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BRIDGET BENNETT *University of Leeds*

"The Silence Surrounding the Hut"

Architecture and Absence in *Wieland*

Abstract: This article brings together recent work in literary studies and architectural history to plot the coded, and strategic, disavowal of slavery in early America by re-imagining deliberately submerged narratives of race in landscape and architecture. Using fictional and actual buildings, particularly Thomas Jefferson's Monticello and the structures on the Mettingen estate in Charles Brockden Brown's Wieland *(1798), the article traces the ways that the architectural vernaculars and embedded metaphors of the early United States project a familiar set of idealized values across a range of registers and scales. The binary constituted from figurations of enslavement (huts and the workplaces of slaves) and neoclassical architecture (including temples) were entirely familiar to early Americans. The novel reveals the consequences of a failure properly to acknowledge, or address, the silence surrounding the hut. It reveals a growing anxiety about the construction and shaping of national identity, in which the disavowed significance of racial others threatens the stability, and safety, of white Americans. The troubling elements of the novel are characteristic of larger narrative depictions of dark secrets and gendered and racialized violence in other fiction of the early Republic.*

KEYWORDS: slavery in early America; neoclassical architecture; *Wieland*; temples and huts; Monticello

In September 1802, Anna Maria Brodeau Thornton and her husband, the architect William Thornton, visited their friends Dolley and James Madison at their Virginia estate, Montpelier. The men had met when they both lodged at Mary House's well-known Philadelphia boarding establishment. The couples' friendship was nourished by a mutual enthusiasm for architecture and design. Furthermore, Dolley Madison and William Thornton shared Quaker backgrounds. The visit was convivial, and the estate much admired. On September 5, 1802, Brodeau Thornton noted in her diary that "the grounds are susceptible of great improvements," which when completed would transform Montpelier into "a handsome place" re-

FIGURE 1. *"View of Montpelier,"* Anna Maria Brodeau Thornton, United States, *early nineteenth century, watercolor on wove paper. Courtesy of Montpelier, a National Trust Historic Site. Property of The Montpelier Foundation.*

sembling "some of the elegant seats in England." One such improvement was a neoclassical temple. Madison was a fan of ingenious devices and efficient systems, like his good friend and neighbor Thomas Jefferson. The temple was thus intended both as a place of intellectual retreat and an ice store for the household. Brodeau Thornton produced a skillful painting of the house, complete with temple, set in an idealized landscape[1] (see fig. 1). Deer cluster around a tree in the foreground. The geometrical shapes of the main structure, with its neoclassical façade, are echoed in the temple's design. The colors of the stone out of which each was built meld harmoniously with each other. The outline of the house is softened by the leaves and branches that surround it, though it also stands out sharply from its setting. The temple is integrated into the landscape by the rounded roof, a shape repeated in the boughs of the trees, and the shade they cast on the grass in front of the house.

Taken at face value, the subject of the painting could easily be an En-

glish estate. A closer look at the trees might reveal the presence of indigenous American varieties, suggesting Madison's patriotic and republican enthusiasm for promoting native species. However, even the most detailed examination would not reveal the degree of Brodeau Thornton's inventiveness. The temple had not, at that point, even been constructed. It was erected later, probably between 1809 and 1812. The spot on which she depicts it (and where it would eventually be built) was occupied by a smithy. This was a hot workplace, peopled by slaves, quite unlike the future site of cool contemplation. Some of the enslaved workers who labored there lived in basic huts near to the main house, where she instead depicts trees. Her act of erasure invites further investigation.

Brodeau Thornton's decision to remove slavery from the scene was undoubtedly deliberate. Indeed, it had established precedents. The rural poor were rendered invisible, or transformed into picturesque figures, in the landscape art of postenclosure England. This process was also adopted in the colonies, where for instance, the enslaved were made to disappear in visual representations of the West Indies.[2] However, in the same period material construction was also being undertaken on English estates to "improve" properties by making unseemly poverty vanish in a different manner. Wealthy estate owners were creating model housing to demonstrate their benign intentions toward their impoverished tenants. In early America, the practice was adapted for slave accommodation. Within a few years of the Thorntons' visit to Montpelier, Madison created a model village close to the house for a carefully chosen, and very limited, number of his slaves. There were no walls or trees separating these dwellings from the main house. Visitors were taken to admire carefully selected examples of his paternalistic care. From the comfortable vantage point of the newly erected temple, they could then meditate on the harmony of the landscaped grounds, including the harmonious juxtaposition of the neoclassical house and the simple huts. Such strategies of visibility and invisibility, hiding and disguise, were not unusual, continuing well into the nineteenth century. The comments of a Virginia slaveholder make this clear: "If the builder chooses to incur a slight additional expense and should dress the outer course [i.e., the outward-facing layer of bricks or stone] and give it a coat of paint, this . . . makes a very pretty house and obviates the necessity of sticking the negro cabin out of sight of the mansion" (qtd. in Vlach, "Snug Li'l House" 120). On the surface, and at the level of representation,

"great improvements" were being made to Montpelier. Meanwhile the majority of Madison's enslaved workers continued to live in dilapidated buildings, basic cabins or huts outside the limits of the formal garden, next to the fields. They were stuck "out of sight," as they were in Brodeau Thornton's painting.[3] Madison's housing strategies thus produced a pattern of black absence and white presence that was repeated on many occasions in the early Republic, not just in Virginia. Montpelier exemplifies the familiar facts that first, the homes of white plantation owners were also the homes of their black slaves and second, their owners' acts of self-fashioning— which extended to the design of buildings—often went to extraordinary and successful lengths to hide this reality.

The process of strategically disguising enslavement, as exemplified by the Thornton watercolor, was so effective that this figuration of elite and marginal structures is now far less visible. Many such marginalized dwellings, and their inhabitants, have effectively disappeared or become obscured, and difficult to recognize.[4] Scholars have endeavored to undo and reverse this process, arguably most significantly and successfully in the case of Jefferson's Monticello, one of the most celebrated and visited American homes. Here I bring together recent work in literary studies and architectural history to plot the coded, and strategic, disavowal of slavery in early America by reimagining deliberately submerged narratives of race in landscape and architecture. I use fictional and actual buildings to trace the ways that the architectural vernaculars and embedded metaphors of the early United States project a familiar set of idealized values across a range of registers and scales. Just as the recent geographical turn in literary studies has obliged us to rethink what we thought we knew about early American studies, I propose that insights from architectural history also necessitate a reframing and reassessing of well-known texts and writers.

Brodeau Thornton's replacement of the smithy (the workplace of Madison's slaves) with the temple (the leisure place of Madison himself) is powerfully echoed in the juxtaposition of buildings in Charles Brockden Brown's *Wieland; or, The Transformation* (1798). The novel's violent and unsettling incidents take place in the Wieland family's Pennsylvania estate, Mettingen. Brown laid out an imaginary landscape consisting of a rural estate composed of a main edifice and a number of subsidiary structures. Five buildings are especially important in the dramatic, and violent, history that Clara Wieland retrospectively narrates. The first is the temple,

which her father uses as a site of religious devotion and to which in the early stages of the novel he goes every day for solitary worship. It is also the place where he sustains the horrific, and largely unexplained, injuries that result in his death, and the location in which his son first hears Carwin's projected voice. The second is the main house. There, Theodore Wieland murders his four children as well as Louisa Conway, a young girl who has been offered protection in his family after the death of her mother. The third is Clara's own house, which is in close proximity to the main property. This is where Clara first sees Carwin, and is threatened by voices late at night. It is also the site of Catharine Wieland's death at the hands of her husband, Theodore, his attempt on Clara's life, and his suicide. Eventually, the house burns down. The fourth building is the summer house, where Carwin illicitly meets Clara's servant Judith. When Clara unknowingly interrupts their liaison, Carwin's disguised and disembodied voice warns her to leave the area. The fifth and final building is the hut. This is always alluded to in vague terms, repeatedly mentioned but, like the main house, never described in any way that allows readers to visualize it. Clara is offered sanctuary there at a critical moment, after she is rescued from her burning house. Though I do not focus on these sites in equal detail, I make reference to each of them to show the way in which spatial dimensions, and architectural sites, are carefully developed in the novel.

