from the soil of New England, had gone up such a shout!" (*I* 250). This becomes the very moment when Resonant Community is constructed in the narrative of *The Scarlet Letter* for sure. It seems that the reaction of his people is somewhat analogous to the people described in "Endicott and the Red Cross," when Endicott tears the King's banner, and the people respond "with a cry of triumph" (*IX* 441). Both groups of people are stirred by and respond to their leader's performance with loud voices; however, one is an oppressive and even cruel governor, and the other is a highly intellectual but introspective and feeble young minister in Puritan society. In fact, because when Endicott cuts the cross from the banner of England and there are some critical voices to his frenzied action, it is impossible to equate Dimmesdale's eloquence with Endicott's performance. Hawthorne reuses the material from "Endicott and the Red Cross" and adapts it to *The Scarlet Letter*, and depicts one similar reaction to their leaders, but one which brings about a different ending.

5. An Erased Governor and Emergence of a Nation

I wonder if the excessive reactions of the audience in *The Scarlet Letter* are really in accordance with the solemn and rigid congregations in the seventeenth century? Michael Davitt Bell points out that the crowd that celebrates Dimmesdale seems "less a seventeenth-century congregation than a nineteenth-century mob" (Bell 142) who greets him with a tremendous shout. If we accept Bell's remark, Hawthorne desires to produce, or literally gives birth to "one psychologically crowd" at this very moment by describing "a shout" as an initial cry of this community to move to their future toward the eighteenth century.

If Hawthorne infuses his contemporary perspective into the seventeenth-century narrative, it would be helpful to employ the nineteenth-century psychologist Gustave Le Bon's knowledge. According to his theory, in the ordinary sense "crowd" means only a varied assortment of people gathered together. However, from a psychological point of view, the transfigured type of "crowd" assumes a completely different signification. Under certain given circumstances, when outer influential stimulation is effected on them, "an agglomeration of men presents new characteristics" that is very different from "those of the individuals composing it." In this case, "their conscious personality vanishes" and "a collective mind is formed," though it might be just temporary but "presenting very clearly defined characteristics" (Le Bon 23-24).

In *The Scarlet Letter*, this outer influence is doubtlessly Dimmesdale's eloquent voice, which is evoked by Hester and infused with her radical attitude, that produces a power to vibrate all the listeners and bring "one accord of sympathy" (*I* 49). We should remember that the minister's mission for the election sermon in the seventeenth century is "to resolve their [audience's] differences," that is, by assimilating their dissent and making consensus by using his rhetoric (Silva 49). In Dimmesdale's case, we could not hear his rhetoric by his use of language, but his "eloquence" makes his listeners conform to him. At this moment, not the spoken words but his passionate voice stimulates the audience's unconsciousness and his low undertone evokes their suppressed impulses, and accordingly their homogeneous quality emerges.[57] Therefore, his voice composes the psychologically united group, or "crowd," to borrow Le Bon's term, in the Puritan community for the first time.

Then, why does Hawthorne need to create a united crowd in the seventeenth-century narrative? Their mission is written in the last scene; one more significant change has occurred in the market-place. Just after confessing his sin ambiguously, Dimmesdale suddenly dies on the pillory, finishing his life. Immediately after that, people begin to let their voice out as if they react to Dimmesdale's last words, or to be more accurate, they show the sign to verbalize their own words in the near future:

> That final word came forth with the minister's expiring breath. The multitude, silent till then, broke out in a strange, deep voice of awe and wonder, which could not as yet find utterance, save in this murmur that rolled so heavily after departed spirit. (*I* 257)

Considering that this is the last scene narrated in the frame of the seventeenth-century rigid Puritan community, it is worth noting that the last voice which leaked out is none other than the crowd in the market-place. As "murmur" is "subdued continuously repeated sound," it must be an almost inaudible utterance in a public space; however, it surely contains the sign of transforming spoken words. The voice of Dimmesdale is not described in verbalized words, but those people who are left behind hold a potentiality to articulate their own sound into the spoken language. Then, where do they head to and what kind of anxiety is depicted behind their "murmur"?

In order to contemplate this last question, I would like to draw attention to the terms used when Hawthorne indicates the community. In the above quotation, he uses "the multitude" to suggest people gathering in the market-place. He also employs "the people" many times, but exceptionally he puts "a nation" (*I* 229, 230) to indicate a community of people in Chapter XXI "The New England Holiday." One such use is made by Hester to Pearl in order to explain the day's event:

> For, to-day, a new man is beginning to rule over them; and so—as has been the custom of mankind ever since *a nation* was first gathered—they make merry and rejoice; as if a good and golden year were at length to pass over the poor old world! (*I* 229; emphasis added)

"To-day" is the day "on which the new Governor was to receive his office at the hands of the people" (*I* 226), meaning that the people admit and accept him as a "rule[r] over them." As the second use of "a nation" is also within the context of the majestic ceremonies (*I* 230), it seems that the term "a nation" is deeply connected to the event of the election of New Governor when Hawthorne uses it. At the same time, the term "nation" reminds me of Benedict Anderson's interpretation of nation, that is "an imagined political community" (Anderson 6). He points out that a nation is experienced as a collective imagining which is an active creation of the community of citizens. To become "a nation," therefore, they need a political space where they can share and integrate their philosophy and imagine a spatial continuity with others. According to Hardt and Negri of the twenty-first-century point of view, "the nation sustains the concept of sovereignty by claiming to precede it" and the nation is "the material engine that courses throughout history" (Hardt and Negri 101). Thus, whether Hawthorne uses "a nation" consciously or unconsciously, "a nation" contains a strong will to move into political action.

In the narrative of *The Scarlet Letter*, Hawthorne just mentions "the Governor" (*I* 250), and does not provide his name in the text. Why does Hawthorne dare to conceal his name in his narrative? Based on the historical facts, after John Winthrop's sudden death, John Endicott took over the position.[58] John Endicott is regarded as one of the Fathers of New England as well as being notorious as a zealous and intolerant Puritan, who had persecuted Quakers and destroyed the Pequot tribe in the Pequot War in 1636. In "The Gentle Boy," Hawthorne explains his personality as "a man of narrow mind and imperfect education" and "his uncompromising bigotry was made hot and mischievous by violent and hasty passion" (*IX* 69). Hawthorne does not consider him a suitable man for the head of this new government. In order to show the resistance toward a new era ruled by this man, we could consider that Hawthorne omitted his name in the text, and put forward the psychologically united people by Dimmesdale's voice. Instead of him, Hawthorne conceives the emergence of "a nation" who has taken the initiative to carve out their new era.

What Dimmesdale in the seventeenth-century Puritan community could not achieve at that time is speaking out such a clear image of constructing their own nation separated from the fatherland. Hawthorne seems to tactically leave a possibility to set for future historical events in his text by writing about the emotional relationship between Dimmesdale and his crowd of sharing his passionate nature in the narrative in "the period of hardly accomplished revolution, and still seething turmoil" (*I* 43).

In order that persons of high position can share their unverbalized "shout" (*I* 250) with people who are outside of meetinghouse, they have to go outside. In the open space, the audience inside of the meeting house and outside of it mingled their shouts to produce one integrated "shout," which shows a critical sign that each of them harbors the same passion for moving toward political action in the near future.

Therefore, the market-place functions as the place where each person's mind is connected to their neighbors through Dimmesdale's voice and transformed into one psychologically united group of "a nation" who are heading to construct their new Nation. In Hawthorne's Romance, people's voices seem to be ready to verbalize their own words towards the Revolution.

6. An Imagined History: The Relay of Testimony Constructs a Retold-Narrative

In this final section, I would like to trace how Hawthorne leaves the possibility to ignite a Revolutionary War by the crowd, and creates a sense of verisimilitude with his narratives. When we read *The Scarlet Letter,* we should be conscious that there are two centuries' difference in time between when Hawthorne wrote and what he wrote about. However, as Bell suggests, the crowd that Hawthorne depicted is more like a nineteenth-century mob than a seventeenth-century congregation (Bell 142), which seems a kind of anachronistic confusion of different periods of time. Of course, as this is a Romance that could present the truth under circumstances of "the writer's own choosing or creation" (*II* 1), it might be free to infuse nineteenth-century elements into a seventeenth-century narrative. But when we go back to re-read and examine the narrative tone of "The Custom-House," the long autobiographical introductory essay for *The Scarlet Letter,* it not only presents the material facts in connection with the romance that follows, but also it may suggest how those two narrative parts fit together to create one whole historical narrative with a duration of two centuries.

As soon as "The Custom-House" starts, the narrator who is the persona of Hawthorne shows "how a large portion of the following pages came into my possession" and declares he will offer the "proofs of the authenticity of a narrative therein contained" (*I* 4). In the view of Nina Baym, "the retreat from the ground floor to the upper story of the custom-house signifies Hawthorne's withdrawal from external reality into the private reality of his own mind" (Baym, "Romantic" 16). On the second floor of the imagined Custom-House, the narrator finds two historical artifacts: one is a rag of scarlet cloth in the shape of the capital letter A, and the other is a document of Mr. Surveyor Pue. Those two items are, of course, Hawthorne's own creations for his narrative plot. But this imaginary experience in the Custom-House builds on the text of "The Custom-House" to serve as a production resource to connect Hester's seventeenth-century story to Hawthorne's time. Using John Carlos Rowe's phrase, "on the second floor of the Custom-House, one confronts the letter of the past and projects it into the future" (Rowe, *Custom-House* 195). In this last section, through investigating Pue's document and the narrative space of "The Custom-House" as a meaning-making space, I will consider how individual private testimony survives to construct the public memory in *The Scarlet Letter*.

First, what the narrator emphasized is the status that Pue's document possessed. He says that the document is "not official, but of a private nature," and at least, it is "written in his private capacity, and apparently with his own hand" (*I* 30). Under its secured privacy, he describes it as historical lost property:

> I could account for their being included in the heap of Custom-House lumber only by the fact that Mr. Pue's death had happened suddenly; and that these papers, which he probably kept in his official desk, had never come to the knowledge of his heirs, or were supposed to relate to the business of the revenue. On the transfer of the archives to Halifax, this

> package, proving to be of no public concern, was left behind, and had remained ever since unopened. (*I* 30)

Pue's private document had remained as an unopened package and had been placed in the Custom-House. According to *Annals of Salem, from Its First Settlement*, in which it is written that Jonathan Pue was "surveyor and searcher of this Port and Marb" (Felt 455), and died suddenly on March 24, 1760, he is proved to be a historical figure.[59] Considering that his manuscript has not been transferred to Halifax, it is presumable that his private document was written before the War of Independence [1775-83] and survives to the later period.[60]

However, it is absolutely impossible for Hester who "had flourished during a period between the early days of Massachusetts and the close of the seventeenth century" (*I* 32) to have been interviewed by surveyor Pue who lived in the eighteenth century. The tale of Hester is set during the seven years between 1642 and 1649 [Chapter I to XXIII]. If I make a hypothesis that the time when the aged Hester came back to Boston was at the end of the seventeenth century, it is estimated that Hester had lived as long as seventy to eighty years. I could not trace Pue's exact date of birth, but considering that he died in 1760, it can be calculated that he was born at the end of the seventeenth century or early eighteenth century. He seems to have been born after Hester's death. In any case, Pue must have been too young to have conducted an interview with Hester. There is a time gap of about one generation. How did he come to know Hester Prynne's story? In order to bridge one generation gap and to depict the vivid figure of Hester, what Hawthorne employs is the voice of witnesses who had seen her when she was still alive.

In Pue's manuscript, a significant fact is contained: "aged persons" alive in the time of Mr. Surveyor Pue, and "from whose oral testimony he had made up his narrative, remembered her, in their youth, as a very old, but not decrepit woman, of a stately and solemn aspect" (*I* 32). This information lets us know that Pue interviewed aged townspeople who had met old Hester when they were still young, and Pue preserved their testimonies in a written style on a few sheets of yellow parchment during his tenure of office. Thus, Pue's manuscript consists of interviews with the most aged citizens of pre-Revolutionary Salem. And this private document fulfills the role of connecting Hester's history to Hawthorne's time.[61] As Alfred Weber states, "the framing story of the discovery and the retelling of an old manuscript connect two historical distinct periods" and this narrative technique also permits that "past and legendary events of the old colony are raised into the light and consciousness of the present" (Weber 7). By bringing Pue's manuscript into the narrative space of "The Custom-House," Hawthorne succeeds in establishing temporal continuity and sending Hester's Puritan colonial story to the contemporary readers of the nineteenth century.

Furthermore, in order to add authority to Pue's manuscript for speaking of early American history, the narrator has erased every trace of historical documents before the War of Independence by saying, "prior to the Revolution, there is a dearth of records" (*I* 29). It is surely a short and subtle sentence, but it paradoxically trims off the colonial history and undercuts the other authorities' remarks except for about Hester's story. Why did the official history have to be erased from his text? Quoting Jane Donahue Eberwin's shrewd analysis, "as colonial records had been carried off to Halifax during the Revolution" it suggests that "official papers stored in the Custom-House dated from the 1780s at the earliest—a maximum period of seven years" (Eberwein 240). Thus, Hawthorne's device endows the following story of *The Scarlet Letter* with the authority of people's oral testimony.

Lauren Berlant also posits that "the Revolution is seen conventionally as the historical fulfillment of the providential promise to unite the political and utopian in the nation" (Berlant 164). As for Hawthorne putting the loss of the Puritan archive in his narrative, Berlant affirms that "the records of 'our' Puritan heritage, of the law's efficacy and its trial, come mainly from nonofficial sources like custom, oral history, and journals" (Berlant 164). And, Americans are forced to "glean prenational American history" from "distorted memories of individuals and traditions of 'folk' history" (Berlant 164). Unlike what is known as the official history, that is sometimes feasibly edited and defined under some authorities, the source of the national memory within Pue's document consists of private oral testimonies that have shifted from one spatiotemporal time to the next era through the resonance of their voices. Using those "nonofficial sources" that consist of unofficial memories leaked from the historical discourse such as "oral history" and "journals," Hawthorne imagines another version of history and tries to give birth to a nation in his own narrative.

It is also notable that the narrator of "The Custom-House" reappears in the text in the last Chapter named "Conclusion" and adds his voice again. He says when "time sufficed for the people to arrange their thoughts" there were "more than one account of what had been witnessed on the scaffold" (*I* 258). The narrator introduces various reactions of the crowd to Dimmesdale's revelation such as "most of the spectators testified" there was the letter on his breast, but "certain persons denied" there was any mark on his breast (*I* 258). Declining to give a direct comment on them, the narrator makes reference to Pue's manuscript and represents its authority once again:

> The authority which we have chiefly followed—a manuscript of old date, drawn up from the verbal testimony of individuals, some of whom had known Hester Prynne, while others had heard the tale from contemporary witnesses—fully confirms the view taken in the foregoing pages. (*I* 259-60)

If the narrator tells the story retrospectively employing various memories and testimonies from those witnesses, it may be reasonable that there are diverse opinions left in the text to be interpreted by different ages. However, how do we construe the "authority" that he depends on?

As we have explored, Hawthorne reuses his local historical sources such as Felt's records as urtexts.[62] Adding to these historical facts, he creates Surveyor Pue's manuscripts and pretends as if all his narrative was coming from Pue's document that consisted of testimonies from the Puritan community. Hawthorne presents a half-fictive genetic account of the origin of his historical narrative. To recall the creation process of this work, the narrator clearly states that "the facts had been entirely of my own invention," therefore what he used from Pue's material is "the authenticity of the outline" (*I* 33). This method means none other than his Romance style. Therefore, by pretending to retell the oral testimonies of those who lived in the seventeenth century, first in Pue's manuscript from the eighteenth century, and secondly in the text of *The Scarlet Letter* in the nineteenth century, Hawthorne constructs another version of the Puritan community in his imagined history.

Stanly Brodwin indicates that Hawthorne had recognized the problem that history lacks existential meaning or authority, and "this authority is best conveyed, ironically, through romantic art of the shaping force of the creative imagination" (Brodwin 117). As we remember, the fact is that what the old Surveyor Pue recorded is "the life and conversation of one Hester Prynne" (*I* 32), and there is no reference to "the Reverend Master Dimmesdale" in his manuscript, or at least the narrator does not mention about him in "The Custom-House" section. In the story of *The Scarlet Letter*, however, Hawthorne creates the plot in which Dimmesdale's voice reverberates combining with the most significant event of the election sermon in the Puritan community in his narrative space, and makes people sympathize with his passionate sin, which achieves in uniting the multitude as "a nation" in the market-place.

Hawthorne tries to imagine that the past of his ancestors from Europe is firmly rooted in the individual memories in the community. It might be apart from the official record written by authorities based on the dry facts, but the private voice and memory shared within the community that had been relayed by each generation had survived to nineteenth-century America.[63] In this way Hawthorne imagines a history originating in folk memories of the colonial period and endows them with the power to proceed to their independence from the fatherland.

Chapter 4

Fixing the "Original" in the Dead Men's House: Thinking Security in *The House of the Seven Gables* through Daguerreotype

1. Belatedness of Representation

Before the invention of visual technology like photography, visual images captured by the human eye were mainly described in language and drawings. Representing the optical information which our eyes perceive was passed down by word of mouth, or put down on paper manually. Thus, in order to explain what was recognized visually, people did not have any option but to rely on verbal descriptions or hand-drawn pictures. It is in the nineteenth century that optical technology first emerged in the world to capture images and to represent what we see as it really is.

Nathaniel Hawthorne's second full-length novel *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851) deeply entwines the two types of visual representation with the past: The painted portrait and daguerreotype are deeply connected to the collective memory and family history. What kind of properties does this new technology of "daguerreotype" offer? First, we should see how it was regarded in the nineteenth century.

Daguerreotype was invented by Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, who succeeded in fixing an image on a plate, which created an immediate sensation around the world on August 19, 1839.[64] Different from photographic paper, a daguerreotype is made by exposure to light and fixing a unique image on a silvered copper plate. So, it has a mirror-like surface, and is an accurate, detailed, sharp, and really fragile picture. When it arrived on the American shores in the same year, Edgar Allan Poe admired this technology, saying that "the Daguerreotyped plate is infinitely (we use the term advisedly) is *infinite*ly more accurate in its representation than any painting by human hands" (Poe 38) in his first article on photography. Hawthorne also referred to the Daguerreotype in his letter to Sophia as early as on December 11, 1839, wishing that this new instrument would have some intellectual ability to print off humans' deepest or subtlest thoughts and feelings "minutely and accurately."[65] As both Poe and Hawthorne use the term "accuracy," its faithful representation of reality is one of the conspicuous features of this new technology, which made people attracted to the daguerreotype all the more and increased their desire to have their portraits taken.[66]

Of course, photography is the art of producing images by light on a material surface, and its function is to make a copy of original. In that sense, we can say that the images taken by daguerreotype have a quality of "twice-told" tales: the first is the original figure, and the second is the copied picture, which has a chance to be "narrated or related twice." Furthermore, with its unique direct-positive process, the most prominent characteristic of daguerreotype is the created image on a sheet of plate without generating a negative. Thus, a positive image created by a daguerreotype cannot be reproduced, as each daguerreotype is a unique image on a plate.[67]

Since fixing an image on a plate means fixing a certain moment onto the plate, there is a connection between the process of making accurate images and the concept of time. As long as the photograph represents the real object faithfully and accurately, we cannot negate the time factor of the subject's presence at a certain time or moment there, as that single moment is fixed on the plate. Thus, caught in a photograph ensures "the fact that this object has indeed existed and that it has been there where I see it" (Barthes 115), and whoever sees that picture feels continually lured back to the point of time in which the photo was taken. Whether it was taken one hundred years ago or five minutes before, it has the same concept that the figure taken in the photo is separated from the referent or the original fixed on a plate or paper. That means the subject which had once been there or did exist always emerges behind the referent itself.

Andreas Huyssen connects this photographic gap of time with the process of making memory through its "belatedness":

> It does not require much theoretical sophistication to see that all representation—whether in language, narrative, image, or recorded sound—is based on memory. *Re*-presentation always comes after, even though some media will try to provide us with the delusion of pure presence. But rather than leading us to some authentic origin or giving us verifiable access to the real, memory, even and especially in its belatedness, is itself based on representation. *The past is not simply there in memory, but it must be articulated to become memory*. (Huyssen 2-3; emphasis added)

Once an object is taken by the external medium, the representation or the produced object inevitably arrives after its actual presence, then people recognize and accept it as an undoubtable real, or an authentic past. Then, to make them become one's memory—both in private or public, "it must be articulated" by someone or some society. Through this recognition process, our memory is constructed steadily over time. Thus, desire of "seeing" the photo induces the act of "reading" at the same time, and when interpreted from the social or cultural context, it may have the possibility to expand into one common memory, or national history. As the subject appears behind its object, the process of representation always accompanies a delay of time.

