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From typology to aesthetics in American literature

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From Typology to Aesthetics in American Literature

A Thesis

Presented in

Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

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BY

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Abstract

This thesis traces changes in the use of typology in American literature from the Puritans through the twentieth century. In particular, this project takes a closer look at major works of John Winthrop, Mary Rowlandson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Herman Melville in order to investigate how typology was employed by each of them and develops into modern symbolism. This thesis documents some stages in the origins of symbolism and its use in American literature as the latter increasingly proclaimed stylistic independence from European intellectual traditions and became a highly admired form in literature. I show how religious typology developed into aesthetics, for example use of symbolism, over the nineteenth century and culminating in Melville's masterpiece *Moby Dick*. I investigate *when* typology was used, in *what* context, and for *which* purpose. To do so, I use extensive secondary research in addition to close readings.

Key Words: American Literature, Typology, Aesthetics, Puritanism, Melville

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Preface

Over the nineteenth century, many American authors published works which have become objects of critical attention for literary critics, literature courses, and casual readers. Due to the great amount of scholarship that has been published on these authors, challenges are a) to find a gap in research that yet needs to be filled, b) to draw on previous research that has been conducted to avoid major overlaps and to present oneself as an expert in this field, and c) to develop a valid argument that can be presented in a thoughtful and engaging manner. With these challenges and goals in mind, I decided to write a thesis with a focus on nineteenth-century American Literature because I have long been fascinated with the writings of Melville and others.

This thesis presents the concept of typology, a method of interpretation which reaches far back into history. A rationale of this thesis is the significance of modern literary symbolism which, it can be argued, emerged from the concept of typology. Because symbolism remains one of the most sophisticated and valued devices in literature, I am aiming to present its development from typology. By drawing on extensive secondary research and employing close readings of primary texts, I will show how typology has developed over time into different literary devices, such as allegorism and symbolism. While during Puritan times typology served exclusively as a way of incorporating one's own life into the fulfillment of types, over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a struggle of navigating both Calvinistic religious tradition and secular, worldly thoughts becomes apparent. This struggle culminates in Melville's *Moby Dick*, which presents an emblematic moment when Puritan typology is shifting into modern symbolism.

In Chapter I, I will provide an overview of the origins of typology and its close relation to the biblical interpretation. I will draw on secondary research that establishes an understanding of

what typology means and how it was used in literature. As a method of exegesis, typology can (in its ancient and early modern usage) be defined as “an establishment of historical connexions between certain events, persons or things in the Old Testament and similar events, persons or things in the New Testament.”¹

In Chapter II, I provide an overview of Puritan typology. Because the Puritans believed in predestined salvation (or damnation), their use of typology is closely related to their strong Calvinistic beliefs. Crucial to the Puritans’ usage of typology is the way they understand themselves in the context of typology: rather than exclusively developing connections between biblical persons, events, or things between the New and the Old Testament, the Puritans draw on historical figures from New England as fulfillments of biblical types. To illustrate this, the Chapter incorporates close readings of John Winthrop’s sermon “A Model of Christian Charity” and Mary Rowlandson’s *Narrative of the Captivity and Restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*. Both of these authors draw heavily on Biblical *types* to make sense of (Rowlandson) or to justify (Winthrop) their experiences. Winthrop delivered his sermon to just a few dozen Puritans on their way to the “New World” in 1620 and it was not published until over two hundred years later. But the sermon is exemplary as an example of typology of the period and represents the mindset of puritanism in its first years in early America. The publication and distribution of Winthrop’s sermon as an exemplary “American” piece of literature also makes it part of the establishment a body of national literature during the early nineteenth century. As we will see, Rowlandson’s writing also draws heavily on types and can be read as a prime example of Puritan typological writings. Her account was always public, made so for social and political reasons that I will explain below. In addition, her work offers some of the only sustained prose to have been

¹ Woollcombe, “The Biblical Origins and Patristic Development of Typology,” 42.

written by a woman in the seventeenth century New World, and presents experience “as a collision between cultural ideology and the real in American literature before Melville” (Breitweiser 4). In addition, I chose Rowlandson’s writing because of its interesting position between a real account and a promotional Puritan writing. Because of her acquaintance with Increase Mather, who wrote the Preface to Rowlandson’s work and helped publish it, polemical purpose is evident in her narrative. Although we cannot be certain how much Rowlandson wrote herself and how much Mather edited the narrative to distribute it, the work is an exemplary piece of Puritan typology.

Chapter III discusses major figures of what is known as the American Renaissance, and explores their impact on literary studies. This Chapter focuses on nineteenth-century American literature, a more secularized society than its predecessors, and a development of national literary texts. In analysis of several canonical works of Emerson, Hawthorne, and Melville, I show their utilization of types and the emerging effects thereof and illustrate the lasting impact and thus significance of typology after the decline of strict Calvinism. It shall become clear that a mix of religious and secular elements are part of the creation of these types; more specifically, the element of nature as a spiritualizing factor plays a central role. I chose Emerson because he played a major role in what would become known as the “American Renaissance” and American Transcendentalism, and Hawthorne because of his position as a conflicted inheritor of Puritan personas and his extraordinary figurative writing in order to work through its legacy. *The Scarlet Letter* is one of Hawthorne’s most famous works and presents a struggle to depict the challenges to identity and autonomy in Calvinism and uses a symbolism partially detached from Puritan typology. I will then show that Melville’s *Moby Dick* is also trying to negotiate secular thoughts and styles with Puritan narrative traditions.

The Epilogue presents the absence of typology after the decline of sacred models of the world, and a consequent lack of traditional typology in a secularized 20th-century America. With Ellison's focus on racial inequality in mid-20th century America, typology is not the most useful narrative strategy. Instead he employs kinds of symbolic naming that at first might seem like typology but in fact are devoid of actual religious significance in the manner of earlier American literature.

Chapter I:

Typology & Terminology

“Exegesis” describes a critical explanation or interpretation of a text, particularly a religious one. Traditionally the term was used for biblical works; however, in modern usage “biblical exegesis” is used for greater specificity to distinguish it from any other kind of critical explanation of a text, sacred or secular. Exegesis has a long history and developed a wide set of hermeneutic practices. Stephen Manning has described the late-antique and medieval fourfold method of exegesis as interpreting a text for insight upon: past events (literal), the connection of the past events with the present (allegorical and typological), the present (tropological/moral), and the future (anagogical). In other words, a literal method includes looking at a text’s historical context and grammatical meaning; the allegorical and typological reading method understands literal elements in texts to have a symbolic meaning; a tropological or moral approach discusses individuals in relation to each other and how they should interact; and an anagogical method finds prophetic, mystical, or metaphysical meaning in the future.¹ Peter Harrison has noted the

historical range and durability of the fourfold method of interpretation: it was the assumption of generations of interpreters that Scripture was a “unitary text which contains eternal truths which transcend time and place.” That way, Harrison notes, it was possible for bible readers to assign “present meaning” to every passage of Scripture.²

Although researchers have presented different definitions and interpretations of typology, they tend to agree that the origins of exegetical typology are found in the way New Testament writers handled the Old Testament prophecies.³ Within this ancient period of time, typology served as a way of interpreting history and a method of biblical exegesis. As there had been no canon of New Testament literature until the fourth century, passages from the Old Testament were interpreted to draw a connection between old and new writings to foreshadow the coming of Christ.

Historical typology came into existence with Christendom, while in Judaism, allegorism and the study of the fulfilment of prophecy was exercised.⁴ More specifically, Harrison writes that it was in the wake of Reformation that literal meaning was assigned to texts: Scripture was read as occurring in and having a history in our modern sense.⁵ For Christians, everything in the Old Testament was believed to foreshadow Christ’s coming and redemption. With the New Testament, the anti-type to the Old Testament type had evolved and everything in the Bible was thought to have meaning and correspondence. Because the first custodians were religious leaders who had access to the written story, they were in a position to tell it to others. In Christianity, these were the church fathers who transformed the Old Testament into support for the message of the New Testament and aimed to differentiate Christianity from Judaism by the interpretative device of typology. That is, the types described in the Old Testament are symbols which foreshadow the antitype, the idea behind the symbol.

The most important element in orthodox typology is that the types in the Old Testament are considered to be real, historical people and events that literally prefigure real, historical people and event from the New Testament.⁶ For instance, Jonas's three days in the whale's belly presents a type of Christ's three days in the tombs: "For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth."⁷ Jonah is depicted as a type of Christ, someone who foreshadows, emulates, or likens to Christ. Furthermore, Moses would be considered a historical figure and a literal prefiguration of Christ. In contrast, unorthodox typology "blends" typology and allegory. That way, the type is an "ahistorical abstraction" rather than a historical fact and Moses can be regarded as a mythical figure and Christ as a metaphorical rather than a literal fulfillment of this type.⁸

Because it becomes clear that typology is a concept, an interpretation, a method, whose origins are rooted deeply in religious and Christian beliefs, one might wonder whether it is in fact still relevant and can legitimately be employed when interpreting literature. G.W. H. Lampe, for example, wonders if in what is said to be a "post-critical" age, typology can still serve as a method without relying too intensely upon pre-critical assumptions which the "development of the historical and critical approach to the Bible has rendered untenable."⁹ Lampe believes that this inquiry might pose a waste of time to those who believe that typology is based on unscientific and fanciful ways of dealing with a text. However, he also emphasizes that typology represents historically a "theologically and spiritually useful and illuminating method of interpretation."¹⁰ Consequently, it is useful to trace the various meanings and interpretations that have been attributed to and used in typology in order to determine what is helpful and eliminate misleading or outdated uses and concepts.

Returning to New Testament writers, it remains indisputable that they were looking for the fulfillment of Old Testament imagery in their stories. For Christians, the images and symbols presented in the Old Testament carried meaning and significance as real historical events and personages, and as a foundation of God's covenant and law before the appearance of Christ on Earth they attained their true meaning by foreshadowing events, persons or things in the New Testament.¹¹ The whole purpose of the Old Testament, according to the early Christians, was to provide types for the anti-type Christ. Thus, the "type" does not fully exist until the appearance of the "anti-type."¹² The type, however, is not a symbol of Christ, but a definite historical person or event of the Old Testament which prefigures Christ, yet exists first with its own independent meaning and justification.¹³ In this way, typology serves to regard history as the story of redemption and through imagery a reader finds a coherent pattern which runs through Scripture.

For a long time, the major religion of Europe was Catholicism; in the sixteenth century, the German monk Martin Luther started a movement to overthrow the power of the Catholic Church and split Europe into Catholics and Protestants. One of Luther's central beliefs drew on the original sin of Adam in the Garden of Eden and presented the idea of humans as innately sinful. Thus, unlike Catholics, Protestants do not believe that they can become worthy of grace through hard work and sacraments.¹⁴ Instead, according to Luther, people depended on the freely given grace of God, granted to them despite their sinfulness. Luther also objected to common practices of the Catholic Church and challenged the authority of the Pope claiming that "religion was a matter of individual conscience."¹⁵ He also prompted ordinary men and women to read the Holy Scripture, which was made easier by the invention and spread of mechanical printing and the translation of the Bible from Latin and Greek into European languages.¹⁶ As Luther's ideas spread throughout Europe, a revolt, known as the Protestant Reformation, led King Henry VIII to

form the Church of England, or Anglican Church, because the Catholic Church did not allow his divorce.

Another central figure in the Protestant Reformation, who was also crucial in the development of typology in early American literature, is John Calvin. Calvin took Luther's ideas even further and believed "that all events are preordained by God, that God chose at the beginning of time which people (the elect) would be saved, and which would be damned."¹⁷ This doctrine of predestination became a central element in the Puritan Movement which happened in England and in the English colonies. Even though Calvinism comprises innumerable points, one of the most important ones, especially in regard to this paper, is the belief in a predestined fate and the possible salvation by God after death.¹⁸ To receive salvation however, it was still of importance to try to live a life without sin. The religious beliefs of Calvinism strongly influenced the narratives of the Puritan time as well as the time after. God either chooses a person to receive salvation or not, but if he does a paradisiac state was achievable only after death. Evidently, we can see a paradox in Puritan Calvinism: Although the Puritans believed that their status as saved or damned was chosen by God even before they were born, they tried to live a life conforming to norms.

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- ¹ Stephen Manning, "Scriptural Exegesis and the Literary Critic," in *Typology and Early American Literature*, ed. Sacvan Bercovitch (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1972), 74-75.
- ² Peter Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 122.
- ³ K. J. Woollcombe, "The Biblical Origins and Patristic Development of Typology," in *Essays on Typology*, ed. Geoffrey Lampe (London: SCM Press, 1957), 49.
- ⁴ Woollcombe, "The Biblical Origins and Patristic Development of Typology," 42.
- ⁵ Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science*, 122.
- ⁶ Jason Charles Courtmanche, *How Nathaniel Hawthorne's Narratives Are Shaped by Sin: His Use of Biblical Typology in His Four Major Works* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2008), 2.
- ⁷ Matthew 12:40.
- ⁸ Courtmanche, *How Nathaniel Hawthorne's Narratives Are Shaped by Sin*, 3.
- ⁹ G.W.H. Lampe, "The Reasonableness of Typology," in *Essays on Typology*, ed. Geoffrey Lampe (London: SCM Press, 1957), 21.
- ¹⁰ Lampe, "The Reasonableness of Typology," 21.
- ¹¹ Ibid 10,15.
- ¹² Karl Keller, "Alephs, Zahirs, and the Triumph of Ambiguity: Typology in the Nineteenth-Century American Literature," in *Literary Uses of Typology*, ed. Earl Minor (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 184.
- ¹³ Ursula Brumm, *American Thought and Religious Typology* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1970), 23.

¹⁴ Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*, ed. Sculley Bradley, Richmond Croom Beatty, E. Hudson Long, and Seymour Gross (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1961), 76.

¹⁵ Nathaniel Hawthorne, "The Scarlet Letter," EMC Corporation, 1988, pdf, viii.

¹⁶ Hawthorne, "The Scarlet Letter," viii.

¹⁷ John T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 93.

¹⁸ Edwin H. Palmer, *The Five Points of Calvinism: A Study Manual* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1972), 5.

Chapter II: Puritan Typology

Puritan uses of typology are of significance for this paper. This is because the Puritans, who believed themselves to be divinely chosen people and who saw the Bible as their absolute law, represent the deep roots of typology in American life. Their literary works and sermons have influenced many generations and still reverberate in American tradition. In what follows, I want to explain who the Puritans were, what beliefs they brought into the New World, how these beliefs shaped Puritan typology, and what effects this had on the following generations and literary personas. In particular, it is significant to understand the Puritan use of typology and how the concept of biblical typology evolved and expanded in order to detect fundamental practices of this interpretative method in American literature.

The Puritans were a group of religious reformers who arrived in Massachusetts in the 1620s with John Winthrop as their leader. They arose as a separatist group within the Church of England in the late sixteenth century. However, under siege of Anglican church and crown, the

Puritans took a long journey upon themselves and sailed across the ocean to the New World. During the early seventeenth century, the Puritans settled in what is known as New England today and laid the foundations for religious, intellectual and social order. Certainly, there was a diversity among New England Puritan communities and the way they subscribed to Puritanism: some preferred a Presbyterian form of church organization; more radical ones claimed autonomy for individual congregations; others were content to remain with the structure of the national church. Across, all varieties, they set themselves against the doctrinal vestiges of Catholic and Anglican tradition, especially the vestments that symbolized episcopal authority.

Thomas M. Davis explains the complex influences on exegetical typology that inform the Puritans. He parallels the Puritans with the authors of the New Testament who saw the future as fulfilling prophecies of the past. The Puritans very much believed that their journey to and establishment in the New World was part of God's plan involving the creation of a society that is better than any other before—a new Canaan, a shining “city of a hill.” Richard Reinitz writes that the Puritans' usage of typology helped them understand their relationship to Christ and put their journey into context of human mankind.¹ Using typology supported the Puritans in justifying their creation of a new and better society in New England. Davis emphasizes that not understanding the concept of typology and its origins would undermine clarity about Puritans' use and interest in imagery.²

Furthermore, the Puritan interest in typology was not merely a seventeenth century phenomenon. In fact, the roots of the Puritan practice of typological exegesis, Davis writes, “are deep in the traditions of the Church Fathers.”³ Consequently, the Puritans' practice of typology is based on and emerged from Reformational precedent. However, one can detect within Puritan use of typology (and even more so later with other seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth-

century American writers) that the strict relationship between Old and New Testament slowly fades. If the Bible contained hidden prefigurative relationships, then such writers were on the search for “similar relationships not only in other texts that might have an inspired core to them, but in natural phenomena, historical events, and ultimately, all aspects of human experience.”⁴

John Cotton (1585-1652), an influential New England Puritan leader who served as minister of the First Church of Boston and theologian of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, was one of the earliest persons to apply typological symbolism to New England events. His beliefs and applications of typology rested on Separatist Henry Ainsworth’s (1571-1622/23) earlier methods. Reinitz writes that Ainsworth wanted to infuse the Old Testament with Christian meaning for the purpose of Christianizing it away from Jewish provenance. While the existing similarities between Jewish ritual and Christ’s story emphasized a continuity of religion, it also presented a too strong emphasis on such continuity.⁵ Thus, as we saw above, purposes of typology were to Christianize the Old Testament and, at the same time, to illustrate the differences between the old and new order. This paradoxical typology was based on resemblance, a kind of resemblance “which implicitly expressed an ultimate difference between type and antitype.”⁶ In this manner, we can identify Ainsworth’s typology as ancient exegetical typology.

John Winthrop

John Winthrop (1588-1649) saw the journey of the Puritans as a God-given chance to develop a model society in New England better than any existing in Europe. He and the rest of the Puritans believed themselves to have a covenant with God and considered the development of their thriving community as a model society and a chance to receive redemption after death.