The layout of contemporary estates and their management of racial hierarchies explains the hut's puzzling and paradoxical absence and presence. The building is repeatedly mentioned, as if it is important, but simultaneously remains vaguely realized, as if it is not. In this way its textual and social-political status is enigmatic. Brown's strategic representational choice corresponds to a pattern in his broader oeuvre, which contains a number of racially marked, marginal, and hutlike sites. These peripheral, yet oddly central, components of the setting show his larger interest in the way the histories of the dispossessed or displaced can be symbolically represented by residual constructions. In Brown's *Edgar Huntly* (1799), for instance, a building known as the hut is the home of Deb, an elderly Delaware Indian woman who lives alone with her dogs after the encroachments of white colonization have driven her tribe from the area (see Faherty 61–66). In order better to understand the work performed by the hut in *Wieland*, I use Robin Bernstein's formulation of the "scriptive thing," which she proposes as a way of understanding how "agency,

intention, and racial subjectivation co-emerge through everyday physical encounters with the material world" (69). I argue that the hut, a scriptive thing, is marked as African. We know this, I claim, despite the fact that the novel does not explicitly tell us so, because of its relation to established patterns and juxtapositions in the architecture and landscaping of the early Republic. The binary constituted from figurations of enslavement (huts and the workplaces of slaves) and neoclassical architecture (including temples) would have been entirely familiar to early Americans. If the hut in *Wieland* is indeed the dwelling place of slaves or former slaves, as I argue here, what are the implications of this for Brown's work and for early American culture? To answer this question, I consider both its overdetermined and underdeveloped symbolism and its relationship to an English landscape garden tradition in which temples and huts were both significant features.

To start with, I contend that there is a hidden black presence on the estate, and that it is so integral that Brown does not mention it, yet so significant that it shapes the plot and the lives of the characters throughout. When Clara narrates the details of her father's life, she points out that his purchase of cheap land, and his reliance on "the service of African slaves, which were then in general use" (11) allowed him to prosper, both during the fourteen years he spent in a "thrifty and laborious manner" (11) and the remainder of his life (and that of his children) that was spent in leisure.[5] Further corroborating evidence can be found in an early plan of the novel, where Brown writes that a "'faithful Negro'" is murdered by Theodore (qtd. in Brown, *Wieland; or, The Transformation* 11n18).[6] Though this figure does not make it into the published version of the novel, it is clear that Brown imagined a landscape that included African Americans. This previously underrecognized Africanist presence allows us to understand how the subterranean currents of race contribute to a counternarrative to Clara Wieland's representation of the family's elite and idealized mode of life. That *Wieland* is set on a beautiful rural estate at first glance suggests that the novel will be quite different to the narrative readers actually encounter. Clara initially depicts an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence between her family and their friend Henry Pleyel, distanced from the warfare that adds piquant "objects of comparison" (29) to their lives. But, quite rapidly, the carefully constructed home of a first-generation white Pennsylvanian family becomes a troubled and violent place. A disquieting sequence of

events destroys the Wielands. It starts with spontaneous combustion and the presence of disembodied voices, and culminates in mass murder and suicide. Its two surviving members, Clara and her uncle, seek refuge across the Atlantic, reversing the familiar migratory pattern of Europeans fleeing from violence in Europe to North America. Brown uses uncanny and unexplained events to suggest deep psychological anxieties about whether it is ever possible to make the new Republic into a lasting home. In this, he reflects what Anthony Vidler identifies, in a different context, as the "fundamental insecurity" of "a newly established class, not quite at home in its own homes" (3–4). The profound sense of the Freudian *unheimlich* (unhomeliness), which Brown established as a powerful model for future American novelists, is effectively articulated throughout the novel. It can be seen both in his engagement with the figure of Carwin, whom scholars have extensively discussed, and also the hut dwellers, whom they have not. *Wieland* epitomizes the way that, as Toni Morrison put it in her 1992 work *Playing in the Dark*, "Americans choose to talk about themselves through and within a sometimes allegorical, sometimes metaphorical, but always choked representation of an Africanist presence" (17).

I interpret the novel through the powerful suggestiveness of the juxtaposition of the neoclassical temple and humble hut, and the political and racial narratives each encodes. The novel reveals the consequences of a failure properly to acknowledge, or address, what I call here the silence surrounding the hut. It reveals a growing anxiety about the construction and shaping of national identity, in which the disavowed significance of racial others threatens the stability, and safety, of white Americans. The troubling elements of the novel are characteristic of larger narrative depictions of dark secrets and gendered and racialized violence in other fiction of the early Republic. They recur in texts as diverse as seduction narratives like William H. Brown's *The Power of Sympathy* (1789) and Susanna Rowson's *Charlotte Temple* (1794), and Royall Tyler's fictionalized captivity narrative, *The Algerine Captive* (1797).[7]

INVISIBLE SLAVES, VANISHED INDIANS: *WIELAND*'S AMERICAN LANDSCAPE

An important element of Mettingen's intellectual and aesthetic harmony is established by the integral relationship between all its aspects. Its

organizing principles conform to contemporary, classically derived notions of living. The establishment of an estate outside of, but in reasonable proximity to, the confines of the city corresponded to Jeffersonian ideas regarding the desirability of tranquil rural retreats. These governed the creation of what would become one of the most important houses in the United States. Jefferson's Monticello offers a very powerful example of a dominant architectural logic that Brown would reproduce in a fictional form in his novel. Jefferson would have recognized Brown's adoption of organizational and architectural principles that he had himself followed in his estate. That word, *estate*, was widely used in the period, for such places as Monticello, Mount Vernon, and Montpelier. While on the one hand it might traditionally denote the domains of a wealthy gentleman, it might also refer to a rural Roman villa with its varied inhabitants, both elite and enslaved.[8]

In the print culture of the period, and in the estates created by Madison, Jefferson, and other wealthy slave owners, we can read a symbolic language of civic values, obligations, and aspirations that spoke to a larger national and political project. This was no less than how the new nation was to be built, who would live in it, and how. Within political discourse, motifs of buildings were often used to reflect upon, and to represent, the state of the nation. By the late eighteenth century, the metaphor of architecture had become increasingly significant in relation to the constitution, and to the nature of republicanism itself. Eric Slauter has argued in *The State as a Work of Art* (2009) that this gradual change led "toward a notion of the constitution of a state as a static work of legislative art, an imagined object that could and should be appreciated in terms of its formal beauties" (41). Material structures formally exemplified geometrical regularity and precision, symbolizing the political and social orderliness to which the new nation aspired, one articulated through neoclassical designs. These were being used in public and private structures to promote the values its founders wanted to express and inculcate: reason, republicanism, enlightenment, democracy, and freedom. Jefferson believed that each building could, in principle, play a part in educating and informing those who encountered it.[9] He reasoned that a new nation needed edifices that reflected the break it had made with the old, and projected what it wished, and intended, to become. The transition would be greatly assisted by repeated exposure to cultural and architectural forms encouraging democracy and republicanism. Thus, the use of architectural styles derived from the Romans

signaled forms of indebtedness to the politics, and structure, of the Roman Republic.[10] Yet though neoclassical configurations were chosen for their positive overt association with the politics of republican Rome, they could not avoid negative residual associations. The system of slavery was ineluctably connected to the Greek and Roman republics—both slave-owning societies.[11] There did not exist a consensus that chattel slavery was an unacceptable labor practice. As Michael Drexler and Ed White put it, "the United States was . . . founded on a fantasy structure that, eager to supress chattel slavery, fostered a form of self-worship later given the name 'nationalism'" (59).[12]

The past was thus mined for symbols and examples of "exemplum virtutis" whose moral lessons were intended to shape the creation of good citizens.[13] However, the work of enslaved noncitizens was, as we well know, an essential aspect of the physical labor necessary to build emblems of republican virtue (see Leone, Harmon, and Neuwirth). From our current perspective it seems that this created a crisis of meaning, challenging the exemplary paradigms represented by highly valorized architectural motifs. The presence of the enslaved and their essential labor (in constructing symbolic buildings that effectively denied their very existence) made apparent the fact that the signifier and signified were radically at odds. Managing this involved adopting a series of architectural, discursive, and political strategies that aimed to disguise, or to hide, the system of slavery, and to render the enslaved silent and absent.[14] These dominant forms and buildings can only be fully understood through deeper consideration of the less visible sites and spaces that constitute their marginalized, and neglected, opposites. By understanding the legacies of processes of disguising and hiding, we can better account for the persistence and importance of the disavowed in cultural texts. We can bring them back into view once more, and gain access to codes of visibility, and invisibility, that have been largely lost to us.

