

MESSAGE, MESSENGER, AND RESPONSE: PURITAN FORMS  
AND CULTURAL REFORMATION IN HARRIET BEECHER  
STOWE'S UNCLE TOM'S CABIN

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## PREFACE

I don't remember the first time I read Uncle Tom's Cabin. However, while in high school, I participated in a summer production of the play in a park, an activity as American as a Puritan election day sermon. From a makeshift orchestra pit, cardboard chunks of ice attached to sticks waved up and down as Eliza ran across the Ohio River. In maturity, I returned to the book as suggested research in a Puritan studies seminar. Puzzled, I examined the book anew and my life story acquired a new chapter. Paper ice and drama novices do not make a revolution. But Uncle Tom's Cabin did, and became the first international best-seller, as well. I had to know why. While feminist scholarship has recovered Harriet Beecher Stowe for American literature, its various approaches to her masterpiece do not adequately explain the nineteenth-century response to her novel. Because of Puritanism's influence upon American culture, its connections to nineteenth-century sentimentality with subsequent implications for audience response began to form in my analysis. The riddle gradually subsided as I erected the framework for my thought; welcome to my Puritan construction of sentimentality in Uncle Tom's Cabin, the epic melodrama.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Dissertations have their own conventions. The pages of acknowledgements reveal in the author a range of attitudes from the sigh of completion to the victory shout of the last rite of passage. My feelings incorporate the full spectrum. First expressions of gratitude go to Dr. Jeffrey Walker, my program director, who provided missing pieces to the Puritan puzzle which answer my lifelong intrigue with and questions about American culture. He could be John Cotton or John Winthrop to my Anne Hutchinson as the need arose, and always seemed to know which approach my efforts at scholarship needed. I confer accolades upon Dr. Edward Jones, Dr. Edward Walkiewicz, and Dr. Edward Lawry, my readers, whom I dubbed my ED-itorial committee, for serving as ministers, magistrates, and witnesses for my election day celebrations.

I thank Dean Clifton Warren and Dr. Marie Saunders who insisted I continue beyond a Master of Arts plateau, which seemed the summit to me at the time. Dr. Paul Klemp, who taught me the joy of discovering life's unsuspected connections by means of academic research, leaves an indelible imprint in my mind. From Dr. Janemarie Luecke, whose memory I cherish, and Dr. Randi Eldevik, I learned the sturdiness of English and its antiquity.

Librarians, reigning over world knowledge through the interlibrary loan system and their respective institutions, amaze me with their expertise and congeniality in serving the interests of the researcher. My special gratitude goes to the professional staffs at the Max Chambers Library of the University of Central Oklahoma; the Edmon Low Library of Oklahoma State University; the Stowe-Day Foundation, Hartford, Connecticut; and the Beecher Stowe Collection at the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe, at Harvard.

Finally, to family and friends who were supportive when I had to withdraw from my usual involvements in order to pursue the life of an academic, I am grateful; to those who weren't, I am forgiving. In writing a dissertation, even with the demythologizing of the project which much come if it is completed, a symbiotic interaction of mental processes, past and present, occurs between subject and researcher with parallels, entrances, and exits of the roads of the mind which explores and those being explored. During this time of my adventure with the Beechers and the Stowes, I owe more than a simple public expression to Wilbur who had Calvin's good humor without his instability, Harriet's affectionate kindness without her vapors, Henry Ward's exuberance without his egotism, and Lyman's great optimism without his blind spots. To Wilbur, who has always made my cabins seem like mansions, I dedicate this building I have constructed.

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## INTRODUCTION

Her name was Harriet and she wanted to change the world. Because she was a Beecher, she believed she could. She married Calvin Stowe and developed a domestic tempered faith to replace her hereditary one from John Calvin. From her Beecher Puritanism and the sentimentality of the heart and home variety of her new Calvin-ism, she created Uncle Tom's Cabin<sup>1</sup> which she preached like a Beecher revivalist and narrated as a Stowe domestic storyteller in her chimney corner. She did inspire the world and she changed America, although society required eight years from the time of the book's publication to begin the four-year military phase of the continuing cultural upheaval of slavery's emancipation.

Harriet Beecher Stowe caused social change with her literary strategies. The dynamics between the message, messenger, and audience in Uncle Tom's Cabin demonstrate her methodology with her vision, voice, and readers to implement the public morality for America that she desired. The Puritan genres, the power of her voice, and the presence of the American audience combined to form differences in social attitudes and behavior in response to her work. Uncle Tom's Cabin illustrates her use of the forms of the sermon, captivity narrative, spiritual autobiography, confession,

conversion narrative, and propaganda tract; the ways in which she utilizes, manipulates, and substitutes for their conventional content gives her anti-slavery novel its power. Stowe's vigor as preacher and storyteller and the cultural conditioning of the American audience's sensibility for these genres within the historical context of moral and political crisis assured the book's phenomenal impact. With strategies focused on social and moral change, it goaded the nation from fragmented squabbles to joint endeavor in order to initiate a new ethical climate in the culture. Her audience responded with emotion and consolidated efforts: catalysts for the Civil War.

Contemporary criticism tends to fragment her impact by unraveling her themes according to the particular interest of the critic: feminist, Marxist, religionist, archetypist, Freudian. However, in order to understand and appreciate her popular and enduring effect on American culture, individual issues should be viewed as components of a complex construction she made between her vision, herself, and her audience. Stowe's dense and intricate work provides a variety of choices for academic research. Many themes now arise for examination which were previously ignored. While the ranges of critical issues are present, her priorities come from a religious perspective which calls for a moral change. As her biographers and critics universally note, her cultural and religious bearings carry the unmistakable

Puritan imprint.<sup>2</sup> Even when she successfully disentangled herself from the particular tentacles of Puritan Calvinism, which she found personally destructive, and adopted the Christ-worship especially suited to her belief in the power of domestic love, she continued to mold her life and art according to the New England way of intellectual and community life. She never doubted the superiority of New England spiritual and ethical attitudes as a means to order the national public domain through their domestic implementation.

Uncle Tom's Cabin shows how her world view succeeds artistically by demonstrating the relationship between its message, messenger, and audience. The anti-slavery message with the social protest comes through the skillful blending of Puritan genres; the messenger projects the solutions that are impelled by the tension created between preacher and storyteller in her voice; and the audience responds because the readers are culturally, religiously, and historically attuned to both message and messenger.<sup>3</sup> Her writing always assumes a Christian world view; her narratives in sermon style introduce social and moral change for the culture, her stated purpose for all of her writing. That resolve came from her early nurture in the home of Lyman Beecher as one of his dozen children, seventh of the nine by his first wife, Roxanna, where a sense of the heroic and noble existed side-by-side with daily chores.<sup>4</sup> She writes of her own self-awareness as a child: no "Jewish maiden ever grew up

with a more earnest faith that she belonged to a consecrated race, a people especially called and chosen of God for some great work on earth" (Pogonuc People 175). With a heroic sense of herself, she undertook an ideological reshaping of American values based on those treasured from her Puritan background, reinterpreted for nineteenth-century needs. Simultaneously, she represents two images of the American literary artist: preacher and storyteller. Her narratives require a preacher voice for authority; the sermon style needs her storytelling voice to illustrate religion's compelling force in her world. The preacher evokes rules for society from the past and speaks to the present; the storyteller looks at the present to outline the future by giving stories which suggest societal change by testing the rules in order to keep them valid for society's needs. In the Puritan sense of self with the "urge for self-denial" that is "coextensive with personal assertion" (Bercovitch, Puritan Origins 18), Stowe identifies with the nation whose cultural codes affirm her personal ones. With her astute perception of audience, she shares an identity with her readers which marshalls them to initiate changes. But her ideology required retaining the orthodoxy she sought to subvert. Analysis of Uncle Tom's Cabin demonstrates how she affected American morality and subverted tradition while keeping its basic form, necessary since her vision meant a transformation of the existing order, not a substitution.



This basic dialectic tension of the book forms the critical foundation for this dissertation's three chapters. Chapter one examines Stowe's arrangement of Puritan genres to capture the protest and the problem of slavery. The sermon form and propaganda force of jeremiad rhetoric both frame and include the captivity narrative, confession, and conversion narrative to provide a way to judge simultaneously the cultural ideology, contemporary history, and national future. The book performs as one huge sermon; in rhetoric and style it stands alongside the Puritan sermons Eugene White, Harry Stout, Phyllis Jones, Nicholas Jones, and other critics analyze. It is as much a jeremiad as any preached by Samuel Shepard, Thomas Prince, Cotton Mather, or any of the election day preachers. Also a captivity narrative, Uncle Tom's Cabin emerges as compelling as any part of Mary Rowlandson's, with Stowe's making the entire culture captive to its own foreign culture. Moreover, it serves as a huge spiritual autobiography replete with diary-like confessions and conversions as classic as ones which Patricia Caldwell, Charles Cohen, or Andrew Delbanco treat. Few see these Puritan forms in the book; the sentimentality masks its Puritanism. But neither Puritan forms nor sentimentality alone could do what Uncle Tom's Cabin did. Its reception lay both in its Puritan components and sentimental style.

The second chapter explores tensions between two sets of narrative voices which work out the conflicts between law

and experience. In showing how the two inform each other by means of style and tone to produce adaptations and interpretations, I suggest Stowe's various resolutions. The changed attitudes, morality, and behavior of characters provide choices for audience identification which urge the reader to take a stand in the antislavery struggle. Her strategies with the doubleness of voice as sentimental storyteller and didactic preacher both bridge and bond characters with the audience. The novel's contemporary reception rested in Stowe's voice in the tensions between the preacher and storyteller doubleness which fuses the religious ethics to the populace affectively for moral identification and behavior. Its phenomenal reception lay in its Puritan identifications, projected into America's conscience by the sentimental voice, and received by an audience uniquely ready for its message.

The third chapter discusses the levels of audience response. Because of the complex, yet intimate, interaction between the text, narrator, and audience, Stowe's culture rallied to reform itself. The collusion of the message, messenger, and response in what Leslie Fiedler calls Harriet Beecher Stowe's inadvertent epic, create the event called Uncle Tom's Cabin.

Critics of Puritanism show little interest in such a book; those who study sentimentalism express their insights primarily in a feminist agenda, and consider Puritanism, in

particular, and religion, in general, to be anachronistic. Elitists seem not to know how to deal with the book because it defies critical theories; simultaneously, it concerns itself with Puritanism, sentimentality, home, religious faith, the power of maternity, and the creation of private morality from private sources which demonstrates itself in the public arena. This dissertation encompasses more than strictly literary matter. A knowledge of Puritanism did not serve my purposes. I had to grasp Stowe's version and how it related to mid-nineteenth-century American culture which included revivalism, millennialism, and abolitionism. Criticism in sentimental fiction, brilliant as some of it is, did not supply all of the background I needed. While feminist scholarship has reinstated Harriet Beecher Stowe into the canon, I continued to sense an omission in its various approaches and could not find in them a satisfactory explanation for the nineteenth-century response to Stowe's novel. Contemporary feminist concerns can explain the turn to Stowe today. They cannot account for the book's phenomenal impact in its day, and that was what interested me.