Winthrop was one of the first European settlers in New England and thus a chief figure among the Puritan founders of New England. Due to Charles I’s anti-Puritan policy in England

(which generated much mistrust and antipathy of reformed groups such as the Puritans), Winthrop joined the Massachusetts Bay Company and became its first governor. The Massachusetts Bay Company obtained a royal charter to plant a colony in Massachusetts, New England. Winthrop and the Puritans wanted to prove that their religious beliefs were serving God; they wanted to create a thriving community based on the Puritan religious beliefs and values. Sailing west across the Atlantic Ocean on a ship called *Arbella*, Winthrop composed the sermon “A Model of Christian Charity” (1620) in which he outlines ideas about how the Puritan settlers should live with each other and what type of society they should portray and develop into:

We are entered into covenant with Him [God] [...] We have taken out a commission. The Lord hath given us leave to draw our own articles. [...] Now if the Lord shall please to hear us, and bring us in peace to the place we desire, then hath He ratified this covenant and sealed our commission, and will expect a strict performance of the articles contained in it; but if we shall neglect the observation of these articles [...] the Lord will surely break out in wrath against us, and be revenged of such a people, and make us know the price of the breach of such a covenant. Now the only way to avoid this shipwreck, and to provide for our posterity, is to [...] do justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God. For this end, we must be knit together, in this work, as one man. [...] For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us. So that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause Him to withdraw His present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world.⁷

While Winthrop’s sermon was delivered only to a few Puritans on the ship (it was not published until 1838 with an aim to establish a national body of literature) it served to promote Winthrop’s exceptional case of his placement in the New World among other Puritans and their relationship to God. It is clearly typological, and representative of Puritan models of the world and God.

Winthrop considered himself and the rest of the Massachusetts colonists as part of a “covenant” with God. God’s agreement to this covenant would be given if the Massachusetts Bay Colony successfully arrived in New England. In his opinion, God had given them the chance to escape

the anti-Puritan policies of King Charles I to develop a new and outstanding community in New England, which should represent a model society to the rest of the world. This perfect society could only be created when all the Puritans stuck together and followed God's rules.

Considering that Winthrop's sermon was delivered on the way to New England, before they even arrived or knew if they would arrive, it is already exceptional in its influence upon the colonists on the *Arbella*. Winthrop assumed that he and the Massachusetts colonists are God's chosen people with the opportunity to create a model society. Furthermore, Winthrop's thought about the Massachusetts Bay Colony to be like "a city upon the hill" where "[t]he eyes of all people are upon us" clearly shows the exceptional position he attributes the "New World" even before the Puritans arrival and settlement. As mentioned earlier, the creation of a model society was possible only if all of the colonists followed God's rules. Hereby, Winthrop embraced the idea that the society, which the colonists were about to build, would be the center of the world if not even the center of history. He argues that their success will manifest a model society for the rest of the world but that their failure will also be viewed by everyone.

Winthrop's sermon not only reflects the Puritan attitude towards God and their relationship with him, but also echoes Matthew 5:14: "You are the light of the world. A town built on a hill cannot be hidden." The biblical elements in Winthrop's sermon are not directly taken as exegetical typology. They do not reflect on a real historical event and put it in the context of the New Testament, but rather draw on historical figures to imagine New England as fulfillment of biblical types. With Winthrop's example, we can see how the Puritans expanded on the concept of typology to include themselves in a religious mission, make sense of their journey to the New World, and justify the establishment of a new model society.

Mary Rowlandson

Mary Rowlandson (1637-1710/11), a British American colonial writer, wrote one of the first American captivity narratives, telling of her capture by Native Americans in 1676. The work makes ample use of typology. Rowlandson and twenty-three other men, women, and children—among them Rowlandson’s own three children—were abducted by a party of Native Americans who had attacked Lancaster during King Philip’s War. For three months, Rowlandson was kept prisoner, treated poorly, and had one of her children die in her arms only a week after their abduction. She and the other captors traveled as far as the Connecticut River before Rowlandson was returned back to her husband for a £20 bounty. Her two surviving children, whom she did not see for most of her time with the Native Americans, were returned sometime later.

The *Narrative of the Captivity and Restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* (1682) in which Rowlandson writes about the eleven weeks she spent among the Narragansetts and Wampanoags as a captive and her subsequent release in 1676, presents many references to the Bible. In fact, David Downing writes that the narrative draws on Scripture “more than eighty times in the form of direct quotations, allusions to biblical characters, or echoes of biblical phrases.”⁸ Interestingly, most of the references draw on the Old Testament; Christ himself is in fact never mentioned literally and there are only very few references to the New Testament. However, the abundance of references to the Bible in Rowlandson’s narrative is overwhelming and worth a discussion in relation to the Puritan use of typology.

Downing, Freitag and other scholars have investigated the complexity of Rowlandson’s typological use. They argue that Rowlandson not only employs typology in order to “correlate numerous isolated situations during her captivity with biblical passages”⁹ but also to make sense of her own individual character and the Puritans within the world as her own experience is linked to the faith of all Puritans. After her cruel removal from her hometown Lancaster and her

captivity thereafter, Rowlandson has nothing to believe in or hold on to but the Bible and God. In her narrative, she tries to make sense of what is happening to her. Mitchell Breitweiser writes that “in the midst of such dismay, the inclination to seek symbolic meaning to explain the demise or ordinary meaning [...] becomes irresistible.”¹⁰ Rowlandson uses typology to explain the horrifying things happening to her and to see (positive) meaning in them. After her rescue, this journey of hers is interpreted as a test in God’s faith and his salvation of those who do trust in him.

Noteworthy is Rowlandson’s simple writing style which illustrates large resemblance to the Old Testament and grants her story authenticity. For instance, in the sixth “remove,” she describes how the Native Americans and the captives walk to an Indian Town:

On Munday (as I said) they set their Wigwams on fire and went away. It was a cold morning, and before us there was a great Brook with ice on it; some waded through it, up to the knees & higher, but others went till they came to a Beaver dam, and I amongst them, where through the good providence of God, I did not wet my foot. I went along that day mourning and lamenting, leaving further my own Country, and travelling into the vast and howling Wilderness, and I understood something of Lot’s Wife’s Temptation, when she looked back: we came that day to a great Swamp, by the side of which we took up our lodging that night.¹¹

Rowlandson describes the story in simple words, directly and genuinely. We also see an explicit reference to God, who, according to her, was the one guiding her to not wet her foot. In addition, Mary refers to Genesis 19:26, “But Lot’s wife looked back, and she became a pillar of salt.”¹² The story of Lot’s wife begins in Genesis 19: two angels arrive in Sodom and are invited to spend the night at Lot’s home. During the night, the angels urge Lot and his family to flee from the impending disaster of the destruction of their city: “Flee for your lives! Don’t look back, and don’t stop anywhere in the plain! Flee to the mountains or you will be swept away!”¹³ (Genesis 19:17). “Then, the Lord rained down burning sulfur on Sodom and Gomorrah—from

the LORD out of the heavens. Thus he overthrew those cities and the entire plain, destroying all those living in the cities—and also the vegetation in the land. But Lot’s wife looked back, and she became a pillar of salt” (Genesis 19:24-26).¹⁴ Although the language in this passage appears simple, it is full of symbols: “the destruction of a place of pausing, forced movement, the foot and the river, the Deuteronomic description of the wilderness as ‘vast [waste] and howling,’ and the swamp—the last two of which were Puritanism’s major figures for the New World earth.”¹⁵ Moreover, Breitweiser argues that in this particular passage, Mary slips into some sort of anti-typology¹⁶. Mary relates to Lot’s Wife, she identifies with a biblical character and sees herself in a similar (if not the same) position: she is being taken away from her hometown further and further and is tempted to look back to mourn and apprehend this loss. Mary does not use a type to explain or refer to a New Testament element but identifies herself as fulfillment of this type, it appears. Notably, in seeing herself as Lot’s wife makes the place she is leaving the cities of the plain, Sodom and Gomorrah – an irony that she may not have intended, but is characteristic of the instability of interpretation.

While Rowlandson’s narration of the captivity is written in a simple form of close observations and direct expression, biblical references and metaphors appear when she contemplates the importance of an event. For instance, in the opening description of the Indian attack on her home town of Lancaster, there is no clear reference to Scripture but rather an indirect biblical echo when Rowlandson mentions “the smoke ascending to heaven”¹⁷ from the burning houses. By contrast, when reflecting upon her sister’s death, Rowlandson quotes the Bible directly:

I hope she is reaping the fruit of her good labors, being faithful to the service of God in her place. In her younger years she lay under much trouble upon spiritual accounts, till it pleased God to make that precious Scripture take hold of her heart, 2 Cor. 12:9. And he said unto me, my grace is sufficient for thee.¹⁸

Mary's sister's conversion prefigures Rowlandson's own conversion. Thus, Rowlandson does not draw on a biblical type but a type she established in her own narrative. Throughout the narrative, Rowlandson uses biblical references to make sense of her captivity with more than a dozen biblical allusions in the final "remove."

Downing describes Rowlandson's narrative as "testament of personal salvation" and as a "spiritual autobiography."¹⁹ In order for us to understand what the relationship between the two is and how Rowlandson and other Puritans employ them in Indian captivity narratives, Downing draws on Richard Slotkin, who says that "Indian captivity victimization by the wilderness was the hardest and most costly (and there the noblest) way of discovering the will of God in respect to one's soul, one's election or damnation."²⁰ Certainly, this relates to the Puritans' belief in their predetermined faith by God. In that sense, Rowlandson's narrative can be read as a Puritan "challenge" which helps one to examine one's soul and tests one's trust in God. Rowlandson's narrative, in particular the verses she quotes, display her anxiety about divine judgment and her attempts to find assurance in Scripture about her salvation. The narrative helps her (re)discover God but also her own sins.

Rowlandson's spiritual faith is tested early on in the narrative. In the third remove, she spends her first Sabbath with the Indians which makes her realize how in the past she has taken it for granted: "I then remembered how careless I had been of Gods holy time: how many Sabbaths I had lost and misspent, and how evilly I had walked in Gods sight."²¹ Evidently, we can see how her captivity causes her to reflect on her "bad" behavior and habits although these sins seem much exaggerated especially since she never confesses to any real crime or misbehavior. That way, as Downing indicates, she describes the Puritan view of "unregenerate men" and "articulates her misgivings about her fate as a captive but also about the fate of her soul."²²

This tension between identifying her own worthiness and trusting God in the horrifying weeks of being held captive can further be seen when Rowlandson is given a Bible. In such “melancholy time,” Rowlandson writes, she took the Bible and read the 28th Chapter of Deuteronomy:

And when I had read it, my dark heart wrought on this manner, That there was no mercy for me, that the blessings were gone, and the curses come in their room, and that I had lost my opportunity. But the Lord helped me still to go on reading till I came to Chap. 30 the seven first verses, where I found, There was mercy promised again, if we would return to him by repentance, and though we were scattered from one end of the Earth to the other, yet the Lord would gather us together, and turn all those curses upon our Enemies. I do not desire to live to forget this Scripture, and what comport it was to me.²³

Evidently, Rowlandson relates her experience to a result of divine judgement and reminds herself that she can be saved by admitting her spiritual complacency and recognizing the need for repentance.

Moreover, Downing emphasizes that from this moment on, the narrative takes a turning point. Rowlandson focuses on the “process of sanctification” and “encourages others to ‘wait on the Lord.’”²⁴ Interpreting her captivity as chastisement from God rather than evidence of condemnation, can be interpreted as a lesson not just for Rowlandson but the Puritans in general. Downing writes that Increase Mather and other Puritans regarded the Indian revolt as “a sign of God’s displeasure exhorting their congregations about the dangers of ‘backsliding.’”²⁵ Therefore, Rowlandson’s individual lessons and her frightening encounter with the Indians serves to see the broader spectrum of the Puritan settlement. That way, Rowlandson uses biblical references in the narrative in the Puritan way of linking an experience of the individual to the experience and fate to a larger group of people.

When returning to Rowlandson’s use of characters from the Old Testament, we are reminded of the Puritans who identified themselves with and saw themselves prefigured in the

Old Testament. As God's chosen people, like the Jews they wanted to build a nation out of a wilderness against an unpromising land filled with hostile and godless enemies. Rowlandson presents this habit of mind by introducing her quotations with phrases like "And now I may say with Job," "I hope it is not too much to say with Job," or "I hope I can say in some measure as David did."²⁶ Downing argues that by introducing biblical quotations as such, Rowlandson is not "complacently self-assured about her own election"²⁷ which is why she turns to the Bible and God to receive faith and hope. Interestingly, Downing also reminds us that captivity, in the Old Testament, was viewed as both instruction (or spiritual testing) and correction (or punishment).²⁸ In fact, many of the characters Rowlandson makes reference to in the narrative have been captives themselves: Joseph was sold as a slave to the Egyptians, Samson was blinded and bound by the Philistines, and Daniel was in Babylonian captivity.²⁹ Thus, the identification of Rowlandson with these characters clearly foreshadows her story's outcome. God is faithful and will not abandon her, but instead she will be rescued and her encounter with the Indians will have served as some sort of repentance and proof of her belief in God. This characteristic relates well to the Puritan use of typology. Moreover, Florian Freitag points out that whenever Rowlandson does incorporate such introductory phrases, she removes the quotations from their original biblical and historical context "and interprets them as prophecies that are fulfilled and only fully make sense by and through her own experience."³⁰ Typology, thus, is used in a way of relating Old Testament events to the current. Rowlandson writes, "And now could I see that Scripture verified (there being many Scriptures which we do not take notice of, or understand till we are afflicted)"³¹ indicating that it is because of her individual experience that specific passages in the Bible reveal their full eschatological meaning.³²

In addition to such personal but also collective lessons, Downing identifies another dimension of Rowlandson's use of typology. He argues that Rowlandson's captivity serves as an image of the "unredeemed soul in the hands of the devil."³³ While she refers to the Indians as "merciless heathen" and "barbarous creatures" because they burn down her town and kill or capture family members, children, and women, she also refers to them as "hellhounds."³⁴ Moreover, she describes the first victory of the Indians as a "lively resemblance of hell"³⁵ which Downing relates to the biblical passages that use similar words or descriptions, such as the "devil-as-lion in 1 Peter 5:8, the Indians come up behind the settlers 'roaring,' and seeking 'to devour them.'"³⁶ When Rowlandson is lied to about the fate of her husband, she echoes John 8:44: "So like were these barbarous creatures to him who was a liar from the beginning."³⁷

Towards the end of the narrative, Rowlandson describes her sleeplessness and the reader gets the idea of her liberation and conversion: "I could not rest, I was so full of fear and troubles, (God many times leaving us in the dark, when deliverance is nearest)."³⁸ When freed, Rowlandson quotes Psalms 107:1-2, "praising God for both personal and national redemption"³⁹: "O give thanks unto my Lord for he is good for his mercy endureth for ever. Let the redeemed of the Lord say so, whom he hath redeemed from the hand of the enemy."⁴⁰ Thus, the narrative ends with an emphasis on spirituality which illuminates the Puritan understanding of finding natural events connected to spiritual meaning: "Stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord."⁴¹

Evidently, the narrative of Rowlandson is a prime literary example of Puritan typology. Rowlandson's captivity among the Native Americans presents fulfillments of biblical types and prophecies where God becomes a principle, if not the main character, and acts upon Rowlandson according to biblical paradigms which she (and we) recognize and interpret typologically.

However, because Rowlandson mostly makes use of events from the Old Testament and relates them to her personal experience, we can identify her type of typology as post-scriptural typology.

We must also acknowledge the context of how and when Rowlandson's narrative was written in order to fully grasp her use and purpose of typology. In this regard, Breitweiser offers crucial insights about how Rowlandson was influenced by Increase Mather, a powerful Puritan clergyman, and how this might have impacted her narrative in a way which promoted ideal Puritan images. Rowlandson was married to the town's first minister, Joseph Rowlandson, and thus knew Mather rather well. Breitweiser argues that Mather, as politician, would have realized that the postwar trauma offered both abundant opportunity and great danger, leading him to desire [...] to *control the meaning of the war*.⁴² Hereby, Breitweiser states that Mather, influential and powerful, may have "directly or indirectly participated in the composition of the narrative"⁴³ and thus shaped it to the extent of a Puritan ideological formation. The Preface of Rowlandson's narrative offers great support to Breitweiser's argument: *The Preface to the Reader*, written by Mather, orients the reader towards the proper interpretation of Rowlandson's work and the war as providential justice. In addition, Mather seeks to predispose the reader to acknowledge the importance of Rowlandson's experience and the need for public recognition of it:

Let such further know that this was a dispensation of publick note, and of universal concernment, and so much the more, by how much the nearer this Gentlewoman stood related to that faithfull Servant of God, whose capacity and employment was publick in the house of God.⁴⁴

Mather ascribes Rowlandson's notable narrative power and makes it a story of universal scope and importance. His goal was, among other things, to promote easily accessible literature that

promoted Puritan ideologies and therefore Rowlandson's narrative offered him the opportunity of doing exactly that while reassuring that Puritan experience can always be understood in a universal context and that "there was nothing that happened that was not a clear *example*."⁴⁵

However, throughout Rowlandson's narrative, the reader faces instances in which her narrative seems to get loose and not everything so straightforwardly exemplary. Breitweiser writes that these instances "adumbrate a non-Puritan view of her experience"⁴⁶ which is partly why he believes the narrative to be realistic. In particular, Breitweiser notes that it is a realistic work because "it is an account of experience that breaks through or outdistances her own and her culture's dominant means of representation."⁴⁷ We see Rowlandson herself change her attitude and her feelings towards the Native Americans she is captured by and travels with. For instance, in the fifth remove, Rowlandson reports on how hungry she was and by "the third week, though I could think how formerly my stomach would turn against this or that, and I could starve and die before I could eat such things, yet they were sweet and savory to my taste."⁴⁸ Certainly, one could argue that anything at this point would have tasted great to someone who was about to face starvation, we can see how Rowlandson's view of the Native Americans shifts from the Puritan representation of them. Another example appears in the eighth remove, when Rowlandson weeps in front of her captors for the first time. She writes:

There one of them asked me, why I wept, I could hardly tell what to say: yet I answered, they would kill me: No, said he, none will hurt you. Then came one of them and gave me two spoon-fulls of Meal to comfort me, and another gave me half a pint of Pease; which was more worth than many Bushels at another time.⁴⁹

Evidently, Rowlandson experiences the Indians differently than the devils the Puritans advertised them to be. Therefore, we have to ask ourselves how much Rowlandson felt tension over her

theology and how much she herself wrote, and how much Mather shaped it to promote Puritan ideology. Indeed, while we recognize Rowlandson's "ideal" Puritan experiences, we can also detect her struggle to continuously believe in God's grace as well as her changing perception of and attitude towards the Native Americans.