While Brown's geographical interests have been given some critical attention, another of his pursuits has so far received less detailed consideration. His early biographer William Dunlap observed that, "[t]hough attached to the seclusion of the closet . . . he would for hours be absorbed in architectural studies, measuring proportions with his compasses, and drawing plans of Grecian temples or Gothic cathedrals, monasteries or castles" (89; see also Clark). The extensive architectural drawings in his un-

published journal hint at amateur pursuits at least as serious as his engagement with geography. Brown's remarkably detailed and thorough notes include floor plans and structural drawings. They demonstrate considerable knowledge of the principles of design, and a concern for the practical elements of construction. This interest was shared with some of the key political architects of the Republic. John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and George Washington all took a keen interest in "gentlemanly" pursuits including architectural planning, gardening, and landscape design. Access to the developing field of architecture in early America was bolstered by a number of European works, especially Andrea Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture*. First published in English in 1663, it was hugely significant on both sides of the Atlantic.[15] An important admirer was Thomas Jefferson. His admiration of the Palladian style is attested to by the design of the structures with which he was closely associated: Monticello, the Virginia Capitol, the University of Virginia, and Poplar Forest (see Whiffen and Koeper 102–10).

Like Brown, Jefferson was also a fervent admirer of the works of the Compte de Volney. He cotranslated Volney's profoundly influential *Les Ruines, ou méditation sur les revolutions des empires* (1791; Wilton and Barringer 96–97).[16] The book would go on to influence Thomas Cole's *The Course of Empire*. Jefferson and Volney corresponded with each other, becoming friends: Volney even stayed with Jefferson in Monticello for two weeks in June 1796, during his three-year visit to the United States (1795–98).[17] Brown visited Volney twice, first in the winter of 1795–96 (prior to Volney's extended stay at Monticello), and then again in 1797 (after his visit).[18] In 1804 he translated Volney's *Tableau du climat et du sol des États Unis* (1803).[19] Jefferson and Brown were also connected in other ways. First, though Brown's youthful pro-Jeffersonian enthusiasm, still more or less intact at the point of writing *Wieland*, was to change as he grew older, he sent Jefferson a copy of the novel.[20] He received a letter of thanks in return from the vice president, who was then chiefly residing in Philadelphia. Second, though Brown's long-standing passion for architecture and ruins was neither as highly developed nor tied to actual constructions as that of the considerably wealthier Jefferson, it was also a significant interest. Quite apart from the detailed manner in which Brown describes the key architectural sites in *Wieland*, he represents Pleyel as first meeting Carwin in Spain, when both men were visiting the Roman ruins in Murviedro.
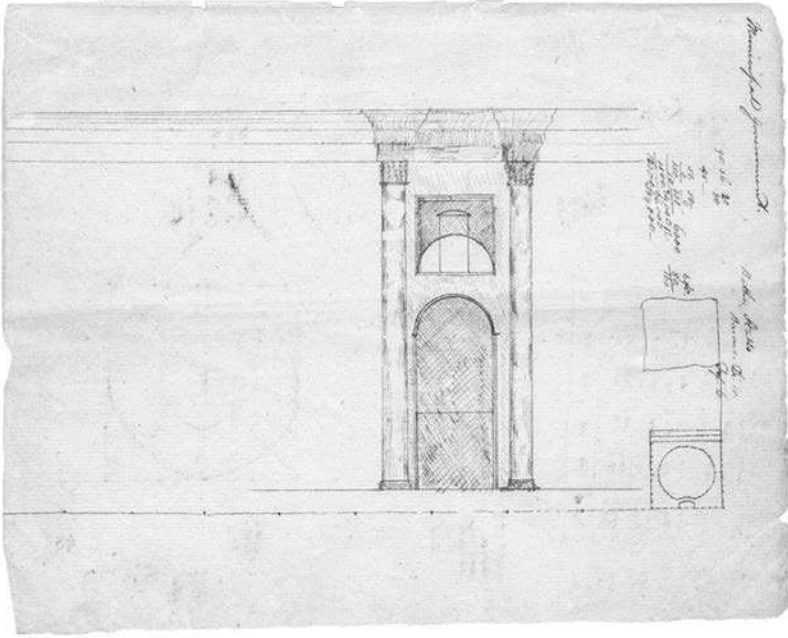
FIGURE 2. *Charles Brockden Brown Collection. Manuscript Collection MS-0548. MSS_BrownCB_1_4-016. Harry Ransom Center.*

Brown was, then, a significant participant in an ongoing debate about the relationship between architectural, political, and topographical planning and nation building in a period of extensive and highly politicized land surveying and urban design. His visual and structural sense was at least as strong as his writerly imagination. In addition to domed and arched structures, prototypes of places of worship, his architectural plans were of cities, public buildings, cloisters. These plans (see figs. 2 and 3) envisioned civic sites, places of public encounter, debate, and activity.

His plans reveal a level of detail (the mathematical calculations, for instance) and of attentiveness to form that suggest the seriousness of his engagement and accomplishment of his execution. Together with what we know about his wide reading in the period before he wrote *Wieland*, they provide definitive evidence of a highly developed spatial imagination, and of his fascination with different scales of architecture and design from varied historical periods and geographical locations.[21]
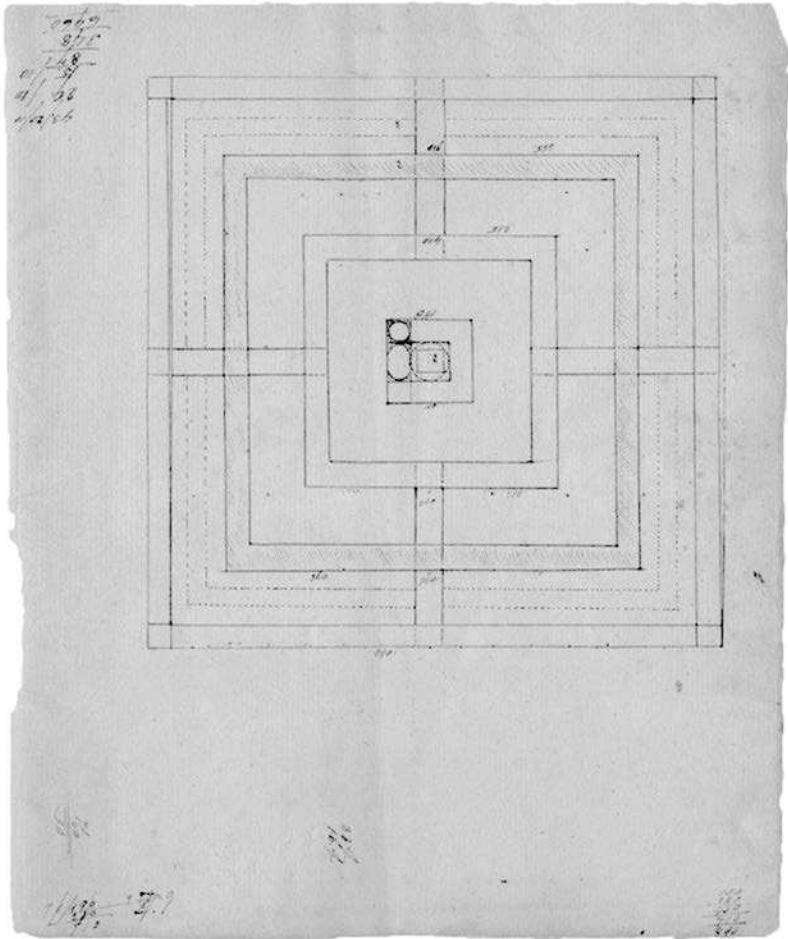
FIGURE 3. *Charles Brockden Brown Collection. Manuscript Collection MS-0548. MSS_BrownCB_1_4-018. Harry Ransom Center.*

MONTICELLO AND METTINGEN: THE ESTATES OF
THOMAS JEFFERSON AND CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN

The architecture of early America—through its formal design fea-
tures—represented ideas and hopes about particular modes of living, as
we have seen.[22] However, the prevailing architectural vernacular of newly
constructed buildings in the 1790s also competed with a variety of existing
dwellings and styles. These were less dominant, but nonetheless insistently

present.[23] They were often humble: cabins, huts, and wigwams, legacies of indigenous occupancy or exploration by whites. Such residues challenged the racial and gendered hierarchies symbolically reproduced in the emerging structures of the early Republic. They hinted at the possibilities of alternative narratives, centering not on an idealized citizenship predicated on white manhood, but on the ongoing and disruptive presence of alterity, dispossession, and marginalization.[24] I complicate and extend this understanding of the impact of material residues in my reading of *Wieland*, by drawing attention both to residual structures and to different kinds of residues: the lingering historical and political memories encoded in architectural vernaculars. To do this, I now turn back to a brief examination of the significance of Monticello.