Early criticism positioned itself in two biased camps. Later in the century, and early in this one, efforts to plumb the novel's power fizzled into half-hearted apologies for its lack of artistic merit, but praise for its social value. None of those models sufficed. Because of my goal to identify the Puritan foundations, connect them to popular

culture, and relate them to audience, I knew the key to the whole involved unlocking each of its parts. My research direction meant I needed a model which incorporated a variety of documents from different cultural levels to make conclusions about the production of one text which informed the world it addressed. I found that model in the work of writers like Cathy Davidson, Jane Tompkins, Andrew Delbanco, Charles Cohen, Nina Baym, Nancy Cott, John Demos, Charles Joyner, Jon Butler, and Philip Fisher who investigate many texts in the interests of particular ones. I paid special attention to Tompkins's admonition to inhabit the world of the text and to the grid of communities of readers which Stanley Fish and Davidson propose in order to draw conclusions about a work's effect in its own time to make valid claims for its condition in the contemporary context. I "inhabited" Puritanism and its criticism, then sentimentality, feminist scholarship, slave narratives, domestic ideology, and nineteenth-century black cultures, especially the religious expression of it. The scope of the influences on the novel helps explain its impact, because it responds to each of those influences in audience reception. Because of all of my habitations and the effect I see they had on the world of the novel and the novel's effect on its world, I present my tome which gives an account of the message, messenger, and response in Uncle Tom's Cabin regarding Puritan forms and cultural reformation.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The primary text of Uncle Tom's Cabin used for this study is the 1982 edition by Literary Classics with notes and chronology provided by Kathryn Kish Sklar. While editions and comments from other editors do form basic research for this dissertation, all references to the novel come from The Library of America edition by Literary Classics unless otherwise noted.

Two primary sources provide manuscript materials: the Beecher Stowe Collection in the Schlesinger Library of Radcliffe at Harvard University; and the archives of the Stowe-Day Foundation in Hartford, Connecticut. Identified in the text by their initials, BSC and SDF, they are listed together in a section of the bibliography.

<sup>2</sup>Because of her Christian world view and unequivocal religious approach to her subject matter, any who write about Stowe must study her religious views. All of her biographers treat this part of her intellectual and artistic identity. For specific religious studies in Stowe and her revolt against Puritan Calvinism, see Lawrence Buell (119-32); Percy Boynton (626-37); Henry May (3-43); Christopher Wilson (554-77); and Gayle Kimball ("Harriet"). For the Puritan heritage which she retained in her religious views, see Edward Wagenknecht (86-202); Marie Caskey (3-33); Boydston, Kelley, and Margolis (246-49); Maureen Goldman (124-51); and Eleanor Miller (1-27). Miller's dissertation also presents her Christian philosophy in her New England novels (69-187). Kimball's dissertation, subsequently published, treats Stowe's religious ideas from a feminist perspective. Caskey (169-207) characterizes Stowe as a Christocentric liberal; James Smylie (67-85) and Ann-Janine Morey (745-51) write of her Christological program also. Thomas Joswick deals with her moral reasoning from religious values (253-74) and Cushing Strout writes about her millennialism in Uncle Tom's Cabin ("Uncle"). Stowe's mastery of the hard intellectual work of Puritan theology and an inside view of the affective levels which accompany that kind of mental activity attain their finest expression in The Minister's Wooing and Oldtown Folks. The sensitivity, conflicted feelings, and respect do not receive that kind of attention again until the contemporary work of Eugene E. White, Andrew Delbanco, and Charles Lloyd Cohen. Compare Stowe's characterization of Samuel Hopkins as a Puritan

scholar, preacher, community leader, man, and pastor, who is a bit misshapen but redeems his flaws through his own kindness and affection (Minister 578-86) with Delbanco (12-27), White (7-64), and Cohen (14-40). An understanding of the separate peace she made with Puritan Calvinism shows the facets of its intellectual and emotional qualities which she retains and puts to work in Uncle Tom's Cabin.

<sup>3</sup>Only those aspects of slavery which impinge upon the specific issues of this dissertation will be treated. Specialized anthropological and sociological ramifications are beyond its purview; such disciplines did not exist in Stowe's day. She shared with other contemporaries an attitude toward blacks like that of the Romantics toward the noble savage and children: a presumed innocence. That she credited slaves with adult feelings for home and family put her far in advance of many of her peers, even Northern abolitionists who advocated immediate emancipation. For Stowe's ideas of race, see Thomas Gossett (64-86, 391-93, 404); Thomas Graham (614-22); and Boydston, Kelley, and Margolis (161-62). Gossett presents her thought on racial intelligence (67, 394-95); romantic theory (299-301); racial amalgamation (180, 201-03, 206, 354-55); and social equality (233, 235, 352, 422). Her prevailing attitude centered in her belief that each race had been entrusted by God with some earthly mission peculiar to it (83).

For the pro-slavery reaction to Uncle Tom's Cabin from Stowe's contemporaries, see Joseph Roppolo (348-51); Jane Gardiner (313-24); Barrie Hayne's "Yankee in the Patriarchy: T. B. Thorpe's Reply to Uncle Tom's Cabin" (180-95); Charles Watson's "Simms's Review" (365-68) and "Simms's Answer" (78-90). Because of the risks she took in writing against the law and being almost alone among American literary artists to take a stand against slavery, critics affirm her contribution and express willingness to overlook her more naive statements about blacks as mistakes from lack of information. James Cox says the law which she wrote against was the nation's law, "and her book, more than any other book written in this country, far from merely modifying the law it attacked, succeeded in annihilating it" (446). Kenneth T. Reed makes a connection between Thoreau's urging others to disobey unjust laws and Mary Bird's declaration to her husband that she will break the law and help a runaway slave the first chance she gets (38). The best general summary of her racial attitudes seems to come from her own pen in A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin:

It is because the negro is considered an inferior animal and not worthy . . . that the system which relates to him and the treatment which falls to him are considered humane.

Take any class of white men, however uneducated, and place them under the same system of

laws and make their civil condition in all respects like that of the negro and would it not be considered the most outrageous cruelty. (126) She has been both praised and criticized alternately for her use of dialect; see E. Bruce Kirkham (Building 153, 161, 171, 176-77) for the best account. For reverse discrimination, see Joseph Roppolo.

J. C. Furnas wrote Goodbye to Uncle Tom which shares a place with James Baldwin's "Everybody's Protest Novel" as Stowe's most antagonistic critical attacks. They, in turn, come in for their share of critical dissection. Scholarship since the publication of their work has answered their charges, and the surgery of criticism goes on with other patients. The best overview of critical response to both Stowe's supporters and detractors since 1941 is given by Gossett (388-95) who says Furnas shows his anger at Southern resistance to integration in his book, but its error is "to pile up the charge of racism against one of the few people in this country who truly grappled with the problems of racism in the nineteenth century" (394).

Howard Mumford Jones observes there are two controversies over race and religion related to Uncle Tom's Cabin.

The first of these controversies centered on African slavery and its justification either as an economic or a social institution or as a moral good. The second eddies around racial equality in modern America and ways to achieve that equality. In the 1850's Mrs. Stowe was supposed to libel the white people of the South and the "peculiar institution" of the section of the nation in which they lived. In this century her book is viewed with opprobrium, usually by people who have never read it through, because it is supposed to be a libel on black people and the morality of their drive for power. (vi)

Instead of witnessing a conversion of a hero to selflessness, the reader watches a series of trials which test whether or not the hero can endure in his ideals until he dies. Jones calls him a "splendid black Christian Prometheus, epic in his grandeur and simplicity, whose attitude towards injustice anticipates by more than three-quarters of a century the Christianity of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr." (vii).

In his investigation into Stowe's views on race, Thomas Graham tells of her going to the South two years after the Civil War ended with "a trunkful of spelling books intent on combining business, pleasure, and humanitarianism" (621).

The great impact of Harriet Beecher Stowe's anti-slavery writings undoubtedly resulted from her realistic portrayal of Negroes as fully human beings, caught in a system which denied their humanity, and violated their most ordinary human

sentiments. The universality of her appeal for justice in the name of humanity transcended the question of racial differences . . . (622)

Some of her pronouncements on the African may tend to reinforce stereotyping, but her arguments and intentions were always based on the full, unequivocal equality of all human beings.

<sup>4</sup>In 1889, Charles E. Stowe wrote his mother's "autobiography" with her assistance. Her friend, Annie Fields, composed a similar book about her in 1897. Charles and his son, Lyman Stowe, published their book in 1911, and Lyman Stowe gave his account of the Beecher family in 1934. The chapter on Harriet in Constance Rourke's work which came out in 1927 remains a stunning picture of Stowe and the earliest psychological treatment of her. Catherine Gilbertson's well-done book, one of the first objective investigations, appeared in 1937. Forrest Wilson's biography, published in 1941, is a comprehensive, in-depth, well-respected book which re-established Stowe as a serious artist of American letters. Edmund Wilson insured that assessment with his work in 1962. Two popular treatments are Phyllis Jackson's in 1947, in a style for a younger audience, and Johanna Johnston's in 1963 for adults. John Adams (1963) writes an academic approach; Charles Foster (1954) provides a corrective to distortions which had arisen in Stowe criticism and establishes claims to link her to the great Southern themes found in the works of such artists as Faulkner. In 1965, Edward Wagenknecht published his "psychograph . . . or character study" (7), as he termed his work. Alice Crozier's critical treatment of Stowe's novels (1969) contains related biographical material. In 1976, Noel Gerson's general treatment came out. Bruce Kirkham's excellent critical study of Uncle Tom's Cabin (1977) includes biographical details, especially those related to literary influences on the novel. Ellen Moers (1978) established Stowe's significance for and relationship to other American writers such as Hawthorne, Twain, and Melville. The special contribution of Thomas Gossett's text (1985), the most comprehensive biography since Forrest Wilson's (although it does not supplant it), is its provision of the status of Uncle Tom's Cabin and Stowe critical reactions in chronological intervals. Moira Reynolds's sociological perspective in her study of Uncle Tom's Cabin (1985) contributes a secondary biographical study. For other biographical accounts see Hildreth (157-257).



## CHAPTER I

## STRATEGIES AND GENRES: THE MESSAGE

Puritan genres provide a selection of forms which have accepted conventions in their literary treatment. By manipulating and rearranging several Puritan conventions, Harriet Beecher Stowe transformed in Uncle Tom's Cabin the ways in which antebellum America perceived slavery and viewed that culture. Her strategies allow her to articulate social protest, illustrate a social problem, illuminate both the inner and outer context of characters affected by both the protest and the problem of slavery, propose individual and group resolutions, and issue a national call for social change based on those results. Sermon as genre carries the social protest; the captivity narrative defines the social problem; the spiritual autobiography, confessions, and conversion narratives furnish the effect of slavery on the characters and serve to illustrate their resolutions; and jeremiad rhetoric charges the nation to make a response to the issue which influences every individual. By providing the form and proposing the content for the protest against slavery in American culture, the Puritan genres in Uncle Tom's Cabin shape both a master design and a master plot

which Stowe proposes to the audience as ways to join in a collaboration against the mutual social problem. The design comes from her Christian vision for the world; the plot develops from the stories of people in that world. Although Uncle Tom's Cabin draws upon Puritan literary conventions, its content does not, but that practice is conventional in itself because it fits the Puritan pattern of using cultural, human material to deal with the spiritual.