Hawthorne provides visual images to decipher the history of two families. Holgrave, a descendant of Matthew Maule, mainly undertakes this role. The narrative plot of *The House of the Seven Gables* stems from the conflict triggered by the Pyncheon and the Maule families over an estate in the seventeenth century. This background is narrated in the first chapter before opening the nineteenth-century narrative, and reveals that the incident coincided with the Salem witchcraft panic of 1692. After depriving Matthew Maule of his shabby cottage at the foot of the peninsula and executing him for the crime of witchcraft, Colonel Pyncheon erects "a family-mansion" to "endure for many generations of his posterity—over the spot" (*II* 9). It is said that Maule shouted at the point of his death, "God will give him blood to drink!" (*II* 8). Since then, this curse or unfavorable inheritance has clung to future generations and is used as the "urtext" between those two families.

Holgrave employs the modern technique of daguerreotype as an instrument to uncover the shadowed connection between his forefathers and the Pyncheon family. As Susan Sontag points out, "photography provides a unique system of disclosures: that it shows us reality as we had not seen it before" (Sontag 119), Holgrave's daguerreotypes re-present other aspects of reality that are unfamiliar to people of that time, and fixes them on a plate so that beholders can inspect them from every possible angle. If daguerreotype can "disclose only a more absolute truth, a more perfect identity of aspect with the thing represented" (Poe 2) as pointed by Poe, then, how does it acquire its role in the literary fields that consist of only written language?

It is true that as Megan Rowley Williams argued, "photography raises numerous metarepresentational questions about the relationship between visual and written media" (Williams 15). Megan Rowley Williams asserts, "on a literal level, the daguerreotype speaks louder than words and endangers the role of the literary author" (Megan R. Williams 17). I agree with Susan S. Williams's point of view that "words and images, then, frequently merge in this work, as a writer becomes a daguerreotypist and a portrait covers a written deed" (Susan S. Williams 222). Therefore, words and images are so deeply "merged" in this work that it should be considered a mutual effect on the narrative discourse.[68]

In the narrative, Hawthorne attempts to connect this long gap of time using two items: traditional lore like chimney-corner legends and one painted portrait. He asserts, "no written record of this dispute is known to be in existence" and renders the narrative power to the collective memory by confessing that "our acquaintance with the whole subject is derived chiefly from tradition" (*II* 7).[69] Thus, based on traditional lore as a fictional urtext in the time of the Salem witch trial, especially between the Pyncheon and Maule families, Hawthorne constructs his narrative that takes place in his contemporary period.

In this chapter, I shall examine how Holgrave's daguerreotypes re-present the present-past relation visually in a language-centered narrative for settling the long-lasting family issue concerning the real estate and the ancestors. By focusing on two types of representation of the original, both the visual and linguistic, I would like to demonstrate how the ominous representation of the "original" Pyncheon had survived and affected his descendants. At the same time, I would like to elucidate the function of daguerreotype by analyzing the way of disclosure of "Judge Pyncheon's dead body" fixed on the plate by Holgrave, and try to trace how it connects to a symbolic "dead" confined in the House for over one hundred and fifty years. Then, by decoding the meaning of "security" and focusing on the sanitary problem in nineteenth-century America, I would like to reconsider the reason why all the characters had to leave the Pyncheon House at the end of the story.

2. Transgressive "Original" Figure and Copied Daguerreotypes

Once someone is photographed, it provides the evidence that the actual subject once existed. This subject becomes the "original" of the photographed pictures. In *The House of the Seven Gables*, the term "original" appears in the text accompanied by two meanings: one is to signify the subject of the portrait, and the other is to indicate the earliest figure of "the original founder" (*II* 19) of the mansion, Colonel Pyncheon, who had been there in the seventeenth century. These two kinds of "original," the founder of the Pyncheon family as well as the subject of the portrait, make an appearance as one merged referent: the old ancestral oil painting hanging on the wall in the House. This portrait survives through the narrative up to the nineteenth century.[70] In the first chapter, which serves as a prologue before entering the nineteenth-century story, the narrator tells us of the critical moment when the original founder Pyncheon of the seventeenth century symbolically accords to his portrayed picture. That is Colonel Pyncheon's sudden death. The "original" Colonel

Pyncheon changes from his physical presence to his portrait, after which it survives as an original symbol and keeps living through generations in the Pyncheon house. In this section, I would like to focus on two types of visual representations of the portraits and explore the function of modern technology of daguerreotype to decipher the original surviving figure and its role in this narrative.

On the unveiling ceremony day of his mansion, he is found dead in his study under the condition described as "a portrait of Colonel Pyncheon, beneath which sat the original Colonel himself" (*H* 15) in an oaken elbow-chair. Since this scene talks about the picture and its object, the term "original" used here may indicate the subject of the portrait of the Colonel. However, this "original" seems also to mean the first family lineage that appeared in this story, because he is the original founder of this mansion. At this moment, the copied picture figuratively identified with the original, as if covered with a pealed-off-sticker put back in its original position again. Colonel Pyncheon had died and disappeared from sight. Then, his portrait took the position of the original substance that had been signified in the pictorial record of Pyncheon, which then survives successive generations as an independent object accompanied with the label of "original" visual image. Thus, the reason why this portrait has threatened its beholders is not only because of a tradition which has been passed down but also due to the enigmatic fear that this portrait evoked such as the "Return of the Dead."

Cathy N. Davidson points out that "viewing old photographs, old portraiture, is thus always unsettling—the "Return of the Dead" as a photocentric zombiism, with the restless undead aroused and sometimes …

arousing" (Davidson 672). The sense of the dead returning evoked by a photo is attributed to its strange characteristic that even though they no longer exist, they put on their living faces still now. Susan S. Williams also employs the phrase "return of the dead" adding the word "uncanny." She suggests that the Colonel's portrait promotes his self-multiplication by its way of representation and by the life-like figure transmitted to his descendant Judge Jaffrey Pyncheon:

> Yet Hawthorne's portraits do repeat themselves in *an uncanny return of the dead*. The portrait of Colonel Pyncheon, which hangs in the parlor in which he died, both prolongs the scene of death and gives the dead man a continuing presence. It also has reproductive power of its own: it has a walking replica in Judge Pyncheon, who "would have made a good and massive portrait" (*II* 57). … Here Jaffrey becomes an image; the copy (portrait) of the ancestor assumes an originary power that can produce its own copies (Susan S. Williams 225; emphasis added).

Since his portrait is kept affixed to the wall in the parlor in accordance with his will, the townspeople can visually compare their contemporary representative of the Judge to the original Colonel. His enduring image has penetrated so vividly into this community that every time "this representative of hereditary qualities" had emerged on his descendants' appearance, people could put its figure over the original one, or even replace its position, whispering, "Here is the old Pyncheon come again!" (*II* 20). Thus, the identification of those two transcendental figures could be connected by one visual code, and occasionally his descendant having a similar appearance takes over as a replacement of the position. This newest figure of re-presentation also undertakes the potential for producing the next copy. This also means that no matter how many new Pyncheons are reproduced, their appearance would visually identify with the original figure and the beholders would find him in the "original" position in their society. As Susan S. Williams points out, thus, the townspeople recognize "an uncanny return of the dead" in their contemporary Pyncheon.

Kept hanging in the House of the Seven Gables, the Colonel's portrait survives through the years and controls the people in later generations with his everlasting impact. In fact, Hepzibah's brother Clifford refuses to look at that portrait because "it was the evil genius" (*II* 111) and asks her to take it down or cover it with a curtain. Since the visualized features in the portrait have been transmitted to the newest Pyncheon, seeing the Colonel's portrait reminds him clearly of cousin Jaffrey. Also, when Hepzibah gazes at the portrait, "the face of the picture enabled her—at least, she fancied so—to read more accurately, and to a greater depth" (*II* 59) to find the close resemblance to Jaffrey Pyncheon. The portrait of Colonel Pyncheon thus lives through the family in a sustained manner, and his haunting effect enforces its evil power on the viewers because the local community could identify the Judge as a living copy of the original Pyncheon.

It is Holgrave's daguerreotypes that expose a visual accordance in a vivid way. In the text, two daguerreotypes of the Judge are presented: the first is his living face, and the second is his dead one. Rather than the descriptive parts, the information about their resemblance is mainly transferred by the voice of Phoebe, who is Hepzibah's young cousin helping in her cent-shop. Before meeting the original Judge Pyncheon, Holgrave shows her a daguerreotype miniature of the living Judge in order to "have your [her] judgment on this [its] character" (*II* 91). Instead of seeing the real Judge, she sees the copied figure first—which is not the normal chronological order—before seeing his real presence. This experience in the reversed order leads her to misinterpret or "misjudge" the Judge as the Colonel:

> "I know the face," she replied; "for its stern eye has been following me about, all day. It is my Puritan ancestor, who hangs yonder in the parlor. To be sure, you have found some way of copying the portrait without its black velvet cap and gray beard, and have given him a modern coat and satin cravat, instead of his cloak and band. I don't think him improved by your alteration." (*II* 92)

From just a glance at the daguerreotype, what she recognizes on its surface is not the Judge she has never seen before but the Colonel who is already registered in her memory. She assumes that the clothes which the figure wears have somehow been changed in its copied photograph. As for alteration of photography, this became possible only after the introduction of the development of negatives in the 1850s, when photographers could touch up negatives directly, which allowed them to modify images to a certain degree.[71] But a daguerreotype, since the image is directly fixed on a plate, does not have a negative but only a positive, so this unique characteristic would clearly negate Phoebe's last remark. Her misinterpretation becomes all the more effective to highlight the close resemblance or the sameness between the two figures.

Phoebe's remark not only reveals their external resemblance but also their internal natures. When Phoebe shows her disfavor of the daguerreotype because of its "hard and stern" features, Holgrave responds that "the originals are so" (*II* 91). Of course, the term of "the originals" uttered by Holgrave here is intended to signify the subjects of the pictures. At the same time, his remark implies the possibility that the original figures have such a heartless personality as well. If we translate their remarks in this way, Phoebe's misinterpretation has been caused both by external identification of the Colonel and the Judge and the unmerciful personalities that their appearances signify. Indeed, Phoebe makes a misjudgment, but it can be said that Holgrave induces her to articulate so by presenting the Judge's photo capturing his unfavorable aspect. With their communal readings, her utterance of "it is my Puritan ancestor," fixes the floating original Colonel Pyncheon's image upon the silver-coppered plate of the Judge's daguerreotype and produces the one and only superimposed "original" image on the text which readers can read.

It is Holgrave who realizes the two figures' similarity and tries to convert a mere image into a tangible form. He is the remaining survivor of Maule and inherits what they call "the witchcraft of Maule's eye" (*II* 189) or an "Evil Eye" (*II* 190) to mesmerize others. Not abusing this genetically transmitted power for a malevolent purpose, but transforming it into the modern techniques of daguerreotype, he succeeds in transfixing the Judge's concealed character on the plates. In fact, he testifies that his motivation behind this interest is "to look on, to analyze, to explain matters to myself, and to comprehend the drama which, for almost two hundred years" (*II* 216) has hung over this shady land. Considering his attitude and his intention, it could be rephrased as his photography and occupation providing "a unique system of disclosures," which "shows us reality as we had *not* seen it before," as Sontag states (Sontag 119).

Holgrave performs this role by transforming the camera with his endowed eyes and succeeds in transfixing the Judge's moving entity, and finally visualizes his real nature on the plate. It is the Judge's hard and imperious character that has been transmitted by the original figure, which other people only sense vaguely but could not visualize clearly until then. Bringing the modern technology into the narrative, Holgrave's daguerreotype discloses the hereditary characteristic of the Pyncheon family and reveals this fact to the world with the help of Phoebe's voice.

3. The House Confining the Dead Men Built over an "Unquiet Grave"

As the mansion is built over the "unquiet grave" (*II* 9) of Matthew Maule, and Colonel Pyncheon is said to have died in his private room by the curse of Maule, this house is filled with the odor of death; or it could be said that "Dead Men" are affecting the house and the people who live in it. Holgrave, who calls this historical mansion one of the "Dead Men's houses," bitterly confesses that they are slaves of "by-gone times" or "Death" (*II* 183). He explains the current condition to Phoebe by using the metaphor of "a Dead Man" and "Dead Men" repeatedly:

> "For example, then," continued Holgrave, "a Dead Man, if he happen to have made a will, disposes of wealth no longer his own; or, if he die intestate, it is distributed in accordance with the notion of men much longer dead than he. A Dead Man sits on all our judgment-seats; and living judges do but search out and repeat his decisions. We read in Dead Men's books! We laugh at Dead Men's jokes, and cry at Dead Men's pathos. … We worship the living Deity, according to Dead Men's forms and creeds!

> Whatever we seek to do, of our own free motion, a Dead Man's icy hand obstructs us! Turn our eyes to what point we may, a Dead Man's white, immitigable face encounters them, and freezes our very heart!" (*II* 183)

In the above quotation, "a Dead Man" and "Dead Men" may appear to be used randomly, yet Holgrave employs these two terms differently. Both represent the Past, but analyzing his usage of each word, the plural "Dead Men" suggests anonymous dead in a general sense who have established laws and customs long ago which present people have to obey. On the other hand, "a Dead Man" indicates the specific person who has died leaving his influential power to his descendants: the original founder Colonel Pyncheon. Even today, his last will controls "living judges" to "repeat his decisions."

Therefore, Holgrave's lament of "Shall we never, never, get rid of this Past?" that lies upon "the Present like a giant's dead body" (*II* 182) asserts that present people are never able to free themselves from the Past. In order to unburden what has been passed on from the past generations is, Holgrave suggests, "to be decently buried" (*II* 182-83) by placing their bodies in the burial ground. It is true that the dead have already passed away and disappeared physically from the earth; then, how should we treat the rhetoric of "a Dead Man" who still survives and affects the living?

In the previous section, we find out that the external and internal traits of the original Pyncheon are almost captured in the Judge's daguerreotype as if the original figure has achieved eternal life. As Susan S. Williams points out that "life and death are not stable categories here but continually coalesce and transform one another in the various permutations of the portraits" (227), the reason why people are so embarrassed by the Judge would be summarized as the images of Pyncheon who has survived in their community. By re-emphasizing and re-affirming the resemblance between the Colonel and the Judge, Holgrave identifies "a Dead Man" with "the original perpetrator and father of this mischief" and this Dead Man "appears to have perpetuated himself, and still walks the street—at least, his very image, in mind and body" (*II* 185). Here, Holgrave clearly declares the original image is surely duplicated into the present Judge, and finally Judge Pyncheon succeeds in becoming "a living replica of the ancestral portrait" (228) in the nineteenth-century narrative.

It is true that the vivid image of his dead ancestor overwhelms the living people. As for his death, we cannot tell how the Colonel actually died. No characters in the narrative witness the exact moment of the Colonel becoming a lifeless body. His last condition of opening his eyes and bleeding on his ruff and white beard are just described by the narrator before starting the nineteenth-century story. Furthermore, as we are told that for the narrative source "the whole subject is derived chiefly from tradition" (*II* 7), readers cannot reach the primary source of the Colonel's death.

On the other hand, we do know about the Judge's death. As the narrative goes on, the Judge's death is becoming an overlapped image of "a corpse" which is "half-decayed, and still decaying, and diffusing its death-scent all through the palace!" (*II* 230), so we can actually witness the process of how Judge Pyncheon becomes "being dead" in the House of the Seven Gables. Here, in order to reconsider "a Dead Man," I would like to trace the process of the Judge's death. By focusing on his death in "Governor Pyncheon" Chapter XVIII, it might give us some clue to decode the symbol of "a Dead Man" surviving in this House. When and how is the Judge's body signified as "the dead" and transmitted to us?

The Judge visits the house to see Clifford, and while he is waiting for him sitting on an oaken chair in the parlor, it is suggested that he passes away in the same manner as his great-great-grandfather Colonel Pyncheon. The reason why I use "is suggested" here is deeply related to the process of the disclosure of his death. At first, our eyes are barred from crossing the threshold where Clifford is standing, thus the reader has to follow to read Clifford's gesture and Hepzibah's reaction in order to comprehend what has happened to the Judge. Before leaving the house like "two owls," Clifford finds something in the parlor and points his finger at "an object" three times to let her know, then Hepzibah "disappeared into the room, but almost immediately returned, with a cry choking in her throat." Both of them find something inside the room and try to indicate it, but do not articulate such as to say "Judge" is "dead" with their own voices (*II* 249-250). By the gesture of Clifford, the Judge is just pointed to, but what is pointed to is kept hidden from our view, and no language signifies it. Not only the dead but also the word "death" is concealed from us, and this manner causes delay to disclosing his dead body and the death itself.

As "Governor Pyncheon" Chapter opens, the narrator's point of view enters into the parlor and his voice lets us know what the situation inside is like.[72] An exceptional way to disclose his death is employed via a unique point of view; it seems to be narrated from a point of view as if taken by today's "security camera," which is set on the ceiling and monitors his inanimate figure along with the change of sunlight into the room. Here, the change of tense to describe his condition suggests the lapse of time. At first, the motionless figure is described in the present progressive tense, and at the same time, his agenda written on the back side of his name card is read aloud by the narrator when the estimated time comes: to meet a State-street broker, to present an auction of real estate, to buy a horse to drive him, to attend a committee of his political party and to ask for some money for the coming election of a Governor, to consult his family physician for his checkup, and so on. These agendas are supposed to be acted upon by the Judge. Before long, the time has passed over his schedule and his unachieved items are left behind. The narrator's voice, in half-mockery-and-half-encouragement to the Judge to get to work on his jobs, ironically drags him away from the real time. The more the narrator tells about Pyncheon's future agenda, it elucidates that these plans could not have been acted upon with punctuality, and it also suggests less possibility of his becoming "Governor Pyncheon of Massachusetts!" (*II* 274) in the future.

From late at night to early morning, one sign of death is finally coming into our sight:

> And there we see a fly—one of your common houseflies, such as are always buzzing on the window-pane—which has smelt out Governor Pyncheon, and alights now on his forehead, now on his chin, and now, Heaven help us, is creeping over the bridge of his nose, towards the would-be-chief-magistrate's wide-open eye! (*II* 283)

When a fly breaks into this scene, the angle of view has changed and the narrator's voice conveys information along with the camera lens as if it is zooming in on the Judge's figure and taking a close-up of his face for the first time. In contrast to the absolutely still Judge, this movement of a buzzing fly creeping over his face emphasizes its power of life, and its action that it "has smelt out Governor Pyncheon" (*II* 283) conveys two meanings: his death and his unachievable future as a Governor. Needless to say, a fly will sniff out a carcass or corpse, and its performance symbolizes the lifeless condition or death. Thus, its act indicates that the Judge's body has begun to rot and his possibility of becoming a communal representative is robbed at that moment. Although death is strongly implied here, his body has not been labeled by the word "death" yet.

As "Alice's Posies" Chapter starts from next morning, our view is pushed out of the parlor and the reader's viewpoint is integrated with the townspeople who peep into the house through the windows in turns. The eyes of the local community become observers to sense and watch something unusual in the house, and the reader of the text shares the process of discovering the Judge's death along with these people. The belatedness of the declaration of his death makes the townspeople nervous since Hepzibah, Clifford, and the Judge have disappeared from the house. The narrator clearly leaks that there is "the fearful secret, hidden within the house" and "a dead corpse lay unseen" (*II* 291), however, he never connects "a dead corpse" with the Judge with his own words. Thus, death remains in the house just as Holgrave has mentioned "a Dead Man" previously. This unclear situation puzzles the reader even more because both the Judge's body and the word to articulate his death were confined in the mansion and being kept apart from each other. The townspeople inside the text and the reader outside the text share the same point of view, and become "we" as the narrator sometimes mentioned. We are all waiting for the voice to signify the object as a dead body. It is Phoebe's voice, again, that declares his death confined in this house.