Edward Taylor

A large portion of Sacvan Bercovitch's collection of essays are devoted to Edward Taylor (1642?-1729), a colonial American poet, pastor, and physician. Bercovitch's explications of the work of Taylor is to illustrate the latter's fondness for types and how he "fuses typology and poetry, transforms hermeneutics into aesthetics, in a way that suggests marked continuities with Transcendentalism."⁵⁰ Taylor's experimental typology, and its influence on later American literature, are crucial to this paper. With Taylor, we see the very beginnings of how exegetical typology and even Puritan typology can be interpreted in a more explorative way and thus, starts to transform and even secularize. Like Ursula Brumm, Bercovitch emphasizes the importance of exploring American symbolism in detail in order to gain insights on its use during the nineteenth century and beyond by drawing exactly on such earlier sources like Taylor. However, we need to understand what works Brumm, Bercovitch and others reference, and why. They are far more interested in Taylor's private poems than in his published works because of the private poetry's experimental and sceptic approach to Puritan typology; private works Taylor never intended for publication are of interest because of their private thoughts on religion. In his private writings, Taylor was able to be more experimental than in his published writings for a puritan audience. The public works deviated from theological norms less and therefore still adhered to a Puritan

standard. Moreover, it is important to mention that Taylor's works were not distributed and read until 1939, so *after* the rise to prominence of Melville and his mid-century company.

In "The World Slickt Up in Types': Edward Taylor as a Version of Emerson," Kerl Keller focuses on how Taylor, although a conventional typologist due to his love for Christ and orthodoxy, is unique amongst New England typologists because he experiments with the conventions and expands them until they are personally applicable.⁵¹ Incorporating puns and other modes of entertainment, Taylor inserted play as an element to discuss the serious matters of his faith and hence created room for individuality in a "closed system of thought that typology represented."⁵² While Taylor was not free to choose his types, he was indeed free to play with them, often turning a type-antitype correspondence into a series of puns.⁵³ For instance, Taylor extends the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden into a golden-tree cross on which Christ's limbs are "richly hung."⁵⁴ Another example would be a poem by Taylor "Thy love is better than Wine" (II.98), in which he takes the Vine-in-the-Garden type and presents the antitype in Christ as "a vine that produces grapes for the sacramental wine."⁵⁵

A Vine, my Lord, a noble Vine indeed
Whose joyce makes brisk my heart to sing thy Wine.
[...]
The Choicest Vine, the royallst grape that rose,
Or ere in Cana's vinyard did take Root,
Did Emblemize thyselve the True Vine; [...]
This Wine thy Love bleeds from thy grape, how sweet?
To spiritualize the life in every part. [II.98, 1-2, 7-9, 25-26] (Preparatory Meditations)

Evidently, Taylor's use of language allows him to employ his puns (e.g. Christ risen and the rising vines).⁵⁶ Unlike his contemporary typologists such as Samuel Sewall and Increase Mather, who were much more serious about spiritual matters and regarded the types foreshadowed in the Old Testament as complete with Christ, the Church, and new England, Taylor depicts personal

involvement in the type-antitype spectrum. Taylor believes “himself as part of the scheme of salvation” and incorporates this self-inclusion into his writings.⁵⁷ The overall goal, as Taylor writes, was to “spiritualize the life in every part.”

Keller writes that “Taylor seems, like Emerson, to have apprehended words as signs of spiritual facts,”⁵⁸ to have faith in language in the way types require is, for Taylor, to have faith in Christ. However, Keller also argues that Taylor’s use of typology is still far from Emersonian individualism. What Taylor presents in his poems is beyond Calvinism. Calvinism, to Taylor is delightful. He represents his poetry in a way that illustrates his faith in God but also his personality, his creativity, his identity, and witticism.⁵⁹ As I have stated earlier, Taylor serves to investigate the beginnings of American symbolism and even Transcendentalism. His ideas are not quite yet as far-reaching as Jonathan Edwards’, but take direction into a movement of Puritan naturalism and thus, exemplify the breadth typology emerges into.

Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, conservative and liberal modes of exegesis were continuously at war. Additionally, growing interest in scientific developments about the natural universe offered a completely new approach to epistemological problems and prompted theologians to combine their reading of Scripture and perception of nature. Even conservative theologians such as Cotton Mather experimented with and accepted new approaches of understanding nature while continuing to read Scripture as the scheme of type and antitype.⁶⁰

Cotton Mather

Cotton Mather (1663-1728), Increase Mather’s son and also a New England minister, used typology to suggest a parallel between persons from the Old Testament and early leaders of

America. His *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702) is a significant work in the study of typology because it was read by many of the following persons discussed as well as influential in the context of American literature as well as typology. In this work, Mather considers Governor John Winthrop to be an American instance of the Old Testament figure Nehemiah. Mather presents Winthrop as an unselfish spiritual leader who provides for his citizens: “Friend, it is a severe Winter, and I doubt you are but meanly provided for Wood; wherefore I would have you supply your self at my Woof-Pile till this cold Season be over.”⁶¹ However, it is interesting to note that in the book of Nehemiah nothing is said about being a role model to the rest of the world—in the religious point of view, Winthrop led his people to a new land where they could practice their own religion. Nehemiah did not settle down with his people to live in a city upon a hill.

Nevertheless, it is important to be conscious of the biblical closeness of the idea of Winthrop being a Nehemiah. In Winthrop’s sermon he warns that “if our hearts shall turn away, so that we will not obey, but shall be seduced, and worship other Gods, our pleasure and profits, and serve them; it is propounded unto us this day, we shall surely perish out of the good land whither we pass over this vast sea to possess it”, which is the same Nehemiah said to his people: “if you are unfaithful, I will scatter you among the nations, but if you return to me and obey my commands, then even if your exiled people are at the farthest horizon, I will gather them from there and bring them to the place I have chosen as a dwelling for my Name.”⁶²

Jonathan Edwards

Mason I. Lowance introduces us to Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758), a Calvinist preacher and Protestant theologian who saw typology as a “key to the mysteries of the Universe” and was not quite satisfied with conservative Puritan exegesis.⁶³ Because Edwards sought to know God through a variety of sources during this lifetime, Lowance considers him as an interesting figure

in the context of epistemological change. With Edwards' interest in human psychology and his "continuous probing of philosophical theories of knowledge," we can detect a tendency towards a more enlightened attitude and with it, an evolution of exegetical typology. Still engaging in eschatological Puritan topics of redemption and Christ's eternal power, Edwards combines the type-antitype scheme with the significance of types as allegorical *figurae*.⁶⁴ He is moving toward an interpretation of the spiritualized natural universe and suggests "that the types of the Old Testament operate analogously to Platonic symbols in their revelation of Christ."⁶⁵ Edwards focuses more on the linear and historical analogy between the testaments and the close proximity between typology and allegorism.⁶⁶ Thus, Edwards employs typology to reflect on the natural universe and expands the boundaries of scriptural (biblical) typology.

With Edwards, we can already detect criticism of a fusion of allegory and typology together which develops fully only in the nineteenth century. Lowance explains that Edwards employs and expands on biblical typology to "counteract the tendency for reading nature tropologically,"⁶⁷ in effect blaming Puritan rhetoricians for confusing trope and type. (The distinction here refers to the Puritans tropological or allegorical reading of the natural universe and the typological exegesis "according to the instituted scheme of prefigurative type and fulfilling antitype."⁶⁸) Consequently, Edwards does not revolutionize or abandon Puritan typology, but rather transforms its use into a more loose and flexible system.⁶⁹ For Edwards, starting to move past the historical continuity necessary to the biblical scheme, "typical adumbration and antitypical abrogation was replaced by a Platonic symbolism."⁷⁰ Lowance concludes that Edwards' scheme of employing natural types to discover spiritual antitypes "provided the allegorical foundation in the nomenclature of typological exegesis"⁷¹ so that Emerson and transcendentalists were not the first ones to alter the traditional conceptions by

endowing the terms with new meaning. Thus, Edwards' reconstruction of the Puritan types serves as significant attempt to "reconcile natural epistemology and scriptural exegesis"⁷² and shows clear resemblance with what Emerson later saw in nature: a symbol of spirit.

¹ Richard Reinitz, “The Separatist Background of Roger Williams’ Argument for Religious Toleration,” in *Typology and Early American Literature*, ed. Sacvan Bercovitch (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1972), 107.;

Karl Keller, “‘The World Slickt Up in Types’: Edward Taylor as a Version of Emerson,” in *Literary Uses of Typology*, ed. Earl Minor (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 181.

² Thomas M. Davis, “The Traditions of Puritan Typology,” in *Typology and Early American Literature*, ed. Sacvan Bercovitch (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1972), 11.

³ Davis, “The Traditions of Puritan Typology,” 12.

⁴ Paul J. Korshin, *Typologies in England 1650-1820* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 370.

⁵ Reinitz, “The Separatist Background of Roger Williams’ Argument for Religious Toleration,” 124.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ John Winthrop, *The Journal of John Winthrop, 1630-1649*, ed. Richard S. Dunn and Laetitia Yeandle (Cambridge: Belknap of Harvard UP, 1996), 9-10.

⁸ David Downing, “‘Streams of Scripture Comfort’: Mary Rowlandson’s Typological Use of the Bible,” *Early American Literature* 15, no. 3 (1980/81): 252.

⁹ Florian Freitag, “Weltgeschichte as Heilsgeschichte: Typology in Mary Rowlandson’s and Jérôme Lalemant’s Captivity Narratives,” *A Quarterly of Criticism and Review*, no. 213 (2012): 102.

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- ¹⁰ Mitchell Robert Breitweiser, *American Puritanism and the Defense of Mourning: Religion, Grief, and Ethnology in Mary White Rowlandson's Captivity Narrative* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 79.
- ¹¹ Mary Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, ed. Neal Salisbury (Boston: Bedford Books, 1997), 80.
- ¹² Genesis 19:26
- ¹³ Genesis 19:17.
- ¹⁴ Genesis 19:24-26.
- ¹⁵ Breitweiser, *American Puritanism and the Defense of Mourning*, 95.
- ¹⁶ Ibid, 96.
- ¹⁷ Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, 68.
- ¹⁸ Ibid, 70.
- ¹⁹ Downing, "Streams of Scripture Comfort': Mary Rowlandson's Typological Use of the Bible," 253.
- ²⁰ Slotkin quoted in Ibid.
- ²¹ Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, 74.
- ²² Downing, "Streams of Scripture Comfort': Mary Rowlandson's Typological Use of the Bible," 253.
- ²³ Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, 76-77.
- ²⁴ Downing, "Streams of Scripture Comfort': Mary Rowlandson's Typological Use of the Bible," 254.
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, 82, 88, 112.

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- ²⁷ Downing, “‘Streams of Scripture Comfort’: Mary Rowlandson’s Typological Use of the Bible,” 256
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ Ibid, 255.
- ³⁰ Freitag, “Weltgeschichte as Heilsgeschichte: Typology in Mary Rowlandson’s and Jérôme Lalemant’s Captivity Narratives,” 103.
- ³¹ Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, 93.
- ³² Freitag, “Weltgeschichte as Heilsgeschichte: Typology in Mary Rowlandson’s and Jérôme Lalemant’s Captivity Narratives,” 103.
- ³³ Downing, “‘Streams of Scripture Comfort’: Mary Rowlandson’s Typological Use of the Bible,” 256.
- ³⁴ Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, 70.
- ³⁵ Ibid, 71.
- ³⁶ Downing, “‘Streams of Scripture Comfort’: Mary Rowlandson’s Typological Use of the Bible,” 256.
- ³⁷ Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, 89.
- ³⁸ Ibid, 104.
- ³⁹ Downing, “‘Streams of Scripture Comfort’: Mary Rowlandson’s Typological Use of the Bible,” 257.
- ⁴⁰ Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, 107.
- ⁴¹ Ibid, 112.
- ⁴² Breitweiser, *American Puritanism and the Defense of Mourning*, 6.
- ⁴³ Ibid, 7.

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- ⁴⁴ Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, 66.
- ⁴⁵ Breitweiser, *American Puritanism and the Defense of Mourning*, 8.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid, 9.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid, 10.
- ⁴⁸ Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, 79.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid, 83.
- ⁵⁰ Sacvan Bercovitch, *Typology and Early American Literature* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1972), 6.
- ⁵¹ Keller, “‘The World Slickt Up in Types’: Edward Taylor as a Version of Emerson,” 176.
- ⁵² Ibid.
- ⁵³ Ibid, 178-79.
- ⁵⁴ I.29 quoted in Ibid, 177.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid, 179.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid, 180.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid, 181.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid, 178.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid, 183.
- ⁶⁰ Mason I. Lowance Jr., “Cotton Mather’s *Magnalia* and the Metaphors of Biblical History,” in *Typology and Early American Literature*, ed. Sacvan Bercovitch (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1972), 210.
- ⁶¹ Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1702), 218.
- ⁶² Nehemiah 1:9

⁶³ Lowance, “Cotton Mather’s *Magnalia* and the Metaphors of Biblical History,” 210.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 211.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 216.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 218.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 220.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 225.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 243.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid, 244.

Chapter III:

The American Renaissance

The nineteenth century and the rise of modern critical study broke the chain of continuity which existed between the modern reader and his medieval and Christian predecessors. Lampe points out that until this development, “the unity of the Bible was the fundamental premise upon which all were agreed.”¹ The various texts present importance in their typological and prophetic significance rather than their historical (literal) context. However, with historical and literary criticism, an opposite view emerged and the reader did not find himself in harmony with the author anymore. Moving away from unhistorical notes which regarded the Bible as “vast harmonious complex of prophecy and fulfilment, type and antitype, allegorical picture and spiritual reality, fused together by the [...] Holy Spirit”² and towards a historical approach which was interested in the literal, true, and original meaning caused a loss of significance of the

typological method of interpretation.³ As Harrison informs us, questions about the religious functions of the Bible and the intentions of the authors were raised.⁴

We can see that typology underwent changes as it was used over periods of time. Ursula Brumm writes about changes of literary elements, such as the metaphor, the symbol, and the allegory.⁵ Evolving from the realm of religion and describing them as “offspring of intellectual traditions,”⁶ Brumm reminds us that these elements can indeed have quite different meanings and functions depending on the notions which give rise to them and determine their application. Moreover, Brumm argues that determining the meaning of any of such elements also means to interpret. In this sense, literature equals interpretation, which has made use of symbolism and allegorism for a long time. To clarify the difference between the two, Brumm explains that the symbol begins with reality and aims at a certain meaning; in the case of an allegory, the idea is what comes first before embodying it in figures, images, and acts “with fixed and recognizable meanings.”⁷ In American literature, Brumm says, “symbolism is greatly admired, whereas allegory is regarded as one of the inferior forms of literature.”⁸ Brumm bases her argument on the fact that these two elements evolved from the religious realm. While the allegory requires personal faith claiming universal validity which the modern reader and critic does not believe in, symbolism has advanced into a position of general esteem. In a secular age, Brumm says that many American critics at present (i.e. the 1970s for her) regard symbolism “as the very essence of literature.”⁹ Certainly, we can see some form of typology having developed into what Brumm defines and many other literary critics interpret as symbolism here.

Brumm writes that the romantic writers of America, Poe, Melville, Whitman, and even Emerson, are precursors of modern symbolism.¹⁰ Investigating the origins of symbolism and its usage in American literature is important because it proclaimed some sort of independence from

European intellectual traditions. However, referring to and examining the parallels of symbolism and typology would indicate that this independence of European intellectuals was not quite there yet. Therefore, one must investigate hidden interpretations and usages of symbolism by Melville and his contemporaries to claim intellectual independence in the nineteenth century.

Brumm primarily engages in the task of demonstrating how the “theory and practice of symbolism in the American classics developed out of Puritan forms of thought and belief” and identifies the problem of merely investigating those forms which influenced subsequent literature.¹¹ Brumm emphasizes that this approach does not deny the influence of European ideas and techniques, particularly from German literature, philosophy, and theology of the early nineteenth century, which created liberation and stimulation at the very birth of American literature.¹² Indeed, all of the major nineteenth-century American authors were strongly influenced by foreign literature, from the ancients to the Romantics. Brumm draws upon critics who consider the foreign influence on Emerson and other Transcendentalists as so overwhelming that the American Renaissance might be more of a product of foreign influences than anything else.

The American Renaissance describes a period from the 1830s roughly until the end of the American Civil War in which American literature, in the wake of various European Romantic movements, came of age with its own distinct expression of national spirit. F.O. Matthiessen coined the term “American Renaissance” in 1941 in his book *American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman*. As I have noted above, Calvinist preachers like John Cotton and Jonathan Edwards devoted their lives to probing ultimate questions about death, God, and human nature. Although at the time they wrote their skepticism was often kept private because their public works displayed Puritan typology in its ideal manner, we can now look back

and excavate a near chronological development of typology. Nevertheless, Edwards works were not read until 1939 so *after* the championing of works of Melville and company by critics. This is when scholars and others aimed to establish a more national body of literature and thus drew back on Edwards and others. In addition, this is also the reason why research surrounding the topic of typology is most present until the 1970s – typology is used to make sense of American works and establish an American literary canon.