Her novel's master design has three basic parts which are always assumed from any of the sermonic characteristics and must be understood as a divine triad which structures the master plot of the characters.<sup>1</sup> Time is forward moving and based in history which is shaped by Christian millennial eschatology; heaven is the home of the soul and the ideal place; and trinitarian interdependence and mutuality in the Godhead provides a model for ideal human relationships. The complex biblical base which permeates the book with specific citations, allusions, and illustrations in the depiction of characters and in characters's descriptions of themselves and each other consistently point to this three-part scheme which serves to reflect the novel.

In the first part of the paradigm, Stowe holds to a Genesis-creation with time proceeding on a line to its end: "He shall not fail nor be discouraged/ Till He have set judgment in the earth" ([Isaiah 42:4] UTC 10). After the biblical fall from grace, Christ, the redeeming sacrifice

sent by God, the Father, descends into the world to return in ascension, assuring the security of time in historical reality which proceeds in a linear direction to an apocalyptic judgment and beyond for eternity: "I am the resurrection and the Life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live" ([John 11:25] 350).

The second part of her design emphasizes that the soul has a place of destination during its travels through life: heaven as ultimate home. No matter what happens in experience, the hope for heaven as perfect home and rest remains constantly before the soul: "Let not your heart be troubled. In my Father's house are many mansions. I go to prepare a place for you" ([John 14:21-22] 121).

The last segment concerns the interaction of mutually distinct spheres in power, love, and activity among the Trinity that forms her ideal for relationships which grant feeling and ethical behavior: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" ([Luke 23:34] 421). With a circular movement that travels in both directions, God, the Father, giver of law, order, system, and Old Testament revelation, communicates with God, the Son, Jesus Christ, who personifies grace, love, redemption, and New Testament ethics, and relates to God, the Holy Spirit, the paraclete, who enables believers to enact the New Testament liberty from the law through loving obedience to the ethical demands of faith.

The Christian Trinitarian model for relationships proscribes the love and morality encountered by characters as they move through time and pause in different geographical settings where, while exposed to feelings, they learn morality. Stowe's mental habits reflect Puritan Ramist logic. She constantly balances expressions of opposites: power/submission, bond/free, public/private, aggression/tenderness, dominance/nurture. In human relational paradigms, she arranges people in families as units both of individuals and groups which enact mutually affirming dichotomies of power/weakness, male/female, bond/free, and public/private.

In Uncle Tom's Cabin the sermon and the propaganda tract act in tandem with the conflict produced from accounts of captivity narratives, spiritual autobiographies, confessions, and conversion narratives. Sermon structures carry both the law, as its characteristics appear in its various parts through the book, and the protest, as a jeremiad against slavery in its entirety; captivity narratives present the problem; spiritual autobiographies and confessions describe the process of confronting slavery in its many shapes; conversion provides resolutions of the conflicts to propose that one feel right, act right, and do right; and the propaganda tract reinforces the legitimacy of the resolution as a viable solution for the protest presented by the problem and its processes. As a jeremiad, the sermon diagnoses the illness as slavery; the Puritan narratives show

how to treat it; and the sermon as propaganda tract presents the prognosis as Stowe argues for the adaptations and adjustments which she considers to be viable solutions. The sermon controls the form of the novel by its use of the Bible through citation and allusion, character typologies, and structure and style of the text. As lay sermons, the captivity narratives restate the master design's ideology in light of individual experience. Spiritual autobiographies and confessions, as stories of conflict with perverted law which has supplanted ideal rule, propose the culture's master plot, that of a nation of people who are exemplary because they internalize the governance and behavior of the master design. Individual conversion narratives implement the sermon's master design and validate the master plot of a nation converted to justice and morality to be God's light to the world in a new covenant where love and feeling in moral codes are more important than doctrine.

#### Sermon

Sermon style and form reflect the master design of Uncle Tom's Cabin and allow Stowe to use the traditional effect of reason and emotion to convince the audience of the logic of her protest. Because of her familiarity with the Puritan sermon's rhetorical process, she manipulates the way the early ministers used emotion to motivate change for her reform argument. As sermon, the book's governing plan comes

from Stowe's biblical base, sermonic content, and character interaction; it contains the divine model of her Christian ideology and world view which structures the meaning of time, place, and relationships; and it provides the defining frame for characters to enact the master plot. It functions as structure, control, and lament in its several forms. By calling to memory the covenant relationship between the soul, God, and the nation, the sermon attempts to reclaim the nation's promise. Because of its conventions, it allows dichotomies for cultural examination related to faith and faith in action.

Edward Davidson explains that Puritan sermons contain "certain prominent elements of repetitive compositional pattern that were a well-accepted and conscious convention" (503). Stowe uses the sermon form from Ramist logic, developed by Peter Ramus, who applied a new method to the arts of dialectic, grammar, rhetoric, and mathematics in the mid-sixteenth century, and put that method to work in theology. He first invented the arguments, then judged or arranged them in intelligible discourse. Inventio and Judicium comprised the two major parts of his dialectic. Method, one of the aspects of judgment, constituted his procedure for organizing an art or curriculum subject for effective teaching (Sprunger 134). The essential work of method, once invention and judgment took place, defined carefully the terms, arranged the material into dichotomies, painstakingly

defined each again, and finally followed a natural organization moving from the universal to the particular. An art could be made understandable and memorable by use of this dialectical and methodical approach. When Ramus finished his work, theology was fitted into a pattern of knowledge as the art of "living well," just as discourse is the "art of discoursing well," grammar, the "art of speaking well," and rhetoric, "the art of expressing oneself well" (135). His work divided theology into doctrine and discipline (139-40). Puritan preachers, obsessed by the method for hundreds of years, created conventions within the form of the ways in which reason and emotion enhanced the work of each other.

Stowe listened to sermons all of her life. Their influence shapes her structuring of Uncle Tom's Cabin into a work which fuses emotion and reason into a call for justice. The habit of mind which she developed of holding several ideas in tension with each other derives from the sermon conventions of dialectic oppositions. She writes about the New England character as a product of preaching:

Never was there a community where the roots of common life shot down so deeply, and were so intensely grappled around things sublime and eternal. The founders of it were a body of confessors and martyrs, who turned their backs on the whole glory of the visible, to found in the wilderness a republic of which the God of Heaven and Earth should be the sovereign power . . . a mode of thought, energetic, original, and sublime [arose]. The leaders of thought and feeling were the ministry, and we boldly assert that the spectacle of the early ministry of New England was one to which the world gives no parallel . . . old issues . . . having passed away . . . they went straight to the

heart of things, and boldly confronted the problem of universal being. (Minister's 727)

Although she battled with Puritan Calvinism for possession of her own soul, she never lost sight of her debt to the sermon for the mental habits coming from its New England conventions which allowed her to challenge its metaphysical power over her mind. In Puritan metaphors, she speaks with respect of the sermon's contribution to cultural life:

These men were content with the hard, dry crust for themselves, that they might sow seeds of abundant food for us, their children; men out of whose hardness in enduring we gain leisure to be soft and graceful, through whose poverty we have become rich. Like Moses, they had for their portion only the pain and weariness of the wilderness, leaving to us the fruition of the promised land. (Mayflower 444-45)

Part of that heritage she relates in Oldtown Folks when she talks of the changing attitudes of the people toward their religious instruction. She writes:

In the little theocracy which the Pilgrims established in the wilderness, the ministry was the only order of nobility. They were the only privileged class, and their voice it was that decided ex cathedra on all questions both in Church and State, from the choice of a Governor to that of the district-school teacher . . . three generations passed . . . . Our minister was one of those cold, clear-cut, polished crystals that are formed in the cooling-down of society, after it has been melted and purified by a great enthusiasm . . . . The young men grew up grave and decorous through the nursing of church, catechism, and college, all acting in one line; and in due time many studious and quiet youths stepped, in regular succession, from the college to the theological course, and thence to the ministry, as their natural and appointed work. They received the articles of faith as taught in their catechism without dispute, and took their places calmly and without opposition to assist in carrying on a society



where everything had been arranged to go under their direction, and they were recognized and appointed leaders and governors. (886-88)

The articles of faith which the youths received included the assumed authority of the sermon conventions of Ramist logic which Harriet heard from her father, brothers, husband, and their peers.

The sermons which shaped her ideas and her novel varied several conventions. They took the Bible as their authority text and logical conclusions as their goal. By use of the syllogism, sermons moved between two parallel rhetorical activities called invention and judgment to a satisfying conclusion for a beginning proposition. Flowing from the dichotomies of invention and judgment with a move from universal principles to specific ones, logic centered on three acts of reason which were to invent, to judge, and to retain in memory by the use of emotion. With Peter Ramus's two major divisions of theology, doctrine and discipline, the doctrine further divided into faith which derived from the text, and actions of faith which stemmed from the law, prayer, and sacraments. Faith and observance, as partitioned theology, emphasized practical divinity with faith coming first, but spiritual obedience followed immediately to make piety and righteous living common expressions. This balanced dichotomy between faith and observance became a call to action.

In Uncle Tom's Cabin, Stowe exploits Puritan sermon conventions. She retains the Bible as foundational text for authority, imagery, cosmology, belief, practice, and allusion, but bypasses the church, the institution charged with implementing religious values in the cultural arena. The Puritan preacher in colonial America attempted to fuse the Bible and people's religious culture into a popular reality; Stowe fuses the Bible and popular culture as a religious reality. She keeps the logical movement within the sermon, but the nation is her congregation. She continues the major divisions of doctrine and the movement toward discipline, but she substitutes her story for text so the faith in the value of Tom as a human being and the action upon that faith evolves from the reader's transfer of emotion, excited by his condition, into deeds which will change both his situation and those of other slaves. She maintains the divisions and movements of the three acts of reason, but substitutes emotion in the first place with the story as text so that emotion becomes the motivation. Reason, in its application, makes the process logical. In her practice of dialectical oppositions, she makes working toward action the reasonable conclusion. Uncle Tom's Cabin as sermon carries characters, plot, narrative, and purpose with the social protest against slavery supplying the motivation for social change. Stowe's novel adds more in the way of plot, conflict, and characters than a sermon, but the

basic structure remains the same. She has a text, develops it according to Puritan sermon construction, and turns its application to a litany of complaints--"God's controversy" with America because of what its people have done, what will happen if they do not change. She ends with a note of hope if they do correct their behavior.