In the last decade of the eighteenth century, Thomas Jefferson began the second substantial phase of enlarging the house on which he would spend so much attention and money. Initial construction had started in the late 1760s shortly before his 1772 marriage to Martha (Wayles) Jefferson. The next major phase of its development took place between 1796 and 1809 following three important events: Martha's death in 1782, the start of his long relationship with Sally Hemings later that decade, and his return from Paris in 1789. Monticello was publicly the home of Jefferson and his white family and was already a well-known site.[25] Yet it was also home to a much larger group, the enslaved people whose labor allowed him to live in such style. They included his unacknowledged family: Sally Hemings and their children, and Hemings's mother, Elizabeth, and some of the children she had with Martha's father, John Wayles.[26] Indeed they spent far more time at Monticello than did Jefferson, though inevitably their lives are not well recorded. Those architectural and landscaped features that enabled slave labor at Monticello to be performed invisibly presumably also allowed Jefferson's relationship with Hemings to be pursued with some discretion.[27] The sophisticated and technologically adept design of Monticello—the very features that, on the surface, epitomized orderly republican and rationalist principles—also allowed it to function as a highly successful plantation house. The architectural innovations and ingenious designs that ensured a comfortable life for its chief occupant made possible another and hidden world, peopled by figures who could be kept in the shadows.

I reflect on the overt message of Monticello in order to think about Brown's depiction of Mettingen and its relationship to wider represen-

tations of the Republic. The connection between the rational design of Monticello and what was publicly or privately visible provides a useful model for understanding the physical structures in Brown's novel. In both instances—the actual and fictional estates—reality and fantasy differ in important ways. Two particular examples suggest a pattern that Brown reproduces in his novel. The first concerns the way that the enslaved were made less visible. Jefferson's ongoing reliance on slaves was kept hidden through an array of verbal and visual strategies. He made a telling public distinction between the different groups who lived on the estate: the "indoor" and "outdoor" families. The word *family* encompassed blood relatives and, as Lucia Stanton has argued, "according to more ancient usage— all those under a head of household or, in his case, plantation owner" (4). The "outdoor" family, mainly enslaved workers, occupied buildings on Mulberry Row. This was, in effect, an area separated from the main house. It was rendered largely invisible by the line of trees from which it took its name.[28] Visitors would pass between them, leaving the slaves' huts behind as they headed toward the house and its privileged occupants. The physical distance between the house and Mulberry Row is not substantial. But in every other way the two are far apart.

In Brown's novel this pattern of euphemism and physical separation is also adopted. The hut is the dwelling place of an unnamed group of people, whom Clara routinely calls the "inhabitants" (219, 265, 270). They live "a considerable distance" (162) from the main house, separated from it by a tree-lined path. Yet since Clara easily traverses this alone, even on a dark night, it seems that the distance between the hut and the main house is not as far as the word "considerable" implies. No detail is given of exactly what the hut looks like, when it was built, who these "inhabitants" are. Nothing of consequence is said, either, of their roles in the Wieland family's lives. But it is undoubtedly possible—even probable—that they are enslaved, or formerly enslaved, people. The volatile state of slavery in Pennsylvania is of undoubted significance to understanding the codes Brown might have been employing. Brown was likely to have been aware of the way that arguments about slavery had shaped the Society of Friends in Pennsylvania. The first known antislavery petition in the colonies was the Germantown Quaker petition of 1688. Peter Kafer identifies an area in the vicinity of Germantown as the setting for the novel (114). It is impossible to say for certainty that Brown wanted to invoke the spirit of the petition; nonethe-

less it is at least worth considering seriously. Pennsylvania was the first state to pass an abolition act—the Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery—in 1780. Brown's closest friends were actively involved in abolitionist activism. Thomas Cope, a fellow Quaker, encouraged Brown to write a history of slavery on a number of occasions (137–39, 182, 192, 207–09). William Dunlap stayed with Brown while attending the first American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery at the City Hall in Philadelphia in January 1794. Dunlap was unable to attend the second convention, in January 1796, but Elihu Hubbard Smith, a member of the Manumission Society, founded in 1785, did attend, and stayed with Brown. Smith first met Brown after he moved to Philadelphia to study medicine with Benjamin Rush between 1790 and 1791. On March 1, 1790, while petitions about abolition were being debated in the first federal Congress, Rush published an "adoring biography" (Rediker 136) of the radical Quaker abolitionist Benjamin Lay, in the *Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine*. This was the magazine in which, in a series of four installments from September to November 1789, Brown had published "The Rhapsodist." In a career of unwaning commitment to abolitionist activism, Lay excoriated a number of leading Philadelphian Quakers in his book *All Slave-Keepers That Keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates* (1738). Among the figures he singled out for personal attack was John Bringhurst, a leading Quaker and slaveholder and the grandfather of Brown's lifelong friend Joseph Bringhurst. All of these details suggest the ways in which debates about slavery were part of the context in which Brown was writing his novel. Brown's personal antipathy to slavery was raised in a letter to his brother James on April 19, 1795. At that point, James Brown was returning from Edenton, North Carolina (where he had been living), to reside once more in Philadelphia. Meanwhile their older brother, Joseph, was moving to Edenton. Through his wife, Sarah, Joseph would soon own a plantation that in 1800 contained thirty-nine slaves (Barnard, Hewitt, and Kamrath 292). Brockden Brown wrote to James that "I cannot but think that your abode will be much more agreeable than it could possibly be at Edenton. I am indeed an utter stranger to the localities of Edenton, except by second hand, and yet have imbibed most formidable prejudices against it" (qtd. in Barnard, Hewitt, and Kamrath 291).

The second parallel between Jefferson and Brown concerns the way that Jefferson's self-fashioning was managed. Monticello bespoke order and solitude. As Dell Upton writes of the complex charade, "Visually Jeffer-

son's house claims that the home of many people, white and black, is the home of one man. A man surrounded by family and slaves represented himself as a hermit alone on his mountain" (*Architecture* 30).[29] This projected image was profoundly at odds with the reality of his daily life. That consisted of managing the estate, and engaging with his family and with the large numbers of visitors who sought him out. Yet it corresponded entirely with his long-standing desire for isolation and privacy. It was as if he wanted to repudiate the exemplary neoclassicism of the main house, instead retreating into the private refuge represented by an idealized pastoral site. Notoriously, of course, privileged white slave owners could—at least in some ways—do just that. James Madison's temple at Montpelier was intended to be a similar refuge. Meanwhile Jefferson was so impressed by the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli that at one stage he planned to create gardens at Monticello containing follies, grottoes, and temples. He even contemplated the prospect of being buried—hermitlike (or Rousseau-like)—in a grotto or cave there (Upton, *Architecture* 31).[30]

Jefferson had been inspired by a tour of English estates in the spring of 1786. He avidly consulted Thomas Whately's *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1770) as he traveled through a magnificent series of landscaped gardens with John Adams, at that time ambassador to Britain. He considered how he might appropriate the fashionable designs he encountered for his ambitious reshaping of Monticello. They saw, among other estates, Stowe in Buckinghamshire, whose previous owner Richard Temple, first Viscount Cobham (a powerful Whig), had spent a fortune remodeling it. There, they visited the Temple of Modern Virtue.[31] It was modeled on the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli and also shared design features with the Temple of Philosophy on the Marquis de Girardin's estate, in Ermenonville. Both the temple at Stowe and the temple at Ermenonville were deliberately left incomplete, as if they were ruined. Yet such incomplete symbolic "ruins" could signify diametrically opposed meanings. Either they were powerful symbols of a past fallen into inevitable decay or they could point to a glorious future that was in the process of being built. The ruined state of the Temple of Modern Virtue at Stowe symbolized the corruption of the present. The Temple of Philosophy, on the other hand, erected on a hill and including six columns, each inscribed with the name of a philosopher or thinker—Newton, Descartes, Penn, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Voltaire—signified the as yet incomplete Enlightenment. Girardin saw this as

"a work-in-progress, its topping-out still to come" (Woodward 152), and the building exemplified that exciting prospect.