4. Daguerreotype as a Device to Secure the Death

When Holgrave informs Phoebe of the Judge's death, instead of facing the dead body directly, he shows two daguerreotypes. The order in which he shows the two pictures is significant to this narrative since it will identify "the Dead Man" surviving in this house. The first one is the same daguerreotype that he had shown her at their first interview in the garden, and the second one is taken just before her arrival. After showing the first daguerreotype to reconfirm that it is the Judge, he continues to show the second one as follows:

> "But here is the same face, taken within this half-hour," said the artist, presenting her with another miniature. "I had just finished it, when I heard you at the door."
>
> "This is death!" shuddered Phoebe, turning very pale. "Judge Pyncheon dead!"
>
> "Such as there represented," said Holgrave, "he sits in the next room. The Judge is dead, and Clifford and Hepzibah have vanished! I know no more." (*II* 302)

Here, Holgrave shows the Judge's living face first and then he makes her see the other daguerreotype in order to induce her reaction before asserting the Judge's death by his own words. Of course, "the same face" on the second daguerreotype is a literal indication of the Judge, but when we remember their first interview, we also notice that it contains another face. By looking at the first daguerreotype that captures the living face, it might have the effect of recalling the original Colonel's face which is imprinted in her mind. What is interesting in this scene is the order of the words she utters. First, she discovers "death" in the daguerreotype, then she accords the symbol of "death" with the real figure of "Judge Pyncheon" sitting in a chair. This is the performance to connect them as an equal relation that "Judge Pyncheon [is / is being] dead!"

Moreover, it is really meaningful that the voice to fix its referent with the word of "death" is none other than Phoebe's, since she is the person who had once mistaken the Judge for the Colonel. This very person, as Holgrave explains, has survived as "a Dead Man" in this house until then. Thus, speaking out the "death" is a symbolic performance in terms of putting an end to two peoples' lives, because her voice determines the condition of "Judge Pyncheon" containing the Colonel's visual image as "being dead." More than anything, her articulation is significant in this narrative since her performance brings the safe condition to their present community: there is no more fear of resurrecting the original figure. Phoebe announces Jaffrey's death on the basis of Holgrave's daguerreotype and her confirmation might secure the community; but how? From here, I would like to demonstrate how and to whom his daguerreotype provides the sense of security, then consider how this modern form of a deep-seeing device functions to connect the different times.

Through this story, the performance of the daguerreotype seems to perform a function of "securing" in its double meaning. The transitive verb "secure" needs an object after its verb, and Holgrave's daguerreotype replaces the object which is to be secured along with expanding the operating space step-by-step by shifting the meaning of "secure." Today, to "secure" is widely used when referring "to make something / someone safe" from a dangerous situation. "Secure" also has the meaning "to fix or attach something so as not to become loose" or not to "come apart" and "to hold firmly in place."[73] This is the act of attachment, to fix something not to become loose or fall off from the other material. Thus, in the first phase, what is secured by Holgrave's daguerreotype is the figure that is taken by photography as a fixed material.

The Judge's dead face is fixed on the plate with the power of sunlight and the effect of chemicals in order not to be lost or disappear. This process can be rephrased as that the daguerreotype secures the Judge's dead face on the plate. As we have confirmed before, with its unique direct-positive process, daguerreotype creates an image on a plate without using a negative. This means that a daguerreotype cannot be reprinted or make another copy. Thus, fixing the image of a dead man on a daguerreotype obtains an assurance that he does not exist anywhere any longer and ensures that he is being as dead as the dead can be. Unlike the Colonel's oil-painted portrait that evokes the image of eternal life, there is no more terror of reviving the "original" subject of the photograph.

Since the Judge's dead face captured by daguerreotype has become undeniable evidence, this photo secures safety for those who have suffered the Judge's animosity. Thus, in the second phase, the direct object to be "secured" has shifted from the printed material to specific people in the expanded context of the daguerreotype of the dead Judge's face creating a safe space for the contemporary people. In this case, the most commonly used meaning of "secure" is applied to this situation, that is "to keep safe from danger, harm, or loss, to ensure the safety of, to protect" and "to keep or make sure from attack by an opposing force."[74] It is certain that the daguerreotype brings a great benefit to Clifford who has suffered and been abused continually by the Judge. As Holgrave confesses to Phoebe, "as a point of evidence that may be useful to Clifford" (*II* 303), it would help to clear suspicion of his murdering his uncle.

On the practical level of the narrative, the cause of Jaffrey's death is judged by "the highest professional authority" as "by no means an unusual form of death" but actually including "a slight idiosyncrasy" (*II* 309). There is no specific mention about whether his daguerreotype is actually used in this investigation; however, it can be said that a false charge against Clifford is prevented by the effort of the "Daguerreotypist" (*II* 311).[75]

In real society in the mid-nineteenth century, the daguerreotype began to be used to prevent crimes before they occurred and help to keep society safe. For instance, police began to use the new technology of photography in their investigations from its appearance: The French authorities had begun to take daguerreotypes of prisoners as early as 1841, and the New York Police Department had collected 450 ambrotypes by 1858, in order to solve or find evidence in criminal investigations.[76] This is a way "to satisfy, convince of or against a particular contingency, that something might happen," so daguerreotype makes it possible "to ensure or guarantee present or future possession of something."[77] The early scientific device of daguerreotype assisted in seeing the prospects for the future possibilities and tried to ensure the social space itself by providing the security of the future community. In this way, real society began to utilize the visual technology of photography as a means of predicting the evil things and trying to see through to the future in order to build solid security. It is certain that Holgrave's daguerreotype secures Clifford's state of innocence in the narrative space, but it also serves to secure the real community in mid-nineteenth-century America.

While real society had begun to use daguerreotype to predict anxiety about the future, a daguerreotype that captured the Judge's death functions in an inverse direction. It connects the past from the present point in this narrative. To form a link with the past, Hawthorne introduces the pseudoscience of mesmeric powers of the Maule family as a primitive method of investigation, and this practice takes the form of a play within a play, or an inserted narrative. In Chapter XIII of "Alice Pyncheon," mesmeric power is used by young Matthew Maule, who is the grandson of the former Matthew Maule, to seek the missing deeds of the eastern-land claim by the order of the grandson of the original Pyncheon. Maule's magical power is recognized as to investigate something missing in the past, so his power also functions to connect bygone time to the present.

That power is taken over by the early scientific method of daguerreotype, and Holgrave tries to detect the truth and grasp the historical context about their long-lasting family strife. When he identifies the cause of the Judge's sudden death as a hereditary disposition in the Pyncheon family, he tries to explore this consequence by way of depicting the "similarity" as follows:

> This mode of death has been an idiosyncrasy with his family, for generations past; … Old Maule's prophecy was probably founded on a knowledge of this physical predisposition in the Pyncheon race. Now, there is a minute and almost exact similarity in the appearances, connected with the death that occurred yesterday, and those recorded of the death of Clifford's uncle, thirty years ago. (*II* 304)

Until then, the whole community believe that the Pyncheon family's unexplained sudden death is caused by Maule's curse of "God will give him blood to drink" (*II* 8), shouted before his execution dated back to the seventeenth century. Later, Maule's descendant Holgrave demonstrates that it is not such a supernatural power that drives the Pyncheons to their death, but by careful observation it could be possible to estimate the timing of their natural deaths. More than anything, since his daguerreotype has captured the predicted death as a pictorial record, he traces it out through the almost exact similarity in the appearances between the deaths of the Judge and Clifford's uncle. Thus, it could be possible to connect two mysterious deaths, yesterday's and thirty years ago, both of which are caused by an inherited genetic disposition.

Furthermore, these two related deaths could be instrumental in interpreting the primal Pyncheon's death, which has been transmitted by local tradition over the years. The daguerreotype which seems only to capture the Judge's superficial dead face, in fact, visualizes those similarities inherited in the consanguineous Pyncheon family and succeeds in linking its fragmental facts linearly over one hundred and fifty years.

Photography can be said to contain the past in its image. On the subject of photography and its association with time, Megan Rowley Williams points out that the portrait "freezes the present and simultaneously assures that this present will be memorialized as the past by future moments" (33). It is well known that daguerreotype cannot duplicate another copy since the object is fixed directly on the plate; thus, this very method of photography ensures the Judge's death as the "original" and contains it in the fixed image as an unalterable past in the future. This process is critical to this narrative, because the daguerreotype taken by Holgrave both reveals and connects the family incident chronologically. This pictorial record secures the Judge's death as an unmovable fact and keeps its unique form of "original" permanently. Thus, it brings the safe condition not only to the Pyncheon family but also to the whole community that has always felt anxiety about this House and the resurrection of “the original” figure.

Up to this point, I have traced how the modern “twice-told” technique of daguerreotype resolves the initial conflict between the original Pyncheon and Maule, which can be read as the “urtext” in this long-lasting family strife. Furthermore, Holgrave’s daguerreotype uncovers the shadowed connection between the death of the original Pyncheon, who was said to have died by the curse of Maule, and the dark history of Salem witchcraft in 1692 behind it. As a result, the reconciliation of the Maule and Pyncheon families is realized, which is symbolized by the marriage between the young couple of Holgrave and Phoebe. This one consummation reveals that the Salem community has inherited and contained its dark history that is represented by the “Dead Men” within their community over many generations.

5. What the House Could Do to Make People Survive

Soon after the Judge passed away, his unmovable death brought two effects on society. The first is to vindicate Clifford’s innocence in his uncle’s murder publicly, as I discussed before. The second is to liberate the community’s oppressed voice, which had been confined in the domestic sphere as “the chimney-corner legend” and will be retold in “a new” narrative.

The narrator says that the Judge’s death is “so genuine a fact” that it “give[s] people a truer idea of his character … than they have ever possessed while he was living” (*II* 310) among the community. It is interesting that his unmovable death induces people to testify to the dead man’s personality “truer,” using the comparative form to describe it, than when he was living. That change indicates that the community space has expanded so that people could share and speak of their own impressions about the Judge's personality freely. Until then, unfavorable evaluations of the Judge have been whispered inside each house as "a hidden stream of private talk" and they dare not to "speak loudly at the street-corners" (*II* 310).[78] This might be a significant change that the chimney-corner traditions get the insights to transfer "a truer" fact with their own words by re-observing the dead man's performance in life retrospectively. It finally acquires the wider space from domestic sphere to the public space and provides the chance to verbalize their opinions freely under the open sky and construct a new version of "retold tales."

As to the influence of the Judge's death on the society, it not only leads to expand the public space to communicate with others, but also lets the House of the Seven Gables' door open to circulate the air inside the rooms. Emerging from the house after the Judge's death, people who have been living in the house become aware of how they have been affected by the oppressive atmosphere, or contaminated by the evil power of old Pyncheon. When Clifford and Hepzibah carry out a temporal flight, leaving the Judge's body inside the house, Clifford recognizes that what he needed is fresh "air," and describes his previous condition using the rhetoric of contamination connected with the space in which he has been confined:

> The soul needs air; a wide sweep and frequent change of it. Morbid influences, in a thousand-fold variety, gather about hearths, and *pollute* the life of households. There is no such *unwholesome* atmosphere as they of an old home, rendered *poisonous* by one's defunct forefathers and

> relatives! … whenever my thoughts recur to this seven-gabled mansion … immediately, I have a vision or image of an elderly man, of remarkably stern countenance sitting in an oaken elbow-chair, dead, stone-dead with an ugly flow of blood upon his shirt-bosom. Dead but with open eyes! *He taints the whole house*, as I remember it. (*II* 261; emphasis added)

Referring to the House of the Seven Gables, Clifford describes how the old house has been "polluted" by the influence of his long-dead "forefathers and relatives." Now the unhealthy and unpleasant object of the dead Judge, though Clifford does not mention his name yet, who is left alone in the house "taints the whole house" as well. The poisonous air arises from the dead body and it actually pollutes the air as the body becomes corrupt. Thus, according to Clifford's opinion, in order to live in a clean environment, it is essential for the residents not only to remove such an unhealthy object from the House, but also to push the contaminated air out and take fresh air into the house.

In fact, the Judge has bitterly affected Clifford in terms of air pollution. He remarks that "there was no free breath to be drawn, within the sphere of so malevolent an influence" as the Judge (*II* 313). What is remarkable about this utterance is the word choice of "sphere" rather than "space" to represent the house. "Sphere" originally means a round object shaped like a ball, then shifts the meaning to indicate that "particular area of activity, work, knowledge." "The sphere" in this quotation may be employing the latter meaning since the area of the Judge's activity has affected Clifford and he has oppressed him constantly when within his reach. It, however, also seems to imply the meaning of a specific physical place that is covered with walls, floors, and ceilings of the House of the Seven Gables. Within the closed rooms, it is difficult to intake fresh air and circulate it freely, and the House has gradually become polluted by not only the dead forefathers' influence but by the living Judge's malevolence as well.[79] Remembering the remark by Holgrave that "we live in Dead Men's houses" (*II* 183), it clearly suggests that this closed house with less ventilation has been contaminated by the Pyncheons over many generations. The object of the oppression has now been revealed; so how did they settle this final situation?

In the final chapter entitled "The Departure," all the major surviving characters, except Uncle Venner who would follow them later, "concluded to remove from the dismal old House of the Seven Gables" to the "elegant country-seat of the late Judge Pyncheon" (*II* 314) for the present. For this conclusion, many critics seem not to be satisfied with its "fairy-tale" ending.[80] For example, Mizruchi calls it "a collective evasion of history" (Mizruchi 101) since they take off their burden of the long-term conflict and all exit the stage of the narrative receiving a large inheritance from the Judge. It is a most drastic adjustment that all the problems, from the Judge's death to the missing Indian deeds, are totally settled magically in the last chapter by the help of Holgrave, who would also become rich by marrying Phoebe. Finally, all the characters decidedly negate their living and leave this problematic house.

Then, how about accepting this ending as the evacuation from the unhealthy polluted house to a safer place? They flee for refuge from the contaminated house in order to intake the fresh air and become healthy. Therefore, they decide to "remove" themselves "from the dismal old House of the Seven Gables" in the city of Salem and move to the country house instead of removing the accumulated bad effects of the dead and cleansing them completely. Finally, they determinedly leave the "Dead Men's house" (*II* 183) for two reasons: to provide the burial place for their dead ancestors in order to be "decently buried" (*II* 183), and to make the living people survive securely.

Remember the phrase in which Holgrave remarks that "the Past" was "like a giant's dead body" and present people are carrying the corpse of their grandfather, and become "slaves" to "Death" of "by-gone time" (*II* 182-83). He suggests that in order to be rid of Death, at the same time this act is to remove the contaminated air from the house, the only need for them is to be "decently buried" (*II* 183) in an appropriate place. Looking back to the beginning of this story, Colonel Pyncheon built the House of the Seven Gables over the very spot of Matthew Maule's log-built hut. This fact indicates that he had built his house "over an unquiet grave" (*II* 9) of Maule, and his mansion would include "the home of the dead and buried wizard" (*II* 9) before starting the main story. Through this historical fact, the space of The House of the Seven Gables has been built on the very spot which contained not only Dead Men of the Pyncheons but also Matthew Maule's restless spirit. With Maule's unquiet grave on the bottom, the dead Pyncheons and the living characters have coexisted without marking the boundary between their territories. Thus, in order to provide a decent burial for the Pyncheons and Maule and to make the rest of the people survive, the separation of their space is urgent and necessary for resolving this issue. This situation could be connected with the contemporary urban burial reform movement in the mid-nineteenth century in America.

In urban areas in the nineteenth century, as the towns expanded and the population increased, the government tried to cope with the problem of burial places in many cities. It was in 1831 that the first urban burial ground, Mount Auburn Cemetery, was founded near Boston by Dr. Jacob Bigelow and General Dearborn of The Massachusetts Horticultural Society (Linden 133-36). As to the background of the rural-cemetery movement, which is to remove the graves from city centers to rural areas, there was a serious hygienic problem in the urban areas. Garry Wills notes that “the removal of the burial ground to places outside the city limits used to be attributed entirely to hygienic considerations” (Wills 64). Historian Blanche Linden asserts that the crucial trigger to motivate the improvement of burial practices was “fears” that “burying the dead in the midst of busy cities endangered public health and precipitated epidemics (Linden 117). In fact, in New York City, yellow fever epidemics continued to reoccur from 1793 to the 1820s. Some physicians conjectured that the disease spread through a miasma, a gas or atmosphere hovering over the earth carried by “animalcules” through the air to infect the people, and they insisted on installing a new system of garbage collection or other measures to cleanse the city of decaying matter (Slone 34-37). Masui Shitsuyo, who first reads this work through the context of the urban burial reform movement, affirms that “the question of where and how to place corpses troubled urbanites by the mid-nineteenth century” and this critical problem “led to an extensive urban cemetery reform movement” (Masui 44).

Reading through reflecting on these historical circumstances, it is interesting that Hawthorne had commented about the burial grounds of Mount Auburn on November 17, 1847, four years before the publication of this work: “Death Possesses a good deal of real estate—viz. the grave yards in every town. Of late years, too, he has pleasure ground—as at Mount Auburn and elsewhere”

(*VIII* 280). This commentary suggests that when the dead people are "decently buried" in the proper grounds, that place becomes their real estate in the after-life. To apply this interpretation to the ending of this narrative, it can be read that the House becomes a burial ground for the Pyncheons and Maule to settle the ineradicable curse on the real estate over the years. I deeply agree with Masui's interpretation of its ending that the House is "turning into a place similar to the garden cemetery" and "becomes a place of proper burial," and this shift has also accomplished their forefathers' burial who needed to be "decently buried," which is Holgrave's serious concern (Masui 58). Thus, Matthew Maule's spirit has been comforted by redeeming his home ground and obtaining a place to sleep peacefully forever, one hundred and fifty years after his execution. At the same time, by the terminal and powerless state of the Judge as the dead being captured in the daguerreotype, the possibility of the original Colonel's resurrection has ceased and "the Dead Men" ancestors are also able to go to their eternal sleep within the House of the Seven Gables.

The surviving characters "removed" themselves from this contaminated house built on the burial ground to the country house in order to survive "for the present" (*II* 314), which implies the possibility that someone will return here someday or restart to tell the future story concerning this House. In the closing paragraph of this story, Maule's Well keeps throwing up the kaleidoscopic pictures, in which "a gifted eye" might have "fore-shadowed the coming fortunes" of characters, and the Pyncheon elm "whispered unintelligible prophecies" after the main characters have left the House (*II* 319). As the well and elm named after the two families keep bubbling future visions and prophecies, the ending of this story seems to foresee the future. Surely, the modern visual device of Holgrave's daguerreotype succeeds in exposing the concealed connection between past and present, and what it captured provides the security to the present people by articulating who is "the Dead Man" and where he has lurked. Hawthorne seems to leave future possibilities for the audience to be retold the story of the House of the Seven Gables, which has not only survived in the narrative but also still survives in the real space of Salem.

Chapter 5

Concealed Desire for Remapping the World: "Unspeakable Yearning" Towards England in "The American Claimant" Narratives

1. Hawthorne's Aborted English Narrative Project

Nathaniel Hawthorne left some unfinished romances in his last years. One of these is a story about "Septimius" which has two drafts of a romance, set in Concord at the beginning of the American Revolution and focusing on the search for the elixir of life. Another is called "The American Claimant" project, which includes three versions of fragmentary tales.[81] These American claimant narratives are all focused on a young American's attempt to reclaim his ancestral English estate of Braithwaite Hall and its titles.[82] It might be true that one of the central subjects of these unfinished romances is "the effort to reconcile the split between England and America after two hundred years," as Michael Davitt Bell suggested (Bell 229-30). To quote the words of Rita K. Gollin, the young protagonist "hopes to bridge the spatial and temporal gulf between his Puritan ancestors' land of origin and his own" (Gollin 163). That hope, which Hawthorne shared, is initiated by "the inverse of the Puritans' dream" that enabled him to look at America from a different angle through his experience in England.

The original plot was conceived through Hawthorne's personal experience as American consul in Liverpool between 1853 and 1857, where he encountered "the strange species of Americans" who harbored a fantasy of "the inheritances of English property" (*XII* 87).

Although Hawthorne himself had no such delusions, he commented in his travel essay that he had a special feeling about his return: “My ancestor left England in 1630. I return in 1853. I sometimes feel as if I myself had been absent these two hundred and eighteen years [sic]” (*XXI* 138). This remark shows that he deeply sympathizes with the thought of having returned to the home of his ancestors. As Gloria Erlich points out, Hawthorne’s experience in England not only gave an opportunity to develop his narrative plot, but also he identified himself with his English ancestors and enjoyed the notion that he was “a reincarnation of the first emigrant to America, and returned to join the broken thread of family history” (Erlich, *Family* 147).