Stowe's work demonstrates Jan Dawson's discussions of the "self-conscious remaking of America's Puritan tradition, beginning with the romantic revival of interest in Puritanism" around 1830 with efforts to comprehend the Puritan legacy, "adapt it to current issues, to revise it, to critique it, and finally to make it serve the rapid expansion of American society and culture" (Unusable 2). In its decline, Puritanism's original elements did not lose the dynamic ability to mold and guide civilization in America. The mood of the romantic period confirmed the past's reality, making of Puritanism both "an affront and stimulus to the romantic spirit" (5). The transformed ideology, in general, joined political activism to the romantic impulse of moral progress to build up a new and better state called the "Commonwealth of Righteousness" by Stowe's contemporary, Theodore Parker (11). As a tradition to inspire national development, Puritanism was always "the Christian Cosmic Drama" which was a subconscious "psychological system" because of its application as religion (Chard Powers Smith 47) when a "philosophy of history [was] entirely dependent

on a theology of history" (Lowith 1). But Puritanism as a system was always at work on itself, shaping its experience to match its form. As Alan Heimert and Andrew Delbanco note, from its inception the Puritan project seemed nothing less than a wholesale revision of values (20). Puritanism's most famous American daughter threw herself into the enterprise with all the Puritan armature bequeathed to her from growing up in New England and in the household of Lyman Beecher where Ramist logic influenced every communication. There she learned from babyhood the Puritan habit of thinking in pairs of opposites by means of which any proposition could be tested by common sense. That ability to hold in tension dialectical antitheses while dealing with them grants Stowe her power in Uncle Tom's Cabin. Awareness of the practice provides a way to order that which seems at first disorder in the mammoth tumble of characters and events in Uncle Tom's Cabin.

Stowe's novel as a sermon protest arises because the problem of slavery undercuts the world order and harmony of a master design which she espouses personally and imposes on her novel. Howard Mumford Jones stresses that fact.

Uncle Tom's Cabin is a work of peculiar genius by an author who truly believed in a Christian universe, and unless we can accept this simple and primary truth we can not pluck out the secret of this extraordinary story. (xvi)

So she uses the logic, theory, and emotional processes of the Puritan sermon to expose the problem. The tone of the

preacher in Stowe's voice does the work of ordering her visionary Christian world to inform the master plot shaped by the stories which, in turn, derive their authority from the master design of Stowe's religious ideology. Puritan sermon rhetoric communicates that world. It discloses her Christian vision of time and movement, declares her ideology of place, and describes her model for relationships. The cultural bonding with that ideology is both extolled and bemoaned; extolled because it originated the society and bemoaned due to society's betrayal of it. With that design as foundation, she sets the form into place with the Preface as a mini-sermon to introduce the big sermon of the novel.

A precise understanding of the work of reason and emotion in the Puritan sermon according to Ramist logic is essential in order to appreciate what Philip Fisher calls the "hard facts" of cultural exchange in Uncle Tom's Cabin: the insistence on human representation of blacks in the American population (4-5). Eugene White explains the homiletic theory of Puritan sermon practice with its rhetorical thrust focusing on the conflict which arises from devotion to logic and awareness of the tremendous influence of emotion on a person. Building on a synthesis of Aristotelian, neo-Ciceronian, and Ramist theories, the Puritans took the process of finding and organizing arguments from rhetoric and assigned them to logic, leaving to rhetoric the functions of style and such matters as committing speech to

memory. Reason was more important than emotion, but emotion was supportive of reason's work and essential for its integration into behavior. The absolutist logic of Ramus matched the Puritan absolutist theology. Chard Powers Smith calls Peter Ramus, who was killed in the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve, "the French Plato."

What of Ramus is of surviving interest is not his chart of the universe, but his and the Puritans' way of using one part of it. He arranged (principles) in dichotomies or pairs of opposites . . . [and] facts always fitted one of the pairs of opposites and not the other . . . [they were] a harnessing of aesthetic, imaginative or idealistic perception within convenient limits. (113)<sup>2</sup>

The derivative purpose of Ramist practice and Puritan theology from their balance between logic and emotion had three parts which came from their sermons of four parts, or five, if they included a conclusion. A successful sermon would instruct, win acceptance, and excite feelings through the logical unfolding of Text, Doctrine, Reasons, Uses or Applications, and Conclusion.<sup>3</sup> At times Puritan ministers followed the model of William Perkins, their great instructor and writer of sermon manuals, in The Arte of Prophecyng by incorporating further bifurcated divisions so that the various parts would divide into a series of opposites that would balance each other in order to point more specifically to the intended conclusion of the syllogisms expressed (White 203). The Text would "lay open" the scripture (18); Doctrine articulation would "collect a few and profitable

points" of it; Reasons would "demonstrate the truth of the doctrine, guiding the listener to a rational conviction," sometimes incorporating separate objections; Uses or Applications would apply "the doctrine rightly collected to the life and manners" in the way that "place, time, and persons do require," starting with the universal premise and through successive definitions, divisions, and explications, arrive at a particular application of the premise; and the Conclusion recapitulated and amplified what had been said (19). In the first three parts, the messenger explained the message in "plaine" and "painful" style (24) so the listeners could recognize and believe truth. They directed themselves to the reasoning or judging faculty to teach universal, absolute truth, demonstrating authoritarian and legalistic conclusions to the minds of the listeners in order to lead them to a particular, rational judgment. Only in the Application was the preacher allowed to consider the entire sequence of the human mind's faculties, in particular, the emotions.

In handling the doctrine be as plain as may be, (using only) what concerns the understanding of the doctrine. Look especially at the logic. The rhetorical passages are only profitable in the Uses when you come to the Affections . . . from the Doctrine come to Application to the soul wherein consists the life of preaching. You shall first apply it to the Understanding, secondly to the Will & Affections for therein consists the labor; & as to reach & inform the Understanding, so to stir up the people's hearts to the things taught. (20-21)<sup>4</sup>

In the Application, the preacher could use the full array of his artistic gifts to "energize to grace," specializing especially in the homely, domestic, and the commonplace for making his assertions. As White says of this portion, "the Puritan sermon called for the listener to be up and about the task of seeking or reaffirming his conversion" (21).

Stowe stands in a long line of innovators with sermon form. Writers of sermon manuals constantly emphasized that sermon methodology had two important determinants: biblical precedent and human psychology. The organization of sermons was governed by a version of human behavior called faculty psychology which subdivided the soul into the faculties of reason, conscience, imagination, memory, will, and affections. Calvin simplified the process and partitioned the soul into two parts: the understanding and the will. Preoccupied with inward holiness and outward piety, Puritan preachers classified human nature into reflective and active halves. They believed pious behavior originated in the active side, the heart or will, only after education of the reasoning half which provided understanding (Jones and Jones 6-7). To help people understand and accept Christ as the means to grace, the sermon instructed the mind to activate the will. An advantage of the method was its predictability as listeners could recount sermons at home or in meditation (9). Stowe addresses this dimension of audience interaction in the sermon experience in The Minister's Wooing:



. . . his style, though not without a certain massive greatness, which always comes from largeness of nature, had none of those attractions by which the common masses are beguiled into thinking. He gave only the results of thoughts, not its incipient process; and the consequence was, that few could follow him . . . .

There is a ladder to heaven, whose base God has placed in human affections, tender instincts, symbolic feelings, sacraments of love, through which the soul rises higher and higher, refining as she goes, till she outgrows the human, and changes, as she rises, into the image of the divine. At the very top of this ladder, at the threshold of paradise . . . the soul knows self no more . . . in that eternal Love . . . . This highest step, this saintly elevation . . . to raise the soul to which the Eternal Father organized every relation of human existence and strung every cord of human love, for which this world is one long discipline . . . had been seized upon by our sage . . . . He knocked out every round of the ladder but the highest, and then, pointing to its hopeless splendor, said to the world, "Go up thither and be saved!" (579-80)

Stowe knew the active participation of the audience was absolutely essential. The sermon's success depended upon the auditor's application of it to life by climbing the sermon's ladder rungs. Even when Ramist logic eventually created a mechanical sermon form with its steps "knocked out," people retained the thought processes it engendered.

The audience's arrival at a preacher's intended conclusions signified the success or failure of the sermon.

Puritans were a "hotter sort" of Protestant . . . what kept them bubbling was a religious sensibility intimately bound up with conversion, an emotional confrontation with grace borne by the Holy Spirit in the Word . . . around which Puritanism developed its strain of evangelical piety . . . . Few topics so occupied Puritan preachers as did explicating the pangs of the "new birth," and few activities so engrossed believers as did

scrutinizing themselves to discover how far regeneration had proceeded. (Cohen 4-5)

Andrew Delbanco says in his study of the history of Puritan affections that the understanding of their feeling life becomes as important as their ideas because the emotional aspect has continued to color the "persistent sense of renewal and risk that has attended the project of becoming American (1)." Because of how doctrine "felt," often it "increased rather than allayed anxiety" because "it transferred authority over the self to the self" (4) to compound a psychological action with the ideological origins of contemporary culture. Charles Cohen examines Puritan writings for their tone in making assessments about Puritan culture. He champions the importance of the emotional dimension and argues that its disregard hampers any authentic evaluation. In analyzing the meaning of conversion to a Puritan audience, Cohen comments on the recurring temptation

. . . to disregard what people say about themselves in order to divine the "real," underlying reasons for their activity. Such procedure is presumptuous, because historical actors knew more about themselves than we ever will, and misleading, because by invoking the superiority of an imposed perceptual system it understates the importance of finding out the "webs of significance" . . . people live in worlds bounded by the meanings they attach to phenomena, that . . . are discoverable . . . The time has come to put one's method where one's mouth is . . . (20)

Echoing that opinion, Delbanco questions whether "we might not achieve a better sense of the living virtue of our past rather than of its deadening weight" if we participate in

literature being "once again situated where it belongs--in history" (6).

Stowe was not the first to vary emotional proportions within the sermon's rhetorical processes to respond to changes within the society. With immigration, secularization, diminishing zeal, and a move toward unification of personality, emotion progressively pervaded more of the sermon. Cotton Mather's sermons of maxims mixed with a piety of good deeds endorse "rational emotionalism" (30-32). Jonathan Edwards fuses the understanding and the will, making affection part of the will to subvert logic as the channel to the emotion and thus to grace, in effect popularizing emotion and setting grace free from the strictures of covenant theology.<sup>5</sup> He uses the pulpit and the sermon to release grace for the Great Awakening and democratic sentiment. Stowe exploits the sermon with her pen to send grace into all of society. In the "highly wrought logic of the Covenants" of Grace, Church, and Civil Law, whose "rationalism . . . was not wholly rational" (Feidelson 90), Stowe bypasses the Puritan Church Covenant to join the other two by means of emotion. Left with the form and the language, but without preaching access to church or pulpit, she refashions the substance, conflates grace and affection, and rouses the populace with emotion to act as true democrats. As White indicates, the means to grace for the Puritan becomes the analytical listening to sermon. But in her

great sermon, Uncle Tom's Cabin, Puritan Stowe demonstrates that the affective nature of grace creates its own analytical processes which become self-evident. She does this by following the Puritan sermon theory which admonishes the preacher to win credence in the last segment of his text by arousing emotions through "powerful, illuminating language." "Style" must be the means of exciting feelings. Stowe includes commonplace stories of grace to arouse such feelings.

Eugene White notes that the "compartmentalization of the Puritan mind and its disjoining of logic and emotions is nowhere better illustrated than in the composition of the sermon" (20-21). With illuminating language and style, Stowe retains the ability to hold several intellectual processes in analytical tension while she rearranges the affective rhetorical movement and substitutes her own stories for the biblical text which gain the authority of the Bible because of the heavy reinforcement of biblical texts that authenticate their authority. She can cross and re-cross boundaries between reason and emotion in the sermon's traditional Puritan form because of the legacy of Jonathan Edwards, although she held a life-long bias against him. Her affinity for "Grandmother" Mather, as she called Cotton Mather (Oldtown 1103), may lie with the minimal stress on abasement and humiliation in his later writings and his obsession with the duties of winning over the listener and

exciting the feelings. Perhaps she was too close to Edwards and his effects in the grief she sustained when she attempted to work out her own practical belief. But she stands in a direct line of American religious intellectual thought from Mather and Edwards, for each attempts a synthesis of grace and law, emotion and reason, and faith and works. Edwards muted the sequential steps of reason to grace in earlier sermon practice more than Mather or Solomon Stoddard, his grandfather. The work Edwards accomplished of taking grace from the proprietorship of the ministers and setting into motion revivalism made Stowe's task in Uncle Tom's Cabin possible.