The temple in *Wieland* is not a ruin, however, though it does offer Wieland the possibility of privacy and seclusion for his religious worship. Wieland envisages the temple as a place that will create the conditions in which that will be achieved.[32] The "temple of his Deity" (13), as Clara calls it, structurally reproduces models from antiquity. Though she never reveals who performed the physical labor to construct it, Clara notes that her father came up with the initial plans, also commissioning an "artist" to complete his vision, much as other wealthy estate owners were doing (13). It is a symbol of his wealth, and taste, and corresponds to wider contemporary notions of architectural appropriateness.[33] The temple, then, is highly visible and considerably embellished. It is the subject of particular attention, and its use alters over time. At first, it appears to represent the possibility of a tranquil rural life for Wieland in a place in which religious toleration is practiced. But Brown represents it as promising something that will prove impossible to achieve. Wieland's temple, understood by his children to represent Enlightenment values, in fact suggests the opposite. The mysterious death of their father, after he is struck down in the temple, is a violent incident that no amount of reasoning by Clara seems able to untangle or explain.[34]

In apparent contrast to the way Brown represents the temple as a place of danger, the positive symbolic possibilities of temples were being taken up in the Republic in the 1780s, as Brown and Jefferson both knew. In the federal processions held across the nation in 1788, incomplete or ruined temples visually signaled the political and textual process of agreeing and ratifying the Constitution. The largest of these was the monumental, and ambitious, Grand Federal Procession. On July 4, 1788, it made its way through Philadelphia, where the seventeen-year-old Brown was residing. He may well have seen the extraordinary display. Jefferson did not see it firsthand, since he was in Paris, but Thomas Paine sent him a long letter full of detail, and enclosed a copy of a local newspaper, with further extensive coverage. At the heart of the procession was a huge float called "The New Roof, or Grand Federal Edifice." This comprised a circular temple surrounded by thirteen Corinthian columns completed by a domed roof, topped by a statue of Plenty.[35] At the base of the rotunda were thirteen stars. The base bore the inscription "In Union the Fabric Stands Firm." Ten

of its columns represented the states that had already ratified the Constitution. Each carried that state's name on it, publicly visible. Pennsylvania had ratified early, on December 12, 1787. Since New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island had not yet done so, three incomplete columns represented them. This left the temple unfinished, and awaiting its inevitable completion, along the lines of the "Temple of Philosophy."[36] The public emphasis on national, and federal, unity suggested that the Grand Federal Edifice (like the nation itself) would eventually grow into a unified whole.

Read differently, however, this symbolism also contained a note of political caution, or anxiety. First, the fact that the temple was "ruined" could signify the corrupt state of the present, as it did in the ironically named Temple of Modern Virtue at Stowe (see Kelly).[37] Second, the color symbolism of the Edifice and its counterparts, as well as the way transformations would happen, needs to be taken into consideration. Eric Slauter has drawn attention to the way in which the whiteness of the columns in the temple-as-Constitution motifs "takes on new significance with respect to the place of black persons in the new nation" (79). When, in September 1787, the Pennsylvania General Assembly celebrated the transition from the Articles of Confederation to the Constitution by comparing it with a shift from "a 'humble cabin' to a 'new house'" (79), this metaphor invoked a larger understanding of a developmental process widely associated with land settlement.[38] However, while many commentators focused on the Constitution as a structure itself, using architectural motifs, they frequently neglected to think about the people as part of the larger political system (81). What of those unable to make the shift from "humble cabin" to the "new house"? Who would remain stranded in the modest edifice, unrepresented and unheard? Some expressed their political and ethical anxieties about such issues. Important political and cultural commentators such as the Marquis de Lafayette and J. Hector St. John de Crèvecœur were profoundly troubled by the mismatch between the avowed principles of the emerging nation and an ongoing reliance on slavery. Lafayette famously corresponded with Jefferson about the contradiction between republican principles and the ownership of slaves. Furthermore, restrictive laws including the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 also intimated crises at the level of nation. These directly challenged more progressive narratives about the nation's status as asylum (a word repeatedly used in *Wieland*) and as safe haven, showing that it was only this for some members

of the population, and not others. Indeed Volney himself left the United States in 1798, in consequence of the Francophobia that followed the acts. It is within these troubling contexts that the symbolic significance of the temple on the Mettingen estate should be read.

THE TEMPLE AND THE HUT

Mettingen is described as a preindustrial rural retreat, along the lines of fashionable English landscape gardens.[39] The estate combines the beautiful with the picturesque, two aesthetic categories that coalesce in its landscape and architecture. Neoclassical forms, including temples, occupy an important place in this landscape tradition. So, too, do more humble structures such as grottoes and huts. The picturesque had recently been developed in England by William Gilpin, in popular works such as his *Essay on Prints* (1768) and *Observations on the River Wye* (1782). It was further explored in texts such as Uvedale Price's *Essay on the Picturesque* (1794), which was quickly being taken up and popularized in the United States.[40] To understand the importance of the temple and hut, then, we must locate them within this tradition. Brown's familiarity with its vocabulary and formal features can be seen in Clara's depiction of the summer house. Her description of the building itself is not as detailed as that of the temple. But she spends considerable time on its setting. Given this lack of specificity about what the summer house looks like, its design must be inferred from the wider context. She describes it in the following way:

> The river bank is, at this part of it, and for some considerable space upward, so rugged and steep as not to be easily descended. In a recess of this declivity, near the southern verge of my little demesne, was placed a slight building, with seats and lattices. From a crevice of the rock, to which this edifice was attached, there burst forth a stream of the purest water which, leaping from ledge to ledge, for the space of sixty feet, produced a freshness in the air, and a murmur, the most delicious and soothing imaginable. These, added to the odours of the cedars which embowered it, and of the honeysuckle which clustered among the lattices, rendered this my favorite retreat in summer.[41] (71)

This language is central to how readers can imagine it. The visual, aural, and olfactory are combined. Together, they compose a scene in which na-

ture has been harnessed to produce an idealized, but still semiwild setting. The beauty of the stream, running downhill for sixty feet, its "murmur" as it flowed, and the "odours" of the cedar and honeysuckle all create a vivid impression. The description is highly suggestive, and though the summer house itself remains vague—"a slight building, with seats and lattices"— the detailed description of the landscape makes the wider scene imaginable, memorable, and very appealing.

Nevertheless, the most carefully described building on the estate is undoubtedly the temple. The dimensions, its distance from the main house, and its chief elements are all clearly outlined in the opening chapter. It is a fanciful feature, portrayed with some precision by Clara. She writes,

> At the distance of three hundred yards from his house, on the top of a rock whose sides were steep, rugged, and encumbered with dwarf cedars and stony asperities, he built what to a common eye would have seemed a summer-house. . . . The edifice was slight and airy. It was no more than a circular area, twelve feet in diameter, whose flooring was the rock, cleared of moss and shrubs, and exactly levelled, edged by twelve Tuscan columns, and covered by an undulating dome. My father furnished the dimensions and outlines, but allowed the artist whom he employed to complete the structure on his own plan. It was without seat, table or ornament of any kind. (12–13)

This description makes the temple sound more like an engraving, or painting, than a three-dimensional structure. It is as if Brown has simply transposed an image from a book of architectural designs into the novel. In consequence, it is very easy to visualize. Specific classical antecedents and resonances are also perceptible: the formality of the geometric shapes of the floor, echoed in the "undulating dome" of the roof; the regularity of the Tuscan columns; the sense of space, despite its relatively modest dimensions. As I have already noted, the temple is the only building that Clara specifically describes as being the responsibility of her father's planning and commissioning. Other buildings were presumably part of the estate when he purchased it. Combined with the specificity of its design, and the significance of the events that take place in it, the temple is of particular interest in understanding the work that Brown makes architecture perform in the novel.

Given the temple's location—on a promontory in a rural spot—

constructing it would have taken considerable physical effort. Clara—understandably perhaps—does not focus on this: she has little reason to meditate on such physical labor. This leaves the question of who constructed the temple both unasked and unanswered in the novel. However, asking the question—and at least attempting to answer it—is revealing. Giving any definitive answer is impossible. Important clues can be found in both the personal history of Wieland himself and the novel's architectural structures, especially the hut and its connection with the marginal. The enslaved, native people, and women are often represented through motifs of death or vanishing. These reflect their status as politically or socially dead, or invisible.[42] This is exemplified in Wieland's transatlantic success story. Its effacement of others happens very early, in relation to this personal history. He tries, and fails, to convert Indians to Christianity. Following this, they play no further part in the novel and are not mentioned at all. After the opening pages of the novel, nothing further is said of the enslaved people whose labor makes the family wealthy. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, there is a strong, unspoken possibility that, just as Wieland's leisured position is bought by the use of slave labor, so he (and his heirs) remain reliant on the work of slaves for their ongoing privilege. An obvious question to ask is what happened to the slaves who created Wieland's wealth for him. Did they provide the labor to construct the temple, and continue to maintain the farm? The answer, simply, is that readers are never told. Clara says nothing about whether they either obtained freedom or remained in Mettingen. Given the attention elsewhere in the novel to inheritance and issues of property, liberty, and their relation to financial independence,[43] this intriguing omission is worth probing further. In order to do this, I now turn to the hut in more detail.