The result of nineteenth-century skepticism and secularism was literature that ranged from the exhilarating to the disquieting, from Emerson’s affirmations to the ambiguities of Hawthorne and Melville. This richest period in American literary history produced works by Ralph Waldo Emerson, who Matthiessen describes as “the cow from which the rest drew their milk”¹³ and the person who initiated the Renaissance that produced Henry David Thoreau, Walt Whitman, Herman Melville, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Edgar Allan Poe, and Emily Dickinson. Matthiessen writes that “in one extraordinarily concentrated moment of expression,” referring to the period from 1850-1855, the remarkable works *The Scarlet Letter*, *Representative Men*, *Moby-Dick*, *Pierre*, *Walden*, *The House of the Seven Gables*, *Leaves of Grass*, and *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* were published.¹⁴ In addition, Reynolds informs us that the emergence of American’s national literature resulted largely “from a dramatic shift in the rhetorical strategies of popular social texts [...] which became increasingly dominated by secular anecdote, humor, and pungent images.”¹⁵ In short, the gap between doctrinal social texts and entertaining imaginative texts became far narrower than it had been in Puritan times.¹⁶

Certainly, we can trace these changes back to historical events that happened at the time. During this “reform culture,” Reynolds writes, important movements included “naval reform, peace reform, prison reform, opposition to capital punishment, agrarianism, and education

reform.”¹⁷ We can see many of these reforms make their way progressively into the imaginative literature of the Renaissance writers. More importantly, many reformers regarded America as a nation of “contradiction or paradox: it was a republic that permitted slavery; it was a democracy that was witnessing widening class divisions; it was a land of virgin wilderness but also festering cities; it was a nation of Christians who tolerated the most un-Christian practices.”¹⁸ Therefore, reform literature has an oxymoronic nature to it which we will see in Hawthorne’s *The Scarlet Letter* and Melville’s *Moby Dick*.

In addition, Emerson’s, Thoreau’s, and Melville’s literature reflects on the closeness of such antebellum reformers to their Puritan past to “sense the dramatic dualism and the otherworldly emphasis of Calvinism” but also illustrates their culture’s moral obliquities to question otherworldly faith and to go to any linguistic extreme to expose and extirpate social corruption. As a result, a post-Calvinist imagery evolved preparing the way for the totally demythologized use of such imagery by the major writers.¹⁹

Ralph Waldo Emerson

Emerson, the person who is said to have initiated the American Renaissance, had been exposed to reform movements in America which certainly influenced his way of thinking and his literary works. In 1838, he became involved in the protest against the maltreatment of the Cherokee Indians; in the early 1840s he wrote an essay on the Chardon Street convention; in 1844, he gave an address in Concord on West Indian Emancipation; and in the 1850s he was aroused to fury by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law.²⁰

Emerson also counts as the most significant figure in what is now identified as Transcendentalism—a very important and influential American literary, political, and philosophical movement within the American Renaissance. Transcendentalists believe that the

knowledge about themselves and the world around them “transcends” or goes beyond of what they can see, hear, taste, touch or feel. This knowledge comes through intuition and imagination as much as from logic and the senses. Indebted to German idealist philosophy, the Transcendentalist Aesthetic emerged out of American Unitarianism. Most Transcendentalists were Unitarian ministers, such as Emerson himself, who started distrusting the institutional aspects of religion and thus were drawn to literature. A commonly shared belief amongst those was also that art “is the product of the religious sentiment, and the religious sentiments, by its very nature, demands an imaginative expression.”²¹ As Lawrence Buell informs, a “shift from a Calvinist view of human nature as depraved to an Arminian view of man as improvable” was partly the reason why the arts became more accepted. Because the Unitarians believed that religion was meant to stimulate the growth of moral character, they regarded the differentiation between “sacred” and “secular” less severe and the arts as a “means of evangelism rather than as a threat to religion.”²² Emerson was interested in a relation to the universe which mirrors a central Transcendentalist idea—the idea of divine immanence.

Although, as previously mentioned, Emerson’s increasing liberal views were enriched by a high number of foreign literature and various cultural currents, such as “idealistic philosophy, from Plato to Kant and beyond; Asian religions; the metaphysics of the Swedish mystic Emanuel Swedenborg; the poetry and prose of Wordsworth, Carlyle, and Coleridge; the writings of German authors such as Goethe and Friedrich Schleiermacher; and the French savants Pierre-Simon Laplace and Adolphe Quetelet,”²³ he was determined to forge a literature that was identifiably American. He declared: “Our day of dependence, our long apprenticeship to the learning of other lands, draw to a close. The millions, that around us are rushing into life cannot always be fed on the sere remains of foreign harvests.”²⁴ Emerson hoped to cultivate literature

that reflected what he regarded as the freshness, vigor, and fertility of the expanding American nation. In addition to that, Brumm informs us that what has been taken into the canon of American literature under the label of Transcendentalism are works which primarily focus on religious problems. According to Brumm, Transcendentalists were concerned with “problems of Christ’s divine or human nature, the significance and role of miracles, and the Eternal as opposed to the Transient in Christian faith.”²⁵

Although I have mentioned a link between Taylor and Emerson previously, it is important to note that Emerson in fact often attended Taylor’s sermon at the Seamen’s Bethel Church in Boston where he sometimes was a guest preacher himself. Reynolds states that the social and literary ramifications of their relationship are important because Taylor’s sermons were “explosive social texts that fused the mild theology of Boston liberalism with the daring imagery of colloquial revivalism.”²⁶

Furthermore, the link between Emerson and Edwards should be revisited. In this regard, Perry Miller (1905-1963) should be mentioned as he was one of the first scholars to see a link between Edwards’ typology and Emerson’s transcendentalism. Miller was an American intellectual historian and co-founder of the field of American Studies who specialized in the history of early America, in particular the Puritans. In *Errand into the Wilderness*, Miller asserts that Edwards would have disagreed with Emerson’s *Nature* yet emphasizes that there were religious and cultural traditions in New England that these writers shared. The difference between the two however lies in the fact that “Edwards went to nature to decipher the messages of God, and Emerson went to nature to experience God for himself.”²⁷ Miller writes:

Edwards went to nature, in all passionate love, convinced that man could receive from it impressions which he must then try to interpret, whereas Emerson went to Nature, no less in love with it, convinced that in man there is a spontaneous correlation with the received impressions.²⁸

In connection to this, Patrick Labriola informs us that although Emerson never regarded himself as a representative of Puritan typology, his writings show many references that draw upon a typological past. Moreover, Labriola argues that Emerson combines Puritan typology and “the concept of spirit in German Idealism to create a Transcendental philosophy of nature.”²⁹ In *Nature* (1836) Emerson states that “every natural fact is a symbol of some spiritual fact”³⁰ and that “the world is emblematic.”³¹ Labriola concludes that his role as the leading persona in the Transcendental movement is twofold: “on the one hand he proclaims a new era for the independent thinker in America, and on the other he firmly holds on to a typological past.”³²

Nathaniel Hawthorne

Before putting Melville’s masterpiece *Moby-Dick* in the context of typology, I want to explore Nathaniel Hawthorne’s *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) in this regard. Hawthorne (1804-1864) was a contemporary friend of Emerson and Thoreau, founders of the Transcendental movement. Although Hawthorne rejected much of their ideology, he was partially influenced by it; he also wanted to discover more meaning behind the shadows of life.

Hawthorne was born in Salem, Massachusetts to Elizabeth and Nathaniel Hawthorne. By the time Hawthorne was born, five generations of Hawthornes had lived in Salem, among them William Hawthorne, a Puritan leader and fierce persecutor of the Quakers who was responsible for a woman named Ann Coleman receiving a public whipping during which she almost died. It is assumed that Hawthorne added a *w* to his last name to distance himself from his intolerant Puritan ancestors. Hawthorne’s writing was strongly influenced by the allegory and symbolism found in works such as John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* and Edmund Spenser’s *The Faerie Queen*.³³ In *The Scarlet Letter*, Hawthorne’s introduction “The Custom House” speaks of his

personal experience of working as a salt and coal measurer in the Boston Custom House where he lost his office when Zachary Taylor, a Whig, became president.

Specifically, in connection to Hawthorne, Brumm mentions a later development which emerges from unorthodox American Puritan typology. Brumm calls this development abstract typology and argues that Hawthorne is an important author in the trajectory from orthodox to abstract typology. Abstract typology refers to the “essential link between orthodox biblical typology and modern literary symbolism.”³⁴ To illustrate abstract typology better, Jason Charles Courtmanche presents us with an example of Moses and how he would be used in this regard. As outlined earlier in this paper, in Puritan typology Moses would have been regarded as a literal prefiguration of a type fulfilled in the New Testament by another biblical or historical figure. In abstract typology, Moses would “symbolize some abstraction traditionally associated with him, such as deliverance or a failed covenant [...] Therefore, Moses would be a type and Hawthorne’s fictional portrayal of William Goffe in ‘The Gray Champion’ would be a fulfillment of this type because Goffe, like Moses, delivered his people.”³⁵

However, Hawthorne did more than incorporate historical figures into his typology; he was interested in explaining the nature of original sin by “repeatedly allegorizing the story of Adam and Eve’s fall.”³⁶ Furthermore, Hawthorne’s use of allegory and typological abstraction enabled him to study “universal human conditions as they appeared in particular instances.”³⁷ For instance, in Hawthorne’s preface to *The Scarlet Letter*, “The Custom-House,” Hawthorne expresses his ambivalent feelings toward his ancestors (William and John) who were men of “judicial wisdom and martial valor but who violated their authority to persecute and kill others.”³⁸

The Scarlet Letter

The story of *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) is set in seventeenth-century Boston and depicts the Puritan Massachusetts Bay Colony. Hester Prynne, punished by the Puritans for adultery, has to wear the scarlet letter “A” on her breast to shame her. Hester denies to publicly announce who the father of her child is; however, when her husband Roger Chillingworth appears and finds out that Reverend Dimmesdale is the said father, Hester pleads for Dimmesdale to flee the Puritan community. Dimmesdale, ready to admit to his sins, climbs upon the scaffold and confesses while dying in Hester’s arms. After Hester dies several years later, she is buried near Dimmesdale’s grave and they share a tombstone that says, “On a field, sable, the letter A, gules” which translates to “On a black shield, the letter *A* in red.”³⁹

Although Hawthorne was convinced that the world functions according to a moral principle manifesting itself in sign and emblems, he was vague and dubious about how these principles were established and exerted power. Thus, that the ultimate basis of faith was no longer compatible with reason rested on the fact that Puritan convictions had ceased to convince him.⁴⁰ In *The Scarlet Letter*, Hawthorne draws on many symbols, for instance a bright light in the sky, and provides scientific explanations for such phenomena. However, he also presents alternatives and ultimately leaves it to the reader on how to interpret these symbols or types. In “The Minister’s Vigil,” Dimmesdale sees a light appear in the sky:

It was doubtless caused by one of those meteors, which the night-watcher may so often observe, burning out to waste, in the vacant regions of the atmosphere. So powerful was its radiance, that it thoroughly illuminated the dense medium of cloud betwixt the sky and earth.⁴¹

Brumm informs that the Puritans always saw the appearance of a meteor as the harbinger of some special event especially because they regarded themselves as being watched by and under the protection of God. However, Brumm also emphasized that sometimes the Puritans would

interpret a symbol after it had already happened and then embellish on it.⁴² In *The Scarlet Letter*, Hawthorne uses this argument to cast doubt on the phenomenon Dimmesdale witnesses:

We impute it, therefore, solely to the disease in his own eye and heart, that the minister, looking upward to the zenith, beheld there the appearance of an immense letter—the letter A,—marked out in lines of dull red light. Not but the meteor may have shown itself at that point, burning duskily through a veil of cloud; but with no such shape as his guilty imagination gave it; or, at least, with so little definiteness, that another’s guilt might have seen another symbol in it.⁴³

Hawthorne illustrates that only to Dimmesdale this symbol represents the letter A. The sign itself has different meanings to each and every individual which reflects on the American intellectual development at the time. For a contemporary reader, the sign was part of a natural phenomenon and Dimmesdale reacts to it because his mind was burdened with guilt. A psychological explanation thus replaces a religious one. However, only a few pages later, we learn that others have also seen the red “A,” and sexton asks Dimmesdale the next morning:

But did your reverence hear of the portent that was seen last night?—a great red letter in the sky,—the letter A, which we interpret to stand for Angel. For, as our good Governor Winthrop was made an angel this past night, it was doubtless held fit that there should be some notice thereof!⁴⁴

Hawthorne thus ultimately does present the belief in the divine sign which reflects on his personal upbringing in a Puritan environment.

Hester Prynne

Many scholars have speculated on a historical basis of Hester Prynne, the main character in *The Scarlet Letter*. Searching within the historical records of the Puritan colonies, one compelling source for Hester would be Mary Batcheller because of “the birth of her child and the subsequent delay of her punishment until after its delivery” which reminds us of Hester’s situation. Additionally cited by scholars (Charles Boewe and Murry Murphy) is Hester Craford, who was whipped in 1669 “for fornication with John Wedg.” The most compelling connection of

Craford is her name but also “the fact that she, like Mary Batcheller and Hester Prynne, had her sentence deferred ‘for a month or six weeks after the birth of her child.’” Furthermore, Courtmanche informs us that Hester Craford’s sentence was executed by none other than William Hathorne, Nathaniel’s great-great-great-grandfather.⁴⁵

More interestingly is Hester’s association with Christ’s mother Mary. We know that Hester is no sinless, sainted virgin; however, Mary can be viewed historically as both sainted Virgin and sinful fornicator.⁴⁶ The association of Hester with Mary begins early in *The Scarlet Letter*, when Hester stands upon the scaffold with Pearl in her arms and the narrator says:

Had there been a Papist in the crowd on Puritans, he might have seen this beautiful woman, so picturesque in her attire and mien, and with the infant at her bosom, an object to remind him of the image of Divine Maternity, which so many illustrious painters have vied with one another to represent; something which should remind him, indeed, but only by contrast, of that sacred image of sinless motherhood, whose infant was to redeem the world. Here, there was the taint of deepest sin in the most sacred quality of human life, working such effect, that the world was only the darker for this woman’s beauty, and the more lost for the infant that she had borne.⁴⁷

Hawthorne’s comparison of Hester and Mary illustrates a conflation of virgin and whore.

Hawthorne describes Hester’s beauty and draws attention to how a Papist would be reminded of Mary “only by contrast” with Hester. Although Hawthorne draws on a type to describe Hester, he an abstract element of mother Mary and inverts before attaching it to Hester.

Moreover, Hester enables Hawthorne to explore the concept of original sin. Although Hawthorne never directly compares Hester to Eve, many elements portray her as the primary prefiguration. Courtmanche draws attention to the forest scene when Hester tempts Dimmesdale to abandon his God and defy the authority of the magistrates, just like Eve tempts Adam to eat from the apple:

Hast thou not wondered, Adam, at my stay?
Thee I have missed, and thought it long, deprived

Thy presence, agony of love will now
Not felt, nor shall be twice, for never more
Mean I to try, what rash untried I sought,
The pain of absence from thy sight. But strange
Hath been the cause, and wonderful to hear:
This tree is not as we are told.⁴⁸

Notably, Hawthorne's account of the fall in Eden comes through Milton's *Paradise Lost* (quoted here) and not the Genesis text itself. Literature is a mediating layer in the expression of religion.

After Eve convinces Adam to eat from the apple, they consummate their defiance of God's authority by having sex:

Her hand he seized, and to a shady bank,
Thick overhauled with verdant roof embow'ered
He led her nothing loath; flow'rs were the couch,
Pansies, and violets, asphodel,
And hyacinth, earth's freshest softest lap.
There they their fill of love and love's disport
Took largely, of their mutual guilt the seal,
The solace of their sin, till dewy sleep,
Oppressed them, wearied with their amorous play.⁴⁹

Similarly, the forest in *The Scarlet Letter* is charged with erotic tension. When Dimmesdale hears Hester for the first time, "he stood up more erect, like a man taken by surprise in a mood to which he was reluctant to have witnessed."⁵⁰ Dimmesdale then tells Hester about his misery, how he feels guilty that Hester alone carries the blame for a sin that Dimmesdale is involved in.

However, Hester assures Dimmesdale that his sin is not as he has been told:

You have deeply and sorely repented. Your sin is left behind you, in the days long past. Your present life is not less holy, in very truth, than it seems in people's eyes. Is there no reality in the penitence thus sealed and witnessed by good works? And wherefore should it not bring you peace?⁵¹

Hester argues for the value of work over faith, which illustrates a contradiction to the basic orthodox Calvinist beliefs. Furthermore, briefly after Hester reveals that Chillingworth is her

husband, Hester “threw her arms around him, and pressed his head against her bosom,” whispering, “What we did had a consecration of its own. We felt it so! We said so to each other! Hast thou forgotten it?”⁵² Hawthorne develops an erotic scene in which the couple lingers in the darkness of the forest, “side-by-side, and hand clasped in hand, on the mossy trunk of the fallen tree. Life had never brought them a gloomier hour; it was the point whither their pathway had so long been tending, and darkening ever, as it stole along;—and yet it inclosed a charm that made them linger upon it, and claim another, and another, and, after all, another moment.”⁵³ Hester then attempts to persuade Dimmesdale to abandon the Puritan colony by offering herself to him: “‘Thou shalt not go alone!’ answered she, in a deep whisper.”⁵⁴ Dimmesdale thinks to himself, “wherefore should I not snatch the solace allowed to the condemned culprit before his execution?”⁵⁵ evoking Milton’s language. Reynolds explains that Hester, like Eve, accomplishes “to overthrow Arthur’s system and undermine his loyalty to the Puritan community and the Puritan God.”⁵⁶

Nature in *The Scarlet Letter*

The fact that Hester meets Dimmesdale in the forest and spreads her evil by convincing him to abandon the Puritan colony ties well into the Puritans’ perception of the forest, or more broadly nature, as something bad. The forest is outside of their community, apart from their religion, apart from law and order; instead it is full of dangerous and unknown creatures. The forest presents a place for emotion and passion rather than law and reason. The forest, full of darkness, bears dangers which let the Puritans assume that whoever is part of the forest must be dangerous, if not even devilish, as well. “The Black Man” in the romance stands for Satan and also lives in the forest which is why the Puritans do not go into the forest, nor want to come close to anything that lives in it. Furthermore, the forest, as a “place of ambivalence [and] a dark

mirror of our unconscious” bore many fears and anxieties in its dim light and deep shadows, which additionally made it hard to distinguish between real and unreal. For instance, the “savage red man” (the Native American) lived in the forest, but it was also assumed that the devil himself was part of the dark inner of the forest.⁵⁷ Particularly in literature, the forest was regarded as “harmful to health, and proved to be deadly for many a gentle mind”⁵⁸ and contrasted the Puritan town, which was well-ordered, civilized, and marked with manners, law, and order. Thus, Hawthorne draws on nature as a *type* and represents this type in *The Scarlet Letter*. It is noteworthy that the type does not draw on Scripture but on the Puritans and their understanding of nature. As Brumm states, Hawthorne’s types are not embodiments of abstract ideas; instead they are “things, persons, and scenes, allegedly real or veritably real, and the writer discovers a deeper meaning expressed in them.”⁵⁹ Hawthorne explores nature and ascribes it a deeper meaning while simultaneously challenging the Puritan perception of it.