The Great Awakening fostered democratic sentiment in a variety of ways: it stripped from a small minority of educated men the monopoly of public speaking; it gave voice and a ready audience to any one who wished to express a message; it granted the lay person a greater share in shaping church matters and religious liberty which in turn led to the disestablishment of religion and the rise of denominations; it initiated a revivalist sentiment into American society by means of simple, impassioned pleas for personal salvation forcefully delivered by dynamic preachers; and it created a greater empathy for society's unfortunates (White 58-61). Alan Heimert's Religion and the American Mind deals with the developing division between the revivalist rhetoric of affections and the anti-enthusiasm rhetoric of understanding

which significantly influenced the culture, giving rise to fears of emotionalism and the irrationality of unrestricted popular rule as "the instrument of a fervent American nationalism." The opponents, the so-called rationalists and liberals, were really "a profoundly elitist and conservative ideology," and the revivalists, the evangelical Calvinists, were radically democratic, insisting on instant conversion as an "evangelical version of the pursuit of happiness" (12, 21, 43). White adds:

Never again would the rhetoric of teaching and of intellectual argumentation make such clean appeals to the rational decision-making of popular audiences as did the traditional Puritan sermonology. Puritan rhetoric failed because the Puritan system of the covenants, physics, logic, metaphysics--the entire Puritan intellectual universe--failed. Puritanism failed . . . because it expected both too much and too little . . . its death struggle was the Great Awakening. Its tragic flaw was the issue of emotion in religion. Its chief legacy may be the continuing conflict between emotion and reason. (64)

While theologians and preachers debated and wrote tracts on revivals, anti-enthusiasm, and the millennial prospects for the nation, Stowe took both sides and fused them into a popular culture sermon, one which illustrates Heimert's description of evangelicalism as the "expression of displeasure with the order of reality that presented itself to the eye of unaided reason, and of a desire to make a happier world in a manner that reason would not allow" (46). In the Preface of Uncle Tom's Cabin, experience with its associated story and emotion become her text, one she subjects to the

logical reasoning phases of the sermon, and links to a biblical text. With this biblical text serving as a transition and outline for the sermon structure of the book, she repeats the process through the evolution of the novel.

The dynamic which energizes the two sets of narrative characteristics in Uncle Tom's Cabin can be seen in the Preface (9-10) which holds in miniature the elaborated interchanges that roll like a gathering tide from the beginning to the end of the novel. The sermonic structures and devices had to rise from her subconscious habit of mind, intuition, and inspiration since she was writing to a weekly deadline without an exact idea of the scope of the book when she started it.<sup>6</sup> Because she did write Uncle Tom's Cabin part by part, she did not have either the form or the structure clearly in mind when she began, but created both as she worked. However, she wrote the Preface specifically for the novel, after she knew what she had and during the time she was editing galleys of the novel and the last periodical submissions (Kirkham Building 172-173). J. P. Jewett, her publisher, began numbering the pages at thirteen, expecting her to write six for the Preface, but she wrote only four, leaving a gap in the numbering sequence between the end of the Table of Contents and the beginning of the text. The shorter copy suggests she knew exactly how to pattern, mirror, and project that which she had written. Like any good crafter in the art of sermons, she knew when she had

covered all of her points and completed her rhetorical presentation.

The Preface, like the novel, follows a Puritan sermon inversion with artistic substitutions clearly evident. But unlike the sermon, Stowe replaces the biblical text with story, reverses the rhetorical sequence of logic and emotion, and ends with biblical passages to summarize and conclude.

The Text is "The scenes of this story," Stowe's opening words, which concerns an oppressed race, brutalized by "the hard and dominant Anglo-Saxon race" (9). This measured tone imparts entertaining information in narrative discourse.

The Doctrine follows in the second paragraph; the situation is going to change because "another and better day is dawning" which "is more in unison with the great master chord of Christianity, 'good will to man'" (9). The voice becomes more authoritative and oratorical.

Reasons elaborate the logic. The next three paragraphs articulate in a blended style, something between narrative and oratory: "the heart of . . . hard masters, has at length been turned," she writes, and adds, "Thanks be to God, the world has at last outlived the slave-trade!" Slavery will end because every cultural influence is joining "the great principles of Christian brotherhood" to eradicate the oppression. The creative members of society, such as the "poet, painter, and the artist," unite with social activists



dedicated to "searching into abuses, righting wrongs, alleviating distresses, and bringing to the knowledge and sympathies of the world the lowly, the oppressed, and the forgotten." Within this culture, such activity will convert the hard race to turn to the enslaved one "in mercy" to lift it in Christian humanity and compassion and abolish the slave trade (9).

Uses or Applications tell her strategy. The narrative voice of the storyteller predominates in the next three paragraphs which relate her "uses." "The object of these sketches is to awaken sympathy and feeling for the African race" (9); the various stories in this larger one will show the injustice of a law which permits slavery and will create empathy for the African. Furthermore, the storyteller disclaims any malice toward the individuals involved in slavery "often without any fault of their own" (10). Her personal story, or experience, has shown her that good people are involved. In addition, those good people who are implicated could contribute their own experience, or stories, to validate further the necessity of her attack on the destructive systems, so "that what may be gathered of the evils of slavery from sketches like these, is not the half that could be told, of the unspeakable whole" (10). The North may find the stories hard to believe; the South will know worse exists. But reality will confirm the stories as truth.

The Conclusion repeats and amplifies the Text and Doctrine: the slave will be freed by a purged Christianity which, revitalized, will renew and extend itself because of the contention of individual experience with law. Furthermore, the greater law of God from the Bible assures the outcome: "He shall deliver the needy . . . He shall redeem their soul . . . And precious shall be their blood in His sight" (10). In these last three paragraphs, the oratorical style of declamation dominates. It begins with a prophetic announcement on her own text: "a time shall come when sketches similar to these shall be valuable only as memorials of what has long ceased to be" (10). When the law is changed, the stories will no longer have value except as artifacts for cultural change.

She ends with the biblical text which grants authority to her use of story as beginning text. It doubles as the transition to the novel as sermon by being the text for the book and outline for the chapters as sermon divisions. The same practice of adherence to form and manipulation of its conventions continues through the book's sermon structure. The Preface with its text introduces the subject, immediately relying on the Bible for authority. As she does in the Preface, Stowe often writes scripture in poetic form through the book or sets it apart in quotations as she does when a young man debates another on the boat.

"'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them,' [Matthew

7:12] I suppose," he added "that is scripture, as much as 'Cursed be Canaan'" [Genesis 9:25] (152).<sup>7</sup>

Coming from three separated passages, the Preface biblical text makes the connection with the novel and is sequential as Stowe writes it.

"He shall not fail nor be discouraged  
Till He have set judgments in the earth."  
[Isaiah 42-44]

"He shall deliver the needy when He crieth,  
The poor, and him that hat no helper."  
[Psalm 72:12]

"He shall redeem their soul from deceit and  
violence,  
And precious shall their blood be in His sight."  
[Psalm 72:14]

The Isaiah selection serves as a text for the theme of the entire book; Psalm 72:12 corresponds with the narrative and action in the first 24 chapters; and Psalm 72:14 parallels the book's resolution in chapters 25-45. Based on the movement implied by the selections from scripture, division of the book follow a Puritan outline but reflect Stowe's interchanges between logic and emotion.

Sermon title: Uncle Tom's Cabin

- I. The Text: The Preface biblical text, coming at the end of the Preface in poetic form, supplies the sermon outline. By beginning the Preface with story and emotion and ending with a biblical text in its Conclusion, Stowe equates the place of her story and emotion with the biblical text's conventional place at the beginning of a sermon. Then she reverts to convention by the

focus on scripture as both summary for the Preface as the total text and the biblical focus for the greater effort to follow. Once her text is initiated, she returns in the first chapter to story and emotion, the third phase in the Puritan form, as the primary sermon focus.

II. Explication of text: Stowe examines historical events in Chapters 1--6.

1. Slavery exists in America: Chapter 1: "In Which the Reader is Introduced to a Man of Humanity."
  - (1) It affects the slaves; Tom and Eliza's Harry are sold.
  - (2) It affects the masters; they become insensitive to basic human feelings.
2. Slavery affects families: Chapters 2, 3: "The Mother" and "The Husband and Father."
  - (1) It destroys slave families; Eliza and George decide to run away.
  - (2) It corrupts other families; Emily and Arthur Shelby and their son, George, are not united because of slavery.
3. People of humanity, spirituality, and moral fiber make decisions in real situations to combat slavery: Chapters 5, 6.
  - (1) Slaves show a range of responses to it.

- (2) Whites demonstrate a series of moral reactions to it.

II. Doctrine (Lesson or law from the text)

Chapters 7-14; slaves and whites can obey or disobey

1. Eliza disobeys.

- (1) Some white people hunt her.
- (2) Some white people help her.

2. Tom obeys.

- (1) Some white people increase his bondage.
- (2) Some white people abhor slavery but do nothing to change it.

III. Reasons (Variations on the doctrine)

1. Some slaves escape. People relate to them.

- (1) Chapters 7-9: the Birds and Van Trompes help Eliza.
- (2) Chapter 11: Mr. Wilson helps George.
- (3). Chapters 13, 17: Rachel and Simeon Halliday and the Quakers care for George and Eliza and assist them in further escape.

2. Some slaves are sold. People relate to them accordingly.

- (1) Chapter 10: Haley takes Tom away in chains; the Shelbys allow it.
- (2) Chapter 12: the slave gang is collected, carried south, Lucy's child is stolen, and she commits suicide; Tom grieves her passing.

- (3) Chapters 14-16: Tom is allied with Eva, affirmed by St. Clare, endured by Ophelia, and ignored or insulted by Marie.
  - (4) Chapter 18: Ophelia articulates the Northern reaction to slavery.
  - (5) Chapter 20: Topsy suggests the plight of the slave raised in a foreign culture cut loose from her own.
  - (6) Chapters 22-24: Evangeline's gospel of grace and love is the hope for all characters to transcend slavery.
3. Some slaves remain the same: Chapter 21: Tom's family in Kentucky live without him while enduring slavery and trying to find a way to raise his redemption price.
  4. Redemption comes in various ways.
    - (1) Through suffering and endurance:
      - a. Chapters 25-27: Little Eva shows the pure sacrifice of love.
      - b. Chapter 28: Augustine St. Clare demonstrates the imitation of a worthy model.
      - c. Chapters 29, 37-38, 41-42: Tom provides the sacrifice of a moral model.
        - (a) Cause of death: Chapters 33-34: he aids the slaves and demonstrates moral behavior for Cassy; Chapter

36: he protects Cassy and Emmeline by refusing to tell what he knows of their plans to escape.