For a long time, he has repeatedly focused on the subject of family genealogy, sometimes using his own family history, and adopting this into his romances. In addition, most of his well-known stories advance within the space of the North American Continent, especially orbiting around Salem which is his “natal soil” as well as his successive ancestral burying ground. On the other hand, these narratives focusing on American claimants are exceptional works in which Hawthorne explicitly explores the origin of an American protagonist in his fatherland and a story contained in the space of England by crossing the Atlantic Ocean.

These three separate tales have a clear difference in terms of the story setting. The Centenary Collected Edition published in 1977 consists of “The Ancestral Footstep,” “Etherege,” and “Grimshawe,” plus ancillary documents of seven short studies provided by Hawthorne.[83] The major difference between those three versions is that “The Ancestral Footstep” begins in England with the wandering of the young American claimant in an ancestral English estate, whereas “Etherege” and “Grimshawe” start with the orphan’s childhood in America and then he moves to England. For these story settings, Erlich suggests that the latter two works provide two important elements which are absent in the earlier version: one is the presence of the figure of “the spider-cultivating guardian” Doctor Grimshawe who fostered Etherege in America, and the other is being presented with “a transatlantic basis for satirical American-English contrasts that were part of Hawthorne’s original intention” (Erlich, *Family* 147).[84]

In the writing process, there are some overlaps between Hawthorne and his protagonist’s spatial orientation. He conceived the idea of this story in Liverpool and began to write “The Ancestral Footstep” in Rome in 1858, which was a story just focused on England. After coming back to Concord, the second and third drafts were written between 1860 and 1861, which start with the protagonist’s childhood in America, then he crosses the Atlantic. Both “Etherege” and “Grimshawe” were written in America, but were then aborted in the middle of the context of the English setting. It is unlikely to be coincidental that Hawthorne omitted his American storyline in Europe, and failed to write the scenes of England in America, since he had become separated from the site where he could share the experience with the protagonist at the same time.

In constructing all these claimant storylines, Hawthorne’s insecure attitude is deeply reflected in his narrative tones. These tales are not only abandoned in a fragmentary state but also they mingle narrative parts with plot sketches, notes to himself, and deep meditations on themes and motifs. For example, as many as sixty-nine of his contemplation notes are interpolated into the second version named “Etherege,” and “more than a quarter of the draft” is his monologues on plot management (*XII* 504). Despite its imperfect style, this tale attracts me all the more since it “allows a privileged view of the author in the process of struggling to devise a narrative structure” to embody a family history in fictive form (Erlich, *Family* xviii). Thus, the frequent interruptions of his own narratives not only indicate his serious troubles over how to deal with the subject of connecting transatlantic family issues, but also reveal his psychological conflicts towards those two nations. In other words, these narratives question how to define the nation in antebellum America by reconsidering its relationship to England.

In this chapter, I will concentrate on the second version of the tale titled “Etherege,” which is also referring to the protagonist’s name “Ned Etherege.” By focusing on the term and performance of “connection” in the text, I intend to explore what sort of national anxieties interrupted Hawthorne’s claimant narratives, which even led Hawthorne to desire to assimilate England with America. Then, I would like to examine why Hawthorne developed the idea of remapping the world outside of the text in this same period, and how to deal with the inheritance of English property in his last works.

2. Longing for Connection beyond Time and Space

There is a tradition of a narrative style that deals with a subject concerned with a foreign claim to an English peerage. In fact, such incidents as the “Tichborne case,” which was the legal trial about the rightful heir to an English baronetcy in the 1860s and 1870s, attracted both Europeans and Americans in this period.[85] American society quickly adapted this motif into their culture and literature, such as Tom Tayler's comedy *Our American Cousin,* premiered in New York in 1858. It is also renowned in Henry James's "A Passionate Pilgrim" (1871), Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1885-86), and Mark Twain's parody *The American Claimant* published in 1892.[86] These kinds of narratives were popular subjects throughout the nineteenth century, since they fulfilled American peoples' lack of stability and rootlessness by defining their family genealogy. They provided American readers with a secured past by believing that they were of high birth by having hereditary ties to Europe. I would like to call those types of tales "claimant narratives," which contain a topic of dreaming of Americans' tie to England through estate and title across time and space. In this section, by tracing the protagonist's movement and spatial position in "Etherege," I will consider how Hawthorne tries to depict this persuasive relationship to England.

To make connections with the English origin and his true heir in America, at first, Hawthorne employs time-worn gothic motifs of "family secrets" such as an old coffer housed in England and the silver key to open it in America. By placing half the secret on "this side of the water," and the other half on the other side of the Atlantic, he tries to present some effective evidence to certify an inherited family line (*XII* 98-101). In order to let these separated items meet, the protagonist Ned Etherege performs as an agent by crossing the Atlantic.

Ned Etherege, who was an orphan and fostered by the Doctor in Salem (*XII* 124), has been ashamed of himself and confused, or even embarrassed when he thinks of "his unknown origin, and his advent from the alms-house" (*XII* 149). Upon arriving in England, he confesses his miserable background: "I have no ancestry: at the very first step, my origin is lost in impenetrable obscurity" (*XII* 149). His lack of origin serves to his urgent need for longing to make a link to the land of England:

> … all through my boyhood, I was alone, I grew up without a root, yet continually longing for one—longing to be connected with somebody–and never feeling myself so. … If my next step were death, yet while the path seemed to lead onward to a certainty of establishing me in connection with my race, I would yet take it. I have tried to keep down this yearning, to stifle it, annihilate it, with making a position for myself, with being my own past, but I cannot overcome this natural horror of being a creature floating in the air, attached to nothing; nor this feeling that there is no reality in the life and fortunes, good or bad, of a being so unconnected. There is not even a grave, not a heap of dry bones, not a pinch of dust, with which I can claim connection, unless I find it here. (*XII* 257-58)

Etherege repeatedly uses phrases concerned with "connection." The general meaning of "connection" is "the action of connecting or joining together." When it is used as a close union of family, it suggests a "relationship by family ties, as marriage or distant consanguinity." Definitely, Etherege longs for a "distant consanguinity" in this land.

However, his utterance that employs the metaphor of a vegetable or plant reflects his bewilderment about his position. As Etherege compares himself to "a creature floating in the air, attached to nothing," he not only highlights the rootlessness of his lonely orphaned childhood in America, but also emphasizes his desire to discover his family roots in England. Then, he presents "a grave," "a heap of dry bones," and "a pinch of dust" which are all associated with death as well as the rite of burial. "A grave" indicates a burial place; "dry bones" suggests a lapse of time, since it takes a long time for a dead body to become dry bones. And the "pinch of dust" signifies the distant past, since it needs quite a long time for a decomposed body to return to the ground and turn back to soil. Contrary to "a creature floating in the air," these cemeterial terms prove a chronological past as well as showing tangible reality which all associates with death that shows people had once lived in this world.

Charles Swann suggests that "a sense of one's reality" is recognized when "one has a place in a history larger than the history of a single isolated self" (Swann 157). In other words, Etherege tries to seek his future by placing himself in a space of genealogical line and finding his connection of distant consanguinity. Thus, he has "yearnings towards his unknown ancestry" (*XII* 124) and this very yearning urges him to cross the Atlantic.

This situation is clearly identical to Hawthorne himself. He confesses in his famous English travel essay *Our Old Home* published in 1863 that "we have still an unspeakable yearning towards England" (*V* 18). Having visiting many places in England, he was doubtlessly fascinated with its culture and the place itself:

> Visiting these famous localities, and a great many others, I hope that I do not compromise my American patriotism by acknowledging that I was often conscious of a fervent hereditary attachment to the native soil of our forefathers. (*V* 40)

Here Hawthorne, albeit paying careful attention to his American readers, clearly articulates his attachment to "the native soil of our forefathers." The sense of connection to ancestors in England is expressed as a yearning for attachment to their historical origin that secures a certain fixed sense of place and identity. In fact, Hawthorne himself tried to find his ancestor the original William Hathorne's footmark in England by finding his gravestone in old churchyards, which, however, ended up in failure.[87] Finding family roots in England, both Hawthorne and Etherege desire to place themselves in a historical family line. To satisfy this need, property of English estates plays a significant role, since estates and genealogical connections could have survived over generations. Therefore, the claimant narratives might be attractive for Americans who fear their rootlessness and long for their own historical, cultural and traditional continuity.

3. The Slippery Symbol of the "Bloody Footstep"

Now, I will examine the idea of the legendary bloody footstep and the difficulty to conceptualize what it signified. Through all three claimant drafts, Hawthorne tries to symbolize the "bloody footstep" as an image of family conflict and its history that is deeply related to an English estate.[88] This motif is based on Hawthorne's own experience in England in 1855.[89] During his sojourns, he visited Smithills Hall in Bolton, Greater Manchester, one of the oldest manor houses in the northwest of England (*XXI* 290-99). That is where he observed a brown stain in the shape of a human foot printed at the bottom of a staircase in its entrance hall. He also learned the legend about its being made by the blood of the nonconformist clergyman George Marsh, who was martyred in 1555, from the source in *The History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancashire* (1836).[90] This inspired Hawthorne to attribute the bloody footstep to the first emigrant to America. Employing the tradition concerning the "bloody footstep" and the historical source as an urtext, he tried to place it as a real “mark” in the entrance of the manor house of the Braithwaite family as well as a central symbol of this romance, as he did in *The Scarlet Letter* using the symbolic letter “A.”

As the first draft is named “The Ancestral Footstep,” Hawthorne uses the image of “footstep” not only symbolically but also as a tangible entity to search for an English family line. The present possessor of a residence, who is an Englishman but long in Italy, is so stubbornly “looking for the track of the Bloody Footstep” (*XII* 61) that the neighborhood believes that his absence from England is because of “this search for some trace of those departing footsteps that had never returned” to England (*XII* 61). Moreover, the protagonist—in the first draft, his name is Middleton—says to him that “many footsteps, the track of which is lost in England, might be found reappearing on the other side of the Atlantic; aye, though it be hundreds of years since the track were lost here” (*XII* 66). The verb “re-appear” he uses here provides the implication of continuity to the space of “this side” of Atlantic and “the other side” of it over the hundreds of years. However, dissatisfied with the inconsequent plot management in the first draft, Hawthorne has carried over the symbol in “The Ancestral Footstep” into the second version and tries to endow a more specific function with the bloody footstep. He writes his concept of this English narrative as follows:

> It must be an ancient story, certainly; something coming down from the days of the Bloody Footstep; some business which was left unsettled by the sudden disappearance of the original emigrant to America. It must relate to property; because nothing else survives in this world. (*XII* 287)

Indeed, as Edward M. Clay points out, this symbol seems to acquire "dominating" power over the development of the narrative plot (Clay 510), as Hawthorne tries to set two functions with this legendary bloody footstep. First, the sign signifies the crime that the original emigrant had committed. Second, the bloody footstep would be related to the inheritance of family property since it could survive to a later period even if the original founder had passed away.

Hawthorne searches for the historical background which becomes the cause of the initial conflict and which has led to the original ancestor's migration. One plot is based on romantic rivalry between brothers: The youngest brother had been expelled from England and fled to America, and long years had passed until it was found that his ancestor had come into possession of the estate and the title, since all his elder brothers' direct descendants had died in England.[91] In the other plot, Hawthorne adds a political framework, based on religious persecution within a family. A rebellious young brother whose family was Catholic as well as royalist, yet he was a Protestant, not only was opposed to the king during the English Civil War, but also he had beheaded the king. And it was there that "he trod in the king's blood, and ever afterwards he has left a bloody track." Thus, the bloody footstep marked in front of the entrance hall is "his foot leaving its bloody track on the threshold" and is believed to be a sign of his guilt of the murder as well as religious persecution (*XII* 203).[92]

As Rita Gollin points out, "in each variant, the footstep signifies 'brotherly haters and the attempted murder'" which also signifies "the archetypal fratricide of Cain, and the inherent fratricide of all civil wars" (Gollin 163). It is true that as America had become independent of England, its history is originally inherent as a symbolical problem of fratricide. This version, however, shows "the unreliability of tradition" (*XII* 333) that he could not manage the coherence nor continue his narrative. As Hawthorne is a writer who has adapted history to his narrative as a "romance," he could not tolerate using an unreliable tradition.[93] Hawthorne struggled to seize the subject for a long time, though, oscillating from one plot to the other, and could not decide which was more suitable for the idea of the bloody footstep.

Hawthorne's ambivalent attitude is revealed by using the word "slippery" in his narratives. Every time Etherege recalls his memory of the bloody footstep once heard of in his infancy, he fails to grasp its meaning. He testifies that "this Bloody Footstep is imprinted somewhere in England, and which no rain will wipe away" (*XII* 108). In spite of such a strongly impressed mark within his memory, his imagination could not reach what it really signified:

> "I mean, nothing else that I can tell; but there seem to be things that I can almost get hold of, and think about; but when I am just on the point of seizing them, they start away, *like slippery things*." (*XII* 108; emphasis added)

Etherege recognizes "there seem to be things," nevertheless, he repeatedly fails to catch what the bloody footstep meant or represented, and finally he rephrases it as "slippery things." This word "slippery" reminds us of the famous passage in *Moby-Dick* (1851). Captain Ahab describes this world as a "slippery world" and he prefers to get "a good grip" or hold on so as to fix himself in a secure position.[94] Similarly, Hawthorne was seeking the meaning to fix the symbol of the bloody footstep that was deeply related to the true heir of the property, and it would also develop the storyline. He thought of too many possibilities and too much novelty, and he kept changing some concepts and plots.

And, what is the worst thing and the most incomprehensible for his readers is Hawthorne rewrites some episodes, and Etherege turns out not to be the missing heir after all. This unstable situation also made him fail to draw the character of the new heir of old Pensioner, who lives in an ancient hospital near Braithwaite Hall. The next quote shows Hawthorne's puzzlement of how to illustrate this character to make out a relationship with young American Etherege and connect the family history:

> This old man—what could he possibly be? The inheritor of some peculiarity that has been known heretofore in the history of the family, and the possession of which betrays itself in some of his habits, or in his person. What? I can't make it out. Some physical peculiarity?—'twon't do. Some mental or moral peculiarity? How? The art of making gold? A peculiar kind of poison? An acquaintance with wizard-lore? Nothing of this. (*XII* 198)

In this citation, many question marks and dashes jump out at us. These overworked punctuation marks suggest that Hawthorne needed to make pauses and take breaths repeatedly when he designed his new heir. Over many internal conversations with himself, he struggled to formulate a character for this new heir that would make sense not only for his readers but also for himself. This self-interrogation gradually became the tone of self-abandonment, and finally he tried to start all over again. Although as many as thirteen pages are devoted to the description of this character, Hawthorne cheers himself up as follows:

> If I can but get hold of the principal spring of this character, all will go on well—if not, not. Still I shall keep hold of *this slippery idea*, stubbornly, stubbornly, and grasp again, and yet again, and seize it wholly at last. (*XII* 201; emphasis added)

By using "stubbornly" and "again," he repeatedly reminds himself to urge forward to "seize" the new heir's character to make stability for his claimant narrative. However, the word "slippery" implies his unachievable goal to fix the idea for himself. At the same time, the verbs that he uses such as "hold," "grasp," and "seize" shows that he has struggled to find something that embodied his idea for establishing a narrative coherence. In this sense, Hawthorne had failed to progress his narrative, and at the same time, these monologues indicate his ceaseless desire to capture what he could have not held yet in his transatlantic narrative.

4. An Imagined Transatlantic Transplantation

Hawthorne's unsatisfactory management of making a story gradually shifted his mind to observe the real world of the nineteenth century, where the North American continent was in a critical condition over slavery. His writing began to be affected by those serious issues and his anxiety was being reflected in his narrative tone. In this section, I will focus on Hawthorne's virtual transplantation project written in the text.

As I have mentioned in the first section, throughout the nineteenth century, these kinds of "claimant stories" were comparatively popular subjects. Most of them concerned the conflict between English aristocracy and American democracy. In fact, Hawthorne also develops this discussion and makes comparisons between those two different social systems in order to navigate his protagonist's future path.[95] According to James Hewitson, through constructing England as the cultural opposite of America, it is true that "Hawthorne positions the two nations as converse but complementary states" such as "passive and active, material and intellectual, tradition and innovative" to keep their balance and complete each other" (Hewitson "Transatlantic Dislocation" 53).[96] Hawthorne's desire to construct the strong connection with England clearly defines his memoranda for creating this new work. In these ancillary documents "STUDY 3," he debates the "contrast and contact" between those two nations (*XII* 476). In that process, Hawthorne admits that "there is an essential difference between English and American character," and suggests that "the former [English] must assimilate itself into the latter [American], if there is to be any union" (*XII* 477). What we should take note of here is the direction of assimilation that Hawthorne has proposed. He clearly says that England's character must be assimilated into that of America in order to create a conformity between the inner nature of these two groups of human beings.

In this context, his transatlantic narrative only focuses on personal, or private matters of family issue. However, the following abrupt remark in the narrative seems to expand this topic on a global basis with the idea of international transmigration. This is the scene where Etherege and the old English palmer named Pearson, who is later called "pensioner" and proves to be the real heir, talks about the emigrants. Using Pearson's voice, Hawthorne introduces the idea of interchanging each citizen by using the verbs of "transplant" and "transport":

> For he [Pearson] said that history and observation proved, that all people—and the English people by no means less than others—needed to *be transplanted*, or somehow renewed, every few generations; so that, according to this ancient philosopher's theory, it would be good for the whole people of England, now, if it could at once *be transported* to America, … would be rectified by a different air and soil; and equally good, on the other hand, for the whole American people to *be transplanted back* to the original island, … draw in a reverence for age, forms, and usage. (*XII* 193; emphasis added)

Knowing this would be an unrealistic concept, why does Hawthorne interpolate this extravagant idea into his narrative? By comparing three definitions of "transplant" and "transport," I will interpret what sort of allusion is contained in these terms.

Primarily, the Latin preposition *trans* indicates "across, to or on the farther side of" and the verb "port" means "to carry." Therefore, the verb "transport" combines "across" with "to carry," which signifies the action "to convey something or someone across from one place to another." [97] Analogously, "transplant" combines "trans-" with the verb "plant" meaning "to fix in a place." The verb "transplant" is originally used in the field of vegetable life or plant matter, which means "to remove a plant from one place or soil and plant it in another." Then, as the second meaning it develops the meaning of "immigration" or "settlement," that is "to convey or remove from one place to another" especially "to bring people or a colony from one country to settle in another," which has the same meaning of "transport."[98]

Considering that Americans have the same roots and a strong affinity to England, the following third meaning could create a mutually complementary relationship between those two nations. When used as in a surgical transplantation, it means "to transfer an organ or portion of tissue from one part of the body, or from one person or animal, to another." Applying this third definition to the above quotation, it seems that a nation is used as a metaphor of a human body. If either of them accepts the transplanted organ as a part of their body, it would be demonstrated that those two nations have a common organism and it functions harmoniously without organ rejection response. Having the same roots and consanguinity in both nations, people in England and America are depicted as exchangeable entities and complementary states to each other. For this reason, Hawthorne thought it possible to transplant its people mutually and fantasized about re-merging those two nations by crossing the Atlantic.

5. Concealed Desire for Remapping the World

Here, let me reconsider the quotation in "STUDY 3" which I mentioned previously. It says that in order to make a conformity within a character, "the former [English] must assimilate itself into the latter [American]." To take account of this context, it is a matter of adaptation to construct the main character of this story. Therefore, at the concept stage, Hawthorne tries to depict how his hereditary good old British characteristics would be assimilated into his current young American character.

However, when Hawthorne has introduced this concept into his narrative, it is expanded from the shift of individual character to the international transmigration between America and England. In other words, the narrative context expands from a private family issue to a global-scale problem. Thus, we are able to read into this shift that he does desire to make a coherent union by assimilating “the former” [*England*] with “the latter” [*America*]. At the same time, this flow of people from England into America reminds us of the Puritan immigrants who had left for New England in the seventeenth century. Their original purpose was to construct an ideal community separated from their native land of England. And, this historical migration to the American continent induced them to be independent from the fatherland. But now, Hawthorne longs for re-assimilation of those two nations to become one union.