The forest stands in clear opposition to the Puritan town and their community. This is best described in Chapter XVI, “A Forest Walk”, when Hester and Pearl enter “the mystery of the primeval forest” through “no other than a footpath.” Furthermore, the forest’s trees are “black and dense on either side” so that only sometimes “a gleam of flickering sunshine might now and then be seen at its solitary play along the path.”⁶⁰ The forest illustrates darkness as opposed to light (Christ) and secludes its visitors entirely from the safe Puritan community. Moreover, Hester’s outcast state is compared to a forest: “She had wandered, without rule or guidance, in a moral wilderness; as vast, as intricate and shadowy, as the untamed forest” and the trees standing so close to each other would not “amiss the moral wilderness in which she had so long been wandering.”⁶¹ Evidently, Hester has no religious guidance and thus, is wandering around in nature without any morale. Hawthorne wants to emphasize the Puritans’ assumption of the forest

as wild and dangerous because it lets people “assimilate [themselves] with people whose customs and life were alien from the [Puritan] law.”⁶² By using the word “alien,” Hawthorne reiterates the contrast between virtuous Puritans who live in a town with rules and order and Hester who lives in the forest without guidance and the right beliefs. More explicitly, Hawthorne writes that the forest is never “subjugated by human law, nor illuminated by higher truth.”⁶³

More importantly, Hawthorne uses nature as a motif in the romance to foreshadow actions. Here we can see the type (the Puritan understanding of Nature) applied as the antitype (Hester) but not using biblical parallels. In the very first Chapter, Hawthorne describes the outside of a prison:

Before this ugly edifice [the prison-door], and between it and the wheel-track of the street, was a grass-plot, much overgrown with burdock, pig-weed, apple-peru, and such unsightly vegetation, which evidently found something congenial in the soil that had so early borne the black flower of civilized society, a prison. But, on one side of the portal, and rooted almost at the threshold, was a wild rose-bush, covered, in this month of June, with its delicate gems, which might be imagined to offer their fragrance and fragile beauty to the prisoner as he went in, and to the condemned criminal as he came forth to his doom, in token that the deep heart of Nature could pity and be kind to him.

This rose-bush, by a strange chance, has been kept alive in history; but whether it had merely survived out of the stern old wilderness, so long after the fall of the gigantic pines and oaks that originally overshadowed it,—or whether, as there is fair authority for believing, it had sprung up under the footsteps of the sainted Ann Hutchinson, as she entered the prison-door,—we shall not take upon us to determine. Finding it so directly on the threshold of the narrative, which is now about to issue from that inauspicious portal, we could hardly do otherwise than pluck one of its flowers and present it to the reader. It may serve, let us hope, to symbolize some sweet moral blossom, that may be found along the track, or relieve the darkening close of a tale of human frailty and sorrow.⁶⁴

We can connect the described “fragrance and fragile beauty” of a rose to Hester’s initial reaction when she is forced to wear the scarlet A on her bosom. Moreover, the last sentence can certainly be related to Hester’s later acceptance of the scarlet letter, bearing the meaning able instead of adulterer to her. Furthermore, the quote also expresses the undeserved ignominy that Hester

faces from the Puritan society. In addition, “the darkening close” or later on “over her [Hester’s] grave, the infamy that she must carry thither would be her only monument”⁶⁵ foreshadow the romance’s end in which the letter *A* is written on Hester’s tombstone.

Pearl

Hawthorne also presents us with Pearl, Hester’s daughter, a character the reader has trouble figuring out. Hawthorne presents Pearl as a child who is very comfortable in nature and carries some spiritual powers. Thus, she counts as a complete outsider to the Puritans. However, Pearl’s comfort in nature and her role as a character that sheds light upon Dimmesdale’s lies and ultimately makes him admit to his sins, helps Hawthorne in portraying not only Pearl but also nature as ambivalent types which undermine the Puritan understanding of it.

Because Hester and Pearl were excommunicated from the Puritan community, they are unable to live in the town without having to suffer from the Puritans’ contempt. Nature offers refuge for Pearl, a place where she and her mother can spend time. Hawthorne describes their exclusion as “banished [...] as if [they] inhabited another sphere, or communicated with the common nature by other organs and senses than the rest of human kind.”⁶⁶ Evidently, we can detect an element of transcendentalism in this very description. It appears that the Puritans rely on their “rational” beliefs, whereas Hester and Pearl are communicating with nature, something beyond the Puritans’ understanding. As described in Chapter XVI, the forest, whose trees stand together so densely, offers Pearl security “from the observation of any casual passenger along the forest-track.”⁶⁷ It is impossible for the Puritans to observe Pearl’s behavior or to hear her conversations with nature or her mother, Hester. The forest protects Pearl and Hester and their mutual feeling of comfort in the forest is displayed by Hawthorne when he writes of the “dreary

look[ing] forest-track that led backward to the settlement.”⁶⁸ The Puritan community is unsafe for Pearl and Hester and thus, evoke only negative connotations for them.

Throughout *The Scarlet Letter*, it becomes obvious that Pearl feels more natural in nature which offers her an environment in which she can thrive and learn how to be more human-like. Pearl’s curiosity and happiness within nature is expressed most when she is in the forest with her mother. Here, Pearl surprises Hester with her “never-failing vivacity of spirits; she had not the disease of sadness.”⁶⁹ Pearl enjoys the forest’s diversity; she gathers flowers and feels pleased “with their wild flavor.”⁷⁰ In contrast, Pearl’s behavior outside of nature seems unpredictable and aggressive: She behaves mean towards other children, runs away from Master Wilson, and frequently acts impolitely toward Dimmesdale. Moreover, although Pearl is afraid of physical contact with anybody other than her mother, when a wolf approaches her and “offer[s] his savage head to be patted by her hand”⁷¹ Pearl feels brave and comfortable enough to do so. The contact to nature and its inhabitants teaches Pearl social qualities: In the beginning, Pearl is unfamiliar with and afraid of any other human than her mother; in the final scene, Pearl kisses the minister’s lips. Pearl’s process of learning to react emotionally appropriate and express her feelings is demonstrated in Chapter XV: While playing in the forest, “one little grey bird, with a white breast, Pearl was almost sure, had been hit by a pebble [which she had been throwing around with], and fluttered away with a broken wing.” After seeing the bird being injured, Pearl stops her game “because it grieved her to have done harm to a little being that was as will as the sea-breeze, or as wild as Pearl herself.”⁷² Pearl reacts emotionally because she hurt something of importance to her but also something that seems of her own type.

Furthermore, because Pearl does not maintain much human contact, she “never created a friend” outside of nature. In Chapter VI, for instance, Hawthorne explains that Pearl has no real

contact to other children because “if they gathered about her, [...] Pearl would grow positively terrible in her puny wrath, snatching up stones to fling at them, with shrill, incoherent exclamations.”⁷³ Pearl does not know how to behave in the presence of other humans, especially children, as she neither is familiar how to behave among other people nor does her education correspond to the Puritan children’s one. Consequently, the forest, “the great black forest [...] [becomes] the playmate of the lonely infant”⁷⁴ as it does not belong to the Puritan society. Pearl spends most of the time in the forest: She tries to catch the sunshine,⁷⁵ “flirt[s] fancifully with her own image in a pool of water”⁷⁶ or plays with animals in the forest.⁷⁷

Hawthorne often compares Pearl as a symbol of nature, presenting her mythical spirit and her unpredictability to the Puritans. Pearl’s first description in the eponymous Chapter “Pearl” is one of “a lovely and immortal flower,” indicating her “beauty that became every day more brilliant.”⁷⁸ Comparing Pearl with elements from nature helps Hawthorne to ascribe her an extraordinary role in the book. Particularly often, Pearl is described with characteristics of a bird. In Chapter VIII, Master Wilson tries to examine Pearl when she “escape[s] through the open window and [stands] on the upper step, looking like a wild tropical bird [...], ready to take a flight.”⁷⁹ The comparison to a bird fits well because of her quick movements and her intention of flying away into freedom. Furthermore, in Chapter XXI, Pearl and Hester are on their way to the market-place when the “effervescence made her [Pearl] flit with bird-like movement, rather than walk by her mother’s side. She broke continually into shouts of a wild, inarticulate, and sometimes piercing music.”⁸⁰ Hawthorne adds that Pearl becomes even more nervous approaching the market-place because she is not used to crowded places. Her “shouts” can be interpreted as the sounds of a bird, which is one of the sounds that Pearl is used to – unlike people’s voices. Pearl’s bird-like behavior can be explained based on her position in, or rather

outside of, the Puritan society. As she spends most of her time outside of the Puritan town in natural surroundings, Pearl has adapted animalistic character traits. Pearl also “resembled the brook, inasmuch as the current of her life gushed from a well-spring as mysterious, and had flowed through scenes shadowed as heavily with gloom”⁸¹ underlining her resemblance to natural elements. We can infer that Pearl becomes a part of nature throughout the romance which is exemplified when a wolf, upon smelling Pearl’s robe, “offered his savage head to be patted by her hand.” Pearl not only resembles natural elements, but is accepted as a part of nature and the forest. She collects flowers to decorate her hair and has “become a nymph-child, or an infant dryad, or whatever else was in closest sympathy with the antique wood.”⁸²

Although Pearl seems unpredictable and somewhat mystical to the Puritans, her overall function in the narrative is to persuade Reverend Dimmesdale to reveal the truth by publicly announcing that he is Pearl’s father and responsible for Hester’s exclusion from the Puritan society. Throughout the story, it becomes obvious that Pearl uses nature in a two-fold way, namely the natural forces and the human nature itself, to convey her purpose. In Chapter III, Dimmesdale prompts Hester Prynne to lay bare the name of her “fellow-sinner and fellow sufferer.” Although Hester does not agree to reveal their secret, Pearl, being a little baby, reacts to Dimmesdale’s words by “held[ing] up [her] little arms, with a half pleased, half plaintive murmur.”⁸³ In Chapter XII, Dimmesdale takes a night walk to meet Hester and Pearl. At “the spot, where [...] Hester Prynne had lived through her first hour of public ignominy,”⁸⁴ Dimmesdale feels something “what seemed a tumultuous rush of new life, other life than his own, [...] as if the mother and the child were communicating their vital warmth to his half-torpid system” when he holds one of each of their hands.⁸⁵ Thereupon, Pearl asks the minister if he will stand on this platform together with her and her mother on the following day. As the minister

negates this, Pearl “laugh[s], and attempt[s] to pull away her hand,”⁸⁶ expressing her resentment. Pearl wants Dimmesdale to join her and her mother and admit to his “crime” of being the unknown father of Pearl. Pearl’s unkind gesture, her natural reaction, shows that Dimmesdale’s answer and his behavior of hiding the truth are wrong. In Chapter XIX, when Dimmesdale meets Pearl and her mother Hester in the forest, Pearl asks whether he would “go back with us, hand in hand, [...] into the town.”⁸⁷ Moreover, Pearl inquires whether Dimmesdale “will always keep his hand over his heart,” indicating that he covers his sign of adultery with his hands and thereby denies his sin. When her mother negates Pearl’s questions, she is unsatisfied and when the minister kisses her on the forehead Pearl runs away to a brook and washes the kiss off.⁸⁸ Pearl manifests how much she disapproves Dimmesdale’s unwillingness to uncover the truth in and with the help of the natural environment of the forest. However, at the end of the romance, Dimmesdale admits to his sins and Pearl achieves her goal of revealing the truth.

Herman Melville

Herman Melville (1819-1891) counts as one of the most famous American novelists of the nineteenth century, and best known for his novels of the sea. In this section I analyze Melville’s masterpiece *Moby Dick* (1851) in terms of its typological context. *Moby Dick* was written during a time of change in America. I suggest that Melville wrote his masterpiece in a Puritan thought framework but went beyond it to explore in new ways the tension between predestined fate and free will. Because Melville grew up in an atmosphere of Calvinism, he was heavily influenced by its tradition. Even though “Calvinism was no longer a living religious force, [...] it still had a fundamental cultural significance” such that “certain Calvinistic ways of thoughts shaped Melville’s mind and the way [he] viewed and interpreted the world.”⁸⁹ But as

God grew more enigmatic and questionable, the authority of a fixed religion faded and reality itself became central. Because Melville's sense of *transcending* the world mainly influenced his writing as well, his novel *Moby Dick* tries to capture both contradictory beliefs: The world as the Puritans saw it with God as the power over all and the predestined fate of human beings *and* the secular thoughts that question many of the Bible's ideas and interpretations. This form of realism, Brumm argues, is a "characteristically American form of literature."⁹⁰ While some biblical connections in the novel are still prevalent, Melville "uses typological ideas in many ways, changes and develops them, and experiments with their dimensions,"⁹¹ which is reflected in the novel's quantity of contradictions and ambiguities. These ambiguities, Keller argues, "[do] not represent polarized imagination or conceptual antithesis but, instead, an ability to synthesize and suspend that the typologizer did not have."⁹² Therefore, Melville explored and tested limits and dangers of the typological interpretation, rather than denying or dismissing it. "To explore Scripture, Melville seems to suggest, means to pursue every imaginable mode of biblical interpretation"⁹³ or—in Brumm's words—"for Melville, writing did not mean to create a world, but to interpret the world."⁹⁴ Although Melville was raised in a religious home, he read all sorts of literature which are masterfully incorporated and alluded to in *Moby Dick* and serve as sources to interpret the Bible. By interpreting the world through his writing, Melville tries less to argue against Puritan typology than to investigate and question its idea of a fixed fate. In fact, Melville's *Moby Dick* presents many elements of the Bible. The characters' names often refer to characters from the Bible and God, evil, and other religious themes are present throughout. As these examples suggest, Melville did not refuse typology and absolutism, but rather explored them.

This idea of going beyond a fixed Puritan interpretation of types stands in connection to America's historical context of Melville's time. A quickening secularization and a focus on the individual "self-made" independent man prompted Melville to question and explore many of the established ideas and values of Calvinism because an orthodox answer did not satisfy him anymore. As a consequence, Melville occupies a position between faith and skepticism. Brumm writes that eventually, Melville made faith his ultimate choice because otherwise his writing would not make sense, as it draws so clearly and strongly on God and the Bible. And so, Brumm writes, "the belief that God uses real phenomena and events as signs for human being is the presupposition of Melville's idea. Thus, all of the world's phenomena are potential bearers of significance; all of them point to God's will, or more concretely, to biblical modes and types."⁹⁵ The idea that everything has potential value and a godly connection relates to the Puritans; the difference between Melville and the Puritans is that he does not have a final, authoritative interpretation of these types and symbols. Instead of one type determining a character, Melville sees individual men "as new fulfillments of prefigurations and types, not in mere imitation but in various transformations and combinations."⁹⁶ This stance is well-reflected in his portrayal of the characters in *Moby Dick*; Melville draws on a variety of sources (Bible, legends, history, etc.) to convey a character's full traits. In this regard, Brumm also emphasizes the connection between Cotton Mather's use of typology and Melville's: They both use people, situations, actions, and things and link them up in "an extensive network of parallels and connections, whereby they are simultaneously described and commented on." Furthermore, Brumm argues that Mather has not only had a significant influence on Melville but all of American literature.⁹⁷ Brumm suggests that Melville explored, and changed, typology in his writings because it provided him with the opportunity of expressing a democratic creed.⁹⁸ In *Moby Dick*, one of the ways Melville uses

typology in this regard is by demonstrating that every individual is worth being put on a line with biblical figures:

But this august dignity I treat of, is not the dignity of kinds and robes, but that abounding dignity which has no robed investiture. Thou shalt see if shining in the arm that wields a pick or drives a spike; that democratic dignity which, on all hands, radiates without end from God; Himself! The great God absolute! The centre and circumferences of all democracy! His omnipresence, our divine equality!

If, then, to meanest mariners, and renegades and castaways, I shall hereafter ascribe high qualities, though dark; weave round them tragic graces; if even the most mournful, perchance the most abased, among them all, shall at times lift himself to the exalted mounts; if I shall tough that workman's arm with some ethereal light; if I shall spread a rainbow over his disastrous set of sun; then against all mortal critics bear me out in it, thou just Spirit of Equality, which hast spread one royal mantle of humanity over all my kind! Bear me out in it, thou great democratic God! who didst not refuse to the swart convict, Bunyan, the pale, poetic pearl; Thou who didst clothe with doubly hammered leaves of finest gold, the stumped and paupered arm of old Cervantes; [...] Thou who, in all Thy mighty earthly marchings, ever cullest Thy selectest champions from the kingly commons; bear me out in it, O God!⁹⁹

Melville holds every person to be a valuable individual; as such he links the ordinary with the providential. Evidently, Melville's conviction derives from his belief in a democratic God who loves everyone equally. Moreover, Melville expresses his support of equality, which, as of the time *Moby Dick* was written and published, alludes to issues surrounding class and race. In this context, we evidently see Melville's use of Puritan typology. The Puritans regard biblical events and figures in line with their own deeds and fate and so does Melville.¹⁰⁰ But typology in the fixed Puritan sense lost its significance with the rise of Transcendentalism. Transcendentalism "refused to accept Puritan typology [...] because it carried along with it limitations of religious freedom and the presentation of God through a one-dimensional forest."¹⁰¹ Transcendentalists, by contrast, believed not that the Bible was the sum of all knowledge, overtly or typologically, but that knowledge about themselves and the world around them "transcends" or goes beyond of what they can see, hear, taste, touch or feel. Knowledge for them comes through intuition and

imagination as much as from logic and senses. In addition, rising secularization in the United States called typology in the Puritan sense into question, which can especially be encountered in the writings of Transcendentalists such as Melville. Melville's *Moby Dick* presents a shift from distinctly Puritan typology to aesthetic symbolism.