The way the hut is depicted derives, as I have already suggested, from patterns originating on the other side of the Atlantic. In the context of the English garden tradition, as we have seen, neoclassical designs were often juxtaposed with a ruder rural dwelling within a landscape in which nature was celebrated. The more primitive dwelling was sometimes idealized, represented as the home of a peasant or hermit. The effect was to hide the real extremity of the rural poor. A hut could be the idealized embodiment of such a modest residence. In this regard it drew on classical associations, both with Evander's rustic cottage in book 8 of the *Aeneid* and with the hut of Romulus, each associated with different founding myths of Rome.

The humble dwelling place of Evander is on the site on which Rome will be built. This makes it particularly redolent of meaning in the early Republic. It symbolically represents the place of origin, as one of simplicity.[44] This tradition is acknowledged in the work of Gaston Bachelard. In *The Poetics of Space* he argues that the hut has a "significance" that transforms it into the stuff of legend: "When we are lost in darkness and see a distant glimmer of light, who does not dream of a thatched cottage or, to go more deeply still into legend, of a hermit's hut?" (31) But the hut has a far more unpoetic possibility. In the period in which *Wieland* is set, European estates would be likely to contain members of the rural poor whose lives or dwellings—including huts—were very different from those of its privileged owners. The process of providing model housing has already been discussed. As John Barrell and others have argued, the white rural poor are frequently figured as idealized picturesque figures in the English landscape tradition.[45] Eventually, though, they merge with the landscape and become one with it. Thus, they become hidden within its aesthetic conventions. The transposition of this tradition into an American context brings particular challenges and distinctive elements, notably the existence of a black presence (free or unfree) on an estate, as well as an ongoing Indian presence within the wider landscape. The dynamics of the picturesque had to adapt.[46] Picturesque figures could be—though this was not always the case—racial others, sometimes Indians who are depicted as being in the process of vanishing. Once gone, they left a pristine wilderness waiting to be settled by whites. It was precisely the apparent emptiness of the landscape that (it was claimed) distinguished the United States from Europe. There, as William Cullen Bryant's 1829 sonnet reminded the painter Thomas Cole, history was unavoidable: "everywhere the trace of men, / Paths, homes, graves, ruins, from the lowest glen / To where life shrinks from the fierce Alpine air" (219). But many narrative accounts of traveling through the apparently unsettled land revealed the unpoetic presence of abandoned buildings, indicating patterns of previous occupancy. William Byrd noted in *A Journey to the Land of Eden* (1733), for instance, that only rum would help his party quell the fear they experienced at coming across ten newly abandoned Indian huts close to where they were encamped for a night (15–16). Such accounts are frequent, challenging assumptions of ancient and unchanged landscapes.

In an American context, huts—simple dwelling places for the poor—

are complex sites with multiple valences. These can include a racial dimension, as they do on the estates I have been discussing. By the antebellum period, the hut was sometimes particularly associated with enslavement, as it is in Frederick Douglass's *Narrative* (1845) and in Martin Delany's 1859 novel *Blake; or, The Huts of America*. Most famously, in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), the hut and its inhabitants were rendered in picturesque terms as it was re-created as the sentimentalized cabin.[47] The obvious location for the picturesque in the fiction of the early Republic was in representations of idealized landscapes such as Mettingen. This was a productive farm, and was—certainly at one point in Wieland's tenure and probably for the duration of the novel—reliant on the labor of the enslaved. When Clara refers to "the farmer and his servants" as the people inhabiting the hut, she does not elaborate. She is unclear both on this and on whether the family still owns slaves. But a further, specific detail is crucial: Brown's discarded plan involving the murder of a "'faithful Negro.'" By making this figure a symbol of resistance against Theodore's violence, while simultaneously commending the characteristic of faithfulness, Brown subtly implies enslavement or (at the very least) long service. The word "faithful" suggests loyalty. Do the words "servants" and "hut" reinforce the possibility that such servitude is in reality slavery? Such a possibility is undoubtedly consistent both with the way that the word *servant* was a euphemism for slave and with Brown's writing practice. Laura Doyle has commented, for instance, on the way Clara uses the word *exterminated* in the opening paragraphs of the novel to describe her feelings as she narrates her tale, simultaneously invoking a word with an overdetermined political meaning, adverting to racialized violence, while making no "direct reference" to that meaning (233).

What about the hut in which these "servants" live? The hut is obviously crucial to the plot. Despite its significance, it is always called, quite simply, "the hut." The temple, on the other hand, is given alternate names—once it is called an "edifice" for instance, and Clara also notes that "to a common eye [it] would have seemed a summer-house" (12). However, there is a kind of representational uncertainty that maintains a complex position: namely that the hut is simultaneously critical and marginal.[48] Given its association with the homes of the enslaved and socially peripheral, we must allow the possibility that this lack of clarity hints at a narrative of origin that has something unnameable at its heart. But is it still too great a leap to

insist, as I do, that the hut represents an African presence? In asking who the inhabitants of the hut in *Wieland* are, and finding that the novel does not explicitly reveal this, we must use different kinds of textual and contextual evidence.

Turning back to the novel, let us consider each element of what is not said in turn. At no point is there any detail about the physical properties of the hut. That it exists, and is important to Clara and to the novel, is self-evident. Yet specific detail remains suppressed or unspoken. This is in direct contrast to the descriptions of Clara's house, the temple, and the summer house. The physical situation of the hut is explained, however, and gives important evidence for the argument I set out. Clara describes being dropped off next to the hut shortly before eleven one night after a disastrous visit to Pleyel's farm. She is torn between going to her brother's house, where she has promised to spend several nights with her sister-in-law, and returning to her own house, where Carwin has asked her to meet him. She notes that in "this state of uncertainty I alighted at the *hut*" (162). Immediately, she adds, in a clumsy and complex sentence, that "we gave this name to the house tenanted by the farmer and his servants, and which was situated on the verge from my brother's ground, and at a considerable distance from the mansion" (162). It is as if the "uncertainty" she associates with her troubled mental state has developed into a semantic ambivalence about how to describe the peripheral hut, and those who live in it. To get to the main house from the hut, she must walk up a path "planted by a double row of walnuts" (162). Despite the "considerable distance" from the hut to the main house, she arrives at her brother's and then returns to her own house, which is three-quarters of a mile away (24). Later still, she will note that between the hut and her house was "a small enclosure . . . the burying-ground belonging to the family" (219). The hut, then, is clearly located in relation to other key elements of the estate and its powerful owners, especially their own dwellings, but not in a way that gives it independent meaning. So while no information is offered about its appearance, its location is precisely indicated. It bears a striking resemblance to the organization of other estates in which enslaved labor was used, as I have already argued.

Next is the question of when it was built. Since this is never mentioned, it is reasonable to assume that it was already part of the estate when Wieland bought it. If so, it raises another unanswered question. Though Clara acknowledges, early in the novel, that slaves were living on the estate when

her father first started farming the land, she does not reveal where they were living. But if no additions other than the temple were made to the estate—something her narrative implies—the slaves must surely have been living in the hut. Slaves are never mentioned again, as I have already noted. But it is highly unlikely that they have simply vanished. Where would they have gone to, and how? Had they disappeared, who would be farming the land? Nothing is said on any of these points. However, Clara makes clear the fact that the farm has operated successfully throughout the period of her minority, which further suggests that little has altered in terms of structures of labor since her father's time. Unnamed persons must surely have labored on the land between the death of Clara's parents and the period in which she and her brother moved back onto the estate as adults. Whether enslaved or not, black or white is not specified. The possibility that the family's slaves are the "servants" Clara mentions, and that they are living in the hut, must therefore remain open.