Now, I move to the topic of Hawthorne’s concealed desire of remapping the world by referring to this unfinished claimant tale and his personal letters. Apart from his narrative, Hawthorne’s image of remapping the world is strongly affected by the social circumstances of those times. Living in Europe and considering America from a distance, he finally makes a slip of the tongue with “annexation” in a letter to the American publisher William Ticknor on June 21, 1855, when Hawthorne was still in England:

> Massachusetts must be a very uncomfortable place, just now, with your liquor laws and other nonsense. I wish we could annex this island to the Union, and that I could have an estate here in Warwickshire. (*XVII* 358)[99]

The term of “annex” resonates with the famous article entitled “Annexation” in *Atlantic Review* that John L. O’Sullivan issued in 1845. It promoted expansionism under the slogan of “Manifest Destiny” for acquiring Texas, which proclaimed territorial rights over the West and tried to “unite” the North American continent. In fact, this slogan accelerated the westward movement and America expanded its national boundaries both politically and rationally. Ten years from the article of "Annexation," Hawthorne set up much more complicated national boundaries when the Civil War was looming.

On returning to this unsettled community in Concord, he conceived the idea of remapping the world. This is the letter to Ticknor on December 17, 1860 from Concord:

> "Don't you think England might be induced to receive the New England States back again, in our old Provincial capacity? Or perhaps it would be a better scheme to arrange a kingdom for Prince Alfred by lumping together Canada, New England, and Nova Scotia. … For my part, I should be very glad to exchange the South for Canada." (*XVIII* 355)

In this letter, Hawthorne clearly reveals his inner voice for organizing areas which have the same roots of white Anglo-Saxons to make a homogeneous association: England, New England, Canada, and Nova Scotia which is a province in eastern Canada and its English name is "New Scotland," but excludes America's southern states. He says playfully that this alliance is "for Prince Alfred," who was the second son of Queen Victoria, and was only sixteen years old in 1860.[100] Of course, this must have been a kind of joke, but compared to the previous quotation that suggests annexation of England, he seems to have had a deep attachment to and depended heavily on support from England. To deal with the unsatisfactory situation that the North American continent was under threat of dividing into two national spaces, why does he try to re-arrange and re-map the world in his own way?

It is Anne Baker who suggests that "maps played an important role in the process of giving the national form" (Baker 18). She speculates that the anxiety about national form had developed the mapping conventions during the expansionism in mid-nineteenth-century America.[101] As Baker points out, “nationalism is one way of organizing or classifying space” and mapping provides the sense of comfort with a distinction between “us” and “them” by inscribing on space (Baker 4-5). Shimokobe states “mapping is a fundamental means of giving a form to the formless space by uniting the signifier and the signified,” and in the expanding space of the North American continent of the nineteenth century, “the nation is shapeless because the boundary of the territory is always moving forward.”[102] Therefore, making a clear outline of the nation and giving an explicit shape to its space makes us comfortable living in this unstable world.

Remembering that Hawthorne’s claimant narratives were developed from 1855 to 1861, it was the time when the survival of America as a nation was threatened by the issue of slavery, which treats individuals as property. While facing a split in his nation close to his neighborhood, Hawthorne’s anxiety towards America transformed into a desire for unity with England and other nations which, as Hawthorne believed, have affinity with the North American space. That made him fantasize about having social space with conformity and coherence of people. As a result, the psychologically incoherent situation within him may have caused him to abandon the claimant narratives.

6. Who Had Inherited the Estate and Narrative?

In Hawthorne’s claimant manuscripts, his protagonist Ned Etherege tries to bridge the spatial and temporal gulf between his ancestors’ land of origin and his own, by reclaiming what the ancestors had left behind in the seventeenth century. Because property can survive to a later period, it might connect the two separated spaces of England and America and its lapse of time of over two-hundred years. However, Hawthorne fails to sustain the goal of his protagonist's quest, and keeps failing to grasp what the "Bloody Footstep" signified, which would become the main theme of this narrative since it symbolized the family conflict in this work. Thus, he could not keep up with the direction of his claimant narratives, nor could he connect the transatlantic themes comprehensively.

Remembering that the birth of this nation starts from the voicing of endowing rights of "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness," and when we recall John Locke's original phrase was "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Property," it might be permitted to dream of having estates in England or anywhere else in the world, even though America had unjustly deprived Native Americans of their vast extent of land.[103] However, considering that it was time to confront the Civil War, the point of the survival of the nation for fighting against the system of slavery which treats individuals as property, and America was threatened by the split of its national space, Hawthorne could not help but restrain his "unspeakable yearning" for unity with England, since this would echo betrayal and escape from his real world of nineteenth century America.

Thus, Hawthorne's ambivalent feeling is accurately reflected in the voice of his protagonist Ned Etherege who is bewildered about his circumstances and wondering whether he should receive the English title and estate or not:

> "If I come back hither, with the purpose to make myself an Englishman—especially an Englishman of rank and hereditary

> estate—then for me America has been discovered in vain, and the great spirit that has been breathed into us is in vain; and I am false to it all!" (*XII* 281)

It is interesting that in this part, Hawthorne uses passive forms and resultative present perfect tense for describing his protagonist's mixed emotions. In this sentence, "America" stands for geographical space as well as the name of the nation, and it is placed as the object that had been "discovered" by Christopher Columbus in 1492 and later by their English ancestors. Therefore, if "I" become an Englishman, "America" and "the great spirit" that people had had breathed into them from its space has been "discovered in vain" not only by "me" but also, presumably, by his contemporary readers in both countries. And finally, "I" comes in the subject position and he confesses that he would betray America if he inherits the rank and estate. In Hawthorne's logic, Etherege's inheritance would jeopardize "the discovery of America" itself. As being swayed violently this way, Hawthorne might have thought that his protagonist's decision could cast a decisive influence over his national history and its space in the real nineteenth-century America.

Conceivably, in Hawthorne's last phase, he finally set foot on the ground of his ancestral home of England and seized his ultimate theme of translational family romance. In the Centenary Edition, the editors comment, "his own experience suggested an inescapable sense of continuity in both history and geography" (Davidson and Simpson 491). With this orientation of foreign space, he acquires a new perspective of seeing from the Old World to the New World. Placing himself in the real environment, climate, and tangible materials in England, the real-life experience must have given him a chance to rethink about national history retrospectively.

Textual space has been a reoccurring theme throughout his career. Hawthorne treats the text as a certain "space" that is typified in the concept of "neutral territory" in "The Custom-House," where "the Actual and the Imaginary may meet, and each imbues itself with the nature of the other" (*I* 36). That is the place where he can construct a special relationship with readers based on mutual trust between an author and readers. As John Carlos Rowe suggests, he repeatedly creates "the aesthetic space where he attempts to reinvent the U. S. national symbology" (Rowe 92). Lauren Berlant also states Hawthorne "set up a structural homology between the reader and the citizen" in order to create "a literary mnemotechnique of national identity based on the knowledge, consciousness, and effective material of counter-memory" for constructing "national-utopian" (Berlant 180-81).[104] By making a place to share with the readers and defining their position as the audience of the text, Hawthorne has always constructed an imaginary space in his works.

Analogously, these claimant narratives might have made a bridge between two separated spaces and present an imaginary sphere that he could share with his contemporary readers. Considering that his claimant narratives have three different drafts, using "retelling" technique, Hawthorne struggles to update his narrative by relating the story "anew" and "in another form" to construct his long-desired historical transatlantic narrative. However, his anxiety toward the political environment makes him draw a map of the actual mid-nineteenth-century space in order to create another comfortable "union" for himself. This act of mapping is a means of giving a certain space on the globe, and he desired to organize his virtual utopia to escape from his real world. Meanwhile, as North America was becoming a formless space with fluctuating boundaries disturbed by slavery issues, this must have been one of the reasons why Hawthorne desired another space which had a clear outline of its nation. Unfortunately, this internal disunity within him disrupted him from continuing to write his romance.

I would like to make a final mention about Hawthorne's attempt at succession to properties of English estate and title. It is true that these three types of drafts were aborted in 1861, but this theme is "retold," or taken over into the other aborted narratives of "Septimius Felton" and "Septimius Norton" written between 1861 and 1863, that are set in Concord at the beginning of the American Revolution and focus on the search for the elixir of life. In the epilogue of "Septimius Felton," the narrator informs us of a rumor that Septimius, who has accidentally killed a British soldier who is later identified as of Septimius's kinship, appears to cross the Atlantic and inherits the estate of Smithills Hall:[105]

> Rumors there have been, however, at various times, that there had appeared an American claimant, who had made out his right to the great estate of Smithell's Hall, and had dwelt there, and left posterity, and that in the subsequent generation an ancient baronial title had been revived in favor of the son and heir of the American. Whether this was our Septimius, I cannot tell; but I should be rather sorry to believe that after such splendid schemes as he had entertained, he should have been content to settle down

> into the fat substance and reality of English life, and die in his due time, and be buried like any other man. (*XIII* 193-194)

Although the narrator remains ambiguous toward the true heir, Hawthorne works out a deal with connecting the transatlantic issue of Smithills Hall from the series of *American Claimant Manuscript* to *The Elixir of Life Manuscripts*. In this successive tale of “Septimius,” the young English officer is buried on the hill top near Lexington by the hands of Septimius; in contrast, according to the narrator, Septimius is to “die in his due time, and be buried” in England. Having exchanged their burial places, Hawthorne succeeds in his imagined “transplant” project written in his American claimant narratives.

As for the Bloody Footstep, though Hawthorne also uses this motif in the “Septimius” narratives, this time he flatly rejects that “it was a mere natural reddish stain in the stone, converted by superstition into a Bloody Footstep” (*XIII* 194). But for Smithills Hall, he adapts not only the inheritance issued in “Septimius,” but also he introduces the subject of the amalgamation into the successor of the English estate:

> A few years ago, while in England, I visited Smithell's Hall, and was entertained there, not knowing at the time that I could claim its owner as my countryman by descent; though, as I now remember, I was struck by the thin, sallow, American cast of his face, and the lithe slenderness of his figure, and seem now (but this may be my fancy) to recollect a certain Indian glitter of the eye and cast of feature. (*XIII* 194)

“The thin, sallow, American” signifies that he has slightly yellow-colored skin and is not a pure Anglo-Saxon. Whether this description is Hawthorne’s actual experience in England or just what he has imagined, the strong recollection of an Indian figure is adapted into his protagonist, and Septimius is introduced as a hybrid child of Puritan and Native Indian. Considering that an Indian-blooded protagonist inherited a certain space in England, this conclusion forms a kind of circular structure since the real estate problem seems to reach back into Hawthorne's *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851) that was written about a decade before.

In that house, "an Indian deed" is concealed behind the portrait of Colonel Pyncheon that is said to have been confirmed by a General Court which admitted a vast and unexplored tract of eastern lands in the State of Maine (*II* 18, 315-16). Seemingly, this romance is based on the struggle over the land ownership between the families of Pyncheon and Maule; however, tracing the history of its conflict, this "Indian deed" has been laid on its narrative background. It was signed with "the hieroglyphics of several Indian sagamores" in order to convey to Colonel Pyncheon and his heirs with "a vast extent of territory at the eastward" (*II* 316). Of course, illiterate Indians who had obviously been robbed of their land without knowing it, had been written as virtually invisible figures in his works. However, as Septimius who succeeds the Indian blood line has inherited Smithills Hall in England, this conclusion could bring about one reconciliation not only between the Americans and the English but also between Native Indians and the Americans through their ancestral ties with the English.

Conclusion

Mission of Retold Narratives:

From the Nineteenth Century to the Twenty-First Century

1. Reusing the "Urtext" for Reconstructing Other Narratives

Being retold twice or more times, there is a primitive desire to access the unreachable past and recognize what was happening at that time. What Nathaniel Hawthorne did in his writing text of retelling is a continuous endeavor to give voice to the story of a wounded, repressed people, and give a chance to reconsider the misunderstood historical event. Thus, my endeavor in this dissertation has been to examine how Hawthorne's narrative style of "twice-told" reconnects the past and reconstructs the story of people who had been excluded from official history or authentic national narratives.

To bring the past into present society, Hawthorne employs historical materials as "urtext." Sometimes he reuses original sources such as earlier writings and traditional lore or legends into his version. As a Romance writer, he is able to be free to make his own version on condition that the re-told story is derived from the original one. Therefore, for each story we could trace the urtext that Hawthorne might have used, but we also found that sometimes he just borrows its historical frame, and another time only uses a character's name and position. Those romances function as "another narrative" against the national narratives which are recognized as official memory in the community.

In one of his early works, "Alice Doane's Appeal" (1835), that I discussed in Chapter One, the urtext is a historical source near-at-hand in Salem, and mostly it seems to be the collective memory in the seventeenth century related to Salem witchcraft in 1692 and the battles against Indians that occurred frequently during the expansion of the frontier at that time. What ignited Hawthorne's creativity about witchcraft the most was a local historian, Charles Wentworth Upham, who delivered lectures on the Salem witch trials and produced books in 1831. Upham's lecture was accepted as a national narrative; however, from Hawthorne's view, his way was achieved by "converting the hill of their disgrace into an honorable monument of his own antiquarian lore, and of that better wisdom" (*XI* 267). As a reaction to Upham, Hawthorne decides to try another method: it is to construct "another monument" using "dark funereal stone" to commemorate their ancestors' historical errors so that the beholders could imagine the past misdeeds.

"Roger Malvin's Burial" (1832) that we read in Chapter Two is a story to emphasize the importance of decent burial for the dead. This tale is based on "Lovell's Fight" in 1725, the battle between the colonial farmers of Massachusetts and Pigwacket Indians; thus it is assumed that Hawthorne had used the book *Historical Memoirs of the Late Fight at Piggwacket* (1725, 1822) written by Reverend Thomas Symmes as an urtext. In particular, an event to commemorate the centenary of the battle at Lovell's Pond held in Fryeburg, Maine, in 1825 motivated Hawthorne to work on his tale. This commemorative event or nationalistic performance might have been intended to stimulate public self-consciousness about a 100-years-ago battle at this moment in U.S. history, for which ceremony Thomas C. Upham dedicated his ballad "Lovellpond" and Henry Longfellow scribed a poem. This commemorative ceremony encouraged the scheme of removing Native American tribes from their lands, as referred to by President Andrew Jackson in his State of the Union address in 1829, and the Indian Removal Act in 1830. Confronting the contemporary writers' and the community's admiration of "Lovell's Fight," Hawthorne uses the imaginary survivor's memory to function as the "counter-memory" of a national discourse.

In Chapter Three, we discovered that in order to give authenticity to the imaginary narrative of *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), Hawthorne employs the oral testimony of witnesses to Hester. To compose this historical narrative of the seventeenth century, he utilized some local sources such as Joseph B. Felt's *The Annals of Salem, from Its First Settlement* (1827), and the records of the Salem Quarterly Court convened in 1668, in which the names of his ancestor John Hathorne as a judge and "Hester" as an accused appeared. Using those historical materials as narrative sources, Hawthorne writes "Endicott and the Red Cross" (1838) first, and then he adapts some motifs into the full-length romance. In order for a private history from the colonial period to survive, Hawthorne creates Surveyor Pue's imaginary manuscripts stored in "The Custom House," and he pretends as if all his narrative is coming from Pue's document that consisted of testimonies from the Puritan community. Not the official records written by authorities based on the dry facts, but the private voice and memory shared within the community, which escaped war damage and had been relayed by each generation, had survived to nineteenth-century America. In this way, Hawthorne creates an imagined history originating in folk memories of the colonial period and endows them with the power to proceed to their independence from the fatherland.

As we have seen in *The House of the Seven Gables* (1951) in Chapter Four, the story is derived from the Salem witch trials. The site on which Colonel

Pyncheon erects a family mansion in the seventeenth century was the land of Matthew Maule. Not only was this unjustly depriving him of his site, but also the original Pyncheon executed him for the crime of witchcraft. As "no written record of this dispute is known to be in existence," the urtext of this narrative is based on the collective memory that is "chiefly from tradition" (*II* 7) about Salem witchcraft. Having usurped Maule's land and building his house over his "unquiet grave," this architectural space becomes the place where the Dead men had metaphorically survived and kept affecting the living. By using the modern technology of daguerreotype, Holgrave uncovers the shadowed connection between his fore-fathers and the Pyncheon family. It would connect to the act of their bodies "be[ing] decently buried" (*II* 182-83). Finally, I concluded that this house becomes the burial place for their dead ancestors of "Dead Men," whereas, the living characters have to "remove themselves from this contaminated house built on the burial ground to another house in the country.

In the unfinished English Romances that I examined in Chapter Five, Hawthorne desires to re-connect the actual space of his native land and England, which his ancestors had left over two hundred years before. What he employs to connect those far apart places are the ancestral English estate and its titles. Hawthorne tries to symbolize the "bloody footstep" printed in the entrance of Smithills Hall as an image of family conflict and embodying its history that is deeply related to an English estate. He learned the legend about its being made by the blood of the nonconformist clergyman George Marsh who was martyred in 1555, from the source in *The History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancashire* (1836) and employs the tradition concerning the "bloody footstep" as an urtext. However, failing to construct the linkage between this motif and history, he finally abandons all his versions when he returns to Concord. Instead, his anxiety toward the political environment about slavery issues makes him draw a map of the actual mid-nineteenth-century space in order to create another comfortable "union" for himself. This act of cartography is a means of giving a certain space on the globe, and he desires to organize his virtual utopia to escape from his real world.

In this way, using the historical materials as well as real places, such as Gallows Hill, City of Boston, The House of the Seven Gables, and Smithills Hall in England, Nathaniel Hawthorne reconstructs imaginary spaces and retells the past in different ways from official narratives. Furthermore, he sometimes reuses his first version, revises it, and updates the tales several times. All those retelling methods, or repeated ways of telling aim to connect the two distinct periods by making his own new version of "history" in his narrative space in order to hear the voices of those who had been oppressed. Thus, we could find that Hawthorne has been trying to confront the past which contemporary American society had avoided facing by making another version of narratives.

2. Responding to the Voice of Mourning for the Dead

In Hawthorne's narrative, using historical facts from the early colonial period as source material, he retells the past in his narrative space. His varied methods of reusing, revising and retelling involve not only private family issues but also the collective memory in the early American history. These unverbalized memories, however, keep returning through the successive generations claiming to be heard. As the trauma itself requires its story to be retold, Hawthorne could not help repeating his narratives to seek a traumatic narrative spot in the history of this young nation through those voices. Retelling the historical narratives repeatedly, Hawthorne tries to decently bury the unsettled past. Therefore, what Hawthorne continuously did in his narratives was to give voice to "the story of a wound that cries out, that addresses us in the attempt to tell us of a reality or truth that is not otherwise available" (Caruth, *Unclaimed* 4).

Throughout this dissertation, I have argued how Hawthorne depicts the relation between past and present focusing on the act and rhetoric of burial in his texts. As in the metaphor used by Holgrave, the Past is rephrased as "a giant's dead body" of an ancestor. He laments that "a young giant" or his descendant, signifying "we" living in the present, must take over the responsibility of carrying about the heavy dead body of his ancestor. He also questions why successive generations have to bear such a burden on their backs as if they are "slaves to bygone times?" and he suggests a solution saying, "the only needs" for them is "to be decently buried" (*II* 182-83). Thus, what Hawthorne keeps appealing for in his works is the importance of proper burial by the hands of successive generations, or after several generations. To properly place the bodies of people including those who suffered violent deaths in the ground is an urgent claim from the past, not only by the dead but also by "bygone times," which Holgrave calls "Death."

This "burial" that successive generations dedicated toward the dead is to perform the actual rite at the burial ground, but it is not enough. Hawthorne points out that since "we are a people of the present and have not heartfelt interest in the olden time," it might be natural that they "never dream of paying funeral honors to those who died so wrongfully" (*XI* 267). In fact, the victims of the Salem witchcraft were buried "without a coffin or a prayer" on Gallows Hill (*XI* 267). This phrase, written in "Alice Doane's Appeal" must have been the precise description of a feeling of distance toward the dead of the past that present people have. At the same time, Hawthorne's very description represents the urgent voice of reclaiming mourning for the dead who had been historically oppressed.