Ahab

Ahab, the captain of the *Pequod* in *Moby Dick*, is a major representative of Melville's struggle of combining conflicting ideas concerning typology. Because of his name, Ahab undeniably has a biblical model that determines certain aspects of his being, such as his death in the end of the novel which leads the narrator to question God's fairness and helps Melville to convey the rising uncertainty in religion and thus typology. Ahab, as Peleg points out to Ishmael, "ain't Captain Bildad; no, and he ain't Captain Peleg; *he's Ahab*, boy; and Ahab of old, thou knowest, was a crowned king!"¹⁰² (Melville 78). Ahab is named after King Ahab of Israel who "wrought evil in the eyes of the Lord', [...] until he was destroyed by Him."¹⁰³ Thus, Melville indeed depicts Ahab's name with biblical descent to set up parallels between the Ahab in *Moby Dick* and King Ahab in the Bible. Ahab is the *Pequod*'s king, the man that controls and guides the rest of the crew. Furthermore, Ahab also fights against the evil white whale Moby Dick until he gets killed by it. After Ahab's death, the narrator (and whale Moby Dick) are the only ones who survive the hunt. Therefore, the reader is confronted with questions that concern Ahab's predestination. Was his destruction a consequence of Ahab's free will or predestined fate to combat evil "when the combat end[ed] in his own destruction? Is evil dependent on God, or is it independent? If it is dependent on God, why does God place it in [Ahab's] path? [...] [S]o that man can resist it. But since Ahab even combats evil, why does God let him perish?"¹⁰⁴ Melville

succeeds in making the reader aware of the questions that he must have had himself regarding the Puritans' idea of predestination. He indeed holds on to a biblical connection, yet he also conveys possible flaws of it.

Even though Ahab indeed has a biblical name that predisposes the reader to find certain aspects of his person, it is not typology—Melville does not fully impose the biblical character's identity on Ahab. Ahab does not physically appear in the novel until Chapter 36, *The Quarter Deck*; yet, his character is evoked in earlier chapters. When the narrator Ishmael inquires about Ahab, he is told that Ahab is “a grand, ungodly, god-like man, [who] doesn't speak much [...] [and who] is above the common.”¹⁰⁵ This brief information about the captain of the *Pequod* is of immense significance: the contradiction “ungodly, god-like man” is exactly what Melville aims to represent in order to convey the ambiguity of Ahab's character. Ahab is ungodly because he refuses to see a higher power than himself; he even fails to acknowledge any superior force beyond himself. However, Ahab also appears “god-like” because he is the captain of the ship; he has lost a leg and is willing to give up everything to fight against the white whale to destroy what he takes to be evil. Ahab himself wants to be this “god-like” figure. Hereby, Melville moves away from a single interpretation of Ahab's character, which would have been imposed on it when looking at him from the Puritan typological point of view. Even though Ahab still has some connection to the biblical Ahab, he offers different ways of interpretation, which represents Melville's “new” use of typology.

Predestination is a major idea in Puritan typology and Melville tries to explore it through the character of Ahab in *Moby Dick*. Ahab sees himself as part of an infernal fate that takes its unalterable course:

What is it, what nameless, inscrutable, unearthly thing is it; what cozening, hidden lord and master, and cruel, remorseless emperor commands me; that against all natural lovings and

longings, I so keep pushing, and crowding, and jamming myself on all the time; recklessly making me ready to do what in my own proper, natural heart, I durst not so much as dare? Is Ahab, Ahab? Is it I, God, or who, that lifts this arm? But if the great sun move not of himself; but is as an errand-boy in heaven; nor one single star can revolve, but by some invisible power; how then can this one small heart beat; this one small brain think thoughts; unless God does that beating, does that thinking, does that living, and not I. By heaven, man, we are turned round and round in this world, like yonder windlass, and Fate is the handspike.¹⁰⁶

Ahab thinks that his course of life is predetermined by fate. He is questioning whether it was him that decided to do this, or God. Ahab alienates himself in this passage and argues that he had no other choice than taking the path he does because God made him do that. Ahab is looking for some reason in his horrible hunt after Moby Dick, so that he turns himself to God and religion as there is nothing else he could hold on to than his own free will to revenge the whale. Religion serves as the justifying argument for Ahab's mission, but also as the strongest argument against it. We see the latter when Starbuck protests against Ahab's single quest for revenge, calling it "blasphemous" because Starbuck "came here to hunt whales, not for [his] commander's vengeance."¹⁰⁷ Thereupon, Ahab equates the white whale with "all evil"¹⁰⁸ in the world and mentions that even God approves their hunt and will support them: "Death to Moby Dick! God hunt us all, if we do not hunt Moby Dick to his death!"¹⁰⁹ Ahab makes use of religion in order to convince the rest of the crew to fight Moby Dick with him. He portrays himself as the person that will destroy "all evil" by destroying the white whale, imposing Moby Dick the role of the devil almost. However, Ahab chose for himself to hunt Moby Dick, so that the religious argument loses authenticity as well as validity. Or however, Ahab himself is the devil and his quest is satanic. Additionally, Ahab's fate, which he thinks to be predetermined, could have been changed if he decided not to go after Moby Dick. Consequently, Ahab chooses his fate and not God, nor Moby Dick, nor anybody else. Hereby, Melville opposes the opposition of free will and

predestined fate, which reflects on the dubiety of Puritan typology. The world can be interpreted differently, not only in one single way, which is exactly what Melville is aiming to convey.

With Ahab, Melville provides the reader with a character who represents the struggle of living in a world in which religion slowly loses its significance but still serves as an important referential element. Ahab could be interpreted as a version of Melville himself, trying to make sense of the Puritan typology in a world which becomes more secular. By exploring the Puritan typology, Melville presents possible limits, questions, and difficulties of its interpretation of the Bible. He also aims to bring together conflicting ideas, such as predestination and free will, which is oftentimes reflected in the contradictions and ambiguities in *Moby Dick*. Consequently, while the Puritan's typology regarded the Bible's interpretation as fixed and human lives as predestined, Melville offers a variety of interpretations and a chance that humans can freely choose their fate.

In fact, Ahab could easily be interpreted as Melville's tool to criticize the Puritan beliefs. Edward Edinger, for instance, relates Ahab's character to the biblical Ahab more in depth and concludes that he is "the prototype of the heretic."¹¹⁰ Indeed, Melville himself comments on orthodoxy in *Moby Dick*:

And for years afterwards, perhaps, ships shun the place; leaping over it as silly sheep leap over a vacuum, because their leader originally leaped there when a stick was held. There's your law of precedents; there's your utility of traditions; there's the story of your obstinate survival of old beliefs never bottomed on the earth, and now not even hovering in the air! There's orthodoxy!¹¹¹

These lines echo the quest for the unconscious, Melville's quest for an individual religious experience which is without a doubt heretical. This quest perhaps originates from Ishmael's position as an outsider; however, Ahab and Ishmael are both part of the heretical outside. While

Ahab is an active rebel who goes against religious beliefs and signs to find revenge, Ishmael presents a passive victim whose fate seems to be limited and predestined.

However, in addition to Ahab's name, we can see quite a few other religious and biblical elements his character stands in relation to. Certainly, Melville gives all of his characters names that display and relate to different literary works. This affirms my argument of Melville using typological elements only to some degree and experimenting with boundaries, knowledge, and references more than any American authors have before the Romantics. One of the obvious religious elements that Melville employs with Ahab is Ahab's mark. Edinger goes into detail about Ahab's birthmark which is a mark given by God and thus, represents some special "touch of the deity."¹¹² However, more interesting is Ahab's other mark which has left him with the desire of revenge – his lost leg. Hereby, Melville employs a religious type (being marked) but uses it in a different way than presenting it as sign of having been chosen by God:

It is not probable that this monomania in him took its instant rise at the precise time of his bodily dismemberment. Then, in darting at the monster, knife in hand, he had but given loose to a sudden, passionate, corporal animosity; and when he received the stroke that tore him, he probably felt the agonizing bodily laceration, but nothing more. Yet, when by this collision forced to turn towards home, and for long months of days and weeks, Ahab and anguish lay stretched together in one hammock, round in mid winter that dreary, howling Patagonian Cape; then it was, that his torn body and gashed soul bled into one another; and so interfusing, made him mad.¹¹³

Evidently, Melville ascribes Ahab's mark the reason of his madness. The result of being marked is in no way positive, godly, or a representative of wholeness as it would be expected in a biblical sense; instead Ahab succumbs to madness.¹¹⁴

However, Melville adds a layer of complexity in terms of describing Ahab with the contradicting forces of typology. Not only is Ahab presented as driven by madness and revenge; he is also paralleled with the sun and Christ himself. As stated earlier, Ahab does not physically

appear until Chapter 36 and until then Ishmael is the main character of the story. However, with Ahab taking over as such, we can detect a parallel of time and reason for Ahab's appearance. As Edinger informs, the voyage begins on Christmas Day—"the current form of the age-old festival of the winter solstice" which used to be celebrated as the sun's birthday. On this darkest day of the year, Edinger writes, "the old sun reaches its nadir, and the new sun, a new light, is born out of the darkness and death of the old."¹¹⁵ We can infer that this structure suggests a replacement of Ishmael (the old sun) by Ahab (new sun). In addition, as in Christian symbolism, Christ is the new sun bringing salvation, Ahab can also be interpreted as some sort of Christ who brings new light and new principles. Furthermore, the first appearance of Ahab is described as the following: "Ahab stood before them with a crucifixion in his face; in all the nameless regal overbearing dignity of some mighty woe"¹¹⁶ and when Ahab is alone, he is talking about wearing an "Iron Crown of Lombardy" which is, as the footnote tells, a "Crown used at the coronation of Holy Roman emperors, said to contain a nail from the Cross on which Jesus was crucified."¹¹⁷ Certainly, there is an association of Ahab with Christ and Melville is well aware of employing it.

Ishmael

The narrator in *Moby Dick*, Ishmael, is another character with strong biblical resonance. Abraham, the progenitor of the Jews, like Adam before him, had two sons: the accepted Isaac and the rejected Ishmael. In the sixteenth Chapter of Genesis, the angel of the Lord speaks to Hagar, Isaac and Ishmael's mother:

Behold, you are with child, and shall bear a son; you shall call his name Ishmael [literally, "God hears"]; because the Lord has given heed to your affliction. He shall be a wild ass of a man, his hand against every man and every man's hand against him, and he shall dwell over against all his kinsmen.¹¹⁸

Evidently, Ishmael is destined to be an outcast. After Isaac's birth, Ishmael and Hagar were cast into the wilderness to die but God preserved Ishmael. Edward Edinger tells us that Abraham's

seed was split into oppositions. Ishmael is a rejected orphan, the prototype of an outcast, an alienated one who has no place.¹¹⁹ Consequently, Melville, by naming the narrator of *Moby Dick* Ishmael, chooses a certain *type* already and indicates what sort of character Ishmael is and what his fate looks like. Melville's Ishmael ends up alone at the end of the novel.

In order to analyze Ishmael's character in depth and present more commonalities between him and the biblical Ishmael besides the name, we have to take a closer look at the narration in *Moby Dick*. One of the most famous lines in (American) literature is the first line of Melville's novel: "Call me Ishmael."¹²⁰ With this very first line, we already get an impression of uncertainty about the character. Is the character's name Ishmael? Or is this how he wants to be called? Because the narrator tells this story in retrospect, he is well aware of how the story culminates in the hunt for the whale Moby Dick, the death of many characters, in particular Ahab, and Ishmael (himself) as the lonely survivor. Consequently, we are left wondering whether Ishmael's name indeed predestined him to this fate of an outcast, or if the narrator named himself after a biblical character *because* of the journey he undertook. Either way, the beginning paragraph of Ishmael's narration clearly symbolizes a state of alienation and despair which is so closely connected to his biblical type:

Call me Ishmael. Some years ago—never mind how long precisely—having little or no money in my purse, and nothing particular to interest me on shore, I thought I would sail about a little and see the watery part of the world. It is a way I have of driving off the spleen, and regulating the circulation. Whenever I find myself growing grim about the mouth; whenever it is damp, drizzly November in my soul; whenever I find myself involuntarily pausing before coffin warehouses, and bringing up the rear of every funeral I meet; and especially, whenever hypos get such an upper hand of me, that it requires a strong moral principle to prevent me from deliberately stepping into the street, and methodically knocking people's hats off--then, I account it high time to get to sea as soon as I can. This is my substitute for pistol and ball. With a philosophical flourish Cato throws himself upon his sword; I quietly take to the ship. There is nothing surprising in this. If they but knew it, almost all men in their degree, some time or other, cherish very nearly the same feelings towards the ocean with me.¹²¹

Without a doubt, the narrator finds himself in a state of depression, loneliness, emptiness, and alienation. He describes how his life has little to no sense anymore and hence, he decides to go to sea to find something that distracts him from suicidal thinking.

Moreover, Melville uses the number three in order to draw connections to the Bible. For example, when the ship is being battered by a howling typhoon, Melville writes “all the yard-arms were tipped with a pallid fire; and touched at each tri-pointed lightning-rod-end with three tapering white flames, each of the three tall masts was silently burning in that sulphurous air, like three gigantic wax tapers before an altar.”¹²² The ship transforms into a “trinity of burning towers,” as Edinger writes, and the crew experiences a “pentecostal epiphany of the Holy Spirit.”¹²³ In order to understand the connection between Ahab’s pentecostal fire and the Christian pentecost, Edinger presents the latter’s Old Testament antitype. He writes:

This is the myth of the tower of Babel. At pentecost, the apostles received the gift of tongue, the capacity to communicate to those of all languages. In the earlier contrasting process, the tower of Babel resulted in a confusion of tongues, so that every man spoke a different language.¹²⁴

How does the tower of Babel relate to Ahab? Ahab as a “tower-of-Babel-builder”¹²⁵ forces the crew to follow his own purpose of revenge. Through the fire, however, the crew members are inclined to break such unanimity and Starbuck, for instance, urges for the Pequod to return home. Nevertheless, the journey continues until the actualization of the symbolic embodiment of the divine fire, Moby Dick.¹²⁶

The number three is also important when considering Ishmael’s survival. Towards the end of the narrative, the tragic hunt for Moby Dick reaches its final act and he indeed is chased for exactly three days. Ahab meets Moby Dick three times during those days and this symbolism is significant. Starbuck expresses his concern in the novel, “And this the critical third day? —For

when three days flow together in one continuous intense pursuit; be sure the first is the morning, the second the noon, and the third the evening and the end of that thing—be that the end what it may.”¹²⁷ Certainly, there are several biblical references that contain the number three: Jonah, who spent “three days and nights” in the belly of a whale, three days between Jesus’ death and his resurrection, and the crucifixion itself which was a triple one.¹²⁸ All of these references share the image of death and rebirth which then serve as a type for what happens to Ishmael. As the only survivor of the Pequod, Ishmael did not only escape death but is re-born.

This biblical connection becomes obvious in the final Chapter “Epilogue.” After the whale attacks the Pequod and Ishmael survives, he writes:

*The drama’s done. Why then here does any one step forth?—Because one did survive the wreck [...] I was he whom the Fates ordained to take the place of Ahab’s bowsman [...] On the second day, a sail drew near, nearer, and picked me up at last. It was the devious-cruising Rachel, that in her retracing search after her missing children, only found another orphan.*¹²⁹ (italics in original)

These final lines of *Moby Dick* refer back to Ishmael’s initial statement and his name. The connection of the biblical Ishmael and our Ishmael is literally made evident by the word “orphan.” Additionally, even though Melville’s “the Fates” can be interpreted as a reference to Greek mythology, it can also be taken as a hint of Ishmael’s belief of predestined faith. The latter evidently speaks to the Puritans’ religious stance and concurs with the idea of Ishmael as a type whose faith has been determined long before he undertook the journey.

Ursula Brumm presents an interesting argument for Ishmael’s independence. In order to deliver her argument, she draws on Calvin, who interprets Genesis 17:19-21 as indication that the covenant of eternal life has no reference to Ishmael:

And God said, Sarah thy wife shall bear three a son indeed; and thou shalt call his name Isaac, and I will establish my covenant with him for an everlasting covenant, *and* with his seed after him. And as for Ishmael, I have heard thee: Behold, I have blessed him, and will

multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation. But my covenant will I establish with Isaac, which Sarah shall bear unto thee at this set time in the next year.¹³⁰

In this regard, Brumm argues that Ishmael lacks the assurance which the Calvinists receive from the contractual nature of the covenant and anything could happen to him. Ishmael's character responds to Melville's struggle of believing in an omniscient God and thus, to his complicated use of typology. Because it was hard to believe for Melville that there is indeed a God who claims the attribute of omnipotence (which was indeed emphasized by the Calvinists) yet disclaims responsibility for evil and for destruction by evil, Melville goes beyond employing typology in a Puritan sense; he presents a more modern prototype with Ishmael (but also Ahab) who is emancipated from all religious ties. While Brumm's argument is indeed convincing, I believe that an ambiguous character like Ishmael, who can be interpreted with typology to have predestined faith but also to have freedom in his actions, represents Melville's struggle to write with the categories of Calvinism but at the same time transcend them.

Peleg, Bildad, and Rachel

Melville also uses typology with minor characters such as Peleg and Bildad, the chief owners of the Pequod. The biblical Peleg was a "descendant of Noah's son Shem" whose name means division. "Bildad was one of Job's three friends; his name means son of contention."¹³¹ Thus, these two characters carry biblical relations but also "allusions to the tower of Babel and the ordeal of Job."¹³² In Melville's novel, however, these two characters stand in contrast to each other. While Bildad is a religious man, he did not hesitate to cheat Ishmael of his fair wages. In contrast, Peleg does not care much about religion but presents a character with a conscience; he insists for Ishmael to receive his fair wages. Melville, in presenting an association of cruelty with

orthodox Christianity and natural kindness with the non-Christian, critiques the self-righteous Christian orthodoxy of his time.

Moreover, the whaleship Rachel bears another important relationship to the Bible, which, once again, gives away its meaning in *Moby Dick*. Edinger notes that this ship named Rachel (from which the captain's son is missing) "associates to the prophecy in the thirty-first Chapter of Jeremiah which promises the Jews return from exile."¹³³ The passage, Edinger states, is also quoted in Matthew (2:18) and refers to the coming of Christ.