(b) Agent of his death: Chapter 35: Legree cannot abide the model.

(2) Through hardship and resistance:

- a. Chapters 37, 43: the escapees gain freedom by travelling north.
- b. Chapter 41: families are reunited with each other and gain material possessions.
- c. Chapter 42: those assisting in the liberation have a part in the rewards; Chapter 42: George Shelby becomes the legal liberator.

IV. Applications and Uses (of Doctrine and Reasons): Chapters 43-45.

- 1. Stowe makes clear that she directs her sermon to all of America.
  - (1) Tom furnishes the ethical ideal for the way all people, slaves and whites, should interact.
  - (2) George Shelby provides the model for how whites should free slaves and help them integrate into the culture.

- (3) For the former slaves who wish to leave America, George and Eliza Harris illustrate how to become leaders in a new Christian African nation.
  - 2. Relation of narrative events to the audience shows relevancy of the sermon in Chapter 45.
- V. The Conclusion provides a direct jeremiad charge to the audience in Chapter 45.
  - 1. Sermon outside the story:
    - (1) Real stories of abuse verify the fiction (510-13).
    - (2) Missionary stories validate the novel (499).
  - 2. Uncle Tom's Cabin, as Christ's empty garden tomb, serves as a memorial to the exemplum (509-10).

The divisions and the conclusion foreshadow the culture's demise if it remains unconverted from the sin of slavery. Stowe uses the forms and conventions in a conventional way but substitutes story for text and feeling as logic to transform excluding Puritan Calvinism into an inclusive nineteenth-century religion of love. She wields the authority of the sermon to communicate the master design of a divine model for human direction; she inverts the sequence of the intellectual and emotional processes of Puritan sermon design to equate the invisible commonplaces of slavery with the divine ideals of the culture. By means of conventional and unconventional uses of the conventions,



she articulates the protest. All of America and all in the audience are at fault. When Stowe loosens the jeremiad rhetoric and ringing oratory with the direct words to the audience in chapter 45, the reader sees her rocking on her heels, grasping the pulpit, and laying a charge that can take its place alongside any election sermon any Puritan preacher ever preached. Stowe's sermon style and structure in Uncle Tom's Cabin with the jeremiad lament of shortcomings extends hope if the nation will change. To aid her hermeneutical strategies, she draws on Puritan genres. America's sensitivity to the jeremiad would have set her up to go to battle with her house in order with just the jeremiad, but she had more genres in her Puritan closet to use to clean America's house. She begins with the captivity narrative, at the same time allowing sermon to use story to do its work as tensions build within the parameters of both devices.

#### Captivity Narrative

The captivity narrative, another Puritan genre available to Stowe, examines alien and opposed cultures; it allows comparisons and reflective activity on behalf of the two. With the Bible as a foundational text, it provides a popular genre as a medium for particularized purposes which have historical and cultural significance. Uncle Tom's Cabin employs the captivity narrative to point out how

slavery permeates America's legal, social, religious, and political systems and holds the country captive. The primary captive is the slave, but the nation is simultaneously both captor and captive as the bondage of all becomes the obstacle to full participation in the covenant. By relating faith and faith in action, the captivity narrative allows dichotomies for social analysis.

Richard Slotkin says of the Puritan captivities by Indians that the narrative experience in print was reduced to "an imitable formula, a literary convention, a romantic version of the myth," and when enough literature about it accumulated, it became a given between writer and audience, a "set of tacit assumptions on the nature of human experience, on human and divine motivations, on moral values, and on the nature of reality" with "a distinct world vision and an accompanying mythology" (20-21). In Uncle Tom's Cabin, the captivity narrative provides the bridge between the master design, communicated by the sermon, and the master plot, transmitted by the narratives, by being the focus for attack from both. By analogy with such classic Puritan narratives as that of Mary Rowlandson, who wrote in the preface to her captivity story, "It is no new thing for Gods [sic] precious ones to drink as deep as others, of the Cup of common Calamity" (Vaughn and Clark 1, 32), Stowe emphasizes the traditional view that captivity symbolized God's punishment, redemption pointed to His mercy, and society

must heed the lesson or prepare for more suffering. Indian captivities stimulated narratives about forced participation in an alien culture and became autobiographical accounts of survival and attempts to gain redemption (1-2). As Slotkin notes, "The sufferer represents the whole, chastened body of Puritan society" and the idea became so much a part of cultural thinking that captivity narratives "provided a symbolic vocabulary to which preachers would refer almost automatically in any attempt at stirring a revival of religious sentiments" (97).

While Stowe's strategies assume the same form and employ imagery associated with it, her captivity is far more dangerous because slavery exists within and accordingly fashions society. Her book targets slavery for the sake of the slaves and the captives because it diminishes the nation and cultural ideals. Stowe continues the replacement of story for text and the inversion of emotion over rhetorical logic in the Puritan sermon form as she repeats sermonic devices in the captivity narrative. In addition, she substitutes a destructive form of culture within the domestic one for the capture by an alien culture from without; she applies the inverted rhetorical sequence of love as logic to elevate the lowliest member of society to the place of hero in the redemption strategies of the genre's conventions. In the manner in which the preachers narrated the early narratives, Stowe, the preacher, narrates Tom's and the stories

of all captives. In Stowe's strategies, the captivity narrative demonstrates slavery's nature and begins the resolution enterprise that the sermon/story tension proposes. Its form defines the contemporary law and identifies those who abide by it and suffer and those who exercise it and harm others. All kinds of characters are captive to a multitude of captivity characteristics directly related to slavery, confirming Roy Harvey Pearce's assessment that the captivity narrative is a "popular form which shapes and reshapes itself according to varying immediate cultural 'needs'" (1).

Kathryn Derounian discusses how the split between the two voices, narrator and interpreter, of the captivity narrative leads to digressive and ambivalent perspectives (82-86). As experience and narrative, the form contains vitality for different reasons; it provides a probing look into popular American culture, issues, and tastes as religious, propaganda and pulp thriller, depending upon its style changes with time. By the nineteenth century, sensibility and melodrama take over the form's simplicity and directness (Pearce 9). Stowe's version returns to Mary Rowlandson's manner of emphasizing the trial of bondage for the soul, but she communicates that immediacy in sentimental and melodramatic style. In earlier expressions, the narratives mirror the church and social tensions to grant "a new emphasis on the individual subject that at once censured and

sanctioned the process of change" (Fitzpatrick 9). This is a tension which Stowe retains.

Stowe knew Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative and others. Writing of her response to Cotton Mather's Magnalia in her journals (Charles Stowe 10) and in Pogonuc People, her mature reminiscence on her childhood, she speaks first of her father's library:

The thought that her father could read and could understand . . . these filled her with a vague awe . . . . It was a happy hour when he brought home and set up in his book-case Cotton Mather's "Magnalia," in a new edition of two volumes. What wonderful stories these! . . . about her own country, stories that made her feel that the very ground she trod on was consecrated by some special dealing of God's providence.

When the good Doctor related how a plague that had wasted the Indian tribes had prepared the room for the Pilgrim Fathers to settle undisturbed, [she did not doubt] his application of the text, "He drave out the heathen" . . . But who shall describe the large-eyed, breathless wonder with which she read stories of witchcraft . . . of awful visitations that had overtaken sinners, and immediate deliverances that had come in answer to the prayers of God's saints? Then, too, the stories of Indian wars and captivities, when the war-whoop had sounded at midnight, and little children like her had awakened to find the house beset with legions of devils, who set fire to the dwellings and carried the people off through dreary snow and ice to Canada. (174-75)

And in Uncle Tom's Cabin, Stowe alludes to those raids when George Harris runs away. He encounters Mr. Wilson, who had hired George's services from his cruel master. A kind man, Mr. Wilson had treated George well, encouraging the slave's creativity. He urges George to return to his harsh owner.

Showing she has in mind a corollary with the captivity narrative, Stowe gives George this reply:

"I wonder, Mr. Wilson, if the Indians should come and take you a prisoner away from your wife and children, and want to keep you all your life hoeing corn for them, if you'd think it your duty to abide in the condition in which you were called. I rather think that you'd think the first stray horse you could find an indication of Providence--shouldn't you?" (134)

George knows the implications and price of captivity. He also reveals Stowe's reliance on captivity narrative conventions to show characters in their various kinds of bondage. Their movement, or removes, to use Mary Rowlandson's terminology, provide a way to interpret the geographical travel of Stowe's characters. Their enforced mobility takes them to a number of places (removes) in which they reflect upon personal identity in the context of slavery.

Alden Vaughn and Edward Clark discuss how the captivity narrative deals with the culture's design of spiritual origins: "Puritan authors wove the captivity narrative from several existing literary strands" such as spiritual autobiography when the captive "with God's help, battled Satan's agents" and understood "redemption . . . had a double meaning--spiritual as well as physical." In addition, the "captivity stories combined individual catharsis and public admonition" exhorting the reader "to find his or her own spiritual redemption." The governing "source of inspiration . . . was the sermon . . . [which] owed much of its tone

and content to 'jeremiads'" (4-7), especially pertinent for characters in Uncle Tom's Cabin as they use the sermon to analyze their experience stories in captivity conventions. Because jeremiad rhetoric lent itself so well to "a variety of social and intellectual changes," it flavors the discourse in Stowe's book. Writing of the rhetorical synthesis between human and divine time, Sacvan Bercovitch says

It is precisely this effort to fuse sacred and profane that shapes the American jeremiads. Their threats of doom, derived from Christian tradition, imply a distinction between the two realms; their language itself, expressing their special sense of mission, incorporates the threats within the broader framework of the absolute . . . The rhetorical synthesis of [time] . . . managed to bequeath . . . their peculiar form of the jeremiad to subsequent generations because they were responding to actual social needs . . . [and] forged what was to become a framework for national identity. (American 28-29)

In her intention to write a book to reform America, Stowe's most powerful literary devices happen to be both the most effective within her culture and that which she knew best: sermon structure and rhetoric.

Captivity narratives are lay sermons with moral lessons and biblical citations treating God's role in the life of the individual and the collective community. They offer opportunities for introspection and the pursuit of self-identity as a result of cataclysmic life events for the slaves and all members of society. In the sermonic treatment of the self-as-audience on the part of characters, they provide identity dramas for the novel's audience. Like the

classic examples from early Puritan literature, some captives learn about themselves and return to work at society's improvement; others perish; and others adapt to the captivity and remain in it. With the national implications for the nation as an extended self, the resolutions of characters provide behavior models for the audience.