The absence of detail about the people who live in the hut is striking. It implies that they are not socially significant enough for Clara to pay attention to. This possibility is consistent with Clara's behavior on another key occasion. When she sees Carwin for the first time she initially pays little attention to him, because he is wearing the clothes of a common man. She finds him "nothing remarkable" (57), indeed she describes him in picturesque terms: "[H]is gait was rustic and aukward [sic]. His form was ungainly and disproportioned" (57). He becomes subjected to her rapt attention when she hears his voice, which was "mellifluent and clear . . . and the modulation . . . impassioned" (59). This indicates that he occupies a higher social position than his clothing has suggested. Clara is transfixed. She immediately sketches his face, and then spends the next day alternately gazing out of the window and contemplating her work in a reverie. Thus she creates a visual record of the now remarkable Carwin. The "inhabitants of the hut" remain shadowy—unsketched or unremarkable. Yet though they are not elite, they play important roles in the main protagonists' lives. They support Clara at key moments of calamity. Carwin goes to the hut to get help for Clara after Theodore's suicide. She is helped again, after her house burns down, leaving her unconscious.[49] Perhaps in a novel with fewer dramatic incidents than *Wieland*, the fate of her house might be more noteworthy. Yet Clara swiftly passes the catastrophe by, instead noting its consequences. She recounts, following her rescue, "I was not fully aware of my

situation till I found myself sheltered in the *Hut*, and surrounded by its inhabitants" (270). By the end of the novel, the Wieland family is largely dead at the hands of Theodore. The "rustics who occupied the hut" (273), as Clara now calls them, tell the family's history to the "unfortunate father of Louisa Conway" (273) when he returns to Mettingen. They are, it seems, the last remaining occupants of the estate. They perform one final role. Although the novel itself is narrated (and purportedly written) by a privileged white woman, the inhabitants of the hut are the authors of an oral counterpart to her narrative. Readers can assume that the account they give to Mr. Conway would have a perspective that is distinct from that recounted by Clara (essentially, the story offered by the novel itself). After all, she is traumatized after her brother's suicide and unconscious after the fire, so her ability to describe the aftermath of these events is limited. But so powerful is the bias in favor of elite voices and the stories they control that the "imperfect and incredible tale" (273) told to Mr. Conway at the hut requires corroboration from a family friend. Mr. Conway "hastened to the city, and extorted from Mrs. Baynton a full disclosure of late disasters" (273). The hut dwellers' version of the violent history of Mettingen is closed down by the combination of Mr. Conway and Mrs. Baynton. Her "full disclosure" narratively trumps their "imperfect and incredible tale" as if the two belong to entirely distinct, and raced, representational possibilities, one authorized and the other not. Mr. Conway relies on Mrs. Baynton's account of a series of events in which her role was in fact tangential. The hut dwellers' narrative, however, emerging from first-person proximity to the events that have taken place, is rapidly dismissed and overlooked as being untrustworthy. Yet redeploying his description of an "imperfect and incredible tale" for Clara's own narrative allows us to describe it with considerable accuracy. Like the voice of Mrs Baynton, Clara's voice has an authority that the silenced voices of the hut are not credited with. However improbable or imperfect her narration is, it is nonetheless the authorized version of events. The novel closes on a note of refusal, then, about the question of the possibility that the voices from the hut, and what they symbolically represent, can ever be given proper acknowledgment in early American texts.

In contrast, my essay ends with an affirmation that challenges this discursive and textual negation. Rethinking the significance of marginal structures and their inhabitants and narratives gives us the ability to pro-

duce deeper and fuller histories that better understand the presence, and contributions, of marginalized and neglected others. It allows us to rise to the challenge of recovering the past, by mining the textual archive for new materials, and rereading familiar texts in innovative ways. Reappraising the relationship between landscape, material culture, and representation in early America provides important insights into questions of proximity and visibility, authority and resistance. By our acts of rereading, informed with tools from other disciplines, we can continue the work of repopulating apparently empty landscapes, and reconstructing marginalized buildings. We can celebrate the work that their presences insist upon of challenge to and disruption of the hegemonies that, in powerful and often successful ways, try to hide and sideline them. But doing this essentially reinforces a sense of Brown as a gloomily prescient writer. For as Julia Stern has noted, the work of Brown and his contemporaries in early America questions the possibility that "the republic's diverse citizens, aliens, Natives, Africans, and others can live together as potential brothers and sisters" (29). When the fashion for neoclassical forms was replaced by a newly dominant fascination with the Gothic by the 1830s, a corresponding turn to fictional representations of interiorized domesticity in uncanny households suggested a negative answer. This is visible in the complex narratives of writers influenced by Brown, such as Poe and Hawthorne. Their unsettling tropes, and haunted settings in crumbling mansions, challenge the rationality and regularity both of neoclassical forms and of republican aspirations, in a manner ominously presaged by Brown.[50]

NOTES

I would like to thank Michael Davidson, David Fairer, Ed Larrissy, and the journal's anonymous readers for their careful readings and comments on an earlier version of this piece, and Philip Barnard for a formative discussion about Brown.

1. The painting is often known as "The Thornton Watercolor." In her fine work of social history, Wulf mistakenly ascribes the painting to William Thornton (220). He is best known as the designer of a number of important public and private neoclassical buildings in the early Republic including the US Capitol building, Tudor Place, and the Library Company of Philadelphia. Two years earlier, on February 14, 1800, Brodeau Thornton notes that she had shown a visitor Paul Sandby's 1777 work *A Collection of Landscapes*, which depicts many "elegant seats."

2. For a fascinating account of the transformation of the idealized picturesque landscape of Jamaican plantations in which enslavement was disguised into a

postrebellion landscape where slaves were made highly visible see Kriz 187–93. Her description of the way that slave huts were made visible in Adolphe Duperly's postrebellion lithographs is especially useful here: "Slave huts are now a part of the landscape: a cluster has been introduced on the hillside on the left, while the huts in the woods are now clearly visible. As a result, the estate is now under siege, surrounded on four sides by slaves or their habitations" (189). Ironically, slavery had disappeared (only to reappear) in the Thorntons' lives, too. William Thornton derived his wealth from his family's plantation on Tortola, in the British Virgin Islands. Born there, but raised in England from a young age, he appears to have found this revelation unsettling. Yet although when he lived in Philadelphia he was involved in abolition, by the time he visited Montpelier, he had become an active purchaser of slaves.

3. This is described in detail by Wulf 222–28.

4. Goff makes a similar point in relation to shanty towns, arguing that "shanty-towns, unacknowledged by history, often occupied the sites of what are now national landmarks, memorializing whatever replaced the shantytown. Name an iconic American space, and odds are good that a shantytown haunts its early history" (xi).

5. Quotations from Brown's text, unless otherwise noted, are from the Penguin *Wieland and Memoirs of Carwin the Biloquist* edition.

6. This detail did not become part of the printed version of the novel. The outline is contained in Brown's notebook in the Historical Society of Philadelphia, which also contains architectural sketches and plans.

7. See Samuels and Gardner. My argument corresponds to Gardner's reading of *Edgar Huntly* as a text in which an Indian presence "embodies here (and in the broader political discourse of the period) a whole array of threats to the new nation—from the alien to, most troubling of all, the Un-American American" (53).

8. In rural Roman villas, the slaves lived in the *pars rustica* while the owner and his family lived in the *pars urbana*.

9. Pierson comments that "[m]ore than any other man of his day, Jefferson understood the larger functions of architecture in society and used it as a symbol of political and social values" (213). Pierson associates Jefferson with what he calls "The Idealistic Phase of American Neoclassicism" in what would become the United States, allying the architectural style of contemporary France with that of Rome (212). See also 205–15, 212–13, and especially 286–334 on Jefferson's influence on perception of the relation between architectural form and the expression of political and cultural thought. But also see Maynard 60–62 for a less appreciative reading of Jefferson's contribution to American architecture.

10. For more on this see Roth 53–54 and Gelernter 114.

11. In thinking about how architecture renders people invisible, and on strategies for redressing this, I'm especially indebted to Morris's fascinating essay, which uses archaeological evidence to try to "recover the lost voices of Athenian women and slaves" (193).

12. They read the Burr conspiracy in relation to race and rebellion. (13) See also their reading of Brown's *Ormond* (59).

13. For more on this see Rosenblum. Rosenblum's specific example (107–45) of a process taking place is France; however, it was also true of the United States. His fascinating analysis of the neoclassical in the late eighteenth century as a site of political conflict rather than a unified field shows how the liberal thinkers of the period could both admire the simplicity of republican Rome and its architectural forms and see the Roman Empire as corrupt.

14. Notable scholarship on US contexts that I have found especially helpful includes Ellis and Ginsburg (especially the essays by Ellis and Ginsburg themselves); Upton, "White and Black Landscapes"; and Vlach's important essay and book.

15. For further details see Roth 29. James Gibb's 1728 *A Book of Architecture* also went on to be of great importance in the emerging United States. Other works giving specific instructions on how to build temples include Thomas Collins Overton's *Original Designs of Temples and Other Ornamental Buildings for Parks and Gardens, in the Greek, Roman and Gothic Taste* (1766) and his *The Temple-Builder's Most Useful Companion, Being Fifty Entirely New Original Designs for Pleasure and Recreation; Consisting of Plans, Elevations, and Sections, in the Greek, Roman and Gothic Taste* (1774). Both these books would have been available to Brown.

16. Jefferson translated a part of this while he was vice president. Unable to complete his work and worried about being publicly associated with a controversial book, he distanced himself from it by allowing Joel Barlow, who had translated the final part of it, to associate his name with the entire translation.

17. In 1797, Volney was elected to the Philadelphia-based American Philosophical Society, which Jefferson had been elected to himself in 1780. Jefferson was president of the American Philosophical Society from 1797 to 1817.