A voice is heard in Ramah,
lamentation and bitter weeping.
Rachel is weeping for her children;
she refuses to be comforted for
her children,
because they are not.

Thus says the Lord:

Keep your voice from weeping,
and your eyes from tears;
for your work shall be rewarded
Says the Lord,
And they shall come back from
the land of the enemy.

There is hope for your future, says the Lord. (Jer. 31:15-17)¹³⁴

Rachel, the ancestral mother of the Jews, presents an archetype of mother. Thus, the appearance of a ship with her name right after the emergence of Ahab's love for Pip presents a strong female character, a positive element.

The White Whale, Moby Dick

Another central symbol in the novel remains to be discussed: the white whale Moby Dick. Certainly, Moby Dick presents readers with a variety of interpretations. Similarly, the novel's characters hold different views upon the whale.

As we learn in Chapter 36 “The Quarter-Deck,” Ahab is not on the Pequod to simply hunt whales but to specifically hunt Moby Dick which upsets Starbuck who calls Ahab’s rage and his quest for vengeance “blasphemous.”¹³⁵ Thereupon, Ahab describes the whale as all evil, defending himself:

All visible objects, man, are but as pasteboard masks. But in each even—in the living act, the undoubted deed—there, some unknown but still reasoning thing puts forth the mouldings of its features from behind the unreasoning mask. If man will strike, strike through the mask! How can the prisoner reach outside except by thrusting through the wall? To me, the white whale is that wall, shoved near to me. Sometimes I think there’s naught beyond. But ‘tis enough. He tasks me; he heaps me; I see in him outrageous strength, with an inscrutable malice sinewing it. That inscrutable thing is chiefly what I hate; and be the white whale agent, or be the white whale principal, I will wreak that hate upon him. Talk not to me of blasphemy, man; I’d strike the sun if it insulted me.¹³⁶

Ahab sees the whale not as just an animal acting on instinct, but as the embodiment or agent of some power outside the physical world of visible nature. Edinger writes that Ahab thinks of Moby Dick as “representing the transcendental reality behind the appearance of things.”¹³⁷ A footnote in Melville’s novel tells us that in “orthodox Christian theology both God and the devil are such powers, in conflict; but here it seems uncertain from his own words which one Ahab (clearly unorthodox) is attacking as evilly responsible for his own sufferings and those of mankind.”¹³⁸ While Ahab also believes that men cannot strike, or apprehend, that spiritual power itself, he suggests doing it by “thrusting through the wall” in which case “wall” refers to Moby Dick. Ahab describes Moby Dick as something that goes beyond rational explanations and thus, Ahab declares himself ready to take any steps necessary to fight the whale, even the sun itself. With Ahab’s perception and description of Moby Dick, we can see transcendental elements in Melville’s writing. The whale, one part of nature, represents hints of something bigger, inexplicable, something that goes beyond human understanding and is “ubiquitous.”¹³⁹

Furthermore, Watters informs us that Ahab sees Moby Dick as a “composite entity—physical power, willful intelligence, and malignant divinity—a trinity of body, mind, and spirit in opposition to Ahab”¹⁴⁰ Ahab’s very first encounter with Moby Dick has caused him to hate him and

at least [he] came to identify with him, not only all his bodily woes, but all his intellectual and spiritual exasperations [...] All that most maddens and torments; all that stirs up the lees of things; all truth with malice in it; all that cracks the sinews and cakes the brain; all the subtle demonism of life and thought; all evil, to crazy Ahab, were visibly personified, and made practically assailable in Moby Dick. He piled upon the whale’s white hump the sum of all the general rage and hate felt by his whole race from Adam down.¹⁴¹

Ahab’s motivation of hunting the whale comes from pure anger and revenge; he does not care whether the whale is “agent” or “principle” but that he is assailable. Moreover, for Ahab, Moby Dick is a personification, a type of something bigger, perhaps an effigy.

By contrast, Ishmael identifies Moby Dick as impersonal and infinite when he describes the whiteness of the whale:

Is it that by its indefiniteness it shadows forth the heartless voids and immensities of the universe, and thus stabs us from behind with the thought of annihilation, when beholding the white depths of the milky way? Or is it, that as in essence whiteness is not so much a color as the visible absence of color, and at the same time the concrete of all colors; is it for these reasons that there is such a dumb blankness, full of meaning, in a wide landscape of snows—a colorless, all-color of atheism from which we shrink? And when we consider that other theory of the natural philosophers, that all other earthly hues—every stately or lovely emblazoning—the sweet tinges of sunset skies and woods; yea, and the gilded velvets of butterflies, and the butterfly cheeks of young girls; all these are but subtle deceits, not actually inherent in substances, but only laid on from without; so that all defied Nature absolutely paints like the harlot, whose allurements cover nothing but the charnel-house within; and when we proceed further, and consider that the mystical cosmetic which produces every one of her hues, the great principle of light, for ever remains white or colorless in itself, and if operating without medium upon matter, would touch all objects, even tulips and roses, with its own blank tinge—pondering all this, the palsied universe lies before us a leper; and like willful travelers in Lapland, who refuse to wear colored and coloring glasses upon their eyes, so the wretched infidel gazes himself blind at the

monumental white shroud that wraps all the prospect around him. And of all these things the Albino whale was the symbol. Wonder ye then at the fiery hunt?¹⁴²

Ishmael describes whiteness as infinite, indefinite, disembodied and unrelated to the earthy and material principles of mother archetype. Whiteness symbolizes a vastness which lies underneath anything particular, concrete, and ordinary phenomenon. However, the most crucial difference between Ishmael and Ahab's perception of Moby Dick is that to Ahab, Moby Dick is a personified malignancy; to Ishmael, the whale is merely a symbol.

Wai-chee Dimock suggests another interpretation which assumes that the whale cannot fully be read and understood as it refers to nothing but itself:

[...] the whale indeed has no match. It will always resist the reader, it will triumph over him, because its transcendent freedom is also a kind of transcendent illegibility: it cannot be read, because it refers to nothing other than itself. It luxuriates in what John Irwin calls 'divine indeterminacy,' a condition that prevails when the sign is simply its own representation.¹⁴³

Although we find many references of Moby Dick to other types, none of these serve to foreshadow what it will do. Moby Dick is called "a Job's whale"¹⁴⁴ reminding us of Job 41.1 "Canst thou draw leviathan with an hook? or his tongue with a cord which thou lettest down?" and emphasizes that Moby Dick is a creature, a monster living in the sea. The mad sailor Gabriel prophesizes "speedy doom to the sacrilegious assailants of his divinity,"¹⁴⁵ referring to the whale as the Shaker incarnated.¹⁴⁶ When Moby Dick is first sighted, he is associated with Jupiter:

A gentle joyousness—a mighty mildness of response in swiftness, invested the gliding whale. Not the white bull Jupiter swimming away with ravished Europa clinging to his graceful horns; his lovely, leering eyes sideways intent upon the maid; with smooth bewitching fleetness, rippling straight for the nuptial bower in Crete; not Jove, not that great majesty Supreme! did surpass the glorified White Whale as he so divinely swam.¹⁴⁷

Later, Moby Dick is called a "grand god": "warningly waving his bannered flukes in the air, the grand god revealed himself, sounded and went out of sight." Although Melville draws on several

biblical and other sources to describe the whale, *Moby Dick* remains its own entity; it remains the only free element in the novel.

Completely disembodied without any personal or material expression or imagery, the whale's whiteness, Edinger writes, becomes "a blinding horror, wholly transcendent, that provides no personal, particular, immanent aspect by which to relate to it."¹⁴⁸ That way, *Moby Dick* as its own entity, without any concreteness, represents something evil and unpredictable. This idea is further illustrated by Ishmael when we are told that when attached to an object, whiteness only multiplies the terror:

This elusive quality it is, which causes the thought of whiteness, when divorced from more kindly associations, and coupled with any object terrible in itself, to heighten that terror to the furthest bounds. Witness the white bear of the poles, and the shark of the tropics; what but their smooth, flaky whiteness makes them the transcendent horrors they are? That ghastly whiteness it is which imparts such an abhorrent mildness, even more loathsome than terrific, to the dumb gloating of their aspect. So that no the fierce-fanged tiger in his heraldic coat can so stagger courage as the white-shrouded bear or shark.¹⁴⁹

Because white animals are typically considered sacred and Ishmael notes this fact giving the sacred white elephant of the Orient and the sacred white dog of the Iroquois as examples, *Moby Dick*'s paradoxical nature in regard to color symbolism help illustrate paradoxical real-world topics such as secularization and race. Ishmael is "appalled" by the whiteness of the whale and explains that whiteness always presents virtue, nobility, and racial superiority.¹⁵⁰ Melville relates the whale's whiteness to spirituality when he said that whiteness is "the most meaningful symbol of spiritual things, nay, the very veil of the Christian's Deity."¹⁵¹

To hunt the sacred white whale is thus a sacrilege, a blasphemy, as Starbuck said. It presents the primitive hunter's denial of religious attitude toward his victim. Ahab's assault on *Moby Dick* is an assault on the sacred and presents the psychic dynamism responsible for the radical secularization of the modern industrial world and thus, Melville's own struggle in a more

secularized world. However, as we have seen before, for Melville, whiteness is equated with evil. The symbolic antithesis between black and white is reversed; we are told that white is black. Melville present the reader with the archetypal problem of opposites. Hereby, Melville challenges more than just religious elements (such as whiteness, brightness, and light represents good, sacred, and innocent) but also the notion of racial differences and their depicted opposites of skin color.

Although Melville depicts many more themes in his novel and draws on a variety of sources other than the Bible, Calvinistic roots undeniably reverberate in his writing. However, Melville goes beyond a fixed meaning which Puritan typology would provide and instead presents us with ambivalence and multiple interpretations of the novel's types. In addition, he incorporates contemporary issues such as race and slavery. Therefore, typology is still employed but in a different form and to a broader extent. In other words, "although typology or figural interpretation of the Bible has been discredited as a mode of exegesis, the technique can still claim a certain aesthetic validity."¹⁵² As I have discussed in this section, Melville's Ahab, for instance, shows a biblical connection to King Ahab from the Bible and his fate seems to be determined by this type. However, Melville presents the reader with different interpretations of the Bible by illustrating that fate could possibly be influenced by oneself, such as Ahab could have stopped fighting Moby Dick and saved his own life by doing so. Similarly, Ishmael presents a biblical reference; however, we are left wondering whether Ishmael names himself after the biblical Ishmael *after* the hunt or not. Again, Melville presents us with ambiguity which supports the argument of aiming to present a less fixed interpretation of types; instead Melville plays so loosely with typology that it changes into aesthetic symbolism. Melville's own struggle to combine tradition and new beliefs is incorporated into his novel; he also turns his back on

Puritan typology and instead offers various interpretations – modern symbolism has reached its full meaning.

¹ G.W.H. Lampe, "The Reasonableness of Typology," in *Essays on Typology*, ed. Geoffrey Lampe (London: SCM Press, 1957), 14.

² Lampe, "The Reasonableness of Typology," 15.

³ *Ibid*, 16.

⁴ Peter Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 129.

⁵ Ursula Brumm, *American Thought and Religious Typology* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1970), 7.

⁶ Brumm, *American Thought and Religious Typology*, 8.

⁷ *Ibid*, 9.

⁸ *Ibid*, 10.

⁹ *Ibid*.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 3.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 5.

¹² *Ibid*.

¹³ F.O. Matthiessen, *American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), xii.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, vii.

¹⁵ David S. Reynolds, *Beneath the American Renaissance: The Subversive Imagination in the Age of Emerson and Melville* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1989), 7.

¹⁶ Reynolds, *Beneath the American Renaissance*, 16.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 85.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 86.

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- ¹⁹ Ibid, 89.
- ²⁰ Ibid, 93.
- ²¹ Lawrence Buell, *Literary Transcendentalism: Style and Vision in the American Renaissance* (London: Cornell University Press, 1973), 22.
- ²² Buell, *Literary Transcendentalism*, 27.
- ²³ David S. Reynolds, "American Renaissance." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Literature*, (2016): 8, accessed May 2, 2019. 10.1093/acrefore/9780190201098.013.216.
- ²⁴ Ralph Waldo Emerson, *The American Scholar: An Address Delivered by Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York: The Laurentian Press, 1901), 2.
- ²⁵ Brumm, *American Thought and Religious Typology*, 6.
- ²⁶ Reynolds, *Beneath the American Renaissance*, 20.
- ²⁷ Patrick Labriola, "Ralph Waldo Emerson's Nature: Puritan Typology and German Idealism," *The Concord Saunterer*, no. 10 (2002): 127., accessed December 4, 2018, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23392872>.
- ²⁸ Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1956), 185.
- ²⁹ Labriola, "Ralph Waldo Emerson's Nature: Puritan Typology and German Idealism, 125
- ³⁰ Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Nature* (Boston: James Munroe & Company, 1849), 24.
- ³¹ Emerson, *Nature*, 30.
- ³² Labriola, "Ralph Waldo Emerson's Nature: Puritan Typology and German Idealism, 125.
- ³³ Nathaniel Hawthorne, "The Scarlet Letter," EMC Corporation, 1988, pdf, iv.
- ³⁴ Jason Charles Courtmanche, *How Nathaniel Hawthorne's Narratives Are Shaped by Sin: His Use of Biblical Typology in His Four Major Works* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2008), 3.

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- ³⁵ Courtmanche, *How Nathaniel Hawthorne's Narratives Are Shaped by Sin*, 4.;
Brumm, *American Thought and Religious Typology*, 116-18.
- ³⁶ Courtmanche, *How Nathaniel Hawthorne's Narratives Are Shaped by Sin*, 4.
- ³⁷ Ibid, 5.
- ³⁸ Ibid, 7.
- ³⁹ Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*, ed. Sculley Bradley, Richmond Croom Beatty, E. Hudson Long, and Seymour Gross (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1961), 186.
- ⁴⁰ Brumm, *American Thought and Religious Typology*, 157.
- ⁴¹ Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*, 112.
- ⁴² Brumm, *American Thought and Religious Typology*, 158.
- ⁴³ Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*, 113.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid, 115.
- ⁴⁵ Courtmanche, *How Nathaniel Hawthorne's Narratives Are Shaped by Sin*, 26.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid, 30.
- ⁴⁷ Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*, 45.
- ⁴⁸ *Paradise Lost*, Book IX, lines 856-863 quoted in Courtmanche, *How Nathaniel Hawthorne's Narratives Are Shaped by Sin*, 31.
- ⁴⁹ *Paradise Lost*, Book IX, lines 1037-1045 quoted in Ibid.
- ⁵⁰ Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*, 136.
- ⁵¹ Ibid, 138.
- ⁵² Ibid, 140.
- ⁵³ Ibid.

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- ⁵⁴ Ibid, 143.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid, 144.
- ⁵⁶ Reynolds, *Beneath the American Renaissance*, 62.
- ⁵⁷ Leo Marx, “The Pandering Landscape: On American Nature as Illusion,” in *Nature's Nation Revisited: American Concepts of Nature from Wonder to Ecological Crisis*, ed. Hans Bak and Walter W. Hölbling (Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam University Press, 2003), 30.
- ⁵⁸ Michal Peprník, “The Place of the Other: The Dark Forest,” in *Nature's Nation Revisited: American Concepts of Nature from Wonder to Ecological Crisis*, ed. Hans Bak and Walter W. Hölbling (Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam University Press, 2003), 339.
- ⁵⁹ Brumm, *American Thought and Religious Typology*, 123.
- ⁶⁰ Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*, 132.
- ⁶¹ Ibid, 143.
- ⁶² Ibid, 61.
- ⁶³ Ibid, 146.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid, 39-40.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid, 61.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid, 64.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid, 134.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid, 140.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid, 133.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid, 146.

⁷¹ Ibid, 147.

⁷² Ibid, 128.

⁷³ Ibid, 71.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 146.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 132.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 127.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 146-7.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 67.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 82.

⁸⁰ Ibid, 162.

⁸¹ Ibid, 134.

⁸² Ibid, 147.

⁸³ Ibid, 53.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 107.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 111.

⁸⁶ Ibid, 112.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 151.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 152.

⁸⁹ Brumm, *American Thought and Religious Typology*, 18, 194.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 194.

⁹¹ Ibid, 165.

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- ⁹² Karl Keller, “Alephs, Zahirs, and the Triumph of Ambiguity: Typology in the Nineteenth-Century American Literature,” in *Literary Uses of Typology*, ed. Earl Minor (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 300.
- ⁹³ Ilana Pardes, “Remapping Jonah’s Voyage: Melville’s ‘Moby-Dick’ and Kitto’s ‘Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature,’” *Comparative Literature* 57, no. 2 (2005): 135., accessed December 4, 2018, <https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.depaul.edu/stable/4122318>.
- ⁹⁴ Brumm, *American Thought and Religious Typology*, 196.
- ⁹⁵ Ibid, 193.
- ⁹⁶ Ibid, 167.
- ⁹⁷ Ibid, 172.
- ⁹⁸ Ibid, 177.
- ⁹⁹ Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick*, ed. Hershel Parker and Harrison Hayford (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 2002), 103-4.
- ¹⁰⁰ Brumm, *American Thought and Religious Typology*, 178.
- ¹⁰¹ Labriola, “Ralph Waldo Emerson’s Nature: Puritan Typology and German Idealism,” 131.
- ¹⁰² Melville, *Moby-Dick*, 78.
- ¹⁰³ Brumm, *American Thought and Religious Typology*, 179.
- ¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 181.
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- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 406-407.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 139.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 156.
- ¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 142.