In order to express some grief and mourn the dead, the first step is to make people recognize the misdeed in history and to make them notice that there were people who had bitterly suffered and had to die. This is why young Hawthorne "made a trial whether truth were more powerful than fiction" (*XI* 278)" in "Alice Doane's Appeal" by fusing the historical elements with imaginary description in his narrative space. What Hawthorne did is to make his people recognize the grief for the death of those who died in the past by expressing in words to be publicly known so that the lives of the dead be made "grievable." This is the function of the obituary as well as the mission of the obituary writer that Judith Butler proposes as "by which grievability is publicly distributed" (*Precarious* 34). This is the way of burying the dead decently that Hawthorne did attempt by verbalizing and writing the story of the past in his retelling form. Through this process, his narratives become the official sites of mourning where sorrow for the loss of people in the past could be shared and expressed in successive communities.

In "Alice Doane's Appeal" and "Roger Malvin's Burial," Hawthorne writes about unsuccessful burials. Leonard Doane personally fails in his twin brother's burial after killing him, even though he has carried him to be buried by the lake (*XI* 273). In the case of Reuben, having neglected his duty of providing a proper funeral for his father-in-law Roger, triggers the loss of his son Cyrus. Considering that Roger symbolizes "past" and Cyrus, who is be expected to become a leader in this community, represents the future, Hawthorne implies one possibility that failing to bury the past endangers their nation in the future. In this way, by depicting the failure of the proper burial, Hawthorne motivates people to face the past and have a positive behavior toward the unaccomplished burial in the past.

On the other hand, one burial is accomplished in his unfinished tale of "Septimius Felton," as well as Septimius inherits the English estate in the end. Hawthorne works out a deal to connect the transatlantic issue of Smithills Hall from the series of *American Claimant Manuscript* to *The Elixir of Life Manuscripts*. This must be the interesting inheritance between aborted collections, but the most prominent feature is that Septimius Felton succeeded in a proper burial for his counterpart, whom he accidentally killed.

In response to the strange young man's wish to be buried, Septimius did it for him on the hill top near Lexington by his own hands. Furthermore, Septimius asks a minister who happens to walk by to "say a prayer at his obsequies" (*XIII* 34). At that moment, the minister once rejects his request, saying "all things relating to death and burial should be done *publicly*" (*XIII* 34; emphasis added). But, the minister did it for him since he was moved by Septimius' earnest appeal;

> "but, it may be, scores of men will fall to day, and be flung into hasty graves without funeral rites, without its ever being known, perhaps, what

> mother has lost her son. I cannot but think that I ought to perform the dying request of the youth whom I have slain." (*XIII* 34)

Regardless of whether he was a British soldier and his counterpart, or his enemy on the battlefield, Septimius deeply recognizes what he has to do for the dead. What he should do is to place the dead body in the earth and give prayers for him *publicly*; and this is what both Leonard Doane and Reuben Bourne could not accomplish in their narratives. Focused on the minister's address, a burial rite should be performed *publicly* in order to let his death be known to the community, even to the world. As the minister participates in the funeral rite as a third person with Septimius, his counterpart's death has been shared by them *publicly*, even if it is on a minimum scale.

Remember that to "retell" a story, we do not have to make an exact copy of the first one, which means we can relate the story "anew" and "in another form" to tell it "again." That means we have the discretion to tell the story differently in order to make the retold story fresh. Using the similar burial motifs repeatedly, Nathaniel Hawthorne has finally managed to succeed in writing of grief and mourning for the death of those who had died violently publicly with a decent burial by the protagonist's words and performance, ironically in his last aborted narrative.

3. John Hersey's *Hiroshima*: Retelling the "Aftermath" in the Twentieth Century

Hawthorne reconstructs and retells another version of history in his literary space by attempting to resurrect the historical event and the oppressed people in the nineteenth century. When we turn our gaze toward the twentieth century, there are some historical events that the U.S. could not have retold or grasped successfully until now. One of these is the decision to use the nuclear bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. To demonstrate how this twice-told technique has been perpetuated in American literature and how it affects the construction of national memory, I would like to introduce John Hersey's challenge.

In the postwar period, the name of "Hiroshima" becomes gradually signified into another icon: Hiroshima was required to become the universal symbol of "peace" rather than the atom-bombed city. According to Robert Jay Lifton, a law to construct The Peace Park passed by the Japanese Diet in 1949 conferred Hiroshima with "the title 'International City of Peace' and granted a financial subsidy with which it could give material shape to this *new identity*" (Lifton 271; emphasis added).[106] This "new identity" is created from "Atomic Bomb" into "Peace."[107] In the process of constructing the commemorative space, the threat of annihilation by nuclear weapons was gradually replaced by the notion of peace.

In the study by Lisa Yoneyama, the U.S. side eagerly supported Hiroshima's postwar reconstruction. She points out that the General Headquarters of the Allied Forces including Douglas MacArthur himself "enthusiastically supported the idea of spatially rearranging Hiroshima," since they could turn the image of a gruesome space into "an international showcase for exhibiting the link between the atomic bomb and postwar peace" (Yoneyama 20). What the U.S. side wished to do was to overwrite its unfavorable memory with a positive image, so they were willing to take part in constructing the commemorative space in a former enemy nation. Onto the dark historical place, where a tremendous number of people died and were buried, they hoped to construct the Peace Memorial Park as "a mecca of world peace" (Yoneyama 20) as a nuclear deterrence, as well as an official narrative.

On the other hand, there is "another monument" of Hiroshima constructed by an American journalist, John Hersey. He issued the article entitled *Hiroshima* in the *New Yorker* magazine on August 31, 1946.[108] His report was focused on testimonies of six survivors in Hiroshima to retell their experiences.[109] His work enabled people in America to encounter the voice of others called "hibakusha" (people exposed to nuclear radiation) for the first time. However, it is not well known that this work has a sequel published in 1985, forty years after the radioactive fallout.[110] Hersey revisits Hiroshima to make a sequel of the "aftermath" recollecting those same six survivors.[111] But this time, how does he use his retelling technique to appeal to the rest of the world?

Hersey's first publication of *Hiroshima* in 1946 is not an exposure but a journalistic account of the bombing. However, it succeeded in revealing what the people had only vaguely understood until then. First, he explains the effects of radioactivity on human beings in a way that average Americans could comprehend. Second, he identifies the "heavy amount of casualties" in the form of real dead bodies and individual deaths.[112] This is quite the opposite way to President Truman's official announcement, made sixteen hours after the fallout, which included no mention of or consideration for the thousands of dead. The American authorities tried to exclude the inhuman images from their narrative.

In his sequel edition, that consists of the previous contents plus a new

"Aftermath" section, Hersey writes about two familiar characters' deaths out of the six hibakusha, as well as describing their later lives: Dr. Fujii died on January 12, 1973, and Father Kleinsorge, who had become a naturalized citizen of Japan under the name of Father Makoto Takakura, died on November 19, 1977. Both of them were expected to die of aftereffects of radioactivity. In his sequel "Aftermath," Hersey has written in effect genuine "obituaries" for the A-bomb victims.

Again, referring back to Judith Butler's remark that I have mentioned in the Introduction, "If there were to be an obituary, there would have had to have been a life" because it would be recognized as "a life that qualifies for recognition" (*Precarious* 34). An obituary is a short-form notice or an article in a newspaper to inform of someone's death as well as to tell about their life. Rather than a simple notice recording one's death, it has a specific task of telling a story about a person's life, how they lived and how they related to others during their lifetime. Giving an account of their lives in words, "the obituary functions as the instrument" for distributing their deaths publicly which enables "grievability" among its readers (*Precarious* 34). In order to make the dead to be "grievable," the grief for the death of those who died should be expressed in words and be known publicly. In Hersey's "Aftermath" section, he not only narrates the survivors' lives but also makes their death *grievable* by writing their obituaries precisely and sharing it all with his readers.

Later, Hersey remembered his first interview with the survivors in Hiroshima and confessed that he had employed "fictional techniques in nonfiction" (Dee, "The Art" 232) in his first issue that appeared in 1946. He talks about the narrative method that he used retrospectively in an interview in the *Paris Review* in 1986：

> Fiction is the more attractive to me, because if a novelist succeeds, he can enable the reader to identify with the characters of the story, to become the character of the story, almost, in reading. Whereas in journalism, the writer is always mediating between the material and the reader; … This was one of the reasons why I had experimented with the devices of fiction in doing journalism, in the hopes that my mediation would, ideally, disappear. ("The Art of Fiction" 228)

As a journalist, what he has been annoyed by is the position of writer/narrator who is required to mediate between his readers and the material he portrays. On the other hand, fiction makes his readers directly confront the characters, or even be able to become the characters without the writer's "mediation." By identifying themselves with the characters, they can "suffer some of the pain, some of the disaster, and therefore realize it" ("Art" 228). Pretended to be written with a traditional journalistic approach, Hersey employs fictional elements so as to make his readers empathize with what was happening in Hiroshima through the eyes of survivors.[113]

This technique is quite similar to what Nathaniel Hawthorne used in "Alice Doane's Appeal." As I have observed in Chapter One, attempting to represent the truth about the historical witch trials, Hawthorne makes "his trial" by fusing the historical elements with imaginary description, and demonstrates the power of romance in front of the narrator's two companions. This is an attempt to examine the role of history in fiction as well as to demonstrate an appeal for his readers to inspire their imagination and to connect themselves to history. What Hawthorne tested in his tales is to make his audience "witness" to the historical event through his narrative.

Similarly, but in the opposite direction from what Hawthorne did, Hersey infused the fictional techniques into his reportage. By re-creating hibakusha's experiences with "fictional techniques in nonfiction," the fact about the atomic annihilation is conveyed by means of survivors as witnesses to the story. This technique succeeds in assisting readers to visualize the actual experiences of the people in Hiroshima. Furthermore, it prompts readers to re-consider their previous approval of the atomic bombings and helps them to imagine how they might perform in the coming nuclear age. Therefore, Hersey's sequel to the original narrative of the survivors in Hiroshima issued in 1985, namely his "twice-told *Hiroshima*," makes not only the U.S. but also the rest of the world aware of what happened and what is still happening to Hiroshima over a forty-year period. By using his "retelling" technique with hibakusha voices in his reportage, Hersey's work can be read as the "counter-memory" of official versions of historical continuity.

CODA. Obama's Hiroshima Speech: "Listen to the Voice of the Other"

As the U.S. has taken an equivocal attitude toward Hiroshima and Nagasaki, it raises much attention that Barack Obama's visit to Hiroshima on the evening of May 27, 2016 was the first visit of an incumbent U.S. President. After attending the Group of Seven summit held in Mie Prefecture, he visited Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park and gave a 17-minute speech in front of the Cenotaph and A-bomb survivors. As a Coda to my dissertation, I would like to analyze Obama's Hiroshima Speech and consider the function of "retelling" in a narrative in the context of the twenty-first century.

The public reaction to his speech was so great that *Gendai Shisou* published a special feature concerning "Hiroshima" in August 2016, and presented several in-depth analyses of Obama's Speech.[114] Since Obama avoided any direct expression of remorse or apology for the bombings, his speech was mostly criticized by intellectuals in Japan. His narrative is organized in a manner to respond to the question "Why do we come to this place, to Hiroshima?", and "That is why we come to this place" appears twice in his speech, providing a reason between each of those phrases. Admitting that there were some ambiguities in his words, but reading his draft carefully, I recognize that he had two specific intentions: First, he shows his endeavor to connect with the dead both psychologically and physically by standing on the very site that they had died. Second, although seemingly this speech is delivered to the whole world, his remarks are especially directed to the U.S. public by making reference to the Declaration of Independence.

Obama's speech begins with awareness of the place where a huge number of dead are buried, who might have been erased from public memory and the narratives of the U.S. Thus, it is significant not only for him but also for the U.S. that he acknowledges the reason why he came here is "to ponder a terrible force unleashed in a not so distant past," and "to mourn the dead" (Obama "Hiroshima"), as he tries to reflect on how "others" had suffered violence by his former generation. By heeding the voices of the dead, Obama senses that "their souls" seem to "speak to us" and "ask us to look inward." Showing this desire to make a dialogue with those dead who had been removed violently by his bygone generation, he tries to access the past from this very site of their burial ground.[115]

But in fact, complete access to the past experience of the dead is unachievable, because as Cathy Caruth asserts, "we may not have direct access to others', or even our own, histories" (*Unclaimed* 10). Instead of the voices of the dead, what Obama shows solidarity with is testimonies of "hibakusha."[116] Ito Shoko points out that it is a significant factor that the U.S. President uses this term in the same manner as critics and literary people (Ito 245). First, the term "hibakusha" distinguishes between the victims of normal bombing attacks and nuclear attacks. Second, the English-speaking countries have not paid special attention toward the Japanese, not least the hibakusha, therefore, it is worth noting that Obama uses this term not only in the collective meaning but also to refer to individual voices and stories (Ito; my trans.; 245). In order to "escape the logic of fear" and "pursue a world without them [nuclear stockpiles]," Obama highlights the importance of "the voices of the hibakusha" (Obama, "Hiroshima") or stories of hibakusha that will provide significant insights for the future.

Therefore, the sudden interposition of "my own nation's story" quoting the famous passage of the Declaration of Independence into the "story of Hiroshima" might have brought a sense of discomfort to the audience of general interest:

> *My own nation*'s story began with simple words: All men are created equal, and endowed by our Creator with certain unalienable rights, including life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Realizing that ideal has never been easy, even within *our own borders*, even among *our own citizens*. (Obama, "Hiroshima"; emphasis added)

Until this point, Obama uses "we" to suggest people in general including the speaker himself, but here he limits the subject of the sentence to represent only the people in his nation and himself. Repeating the possessive pronouns, he asserts that "My own nation's story" is based on the Declaration of Independence, however hard it is to realize its philosophy within "our own borders" with "our own citizens." As Shibata Yuko mentions, it seems that this shifting of subject will make hibakusha stories assimilate into the U.S. national narrative.[117] However, the most powerful effect of this quotation must have been its eloquence to gather U. S. audiences' attention, since this is one of the most familiar phrases of their nation-building and their history.

By listening to their national philosophy, Americans are addressed not directly as the participants in the event but via TV or through the Internet. They are addressed to imagine what their past generations did to Hiroshima and what it might mean to contemporary citizens in America. Through the voice of Obama, their own nation's story awakens U. S. audiences in order to warn those who have been indifferent to Hiroshima, and make them imagine the past of seventy-one years ago.

At the end of his speech, Obama reconnects "the dead" to "we" saying, "Those who died—*they* are like us" (Obama, "Hiroshima"; emphasis added). Surprisingly, he merges "we" into "those who died" and produces a new subject that includes both the dead and the living. Of course, his contemporary U.S. public who were addressed by him are included. Through his rhetoric, which is not only "to mourn the dead" in Hiroshima, but to also integrate their voices into the living "us," Obama tries to create a united "we" who are able to make their own choices about the future.

Four years later in 2020, Obama retells his Hiroshima Speech. As a former

President, he released a message on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In his short letter consisting of 244 words, he addresses the world and tells them "you have to stand in that place, where the bomb fell," and to recognize the scale of destruction and its reconstruction (Obama, "Young"). Using "hibakusha" three times, he "retells" part of his 2016 speech, in which he reemphasizes the significant role of the memory of them:

> "Someday, the voices of the hibakusha will no longer be with us to bear witness. But the memory of the morning of Aug. 6, 1945, must never fade. That memory allows us to fight complacency. It fuels our moral imagination. It allows us to change." (Obama "Young")

Here, "that memory" is what the hibakusha testified, which has been retold and will be passed down for future generations. In the same way as merging the dead and the living to produce the new subject "we" in his previous speech, this time, Obama tries to interweave the memory of hibakusha with "ours" much more strongly. To re-access this unreachable historical past that the U. S. had inflicted on "others," former U.S. President Obama is managing to face up to and accept the past by listening to the voices of the dead and those who survived. It seems that Obama tries to construct a new national narrative through speaking out of mourning toward "others." Thus, his "twice-told" performance provides one approach to access national trauma toward Hiroshima in this contemporary global situation of the twenty-first century.

Notes

[1] Tales in *A Wonder Book: For Girls and Boys* (1852) and *Tanglewood Tales: For Girls and Boys, being a Second Wonder Book* (1852) are not included in this number.

[2] According to Edwin Haviland Miller, five tales in 1836, and thirteen in 1837 and in 1838. Hawthorne published primarily in the *Salem Gazette*, the *Token*, and the *New-England Magazine* in his early period. The *Token* paid only 108 dollars for the eight contributions that appeared in 1837. The *New-England Magazine* usually paid at the rate of a dollar a page for the authors, but in Hawthorne's case he received only 140 dollars for the fourteen pieces he contributed to the magazine in those times. For those tales, he published anonymously, or by using a variety of signatures, which was not unusual in the nineteenth century. (Miller 77, 93-94; Crowley 486, 497-99).

[3] Horatio Bridge devoted himself to supporting Hawthorne in publishing the *Twice-Told Tales*. We can trace the background to its publication in Crowley's "Historical Commentary," where he regretted that "none of Hawthorne's letters having to do with publication seem to have survived." (Miller 97-100; Crowley 500-05).

[4] When the printing company was decided upon, Hawthorne was particularly careful about the selection of his tales. He reveals his thoughts on choosing "such articles as seemed best worth offering to the public a second time," in a letter to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow on March 7, 1837 (Crowley 503).

[5] See "Textual Commentary" of *Twice-Told Tales*, 535. Matthiessen suggests three possible explanations for Hawthorne's choice of "his peculiar title." The first suggestion is that "he had derived some of them from history and others from local legends he had picked up"; the second is "by virtue of the fact that he had printed them previously in magazines"; and a third reason is related to the line from Shakespeare's *King John*: "Life is as tedious as a twice-told tale" (Matthiessen 219).

[6] All references to Hawthorne's writings are taken from *The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, 23 vols. Subsequent references will be cited parenthetically in the text by volume and page number.

[7] For the historical source materials in his early tales, see Colacurcio's extensive work *The Province of Piety* (1995).

[8] Nina Baym also points out that before 1850, when Hawthorne began to claim repeatedly that he was writing romances rather than novels, the genre of romance was not seriously considered by the public. She also asserts, "Hawthorne in his own day was seen neither as the romance writer he claimed to be, nor as the essentially representative writer he has come to be" as he longed to be. However, it is significant to know that the concept of "how the idea of American romance now controlling so much American literary study" is not a long-term discussion but "a recent invention" (Baym, "Concepts"443).

[9] According to the *OED* (second edition), "urtext" suggests "an original text; the earliest version." Mostly used in relation to musical scores, the first appearance is recognized in 1932 in connection with Chopin's music.

[10] See Sigmund Freud, “Beyond the Pleasure Principle,” *The Freud Reader* (1989), Edited by Peter Gay, 598.

[11] The phrase, “You can’t even remember that you had already forgotten (painful or hard) memories, can you? [Wasureteiru koto wo wasurete imasenka?]” is from *History and Trauma* (*Rekishi to Torauma*, 2000) by Michiko Shimokobe, which describes the true meaning of traumatic symptoms. Forgetting something left unknown in themselves suggests an unreachable spot of memory, so it is waiting for the chance to be remembered and verbalized.

[12] Although there are a few references to Butler’s argument, most of them are brief mentions of her term or marginal additions of this information as a footnote. I could not find any concrete discussions that would develop Butler’s argument so as to interpret Hawthorne’s works. Christopher Castiglia adapts Freud’s “Mourning and Melancholy” to Clifford, Hepzibah, and Phoebe, in the context of “loss” (Castiglia 202). He also employs Butler’s “gender performativity” to read the main characters in *The House of the Seven Gables* (Castiglia 197-98). In Elizabeth Tucker’s “Ghosts in Mirrors: Reflections of the Self” (2005), Butler’s concept of “subversive resignification” as a disturbing physical sign is mentioned, but only slightly touches on Hester’s description without any development; Thomas Loebel’s “‘A’ Confession: How to Avoid Speaking the Name of the Father” (2003) studies *The Scarlet Letter*, and Charles Baraw’s “Hawthorne, a Pilgrimage to Salem, and the Poetics of Literary Tourism” (2017) analyzes “Alice Doane’s Appeal,” yet both of them only describe Butler’s famous notions of

"performativity," "agency" and "perform of gender" in their footnotes.

[13] After 9.11, Judith Butler published two texts, this *Precarious Life* (2004) and "Afterword: After Loss, What Then?" of *Loss* (2003), an anthology edited by David L. Eng and David Kazanjian. As Butler asserts that "a national melancholia, understood as a disavowed mourning, follows upon the erasure from public representations of the names, images, and narrative of those the US has killed" (*Loss* xiv), to injure others in the past contains the intrinsic of getting back at people or nations who will perform it in the future.