The search for salvation holds threats that match the captivity dangers of captives such as Mary Rowlandson: Eliza runs away (Uncle 52) and George confronts Mr. Wilson with the legal vulnerability of the slave (134); Tom is sold (32-44, 116-26); Cassy and Emmeline escape through subterfuge (464-74). Quakers, who advocated spiritual autobiography as a way to redemption (162), are principals in the Underground Railway. Tom's salvation/redemption progresses as he meditates, like the person in captivity, over his experience, in an attempt to understand how it intersects God's plan (172-74). The individual catharsis holds public instruction and communal purpose, and lest the reader miss the message, a concluding jeremiad lament summarizes the backsliding and need for reformation (519). Stowe skillfully fuses the components of the captivity narrative: family bonds are severed and a hostile environment replaces home at the slave auctions (146) as Tom goes with Haley; Lucy's baby is stolen from her, and Legree buys Emmeline, taking her from her mother; the individual's ultimate reliance is on self and God when he or she determines to flee (55); religious fervor



rises with emotional and spiritual anguish as a slave tries to order his world (219); characteristics of initiation and rite of passage are present with increasing isolation and alienation (454); Tom's servitude and bare subsistence move him from one set of perceptions to another until he is redeemed, albeit in death (455); captives are taken in groups (398), with punishment meted to those remaining when some escape (458-60); religious excitement pervades the captivity, as evidenced by involvement of clergy and others of faith (150-53, 159); hunter and hunted analogies abound (78-80, 476-70); and women suffer the abuse of their captors (373).

Stowe substitutes the captivity's source from alien to domestic roots as a way to contrast the culture's master design of spiritual origins with the contemporary condition of that great hope. She also manipulates the movement of the conventions to make a domestic application of providential history, a linchpin in covenant theology. In the Indian captivities, the movement is circular; captives experience several removes, to use Mary Rowlandson's term for the physical travel from place to place, but they are redeemed and return home. Stowe's captivities have the various removes. Beginning in Kentucky, Tom goes farther south while his family remains in one place, and Eliza and George go north. But her captivity narratives are not cyclical, either physically or geographically. For example,

Tom's redemption comes in his death; he experiences Mary Rowlandson's removes, but not the return with its reassimilation into home. The implication remains that biblical submission to a perfect ideal may find release only in death; heroic as the model is, its strength to withstand oppression lies in the ability to internalize transcendent non-violent power. Like the Indian captives who perished, Tom's sacrifice holds the value of atonement as a model. Stowe does demonstrate some of the later Indian captivity stories in terms of plot. Cassy's violence against her captor finds a corollary in Hannah Dustin's bold and bloody escape (Vaughn and Clark 191; Slotkin 112-14), but Stowe is less obtrusive and lets Cassy tell her own story. Cotton Mather told Hannah Dustin's, almost losing the narrative in the sermon. In the Indian captivities, characters might be attracted to their captive culture, gain empathic insight, or have difficulty in adjusting to their first culture after redemption. But their community rallied to encourage them to reaffirm the values of the birth culture more fervently than ever. In Stowe's manipulations, she and her captives are pitted against the group, attempting to persuade the group to renounce the destructive values of their common captivity. The women are aware of their removes but do not return as in the Puritan experience. Augustine St. Clare, the prodigal, has no return except a transcendent death shared with Tom, but without Tom's divine characteristics.

In the Indian captivities, the most valued captives are those who return and improve the society because of what they learned about themselves in captivity. The same is true of Stowe's nineteenth-century captivity narrative. George and Eliza and George Shelby serve as examples. But she also elevates Tom, the one who dies in the removes, to serve as an ideal for the work the returnees have to do. In the same manner, she dignifies the commonplace goals of Chloe, the one who never leaves Tom's cabin, who has only love and pragmatism to do the hard work of survival with neither hope for her redemption nor means to gain Tom's. The removes allow the characters to develop their resolutions for ways to combat captivity from the vantage of their experience and Christian commitment. As the Indian captives dealt with separation from their natural environment, marginal existence, loss of security, servitude, punishment, humiliation, and severed family bonds, they experienced ultimate reliance on self and God, increased religious fervor, and individual anguish (Vaughn and Clark 5, 11-12). The experience of the captivity assumes initiation and a rite of passage as one moves from one set of perceptions to another. In the same way, Stowe's use of the form provides an ordering device for her captives and all members of the culture. By using the opportunities for introspection, they attempt to gain self-identity in the face of their cataclysmic life events. As Tom goes down the Mississippi from the Shelbys

to the St. Clares, the slave warehouse (Uncle 379), and finally to Simon Legree (391-94, 398-403), America sees its own captivity in narrative form. The movement and a character's isolation in real time and settings conflate with Stowe's master design to elevate the slave and those who help him to a divine plane, expose those who do not, and indict the entire system of slavery. Tom's increasing persecution, the severity of the captivity, and the required acts of endurance present an allegorical picture of America's situation (453-60). His martyrdom in the captivity speaks to the nation as captive and captor: "Northern men, northern mothers, northern Christians, have something more to do than denounce their brethren at the South; they have to look to the evil among themselves" (515).

The conventions of the captivity narrative also operate simultaneously from the master plot, Stowe's personal belief in the spiritual importance of individual lives which she assumes for the fictional world of Uncle Tom's Cabin. They pit abstract ideal law and concrete experience against perverted law. Conflicts, which ensue from the design's purpose and the plot's circumstances come from the self-examination of characters. Both hold lessons for the nation as well as the captive. Tara Fitzpatrick's essay on the cultural work of the Puritan captivity narrative deals with the "twist on the conventional image of an untethered man conquering a 'virgin' wilderness" and "the American rhetoric

of self-creation" in the Puritan captivity narratives issuing predominately from women. The Indian captives "defined their identities in relation to the strictures of their own culture" and "in defiance of, but in conversation with the 'other':

. . . the narratives most often relied on two such "others" . . . the captors . . . and the established ministers who vied . . . for authorial control of their narratives . . . [which] chart a double shift . . . in individual identity and national destiny, insofar as a rhetoric of the corporate covenant comes to be eclipsed by an emergent emphasis on personal agency in the workings of salvation . . . . [The] logic of the captivity figure helped to transform . . . the American wilderness from a savage wasteland haunted by demonic adversaries to the "fresh, green breast" from which [to draw] virtuous sustenance . . . so powerful as to restore the virginity of a continent rid . . . of native inhabitants. (3)

Stowe's program places the home and the nation in the wilderness captivity through the symbolism of the virtuous slave and the emblematic endangered families. Assuming the position of the minister, Stowe bypasses the pulpit to preach the story of the individual as the only way to reclaim the purity of the group and insure a virtue whose only claim to the continent lies in a covenant of moral rectitude. The narratives's "tendency to sanction religious experience without congregational means" (18) serves Stowe well and provides her with a uniquely American figure to fuse with the singular American slave captives. A narrative figure which was "designed to maintain and enforce boundaries came instead to explode them, to sanction the venture of the

individual into the wilderness . . . to be destroyed or saved" (19).

The problem of slavery arises with the title of the first chapter, "In Which the Reader is Introduced to a Man of Humanity" (11), with the ironic presentation of Haley, the slave trader, and Tom, the slave, as metaphoric oppositions in a capitalistic system using humanity as commodity. Plot and story meet design and sermon by means of the captivity narrative. The titles of the next two chapters, "The Mother" (22) and "The Husband and Father" (26), further illuminate the problem. With the title of the fourth chapter, "An Evening in Uncle Tom's Cabin" (32), places and relationships set up the dynamics of this trinity of chapters with the captivity sacrifice which provides the drama of the protest. Individuals struggle to define themselves and their experience by the divine models from Christian teachings, but slavery carries them from their moorings. Layers of dialogue among characters show the individual effects; interchanges between Ophelia, Augustine St. Clare, and Marie portray consequences in all regions of the nation. Miss Ophelia's question, "Well, do you think slavery right or wrong (217)?" and Eva's, ". . . isn't there any way to have all slaves made free (325)?" address the central issues in a great social problem. Another question from Ophelia, "And what do you think will be the end of this?" and Augustine's reply that there is "a dies irae coming on sooner or

later" (272) pose the apocalypse of slavery and the dangers to all of society. Augustine St. Clare draws attention to Stowe's clear insights into slavery's captivity:

. . . on this abstract question of slavery there can . . . be but one opinion. Planters, who have money to make by it,--clergymen, who have planters to please,--politicians, who want to rule by it (261). . . Talk of the abuses of slavery! . . . The thing itself is the essence of all abuse! (262) . . . Your father settled down in New England, to rule over rocks and stones, and to force an existence out of Nature; and mine settled in Louisiana, to rule over men and women, and force existence out of them (263) . . . In those days, this matter of slavery had never been canvassed as it is now; nobody dreamed of any harm in it. My father was a born aristocrat (264) . . . he had an overseer,--a great, tall, slab-sided, two-fisted renegade son of Vermont . . . who had gone through a regular apprenticeship in hardness and brutality, and taken his degree to be admitted to practice (265). . . The land groans under it; and, bad as it is for the slave, it is worse, if anything, for the master (272).

Uncle Tom's Cabin repeats Stowe's theme of national captivity at every opportunity.

By placing one set of cultural subjects in bondage, Stowe forces a confrontation between one's experience and beliefs. In testing a belief system by adjusting, changing, reaffirming, or adapting to a social condition, the subject can reach conclusions about experience and belief. To assist in making conclusions, characters use scripture, their own sermons, and personal stories either to reinforce belief as the Quakers do, confront experience as George Harris does, or transcend reality as Tom does. Stowe refines the captivity narrative further and expands beyond the

spiritual applications to a social use in exposing the various kinds of captivities which characters experience, reinforcing their positions for an allegorical method of interpreting realistic characters to further social protest and demand moral change. Tom and other black characters are enslaved, but so are all other characters in the book. Although his bondage is physical, allegorically, Tom is free because a higher master owns him. Other characters possess varying degrees of that allegorical freedom. By demonstrating the traits of their captivities, Stowe illustrates the qualities of the masters. Representative types of characters form and exhibit a moral effect by reinforcing the characteristics of the captivity in their sermons, scriptures and music.

Characters assume their plot importance in relation to the kind of movement they have in their captivities. Three directions of movement are present: ascent/descent; lateral; and a combination of the three. The ascent/descent characters assume the spiritual and physical implications for freedom. Characters who have lateral movement are those who serve as activists and catalysts for the ascending, descending ones. They remain in their location, but by lateral movements, they assist the ascending characters on their climb. Those who both ascend and descend and have lateral movement are the becoming, growing characters. The potential for social change lies in characters who can ascend to



serve as models for a changing social environment, those who are catalysts through lateral movement to help the changing characters, and those who activate change by doing both.

The divine models from the master design which inform Stowe's sense of time and movement, place, and relationships provide instruction in the allegory for the nation which evolves from her character types that shape the master plot. Grounded in the reality of contemporary history, her characters as types move all over the globe. Tom descends from the relatively idyllic existence of his cabin bondage in Kentucky to the hell of Legree's plantation to die a martyr's death and escapes through his apotheosis to the true Eden, heaven. George Harris begins in a Legree-like hellish place of slavery to ascend to freedom in Canada; he goes to Europe to be educated, returns to America to test his vision, and immigrates to Africa to establish a new kingdom on earth as proof of his merit for ascent to the Kingdom of Heaven. Legree descends from the potential assumed in the social order of New England to give the Southern hell of slavery new horror and continues to the spiritual hell his physical one replicates. Marie St. Clare is a flatliner; she remains where she was born, enslaved by her social system and perpetrator of it, creating hell while she continues as a willing participant in it. Ophelia descends from the North to the South to encounter her weaknesses and, educated, returns with conversion from her chauvinism.

Topsy, an original, ascends from a black chaos, to be formed by a succession of plateaus which gradually rise, due to love, instruction, and example, until she escapes to the north as the free slave of Ophelia.