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- ¹¹⁰ Edward F. Edinger, *Melville's Moby-Dick: A Jungian Commentary* (New York City: New Directions Books, 1975), 50.
- ¹¹¹ Melville, *Moby-Dick*, 248.
- ¹¹² Edinger, *Melville's Moby-Dick*, 54.
- ¹¹³ Melville, *Moby-Dick*, 156.
- ¹¹⁴ Edinger, *Melville's Moby-Dick*, 56.
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, 44.
- ¹¹⁶ Melville, *Moby-Dick*, 109.
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, 143.
- ¹¹⁸ Edinger, *Melville's Moby-Dick*, 15.
- ¹¹⁹ *Ibid*.
- ¹²⁰ Melville, *Moby-Dick*, 18.
- ¹²¹ *Ibid*.
- ¹²² *Ibid*, 381.
- ¹²³ Edinger, *Melville's Moby-Dick*, 125.
- ¹²⁴ *Ibid*, 126.
- ¹²⁵ *Ibid*, 127.
- ¹²⁶ *Ibid*.
- ¹²⁷ Melville, *Moby-Dick*, 422.
- ¹²⁸ Edinger, *Melville's Moby-Dick*, 138.
- ¹²⁹ Melville, *Moby-Dick*, 427.
- ¹³⁰ Brumm, *American Thought and Religious Typology*, 184.
- ¹³¹ Edinger, *Melville's Moby-Dick*, 43.

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- ¹³² Ibid.
- ¹³³ Edinger, *Melville's Moby-Dick*, 133.
- ¹³⁴ Ibid.
- ¹³⁵ Melville, *Moby-Dick*, 139.
- ¹³⁶ Ibid, 140.
- ¹³⁷ Edinger, *Melville's Moby-Dick*, 78.
- ¹³⁸ Melville, *Moby-Dick*, 140.
- ¹³⁹ Ibid, 154.
- ¹⁴⁰ R. E. Watters, "The Meanings of the White Whale," in *Discussions of Moby Dick*, ed. Milton R. Stern (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1960), 81.
- ¹⁴¹ Melville, *Moby-Dick*, 156.
- ¹⁴² Ibid, 165.
- ¹⁴³ Wai-chee Dimock, *Empire for Liberty: Melville and the Poetics of Individualism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 113.
- ¹⁴⁴ Melville, *Moby-Dick*, 158.
- ¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 253.
- ¹⁴⁶ Edinger, *Melville's Moby-Dick*, 78.
- ¹⁴⁷ Melville, *Moby-Dick*, 409.
- ¹⁴⁸ Edinger, *Melville's Moby-Dick*, 81.
- ¹⁴⁹ Melville, *Moby-Dick*, 160.
- ¹⁵⁰ Ibid, 159.
- ¹⁵¹ Ibid, 165.

¹⁵² Theodore Ziolkowski, “Some Features of Religious Figuralism in Twentieth-Century Literature,” in *Literary Uses of Typology*, ed. Earl Minor (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 345.

Epilogue: After Typology

A hundred years after *Moby Dick*, Ralph Waldo Ellison published *Invisible Man* (1952) for a much more secularized society. As a result, the Bible, God, and religion played much less of a role in people's lives than it did in Melville's times; there is an almost complete absence of these themes in Ellison's novel. Instead, using highly suggestive and symbolic names, Ellison, an African American, depicts topics of racial inequality, the struggle for identity, and invisibility in a society organized around white supremacy. Even though Ellison plays with characters' names to reveal information about their personality and fate – something that Puritans and others had done through typology and other figurative devices for centuries – the names in *Invisible Man* have no direct biblical connection so that Ellison, unlike Melville, clearly separates himself from what the Puritans defined as typology. With *Invisible Man*, we see an example of how typology has changed to symbolism in the century after *Moby Dick*.

Ralph Ellison: *Invisible Man*

Invisible Man's narrator is a nameless, "invisible," young black man in mid 20th-century America. To escape the racist South, he moves to New York City, where his experiences mirror

a society that requires pretense for survival. The narrator's invisibility has been understood as imposition of a highly racist society which Ellison portrays throughout the novel. *Invisible Man* counts as one of the most acclaimed African-American novels of the mid twentieth century, an era which was marked by struggles over rights and identity. African Americans had challenged discrimination in the military services and the work force during the war and returned without gains. African Americans, Hispano Americans, and American women fought to win full freedom and civil rights as guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence and US Constitution.

Tod Clifton

The character Tod Clifton, who blindly believes in the Brotherhood until Chapter 19, reveals Ellison's use of literary symbolism rather than religious typology. Clifton first appears in Chapter 17. Appointed by the white-organized Brotherhood, Tod Clifton is a black youth leader in Harlem. Furthermore, Clifton is fully supportive and defensive of the Brotherhood's ideals up until Chapter 19 when he disappears. The narrator describes Clifton as a "young, [...] very black and very handsome"¹ man who had just had a violent encounter with Ras the Exhorter's men, whom Clifton refers to as (black) "nationalists."² Even after Brother Jack admonishes Clifton for using violence and emphasizes that the Brotherhood is "against all forms of violence,"³ Clifton shows no repugnance but carefully strategizes his and the narrator's rally in protest of racist eviction policies in Harlem. In this Chapter, Clifton still strongly believes in the values and approaches of the Brotherhood and their potential to move Harlem's people.

However, the encounter with Ras the Exhorter seems to change Clifton's attitude to the Brotherhood as he disappears and does not return to the Brotherhood after it. Ras and his men disrupt a rally that the narrator and Clifton organized, whereof an affray evolves which involves both Clifton and the narrator. Clifton and Ras are in a brawl which Clifton seems to fully

dominate, when suddenly Ras takes control by pushing Clifton on his back and taking out his knife. Ready to kill Clifton, Ras conveys a kind of sermon to him and the narrator instead, telling them that he cannot kill Clifton because he is a fellow black man. Ras goes on asking the two black young men why they are part of the Brotherhood in which white and black men work together. According to Ras, white men do not try to eliminate racism and fight for equal rights in society, but “they say [Clifton] stink[s]! They hate [him] [...]!”⁴ Furthermore, Ras queries why two young, educated, black men fight together with white men against their own fellows, why they “go over to the enslaver” and what they’re “trying to deny by betraying the black people.” Even though Clifton tells Ras to “shut up,”⁵ Ras keeps *exhorting* the men to stay true to their African roots. He reminds Clifton that “[i]t took a billion gallons of black blood to make you,” so that he should accept and celebrate his black beauty. At last, Ras indicates that Clifton could have been a black King in Africa.⁶ Walking away from Ras, Clifton and the narrator have a conversation on what had just happened, when Clifton says: “I suppose sometimes a man has to plunge outside history [...] [p]lunge outside, turn his back ... Otherwise he might kill somebody, go nuts.”⁷ Seemingly, Ras’s eloquence had an impact on Tod Clifton, who presents the reader with his thoughts on “plung[ing] outside history” before he disappears and returns in Chapter 20, selling dolls. Clifton has been part of the Brotherhood longer than the narrator and thus is familiar with their rhetoric about the inevitability of historical events. However, Ras seems to suggest that the world is a lot more unpredictable and complex such that history has to be made.

Clifton’s reappearance in Chapter 20 presents the reader with a new Tod Clifton who has realized he had been played by the Brotherhood. When the narrator finds Clifton selling dancing Sambo dolls, he feels “betrayed”⁸ and cannot understand why Clifton left the Brotherhood:

Why should a man deliberately plunge outside of history and peddle an obscenity [...] Why should he choose to disarm himself, give up his voice and leave the only organization

offering him a chance to 'define' himself? [...] Why did he choose to plunge into nothingness, into the void of faceless faces, of soundless voices, lying outside history?⁹

The narrator is convinced that Clifton has gone crazy because he left the Brotherhood, the organization that "defines" him and gives him a voice in society. Thus, the narrator has not yet understood the concept of the Brotherhood, which uses blacks like him and Clifton as puppets under the cover of "science, discipline, and equality," whereas in reality "its white membership subordinates issues of race to focus on class and the social relations that maintain it."¹⁰ On the contrary, Clifton must have realized his instrumental purpose within the Brotherhood and how he and the narrator are much like dolls whose invisible strings are controlled by the Brotherhood. Therefore, the dancing Sambo dolls allude to Clifton himself and his role within the Brotherhood, which also adds to Clifton's "type": He is a young black man who has been used by white men. Ironically, Clifton now manipulates the strings of the Sambo dolls, like his have been manipulated before by the Brotherhood. It almost seems as if he has realized that he has no control of his own fate, giving into this lack of control entirely by selling the racist dolls and seemingly provoking the cop, knowing what this will cause.

Ellison uses typology in the form of social critique when Tod Clifton gets shot and his name *Tod* is recognized as the German word for "death." At one point, a policeman approaches Clifton while he sells his dolls which induces him to put them in a box and leave. However, the policeman follows, pushes and then tries to even hit Clifton who then reacts to the abuse and fights back.¹¹ Thereupon Clifton gets shot by that policeman, who would later be his "historian, his judge, his witness, and his executioner," representing the racial injustice and misrepresentation of blacks in the United States during that time.¹² While in Puritan typology God served as the force who would determine somebody's fate, in Ellison's secularized world, we can see the policeman taking God's place and deciding Clifton's fate. Moreover, Ellison uses

Clifton's name to reflect on what happens with his character: Tod's last name *Clifton* could be read as an altered form of *cliff*. After discovering the Brotherhood's real goals and his marionette-like role within in, Clifton seems to act slightly crazy by selling dancing Sambo dolls on the streets. The reader could interpret Clifton as a man on a cliff, who is devastated by the violence and injustice in Harlem and who thus commits suicide by striking a white policeman—he basically jumps of the cliff. Furthermore, the narrator points out his “fallen brother[’s]” first name “(Tod, Tod)”¹³ is the German word for “death”. At this moment, Clifton is “unnamed,” like Debra Walker King calls it: “Unnaming occurs when a name phrase, name, or nickname replaces the original designator, forcing it from the text entirely; when an epithet, or another pejorative name, functions as the primary signifier for a character.”¹⁴ Hence, Clifton is unnamed for the reader as soon as the German word *Tod* is connected with his name and attached to his fate. Even though Clifton resists his imposed identity (by leaving the Brotherhood), his name is manipulated and imposed historical content of which he is unable to cut himself loose.

Interestingly enough, Clifton was most likely named by the Brotherhood, which raises the question of how much they had an impact on Clifton's death. Like Melville's Ahab, a character is confronted with questions of how much determined fate and free will are present, possible, or dependent on each other. Even so, we can clearly see a distinction here between Clifton and Ahab. Although both of their names point to their fates, Tod Clifton's name has nothing to do with the Bible. There is nothing to hold on to, no correlating character that would foreshadow his fate. Typology in the Puritan sense is absent. However, as Tod's faith is predestined as much as Ahab was fated to his fate by being named Ahab, the power seems to have shifted from God to other men with near god-like powers – the Brotherhood.

After Clifton's death, the narrator tries to make sense of Clifton's life, which seems impossible without religion. When the narrator sees Clifton's coffin at his funeral, he cannot remember anything but "the sound of [Tod Clifton's] name."¹⁵ Naturally, the reader is reminded of the association with the German word here, which seems to be all there is about Tod's name. As the narrator tries to desperately make sense of Tod's death and his name, he realizes that there is nothing to hold on to *but* Tod's name. All the narrator (and the reader) knows about Tod Clifton is his name, that he was part of the Brotherhood, and that he was a young black man. Repeatedly, the narrator says "[h]is name was Tod Clifton,"¹⁶ when he then adds: "He thought he was a man when he was only Tod Clifton."¹⁷ The narrator, or rather Ellison, wants to emphasize how the Brotherhood gave Tod Clifton his name and description. By doing so, the Brotherhood gave Clifton an identity which carried more significance than his own identity; they determined his fate by naming him Tod. Clifton died and there is nothing else to say about him than his name, because there is nothing else to hold on to. Even though the narrator cannot make sense of Clifton's death, nor his name, the Brotherhood can. Brother Jack makes sense of Clifton by calling him a "traitor,"¹⁸ imposing on the type of a black man who died because he left the Brotherhood. Brother Jack names Tod even after his death. It seems as if the Brotherhood's white supremacy has filled the void that might once have been taken by God. On the contrary, it seems to be impossible to the narrator to give a speech on Tod Clifton's funeral that makes sense of his death without having an element of religion present.

When Tod Clifton's name disappears from the novel, Ellison introduces Rinehart, the character that represents the full inversion of Puritan typology. As the narrator puts on dark glasses to hide from Ras the Exhorter, he is mistakenly taken for Rinehart several times. Interestingly, it seems that the people who believe the narrator to be Rinehart, reveal "multiple

personalities”¹⁹ of Rinehart: “Rine the runner and Rine the gambler and Rine the briber and Rine the lover.” In addition to these identities, which make the narrator question “[w]hat is real anyway?”,²⁰ he reads on a poster: “Rev. B. P. Rinehart, *Spiritual Technologist*.”²¹ As the narrator points out, Rinehart lives in a world “without boundaries,”²² able to make people believe in him and like him. Ellison, after Tod’s death, introduces religion as a theme in the novel. The narrator could not make sense of Clifton’s death because all religious elements were absent. At the same time, the narrator “had looked past [Rinehart]” who represents a religious somebody “until Clifton’s death.”²³ “Somebody” because Rinehart, as a spiritual technologist, is not a real Reverend, nor anything else that would represent *real* religion. Nevertheless, people believe (in) him, respect him, and like him, because they desperately try to find something to hold on to and Rinehart presents them with something they can hold on to, even though it might not be *real*. The element of religion is still present, but reduced to empty forms, a nostalgia. The narrator, aware of how people are being “duped”²⁴ by Rinehart, calls him “Rine the rascal”²⁵ and a “charlatan.”²⁶ He also draws attention to Rinehart’s name and asks if he could be “both rind and heart?”, indicating his dual persona. Going beyond the narrator’s interpretation of Rinehart’s name, I suggest looking at the German word “rein,” as it sounds exactly like “rine,” which means “pure”, “clean”, “perfect”, or “pristine”. Connecting that with “heart,” Rinehart’s name presents the reader with the new definition of “pure heart.” Ellison’s intention here was to play with the name of Rinehart to hint at his role in the novel. Ellison indeed makes use of typology, but in a new and completely different way than the Puritans as the name in no way connects to a biblical person. Furthermore, as Rinehart presents more personalities and actually is not a real religious person, the name means the complete opposite of what the character actually is in the novel. Ellison completely inverts the Puritan’s definition of typology with Rinehart at this point in the

novel. Naming still has power, but without the authority of God or the church behind it. This has created a significant power vacuum that white power, in part, fills.

Ellison represents a character, Tod Clifton, whose fate seems to be determined by his name *Tod*, the German word for “death” which has absolutely no biblical connection. Ellison also presents several interpretations, in one of them Tod Clifton could have resisted the longing of fighting back against a white policeman or he could have never left the Brotherhood. Both however present the issue of racial injustice in the twentieth century. Besides, after Tod Clifton’s death, Ellison introduces Rinehart whose ironic “pure heart” reflects the exact opposite of what he is. In Ellison’s novel, despite suggestive naming, religious typology is completely absent. It has been replaced by social issues and the religious elements that have little or no correlation or relationship to the Bible or to true religious beliefs.

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- ¹ Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (London: Penguin Books, 2014), 363.
- ² Ellison, *Invisible Man*, 364.
- ³ Ibid, 366.
- ⁴ Ibid, 371.
- ⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶ Ibid, 373.
- ⁷ Ibid, 377.
- ⁸ Ibid, 433.
- ⁹ Ibid, 438-439.
- ¹⁰ Debra Walker King, *DEEP TALK: Reading African-American Literary Names*
(Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998), 94.
- ¹¹ Ellison, *Invisible Man*, 436.
- ¹² Ibid, 439.
- ¹³ Ibid, 44.
- ¹⁴ King, *DEEP TALK: Reading African-American Literary Names*, 92.
- ¹⁵ Ellison, *Invisible Man*, 454.
- ¹⁶ Ibid, 455.
- ¹⁷ Ibid, 457.
- ¹⁸ Ibid, 467.
- ¹⁹ Ibid, 499.
- ²⁰ Ibid, 498.
- ²¹ Ibid, 495.
- ²² Ibid, 498.

²³ Ibid, 493.

²⁴ Ibid, 502.

²⁵ Ibid, 498.

²⁶ Ibid, 504.

Conclusion

As I have shown in this thesis, typology has a long cultural history and has impacted many American literary works in a number of different ways. In the Puritan age, typology served as a way of understanding and justifying the establishment of a society in the New World as a later restaging of biblical precedent inside of a fully sacred worldview. With John Winthrop as leader of Puritan founders, we see typology as a justifier of the journey to the New World and the Puritans as fulfillments of types. Mary Rowlandson's narrative shows us how typology supports an individual in making sense of her own experiences by relating to biblical people and events. Moreover, both Winthrop and Rowlandson incorporate themselves into the typological context, meaning that they and the rest of the Puritans are the fulfillments of biblical types. While Winthrop and Rowlandson illustrate Puritan typology in its ideal form, with Taylor and Edwards we see a development which denies a completely fixed meaning and use of typology and reaches its climax in the free-ranging symbolism of nineteenth-century American literature.

Emerson sought to establish a national literature and therefore wrote about *Nature in America* as a way of reaching spirituality. Hawthorne expanded on the interpretation of nature and presents us with ambivalent feelings about the Puritan tradition in *The Scarlet Letter*. Drawing on nature as a type, Hawthorne does not provide a fixed meaning or fulfillment of this type but explores themes of Puritan fascination such as the original sin. While Hawthorne is clearly influenced by his Puritan ancestors, he uses biblical elements to a smaller extent. With Melville's *Moby Dick*, we are offered another major canonical work which struggles with the competing forces of typology in its tradition form and a more secularized world. Melville turns his back on Puritan typology and offers various interpretations of his characters and other elements in the novel in order to convey such a struggle. Moreover, Melville specifically presents us with doubtful thoughts about the Puritan belief of a predestined faith. Overall, the nineteenth-century authors expand on typology and use it in various forms and for a multitude of purposes. One crucial aspect to notice is that by doing so, these authors develop several forms of figurative language in literature. Typology branches into forms of allegory and symbolism.

Finally, Ellison's *Invisible Man* is a mid-twentieth century example of how typology can become absent in its religious form. An African-American author whose name clearly derives from Ralph Waldo Emerson's inverts American typology to illustrate societal issues around race in ways the earlier Ralph Waldo could never imagine. In Ellison's secularized society, where a shift of power from church to people has occurred, Ellison can draw on religious references only as one among many rival, desacralized, discourses in order to tell his story.

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