[14] Many critics make scathing comments on this narrative; however, there are also favorable opinions. Terence Martin mentions it is an example of an author "writing fiction about the problems of writing fiction" (Martin 187); Arlin Turner sees this story as a "bridge between Hawthorne's earliest attempts and the remainder of his works" (Turner 16).

[15] The second appearance of "Alice Doane's Appeal" is in *The Snow-Image Uncollected Tales, The Centenary Edition XI* (1974). *Seven Tales of My Native Land* was supposed to be published together with another salvaged tale "The Hollow of the Three Hills" (1830, later included in *Twice-Told Tales* in 1837) and "An Old Woman's Tale" (1830), both of which had once appeared in *Salem Gazette*, with some new stories added to this collection, but this arrangement had been canceled. According to Waggoner, Hawthorne himself refers, in the frame of "Alice Doane's Appeal," to the fact that the tale he read to his listeners was one of "a series written years ago," most of which had "fed the flames" (Waggoner 49).

[16] Many critics such as Douglas Robinson, Mary K. Ventura, and Charles Swann try to investigate the narrative structure in order to distinguish between correlation and causation in those two sections. Seymour L. Gross also points out that "this is the only story which is *told about* rather than *told*" because Hawthorne's revisional technique diminishes the attractiveness of its dramatic nature by using the "preponderance of summarization" within the tale (Gross 234). As Waggoner points out, there are a number of interruptions, falters and ambiguities. He said: "Certain portions of the tale which he read are quoted in the sketch; the rest is incompletely summarized, with the transitions between the quoted fragments managed by such expressions as "I read on, and … described'; "by this fantastic piece of description … I intended to throw a ghostly glimmer round the reader; and "I dare not give the remainder of the scene" (Waggoner 49).

[17] As this text is reused and modified the original texts, the personality of the narrator is inconsistent with the inner tale. In Mary K. Ventura's study, she lists four identifiable narrators: the primary narrator, his created narrator, Leonard Doane, and the wizard (Ventura 26). Ventura said that the narrator appears before us as "a self-deluded egoist—a seducer seduced by his own belief that he can control the energy and direction of his tale" (Ventura 26). As its construction, Charles Swann divides this narrative into four sections according to its "spatial organization of the tale": (a) an introduction which establishes a context for what follows; (b) the edited version of Alice's story; (c) the narrator's version of the execution of the Salem "witches"; and (d) a conclusion and a moral (Swann 24).

[18] Hereafter, when I use "the narrator," it all suggests the primary narrator

that is based on Douglas Robinson's classification explained in the previous section.

[19] Many critics recognize that the narrator's performance has sexual connotations. As Mary K. Ventura points out, the narrator's excessive performance seems not just to "tell" the story, but to "mesmerize" his young audience with his "seductive act" of storytelling (Ventura 32, 37). Person also reads his final act as "a metafictional workshop" to experiment with "author-audience" relations, especially with "the male artist's power over female response" (Person 134).

[20] Nina Baym speculates that Hawthorne may have been influenced by Upham's lectures and that "Upham's commonsense point is that imagination, like a wild beast, is inherently dangerous" (Baym 39). Hawthorne "took this lesson to heart, for his work after 1830 shows one attempt after another to write more rational and conservative fiction" (Baym 39). In response to her remark, Larry J. Reynolds declares that "Hawthorne always noticed how stories were told, especially the ways the imaginary could combine with the actual" (Reynolds, *Devils* 68). It seems that Hawthorne, of course, had recognized that uncontrolled imagination could be dangerous for his audience.

[21] The works of "The Gentle Boy" (1832), "The Gray Champion"(1835), "The May-Pole of Merry Mount" (1836), "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" (1832), "Alice Doane's Appeal" (1835), and "Roger Malvin's Burial" (1832) were planned to be recorded in the so-called *Provincial Tales*, but Hawthorne aborted this plan. All these works are set in the colonial period before the

War of Independence, underlining how Hawthorne intended to use the historical elements put into his narrative from his early years. See Gale, *Nathaniel Hawthorne encyclopedia,* 340-41, 427-28, 541-42.

[22] There are several ways to refer to "Lovell's Fight," which Hawthorne uses. It is also called Dummer's War, Lovewell's War, Lovewell's Fight, Lovell's War. In this chapter, I use "Lovell's Fight" as Hawthorne uses in the text.

[23] As for the murder of Cyrus, Erlich thinks it "as much an act of revenge as of expiation"; Waggoner identifies Cyrus in the role of Christ and argues that Cyrus's death is Reuben's redemption for Roger's death; and Crews labels this work "a parable of atonement." For readings of the psychological and moral action within this work, see Gloria C. Erlich, "Guilt and Expiation in 'Roger Malvin's Burial,'" *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 26, no. 4 (1972): 377-389; Hyatt H. Waggoner, *Hawthorne: A Critical Study* (1963); Frederick C. Crews, *The Sins of the Fathers: Hawthorne's Psychological Themes* (1966).

[24] Just after the battle, some anonymous ballads celebrating the battle appeared. One of the famous works written during that period is as follows: Thomas Symmes, "Lovewell Lamented, or a Sermon Occasion'd by the Fall of the Brave Captain John Lovewell" (1725). Edited by American Antiquarian Society (Readex, 1981-1982), microfiche 2705.

[25] Josiah Jones, another of the four wounded who were left the day after the Fight, traversed Saco river and arrived at Saco. In spite of the subsequent search, Farwell's body was never found. See David S. Lovejoy, "Lovewell's

Fight and Hawthorne's 'Roger Malvin's burial,'" *A Casebook on the Hawthorne Question*, edited by Agnes McNeill Donohue (Thomas Crowell, 1963): 81-92; G. Harrison Orians, "The Source of Hawthorne's 'Roger Malvin's Burial,'" *American Literature* 10 (1938): 313-18.

[26] According to Orians, there is a high probability that Hawthorne had read and referred to the book written by Reverend Thomas Symmes's *Historical Memoirs of the Late Fight at Piggwacket* (1725), which was reprinted in 1822 from the 1799 Fryeburg edition (Orians 314-15).

[27] For bounty of this attack, they were to receive one hundred pounds for each scalp (Colacurcio 118).

[28] The book which Samuel Penhallow organized in 1859 reprinted from the original Boston Edition of 1728 gives complete particulars of "Lovell's Fight," distinguishing who was involved in this battle and who had survived at the end (Penhallow 112-13).

[29] Much critical attention is focused on Reuben Bourne's guilt in the tale. Harry Levin's view is that Reuben is "innocent of the first death" of Roger Malvin's and only "inadvertently guilty" of his son Cyrus's death (Levin 55). Frederick Crews admits that leaving Roger in the wilderness must be the "only one reasonable decision to be made," and Crews focuses on Reuben's "discomfort," pointing out that "Reuben feels more responsible for Roger's death than he actually is" and even that he "imagined himself a murderer" (Crews 83). Crews decodes Reuben's "discomfort" by connecting it to "patricide" (Crews 86-87), but I interpret his "discomfort" as attributable to the delay of Roger's burial.

[30] For the details, see Paul S. Juhasz, "The House of Atreus on the American Frontier: Hawthorne's 'Roger Malvin's Burial,'" *CEA Critic* 68, no. 3 (2006), 48-58; James McIntosh, "Nature and Frontier in 'Roger Malvin's Burial,'" *American Literature* 60, no. 2 (1988): 188-204; Shoko Tsuji, "Two Obsessions in 'Roger Malvin's Burial' and the Influence of 'The Indian Burying Ground' by Philip Freneau," Matsuyama Daigaku Ronsyu 23, no. 5 (2011): 149-172. According to the anthropological study by Tsuji, "The sitting burial posture" of Indian tribes reflects "a specific view of life and death such as the dead can come back to the living freely." Also, she suggests that one of the reasons why they were buried sitting is because of a superstition that "the dead people will be reincarnated as a living people by their own death." See Philip Freneau, "The Indian Burying Ground" first appeared in 1787. *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* 1 (Norton, 1979), 23-25.

[31] McIntosh sees the similarity between Roger's upright sitting position and the posture of Freneau's Indian hunter as an example of irony, which also has the effect that Reuben has buried him alive as if he were an Indian.

[32] When Reuben left Roger behind eighteen years before, he behaved in a peculiar manner: After leaving him in that spot, he stopped and went back to sneakily watch what Roger did. Reuben finally left him without saying anything, but seeing again his bloodstained banner at that last moment "reminded him of his vow" (*X* 346) to return there again. The sitting figure of Roger deeply impressed him, but had Reuben laid him down, he would not have been tormented by that image. The only way to relieve this anguish

would be to return and bury Roger's dead body with his own hands.

[33] Uchida thinks that the living mourning the dead is to make sense for the surviving people rather than to console the dead over "senseless death" (Uchida 162).

[34] In this narrative, as Cyrus becomes fifteen years old eighteen years after "Lovell's Fight" (1925), he was born in 1728. If he had lived, the time of the American Independence War (1775-83) would have coincided with his later years (age 47-55).

[35] When Hawthorne writes his narratives, he frequently uses the materials from these historical books. Joseph B. Felt, *The Annals of Salem, from its First Settlement* (1827), 317.
archive.org/details/annalsofsalemfro00jose/page/316/mode/2up

[36] Hester's letter "A" is "precisely three inches and a quarter in length" and seemed to be "an ornamental article of dress" (*I* 31). Charles Boewe and Murray G. Murphey argue that "the law establishing this peculiar punishment for adultery was passed only as late as 1694" (Boewe and Murphey 203) as Felt describes in *The Annals of Salem*. Before that, whipping was the standard punishment for fornication at Salem. In fact, according to the study by Austin Warren, the unfortunate Mary Latham, who was married to an old man whom she did not love and who committed adultery with a young man, was subjected to the statutory death penalty by the Massachusetts Bay court (Boewe and Murphy 203-4). They suppose that "Hawthorne could not allow strict historical accuracy to kill off his heroine in the first chapter" (Boewe and Murphy 204).

[37] *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts* IV (1914), 84. The above records edited by George Francis Dow can be obtained online.
salem.lib.virginia.edu/Essex/vol4/images/essex084.html

[38] In fact, there are three times that Dimmesdale, Hester, and Pearl gather around the scaffold of the pillory: Other than the opening scene of “II. The Market-Place” and “III. Recognition,” and the last scene of “XXIII. The revelation of the Scarlet Letter,” just in the middle of the narrative, in “XII. The Minister’s Vigil,” Hester and Pearl happen to meet Dimmesdale on a night in early May. Seven years have passed since Hester first ascended this pillory with baby Pearl, and this time all three secretly stand on the platform hand-in-hand.

[39] Unlike the first settlers called “Pilgrim Fathers” who escaped from the corrupt Church of England and dreamed of establishing their own Utopian church, the Puritans did not separate from the Church of England, but desired to promote its religious reformation.

[40] The speech of “A Model of Christian Charity” by Governor John Winthrop (1630) is obtained online. www.winthropsociety.com/doc_charity.php

[41] As soon as the Puritans arrived in New England, they erected their meetinghouses “on elevated ground at a point as nearly equidistant from the surrounding homes as possible” (Stout 14). As the site of the meetinghouse was located at the center of the community, it was not only being the most significant and remarkable building but also “signified submission to God’s power” (Stout 14) in the community. He says that this closed room produced a kind of mystical space for the relation between townspeople and minister.

[42] According to Stout, in New England “there would be no competing voices or rituals, and the sermon would become as important for social meaning as for spiritual enlightenment.” He asserts that sermons were “authority incarnate” at that time (Stout 23).

[43] In *Voicing America* (1996), Christopher Looby attempts to investigate how vocal utterance written in the texts of the early national period affected nation-making. Ohoi Koji suggested in the book review in 2000 that many academic books on early American literature had been written in the 1990s. Another famous book is *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language, and the Culture of Performance* (1993) by Jay Fliegelman.

[44] Masato Itagaki refers to the NOTES written by Toshisaburo Koyama that the word “foul” has double meanings: one is “morally or spiritually polluted” and the other is “clogged up with dirt and impurities.” Itagaki emphasizes the latter interpretation and suggests that Dimmesdale (Hawthorne) uses “an organ pipe” differently inside and outside of church so that Dimmesdale could speak his words not in the closed space but in the open space even if it was “foul.”

[45] Hawthorne quotes this term from the Scriptures, in the book of “Acts of the Apostles” (2:1-13). It says that on the Day of Pentecost, seven weeks after Jesus’ death and resurrection, what looked like flames or tongues of fires suddenly appeared above the twelve apostles with a sound like the roaring of a mighty windstorm. They were all filled with the Holy Spirit and the Spirit gave them the power of utterance. These gifts of tongues are the

sign from God that they should go to all the nations and people of the world to spread the Gospel, in the languages of those various peoples. Hawthorne describes that Dimmesdale was gifted with this very ability of "Tongues of Flame" which is the voice of "the whole human brotherhood in the heart's native language" (*I* 142).

[46] The term of "sympathy" is one of the popular words at the end of the eighteenth to nineteenth century such as represented by William Hill Brown's sentimental novel of "The Power of Sympathy" (1789), which is considered to be the first American Novel. Hawthorne is partial to this term in his works, especially in *The Scarlet Letter.*

[47] To sum up the number of appearances of the terms, see the figures in parentheses: "sympathy" [28], "sympathies" [7], "sympathize" [3], "sympathized" [4], and "sympathetic" [2]. With the negative form, "unsympathized" [1] and "unsympathizing" [2].

[48] According to Kunishige Junji, Goodman Brown, who is the protagonist in Hawthorne's short tale "Young Goodman Brown" (1835), has "the instinct that guides mortal man to evil" (*X* 83). This instinct is inherent within all human beings in an unconscious way. Dimmesdale also realized this instinct that is attracted to evil. Kunishige explains "that instinct is a cry of humanity to desire for freedom from religious persecution" (Kunishige 245).

[49] As for the model of Hester, there are various discussions over the years: Thomas R. Mitchell suggests "Fuller was at the heart of Hawthorne's very conception of Hester" (Mitchell 183) since Hester inherits her unconventional trait as a career woman as well as a women's activist in nineteenth-century

society. Miller and Erlich refer to the influence of Hawthorne's mother who had died one year before the publication. Erlich states that the figure of Hester was created mixed with at least three women around him: "The triple female figure comprehending Louisa's selfless domesticity, Ebe's pride and beauty, and the mother's single status, would eventually be transformed into Hester's solitary but proud and competent maternity" (Erlich 98-99).

[50] See Reynolds, *European Revolutions and the American Literary Renaissance* (1998), 79-80; Bercovitch, *The Office of The Scarlet Letter* (1991), 85.

[51] According to Tatsumi Takayuki, what links "The Custom-House" with the story of *The Scarlet Letter* is "the concept of election essential to Puritan New England." He argues that on one hand, "The Custom-House, … uncovers the author's obsession with the result of a presidential election" of Zachary Taylor as the new president of the United States of America. But on the other hand, the narrative of *The Scarlet Letter* "centers on the election of a new governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony" and "the election sermon delivered by Reverend Arthur Dimmesdale himself." Therefore, this text could be redefined "as an election narrative, which questions the theological idea of election and the political significance of election at one and the same time" (Tatsumi, *Young Americans* 85-86).

[52] Increase Mather preached the election sermon in the Massachusetts Bay colony as many as four times, in 1677, 1693, 1699, and 1702, while ministers were usually invited to preach only once, or twice. See Silva, footnote 3, on page 72.

[53] According to Silva, the actual gathering for the sermon of audience would

be estimated between 200 and 250 people: ninety to one hundred deputies, an outgoing council of eighteen, twenty to thirty ministers along with a band of musicians, the Artillery Company, and a large number of colonists (Silva72; Plumstead 10-15; Bosco v, ix-xxiv).

[54] Stout describes how the people seated before the speaker in the principal building of the province were divided into three orders of authority: firstly the magistrates who represented the oligarchy, secondly the deputies who represented the democracy, and thirdly the ministers who represented the theocracy (Stout 29).

[55] Stout explains that "the speaker's goal" was "to recall for his audience the vision that first impelled New England's mission." Therefore, terms like "covenant," "errand," "pilgrimage," "wilderness," "desert," "garden," or "controversy," recur frequently over the generations and keep its power to stir the audience souls (Stout 29-30).

[56] According to the *OED*, the term of "sympathy" suggests "conformity of feelings, inclinations, or temperament, which makes persons agreeable to each other" such as "community of feeling" or "harmony of disposition" (3.a). Based on this definition, Dimmesdale's voice that contains the disposition of pain and suffering induced the same dispositions that are inherent in each listener, and their sameness conformed to their neighbors, that could unite a certain group of minds having "one accord of sympathy."

[57] In contrast to Le Bon's interpretation in 1960, Freud argues for the relationship between unconsciousness and repression in the group mind in his work of "Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego" (1921).

[58] In fact, the name of Endicott listed as one of the representative Governors: “These primitive statesmen, therefore, —Bradstreet, Endicott, Dudly, Bellingham, and their compeers, —wo were elevated to power by the early choice of the people” (*I* 238).

[59] archive.org/details/annalsofsalemfro00jose/page/n6/mode/2up

[60] Halifax is the capital of Nova Scotia in Canada, having a non-freezing port. As in the footnote of Koyama Toshisaburo, at the beginning of the Revolutionary War of Independence, the British forces had closed the port of Salem and occupied Boston. However, when George Washington surrounded Boston in 1776, William Howe who was the last Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony as well as Commander-in-Chief of America made a death-defying escape to Halifax accompanied by subordinates. Details about Howe at that time were represented in “Howe’s Masquerade” (1838) collected in the series of “Legends of the Province House.”

[61] This episode in the Custom-House attic is “a quaint variation on a convention as old as Defoe and older” to use the traditional prefatory guarantee or historical authenticity. See Paul John Eakin, “Hawthorne’s Imagination and the Structure of ‘The Custom-House,’” 353; Marshall van Deusen, “Narrative Tone in ‘The Custom House’ and *The Scarlet Letter*,” 62.

[62] Other than historical documents in Salem, according to the study by Charles Ryskamp, Hawthorne used the most creditable history of Boston available to him at that time, and one of which is the book of Celeb H. Snow’s *History of Boston* (1825). Especially, “the place of each action is just as carefully described as is the time” (Ryskamp 261) and the description of

the city in 1650 is almost identical to Snow's map in his book.

[63] As Richard Halleck Brodhead professes, "Hawthorne had a kind of hold over the whole literature enterprise of the generation that followed him that no other figure in the history of American fiction has exerted, before or since" (Brodhead 51), and it has been "the most often taught literary text in American classrooms" (Jamie Barlowe 2). This masterpiece is still affecting US and exerts an influence upon its culture from plays, opera, films, TV drama, to different versions of fiction by the hands of various authors. Some plays and operas were actually performed during Hawthorne's lifetime. In his diary of September 17, 1855 while he was staying in England, he read in a paper that "an opera (still unfinished) had been written on the story of the Scarlet letter, and that several scenes of it had been performed successfully in New York," and he commented that "I should think it might possibly succeed as an opera, though it would certainly fail as a play" (*XXI* 346). Also, a play was performed as early as in February 1858 at Phineas Taylor Barnum's American Museum (Kido 198; Scharnhorst xxv). For re-generated works, the historical transition, and acceptance of this work*,* see Kido Mitusyo. About the adaptation of film, see Seijiro Fujiyoshi. As the most sensational film is directed by Roland Joffé in 1995. This Hollywood version, according to an interview with Roland Joffé, is a "'freely adapted' account of what Hawthorne hints at but never details." Of course, his comment may be following the narrator of "The Custom-House" who adapts Surveyor Pue's manuscript to construct the narrative of *The Scarlet Letter*, saying "I have allowed myself, as to such points, nearly or altogether as much license as if the facts had been entirely of my own invention. What I contend for is the authenticity of the outline" (*I* 33). Using the material that

the original work offers, Joffé also tries to re-create and retell the story so as to reflect the moral and political concerns of Hawthorne's time.

[64] The public announcement of the birth of the daguerreotype was made by the French government on August 19, 1839 with Daguerre. Until then, the details of this process had been secret. But shortly after the announcement, Daguerre published a manual entitled *Histoire et déscription des procédés du Daguerreotype* giving full particulars of the process. It was printed in twenty-six editions in several countries and languages before the end of 1839. See Alfred H. Marks "Hawthorne's Daguerreotypist: Scientist, Artist, Reformer."