18. On speculation about how Brown would have encountered gossip about Jefferson in Philadelphia see Kafer 203–04n14.

19. Caricat imported and sold all of the works of Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and Buffon. In a letter to Joseph Bringhurst, Brown noted excitedly that Volney was to be delivering a lecture. For fuller details see Verhoeven 25 and 22. See also Barnard, Hewitt, and Kamrath 311.

20. On speculations about why Brown did this see Kafer xx–xxi.

21. Warfel suggests that Brown's interest in architecture may have been a consequence of his family's "financial interest in the building boom in Philadelphia" (25).

22. On the powerful use of architectural metaphors see especially St. George *Conversing by Signs*. See also Herman; Slauter; and Upton, "White and Black Landscapes."

23. On the shift toward Greek Revival architecture see Maynard 219–79.

24. See Castronovo's discussion of "memories, corporeal residues, and other material contexts" (10). Faherty has argued that "the Republic was actually (and knowingly) built amid a complex series of residual structures" (7), dotted across

the so-called wilderness landscape, visibly challenging claims that the land was awaiting settlement.

25. As Stanton argues, "He designed his house and surroundings with the villas of the Romans in mind. He looked down on a landscape of literary allusions, its features bearing names he had given them to evoke ancient landscapes" (57).

26. For more detail on the organization of the household see Upton, *Architecture* 26–27. For details of the life of the Hemings family in particular, see Gordon-Reed's magisterial work.

27. Gordon-Reed has argued that the "porticles" Jefferson added to the area of Monticello designated as his bedroom and private rooms "destroyed the perfect geometric symmetry of Monticello's Palladian design" so in design terms are wholly inexplicable. However, they may have been intended to make Heming's visits invisible, by allowing Jefferson to stop prying eyes seeing into his private rooms. She has also demonstrated that two outdoor sets of steps might have afforded private nighttime visits directly to his bedroom (614).

28. Considerable archaeological work is currently being carried out on Mulberry Row to reconstruct and interpret the lives and histories of Jefferson's enslaved workers. Monticello's website has useful detail: https://www.monticello.org/site/plantation-and-slavery (accessed August 18, 2016).

29. Upton notes elsewhere ("White and Black Landscapes"), in a discussion of the landscape of pre-Revolutionary Virginia, that the only way to understand plantations is to recognize that they comprised distinct visions and experiences of living in or passing through a landscape. While the plantation owner created a hierarchical landscape "leading to himself at the center" (64), enslaved blacks experienced a landscape in which they were "surrounded by other people's power" (70) and were often effectively rendered invisible. In *Another City* he uses the trope of the "shadow landscape" (105) to think about the transformation of the antebellum urban environment in novels such as George Lippard's *The Quaker City* (1845). See *Another City* 105–10.

30. Though he did not complete this ambition, he did borrow the idea of edification and education and integrate it into the organization of the internal decoration of his house, including portraits of fifty-seven notable men on the walls of his house. Wulf observes that George Washington referred to his Mount Vernon home as his "'philosophical retreat'" (16).

31. For more on this see Wulf 8–54.

32. Kafer points out that the site of the temple is where a group of religious radicals—"the so-called 'Hermits of the Wissahickon'" built their "'tabernacle'" in 1694 (114).

33. The vogue for erecting buildings that draw on antiquity, especially Roman antiquity, was strong in the late eighteenth century, but began to die out gradually as revolutionary fervor swept across the Atlantic. See Woodward 150.

34. Faherty makes the important point that Clara and Theodore are "misguided" in

their belief that changing the building's use will allow them to "simply disown the past" (51).

35. The Edifice followed a plan drawn up by the painter Charles Willson Peale, later celebrated as a portrait painter and naturalist, but also one of the men involved in the arrests of a number of Quakers, including Brown's father, Elijah Brown, in September 1777. For more on Peale's ideas on the relationship between vision and citizenship see Walsh 69–92.

36. For more on this see Slauter 79–85.

37. This is also the case within other kinds of visual language. In a discussion of Eastman Johnson's *Old Kentucky Home (Life in the South)* (1859) Conron argues that through "the contrasts between a plantation house and the slave-quarters with a warped roof, broken beams, and rotten, moss-grown shingles, Eastman Johnson transforms his *Old Kentucky Home* into a 'prophetical' sign of the decay of the slave-holding South" (36). See also Yablon's discussion of broken columns and their relation to political oratory, Freemasonry, and millenarianism (6, 30–32, 35–39).

38. Goff has shown that basic dwellings were seen—even very early on—in evolutionary terms in which the ultimate aim was for a permanent dwelling place: "A promotional pamphlet written in 1650 described 'six sorts' of dwellings in America: the newcomer's wigwam; the earthfast house; an 'Irish' house of posts, wattle and turf; a log house; a thatched or tiled mud house; and a brick house. Only the last was undeniably permanent, but each represented an improvement over the one before" (31).

39. Clara notes that: "These domains were called, from the name of the first possessor, Mettingen" (24). For more on this name see Krause (especially 94). The name *Mettingen* has an obvious relation to those used by Protestant communities. See Kafer 113–19.

40. See Andrews; Conron 13; and chapter 2 in Maynard, "The Role of Britain and the Picturesque" (51–110). In a May 1892 letter to Joseph Bringhurst, Brown described a Rousseauesque "performance" of his own that includes a meditation on the picturesque landscape of the Lake District. See Barnard, Hewitt, and Kamrath 93. In 1804 Brown published an essay "On a Taste for the Picturesque," and a few years after the publication of the novel Brown published a sketch explicitly advocating the work of Gilpin, Verney, Claude, Salvator Rosa, and Ann Radcliffe.

41. Childs notes that the "scenery [around the Schuylkill river] is picturesque beyond description" (106).

42. The now classic formulation of social death comes from Patterson.

43. Notably in the plot about claims to lands in Lusatia, first mentioned at the start of chapter 5.

44. See Williams's seminal account of the cultural origins of the idea of the rural and urban in Western culture in his first five chapters. See also the way Maudlin traces the evolution of the English cottage and its relation to multiple signifying

systems. Though his primary focus is on England, the idealized cottage retreat was not just an English fantasy. In 1787 Jefferson wrote to Madison of his enthusiasm for the simple cottage, "I had rather be shut up in a very modest cottage with my books, my family and a few old friends . . . than to occupy the most splendid post, which any human power can give" (qtd. in Maudlin 11).

45. Summarizing the changing representations he identifies in the depiction of the rural poor in the English landscape tradition, Barrell notes that

> The jolly imagery of Merry England, which replaced the frankly artificial imagery of classical Pastoral, was in turn replaced when it had to be by the image of a cheerful, sober, domestic peasantry, more industrious than before; this gave way in turn to a picturesque image of the poor, whereby their raggedness became of aesthetic interest, and they became the objects of our pity; and when that image would serve no longer, it was in turn replaced by a romantic image of harmony with nature whereby the laborers were merged as far as possible with their surroundings, too far away from us for the questions about how contented or how ragged they were to arise. (16)

See also Di Palma.

46. Kutchen's definition of the American picturesque is especially helpful here: "My working definition of the American picturesque . . . is that it is an imperial extension of the reactionary politics of the imperial center, and thus an *apprehension* of the revolutionary moment: that is, by viewing it through the 'picturesque eye,' the revolutionary moment is recognized and simultaneously arrested within the picturesque landscape" (400). Cole was also a key figure in the emergence of American picturesque.

47. See Casid's depiction of landscape modes of the picturesque and imperial construction. Though the first appearance of the word *shanty* in US print culture is in 1822, shanties are part of a spectrum of dwellings of the poor that starts in the earliest period of white settlement and includes hovels, huts and cabins. See Goff 23, 28, and 73. See also the essay by Carson et al.

48. This representational crisis has a precedent in the difficulty of reconciling and representing the two competing foundational myths of Rome mentioned earlier that symbolically associate it with either the hut of the Arcadian Evander or the hut of Romulus. See Goldschmidt 90–96, especially 96n94.

49. Clara recounts that Carwin swiftly tells "the inhabitants of the hut of what had passed, and they flew to the spot" (265). She describes the destruction of her house it in these terms: "By neglect of the servant, some unextinguished embers had been placed in a barrel in the cellar of the building. The barrel had caught fire; this was communicated to the beams of the lower floor, and thence to the upper part of the structure" (270). Kafer believes that the destruction of her home is beneficial to Clara as it allows her at least the prospect of creating a new home elsewhere (131).

50. Shamir's examination of interiority and the place of the private home in the fiction of the antebellum period unpacks "the complex web of privileges and dispossessions, of spatial allocations and competing significations that fractured, and continue to fracture, this ideally harmonious place" (3).

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