[65] Hawthorne mentions as follows: "I wish there was something in the intellectual world analogous to the Daguerreotype (is that the name of it?) in the visible— something which should print off our deepest, and subtlest, and delicatest thought and feelings, as minutely and accurately as the above-mentioned instrument paints the various aspects of Nature" (*XV* 384).

[66] According to Charles Swann, other than middle-class professional daguerreotypists, there were a large number of self-proclaimed daguerreotypists, whose original profession was watch repairers or dentists. Holgrave seemed to have been such a kind of part-time daguerreotypist. See Swann, 104-05.

[67] Although daguerreotypes are unique images, they could be copied by "re-daguerreotyping" the original plate. Those copies were produced mostly by lithography or engraving; in that sense, it is not the minute or accurate copy produced by the technology but by manual work. According to Trachtenberg, the patents for "adapting methods of applying tints of colors" were issued as

early as 1842. The daguerreotype rapidly became popular as a replacement method of miniature painting. See Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*, 25.
www.loc.gov/collections/daguerreotypes/articles-and-essays/the-daguerreotype-medium.

[68] Such a claim has sometimes occurred: Susan S. Williams explores the narrative power of the visual and Hawthorne's works to assert the superiority of literature over the visual arts, but at the same time she points out that "words and images, then, frequently merge in this work, as a writer becomes a daguerreotypist and a portrait covers a written deed" (Susan S. Williams 222). Megan Rowley Williams asserts, "on a literal level, the daguerreotype speaks louder than words and endangers the role of the literary author" (Megan Rowley Williams 17).

[69] For the "chimney-corner legends" or "traditional lore," I am indebted to the ideas of Susan L. Mizruchi, Richard H. Millington, and Masui Shitsuyo. Mizrushi points out that the chimney-corner legends are "a form of storytelling that is more capable than others of penetrating the deeper historical truths of the novel's society" (Mizruchi 131). Millington asserts that in the "Governor Pyncheon" chapter, its oppressed voice becomes a "collective voice" as "we," and this voice will be "the rebellious communal voice" in "traditional lore" (Millington 142-45). Masui characterized these voices as "the influence of the underworld" (Masui 45) and analyzes it connecting with the dead in the domestic space.

[70] Swann identifies the exact year of when the story is set by calculating

Zachary Taylor's Presidency and the election of Governor of Pyncheon, stating that there may "be no question that the year is 1848," from mid-summer to September. See Swan, 97.

[71] According to Gill Holland, referring to Beaumont Newhall's "Introduction" of Fox Talbot's *The Pencil of Nature* (1844-46) which introduces the calotype photography process using salted paper in his book, and remarking on the technique of image modification: "by the end of the 1850s the integrity of the daguerreotype had attenuated, and beautification had set in; the waistline could be narrowed to please the eye as easily by the camera as by the brush." And, he also indicates that the year of the death of Daguerre was exactly the same time as the publication of *The House of the Seven Gables* in 1851. This year is also the death of daguerreotype since "technological advance had already rendered the daguerreotype obsolete" (Holland 4).

[72] According to Richard H. Millington, this chapter is a really exceptional form of narrative compared to other contemporary American novels: Chapter XVIII "The "Governor Pyncheon" —surely one of the most extraordinary acts of formal experimentation in the history of American fiction—represents the resolution of the book's action from an entirely different perspective. It is the culmination of Hawthorne's exploration of the cultural power of the communal voice" (Millington 142).

[73] *Oxford English Dictionary* second edition (1989). From the definition of "secure" 5a.

[74] *Ibid*. 1a and 1c.

[75] It seems not to completely demonstrate Clifford's innocent, but "whencesoever originating, there now arose a theory that undertook so to account for these circumstances as to exclude the idea of Clifford's agency" (*II* 310-311), and "the Daguerreotypist from one of those mesmerical seers" gets the power to reveal "the history and elucidation of the fact" concerning the incident of his uncle's murder (*II* 311).

[76] According to Simon A. Cole, the British police also employed a photographer in the 1840s, and other than daguerreotype, ambrotypes, which are an early method of photography developed by James Ambrose Cutting using glass negatives, were used to record Birmingham prisoners from the 1850s. In the United States, the use of photography concerning visual record spread quickly and police constables instituted a rogues' gallery in 1859 in Albany by collecting the photographs from cities like Philadelphia and New York. See, Simon A. Cole, *Suspect Identities: A History of Fingerprinting and Criminal Identification*, 6-31.

[77] *OED*, "secure." The first one is 2b, but its meaning is obsolete, and the second one is from 3a.

[78] As to "the chimney-corner legends," Susan L. Mizruchi argues their significance that "the chimney-corner legends also constitute a view of history that consistently portrays it as a process of conflict and change" and they also "persist through the generations," having the power to "represent an inside view that penetrates the self-serving truths of particular social

hierarchies." (Mizruchi 131-34).

[79] About the rhetoric of contamination, I am inspired by Masui's argument that Phoebe had already noticed the Judge's "peculiar odor" (*II* 119) while he was living, and the reason why Holgrave presented his daguerreotype to Phoebe is to "not let her directly witness the dead body" (Masui 57).

[80] It is well known that F. O. Matthiessen suggested that "the reconciliation [of Maule and Pyncheon] is somewhat too lightly made" (Matthiessen 332), but William Charvat and Michael T. Gilmore supported Hawthorne's circumstances to answer the request from the marketplace to "put on a bright face for his readers" (Gilmore 111). The phrase of "the fairy-tale ending" is used by both Gilmore and Mizruchi (Gilmore 96; Mizruchi 101). Mizruchi, however, sees the possibility of telling the historical truth of the novel's society through the "chimney-corner legends" (Mizruchi 131).

[81] More than a century after his death, these unfinished romances including uncorrected transcriptions of the handwritten manuscripts entitled *The American Claimant Manuscripts* and *The Elixir of Life Manuscripts*, volume *XII* and *XIII* respectively, were edited by Edward H. Davidson, Claude M. Simpson, and L. Neal Smith in the Centenary Edition and published in 1977. *The American Claimant Manuscripts* include "The Ancestral Footstep," "Etherege," and "Grimshawe." *The Elixir of Life Manuscripts* include fragmentary novels of *Septimius Felton: or, the Elixir of Life* and *Septimius Norton*. These works seem to share the same materials and themes as the cosmopolitan novels.

[82] All tales were written after leaving Liverpool. According to Historical Commentary (*XII* 495), "the untitled documents that have survived include a manuscript written in April and May, 1858" edited by his daughter Una and son-in-law as "The Ancestral Footstep." It was written in Rome in 1858 and published posthumously in *Atlantic Monthly* (December 1882 and January 1883) and reedited by editors of the Centenary Edition. "Etherege" and "Grimshawe" were written in Concord somewhere between 1860 to 1861 on the eve of the Civil War, and then were edited by Julian Hawthorne into a composite text titled *Doctor Grimshawe's Secret* in 1883. According to the book review by Hershel Parker, he criticizes that "*Doctor Grimshawe's Secret* is an abridged, reordered composite of two manuscripts put together by Julian Hawthorne when he was in need of the money that awaited any new manuscript by his father." See *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 33, no. 4, (1979), 489. Then before being compiled in the Centenary Edition, it was reedited by Edward H. Davidson as *Hawthorne's Dr. Grimshawe's Secret* (Harvard UP, 1954). Therefore, the text that we now read is the re-reedited version.

[83] These ancillary documents give us unusual opportunities to study the way in which he shaped his material. Julian Hawthorne points out that it "is to look into the man's mind, and see its quality and action." See *Doctor Grimshawe's Secret: A Romance*, edited with preface and notes by Julian Hawthorne, viii.

[84] The protagonist who was at the almshouse was fostered and taught by the doctor, and is led to believe that he is the descendant of the aristocratic British Braithwaite family.

[85] It concerned the claims between 1867 and 1886 by Thomas Castro, otherwise known as Arthur Orton, but most often referred to as “the Tichborne Claimant,” being the missing heir to the Tichborne baronetcy. He failed to convince the courts, was convicted of perjury and served a long prison sentence. There is a film *The Tichborne Claimant* (1998) directed by David Yates and starring Robert Pugh, Stephen Fry, and Robert Hardy. See, Rohan McWilliam, *The Tichborne Claimant: A Victorian Sensation* (2007). tarlton.law.utexas.edu/tichborne-claimant

[86] According to Jared M. Pence, the tradition began at least as early as Charles Brockden Brown’s *Wieland* (1798) in which “Theodore Wieland’s brother-in-law encourages him to return to England, take up the lands they will inherit.” Subsequently, Washington Irving’s *Bracebridge Hall* (1822) has an ancestral ghost related to the heir of a Dutch estate.

[87] Within two months of his arrival at Liverpool, he was seeking his own ancestral roots, and asked James T. Fields to find out the roots of William Hathorne. As to his letter to Fields in September 16, 1853, see *The Letters 1853-1856 XVII*, 124. According to the “Historical Commentary” this “quest was unsuccessful” but at the same time “his own experience suggested an inescapable sense of continuity in both history and geography” (*XII* 491).

[88] Edward Ml. Clay points out four “symbolic matrix” which have “dominating” power over the development of the romance of “Etherege” and “Grimshawe”: “the large spider belonging to the Doctor in Salem, the Bloody Footstep on the threshold of Braithwaite Hall in England, the silver key found in the graveyard opposite the Doctor’s house in Salem, and the

woman's coffin (somewhere in Braithwaite Hall) containing the golden ringlets" (Clay 506-16).

[89] In *The English Notebooks 1853-1856*, Hawthorne notes on April 7, 1855 that "I dined at Mr. J. P. Heywood's on Thursday; and met there Mr. and Mrs. Ainsworth, of Smithills Hall" (*XXI* 160). He heard the tradition that a certain martyr "stamped his foot in earnest protest against the injustice with which he was treated" (*XXI* 160). It was said that the foot mark was printed with blood issuing from his foot and "there it has remained ever since, in spite of the scrubbings of all after generation" (*XXI* 160). However, Hawthorne found a document, "History of Lancashire" which provides a quite different account: "the foot step is not a bloody one, but is a slight cavity or inequality in the surface of the stone, somewhat in the shape of a man's foot with a peaked shoe" (*XXI* 160). Hawthorne saw it for himself and seemed to agree with the "History of Lancashire" account. On August 25, 1855, Hawthorne visited Smithills Hall at Bolton Le Moors and dined with Mr. and Mrs. Ainsworth. He also inspected the footprint there (*XXI* 290-92).

[90] The substance of Hawthorne's description accords with Edward Baines, *The History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancashire III* (1836), 46. catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/007696155

According to "Historical Commentary," Hawthorne had recorded a story idea around 1842 and notes roughly the same motif (*XII* 494): "The print in blood of a naked foot to be traced through the street of a town" (*VIII* 239).

[91] Hawthorne had reversed this plot several times (*XII* 193-97).

[92] Hawthorne writes, "The emigrant must be made out to have been, in that

chaos of strange opinions, a man of peace, and a follower and friend of George Fox" (*XII* 203). Larry J. Reynolds points out that Hawthorne was strongly affected by George Fox who was the founder of the Quaker movement, and suggested that he read Fox's *Journal* at some time in the 1820s (Reynolds, *Devils* 224-25).

[93] His annoyance is reflected in his writings: Hawthorne devotes many pages to ruminations on the nature of the first emigrant and his cause of migration, characters and their relations (*XII* 191-208).

[94] In *Moby-Dick* of Chapter 108, titled "Ahab and the Carpenter," Ahab talks with the carpenter who is making Ahab's new leg. When the carpenter asks Ahab to measure his leg, Ahab tries to pinch the vice by himself in order to "feel its grip once." The carpenter stops it, but Ahab replies "No fear; I like a good grip; I like to feel something in this slippery world that can hold." Ahab also calls him "manmaker" since he has made part of his body like old Greek Prometheus who made men (Melville 359).

[95] Hawthorne writes a short essay about the differences between the English gentleman and the American one in terms of their social manners (*XII* 169-171). He also makes a debate between Etherege and the Warden over the class system and patriotism in the narrative (*XII* 160-64).

[96] His other writing is also suggestive to consider this narrative: "A system 'too bare and meagre for human nature to love': America in The American Claimant Manuscripts," *Nathaniel Hawthorne Review* 35, no.2 (2009): 26-43.

[97] *Oxford English Dictionary*. See "trans," "port" verb 1., "transport."

[98] *Ibid*., “transplant” verb. 1 and 2.

[99] In this letter, Hawthorne mainly complains about new legislation in Massachusetts regulating the manufacturing and sales of liquor.

[100] Alfred Ernest Albert (6 August 1844–30 July 1900) reigned as Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha from 1893 to 1900. He is known as the Duke of Edinburgh from 1866 until he succeeds his paternal uncle Ernest II as the reigning Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha in the German Empire.

[101] According to Shimokobe Michiko, by using the terms such as “unease” (Baker 1, 3), “anxiety” (Baker 4), and “fear” (Baker 5), Baker explains the effect of expansionism in the mid-nineteenth century that forms Americans’ psychology. Shimokobe analyzes “In facing the boundless expanding space, since people could not shape the boundaries of its nation, America made another context behind the swell of Expansionism.” Therefore, she points out nineteenth-century America kept searching their location and its shape between land and sea. See “Melville’s Sea and Melville’s Sky: Spatial Cognition in nineteenth Century America and the Globe in the 21st Century,” 49-78.

[102] From Michiko Shimokobe, “The South Sea in Cultural Imagination of Nineteenth-century America Nautical Novels of Herman Melville” (PAMLA Annual Convention in 2019). She spoke on the panel of “Oceanic Literature and Cultures” and these quotations are from her speech paper.

[103] John Locke’s original line in *Two Treatises of Government* (1689) is as follows: “… life, liberty, or estate of his son, whether they be only in the

state and under the law of Nature, or under the positive laws of an established government."

[104] Referring to Fredric Jameson's logic, Berlant suggests that Hawthorne deploys "an aesthetic of cognitive mapping" through which "the territory and its inhabitants might pass to realize the productivity of nationhood and citizenship" (Berlant 181).

[105] Septimius opens the old strong-box with the silver key which he has taken from the breast of the dead young British officer. There are the manuscript and recipe for elixir in the box, and he found that not only the paper has been drawn up by an ancestor of his own but he also had a connection with noble families in England. He tells himself that "I may hereafter think it worthwhile to assert my claim to these possessions, to this position amid an ancient aristocracy, and try that mode of life for one generation" (*XIII* 160-62). The real place is written as "Smithills Hall" but Hawthorne spells it as "Smithell's Hall" in his texts. I use "Smithills Hall" in my descriptive parts.

[106] Intensive construction related to the policy of "International City of Peace" was undertaken in the 1950s: The Peace Park was built near the center of the city, close to the bomb' s hypocenter, containing the official Atomic Bomb Monument or Cenotaph (completed in 1953), the Peace Memorial Hall (1955), the Peace Memorial Museum or Atomic Bomb Memorial Exhibition Hall (1955), and the Children's Atomic Bomb Monument (1958), as well as various other smaller monuments and designations (Lifton 271).

[107] These contradictory accounts were regarded as being derived from "the

psychological effort to equate the two in the sense of the latter springing from the ashes of the former" (Lifton 271). Lisa Yoneyama also pays attention to Lifton's interpretation. She mentions that "By paying close attention to Hiroshima's transition from the A-bombed city to the so-called mecca of peace, we can see more clearly the necessarily unstable tie between the two signs, 'Atom Bomb' and 'Peace,' in the early postwar years" (Yoneyama 18).

[108] John Hersey, *Hiroshima* (New York, 1946). Subsequent citations are from the Penguin Book edition, 1985. Japanese translation by Kinichi Ishikawa and Kiyoshi Tanimoto published by Housei Daigaku Shuppan, 1949. In fact, just a few reports are left from before U.S. censorship began, such as Australian journalist Wilfred Burchett's article entitled "Atomic Plague" in the *London Daily Express* on September 5, 1945. Burchett writes his report based on what he had seen and heard in Hiroshima. Undoubtedly, Burchett's account must have made a certain impact on readers as a warning to the world of the dangers of using an atomic bomb, but his article only frightened them without eliciting any sympathy for the victims.

[109] His report caused a huge sensation in the United States, and it was reprinted in several newspapers as well as the entire article being read in broadcasts without any interruptions by commercials. Charles Poore calls it "The Most Spectacular Explosion in the Time of Man," in the review of *Hiroshima*. See *New York Times Book Review*, Nov. 10 (1946), 7. Hersey and the *New Yorker* permitted newspapers to reprint it on two conditions: that all profits go to the Red Cross and that the article must not be abridged.

[110] The fortieth anniversary of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1985 came at a

time when public interest in nuclear weapons was at a high level. In the United States, hundreds of disarmament and arms-control groups were challenging President Reagan's nuclear buildup. Hersey's new article "A Reporter at Large, Hiroshima: The Aftermath" appeared in the *New Yorker* on July 15, 1985, three months after his second visit.

[111] The sequel begins in 1946, the year after the bombing, which was when Hersey had finished his previous report, and it recounts their lives over the forty-year period. He presumed that "they were too terrified by it to want to think about it at all" and "not many of them even bothered to find out much about what it was like" (*Hiroshima* 116). Hersey perceived that the survivors needed a great deal of time to understand and come to terms with their own atomic experiences. In other words, his sequel suggests that to know how the bomb really affected their lives required such a long time, and that long-term observation might be taken as a final testimony to what the atomic bomb was.

[112] The day after Hiroshima, the French philosopher Albert Camus wrote an editorial essay in *Combat*, which was later entitled "After Hiroshima: Between Hell and Reason [Entre l'enfer et la raison]." He promptly recognized that the subject of the atomic bomb was a world issue that concerned all nations. He recognized that the world is often insensitive to issues of human decency and justice and is oblivious to the inhumanity of violence. Camus expressed remarkable insights into the dehumanizing terrors and apocalyptic meanings of Hiroshima.

[113] According to Michael John Yavenditti, instead of moralizing or denouncing the use of the atomic bomb directly, Hersey intended "to help readers to find their own deepest feelings about this new instrument of

killing, rather than to require that they accept [mine]" (Yavenditti 35). From an interview with Hersey on July 30, 1971.

[114] *Gendai Shisou* carried a special feature concerning "Hiroshima" in its August 2016 issue, in which contributing writers such as Satoshi Shirai, Akiko Naono, Nobuyuki Kakigi, Che Jinsoku, Mayumo Inoue, Hiroko Takahashi, and others refer to Obama's visit to Hiroshima and analyze his speech from every aspect. Most of them bitterly criticize his narrative strategy that was just to show his nuclear-disarmament agenda.

[115] To listen to the voice of dead, what Obama employs is the power of imagination. To connect his audience to "this place," Obama induces them to trace back to the critical moment and make them imagine what happened in this place:

> We *stand* here, in the middle of this city, and *force ourselves to imagine* the moment the bomb fell. We *force ourselves to feel* the dread of children confused by what they see. *We listen to a silent cry*. (Obama, "Hiroshima"; emphasis added)

Here, we notice a similar technique that Hawthorne used towards his audience on Gallows Hill. When Hawthorne talked about the victims of witchcraft, he "bade" his companions "imagine an ancient multitude of people" (*XI* 278) who were heading for the gallows. In Obama's case, employing the phrase of "force ourselves" twice, standing near the hypocenter, he tries to make his audience imagine the critical moment, to "feel" the fearfulness that "others" experienced and "listen to a silent cry" of them. Both Obama and Hawthorne recognize the function of "the place" where the historical event had occurred and that the very place would have aroused the people's compassion for "others."

[116] After the publication of Hersey's Hiroshima, Mary McCarthy claims that to do the story justice, Hersey "would have had to interview the dead" (McCarthy 367). That might have been true, if we could talk with the dead in reality. Instead, what Hersey did was to retell the survivors' voices as the primary witnesses. Only those who have lived through the events can testify to their experiences, which also could be authorized as a real account. Those people were later called "hibakusha," and Obama also supported "the voices of the hibakusha" and "stories of the hibakusha" (Obama, "Hiroshima").

[117] See Yuko Shibata, "Obama no Hiroshima Enzetsu wo Rekishika Suru: America no Genbaku-gensetsu ha Kawattanoka," 199-201.

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