Characters transcend slavery through death or escape, descend further into it by identification with it, or ascend to abolish it by means of freedom, education, and personal conversion which define their public moral action. The potential for social change lies in characters who can ascend to serve as models for a changing social environment, those who are catalysts through lateral movement to help the changing characters, and those who activate change by doing both. Stowe's audience learned ways to confront slavery from the moral examples in Uncle Tom's Cabin.

Tom and Eva are types of the divine, human earthly captives showing qualities of the heavenly models of the Trinity. Tom is a slave physically, held in despairing bondage; Eva is captive of a diseased body, ethereal though it appears. Both embody love and sacrifice; in death, love releases them to be the idealistic Christic exempla whose prototypes provide a moral standard for other characters. In Tom's first remove with Haley in the tenth chapter, "The Property is Carried Off," he recalls verses from memory and comforts young George with words from Psalm 89:14, saying that "righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne" (141); he comforts himself with the passages from

Hebrews 13:14 ("We have here no continuing city, but we seek one to come" [142]). During his second remove in New Orleans with the St. Clares, from Philippians 4:11, "Tom read, in his only literary cabinet, of one who had "learned in whatsoever state he was, therewith to be content," the reference linking Tom to the apostle Paul.

It seemed to him good and reasonable doctrine, and accorded well with the settled and thoughtful habit which he had acquired from the reading of that same book. (301)

Together, he and Eva read passages from Revelations of angels, "a sea of glass, mingled with fire" (303), and "the great gates of pearl" (304). Eva, who is held captive by a diseased body, finds comfort "as she was so reclining,--her Bible half open, her little transparent fingers lying listlessly between the leaves" (334). Tom's third remove is evocative of Mary Rowlandson's providential acquisition of her Bible when, on the boat with Legree, in his "hurried exchange, he had not forgotten to transfer his cherished Bible to his pocket" (392). While he waits to grind his corn at the mill in the slave quarters, he "sat down by the light of the fire, and drew out his Bible,--for he had need of comfort" and reads Matthew 11:28 to a slave woman: "Come unto Me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest" (405). He dreams of Eva and she reads to him

Isaiah 43:2:

When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee, and the rivers they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou

shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame  
kindle upon thee; for I am the Lord thy God, the  
Holy One of Israel, thy Saviour. (406)

Tom progressively interiorizes his Bible, strengthening his ability to confront Legree with his own style of passive resistance. Legree owns his body, but not his soul; Tom chooses who owns his inner self when he says, "Mas'r Legree, as ye bought me, I'll be a true and faithful servant . . . but my soul I won't give up to mortal man," affirming his confrontation with Stowe's eschatological cosmos, and adding " . . . after ye've killed the body, there ain't no more ye can do. And O, there's all ETERNITY to come, after that" (442)! Stowe uses Tom's and Eva's captivities, removes, and habits with reading the Bible to create an ideal to use as a standard; they display a private morality of love, care, nurture, mutual respect, and sacrifice which is publicly expressed.

Simon Legree and Marie St. Clare, as types of evil, oppose Eva and Tom. Legree is captive of the New England market mentality, Marie of slave culture. Legree's captivity began in New England where he was fathered "by a hard-tempered sire" and born by "a fair-haired woman" who "led him, at the sound of Sabbath bell, to worship and pray" and "trained her only son, with long, unwearied love, and patient prayers." But he followed in his father's ways, and in his first remove to sea in his captivity by evil he "despised all her counsel." His mother "clung to him, and

sought, with passionate prayers and entreaties, to win him from a life of sin," but Legree shunned his "day of grace" (433), "set all the force of his rough nature against the conviction of his conscience," and in a drunken rage threw his mother on the floor. In his second remove, he received word at sea that his mother on her deathbed, blessed and forgave him; he burned the letter and "inly shuddered as he thought of everlasting fires" (434). At his plantation on the Red River, the gothic picture of hell, he is the reigning evil, the devil, who says to Tom, "I'm your church now" (393). However, the Bible judges the captivity of his evil New England money-mad avarice and its teachings appear in antithesis in his fear and superstition:

Ye who have wondered to hear, in the same evangel,  
that God is love, and that God is a consuming  
fire, see ye not how, to the soul resolved in  
evil, perfect love is the most fearful torture,  
the seal and sentence of the direst despair?  
(434)

A stranger on the riverboat pronounces the verdict on slavery captive Legree, the New England plantation owner-overseer, in a comment to a Southern gentleman planter:

If there were no planters except such as that one  
. . . the whole thing would go down like a mill-  
stone. It is your respectability and humanity  
that licenses and protects his brutality. (396)

Simon Legree, as Northern depravity, matches Marie St. Clare's Southern decadence.

The St. Clares pose as respectable and humane; the sham posture affords Stowe the opportunity to articulate her

insights. Marie, captive of Southern aristocratic culture, slavery's decadence, and a loveless marriage tells Ophelia that "it's we mistresses that are the slaves, down here" (200) and continues instructing St. Clare's Cousin Vermont about slave management:

". . . there's no way . . . but to put them down, and keep them down. It was always natural to me, from a child. . . I hold to being kind . . . but you must make 'em know their place" . . . . (204)

"So, you just see," she continued, what you've got to manage. A household without any rule; where servants have their own way . . . do what they please, . . . except so far as I, with my feeble health, have kept up government. I keep my cowhide about, and sometimes I do lay it on; but the exertion is always too much for me."  
(207)

She comes to her marriage with "a fine figure, a pair of splendid eyes, and a hundred thousand dollars; and none of these items were precisely the ones to minister to a mind diseased" (185). Spoiled by a doting father and the luxuries attending an heiress with slaves, she marries Augustine, though "it is a great mistake to suppose that a woman with no heart will be an easy creditor in the exchange of affection." As Marie becomes more selfish, jealous, and ugly in attitude, Augustine's ardor and attentiveness from "the habitude of courtship" drop off; he finds "his sultana no way ready to resign her slave" so he seeks "to buy off with presents and flatteries" (186). Destructively enslaved, she continues enslaving her servants and husband, demonstrating this captivity petulantly in her charges that Augustine

indulges "every creature under this roof but his own wife" (204). Marie's captivity acts as barrier to honest, first-hand feelings. Everything in her experience comes to her second-hand, allowing Stowe's irony free-play; the Bible text for her captivity, Ecclesiastes 3:11, filters from Dr. G\_\_\_\_, her minister. Marie reports:

"The text was, 'He hath made everything beautiful in its season;' and he showed how all the orders and distinctions in society came from God; and that it was so appropriate, you know, and beautiful, that some should be high and some low, and that some were born to rule and some to serve, and he applied it so well to all this ridiculous fuss that is made about slavery, and he proved . . . the Bible was on our side, and supported all our institutions so convincingly." (216)

The actual biblical passage recounts the repetitive disposition of nature and history in the linear progression of Stowe's eschatology and cosmos; it reflects time and movement, not the perverted sociological theory of Marie and her minister as apologists for Southern slavery.

In the negative exempla, greed and inhumanity create a private morality that has the same public expression--greed, self-centeredness, avarice, waste, destruction, and violence. But in the positive exempla, character typologies are captives of the Tom-Eva qualities who know their moral code and act on it. Three families, the Shelbys, Birds, and Hallidays, portray these qualities. Their force varies according to the wholeness of relationships in place during the time which George and Eliza, the forming characters,

move through their homes. These are not matriarchies, but egalitarian models according to their culturally defined spheres within the historical context. The wives are not submissive, but display moral courage, even defiance, within the context of the private sphere. The males carry the public action: in the Shelby home, the husband is a detriment, but not a drawback because he recognizes his wife's virtue and bows to it; in the Bird home, the Senator is a delinquent, but not an deterrent because he knows what is right and participates in it; and in the Halliday home, Simeon is a defender and devotee of freedom as the Hallidays model the synthesis of admirable qualities for George and Eliza who will form the free slaves exempla.

Demonstrating the planter mentality, Mr. Shelby's captivity reflects that of the Southern aristocracy and his wife's bondage ties her to patriarchy. He responds to Emily Shelby's accusations of the sin of selling their slaves by replying he has "only done what we were obliged to" in order to repay an indebtedness (91). Eliza's escape "touches my honor," he says (57) and bristles at Haley, responding, "If any man calls my honor in question, I have but one answer for him" (59). Emily, his wife, "the finest woman in Kentucky," provides him with the amount of religion and Bible teaching he needs. Although he does not "pretend to interfere with [her] religious notions," he doubts the ethics fit slaves and their condition. Market mentality serves him to



sell people, but he reproves her morality in wanting to earn money by taking music students to accrue Tom's redemption price (297). When Emily Shelby makes suggestions to untangle their financial affairs, he tells her that she knows nothing of business, but in fact she proves superior to him in business acumen and he appoints her executrix of his estates (483) making possible one model of emancipation. Emily educates their slaves in religion and manners, giving Eliza her start; she tells Tom goodbye with the words from 1 Timothy 4:10, "Trust in God," (120), which defines her approach to her captivity in patriarchal terms and gives Tom a motif that runs through his.

Enslaved by the demands made upon public figures, Senator Bird, a politician, must compromise convictions: his wife's, and his own commitment to biblical ethics. His captivity represents obedience to reason and logic; his wife's restricts her to feeling and sympathy. He accuses her of illogic and emotionalism when they discuss his vote for the Fugitive Slave Act; she responds:

I don't know anything about politics, but I can read my Bible; and there I see that I must feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and comfort the desolate; and that Bible I mean to follow. (100-01)

He attempts to answer that allusion to Matthew 25:34-46, which supplies the highest law for human interaction, by resorting to reason and logic. He suggests there may be times when doing so "would involve a great public evil" (101).

She foils his approach by asking if he would actually turn away a cold, hungry runaway. In stating her intention to break the law for the sake of a higher law, she poses another one of Stowe's solutions for slavery. The Senator, "who had a particularly humane and accessible nature" (101), becomes a central figure in Eliza's escape, and privately violates the law he has just voted to pass. In addition, he becomes the activist in their law-breaking by suggesting Mary give Eliza their dead son's clothes and some of their warm wraps. The Senator, who is "but a man" (98), demonstrates what one public man can do who responds honestly to his private convictions.

The home of the Hallidays in the Quaker settlement presents the opposite of the slave auction in New Orleans. Stowe does not put "peace on earth, good will to men" (163) in quotations in referring to Rachel, but it is the song of the angel host announcing Christ's nativity in Luke 2:14. She also includes it as a predicted coda for the resolution of slavery in her Preface (9). The Christ-mass angels sang it, the novel gives its liturgy, and Rachel Halliday officiates as its priest as the energizing centerpiece of love and harmony in its domestic enactment. While Stowe's ink camera scans the faces of those present in the kitchen, they rise as an earthly angel host, announcing the birth of a new way of life in America. Rachel's activity dramatizes the textual message of the angels as she continues Eliza's

education. The conflation of cabin, temple, church kitchen, sanctuary, and nursery which began in Tom's cabin (40) continues in Rachel's and Simeon's house with the individuals cooperating in a congenial group identity. Critics use this scene to develop a radical matriarchal social bias for Stowe (Ammons "Heroines" 161; Tompkins Sensational 146), but there are more scenes in the Quaker settlement which speak of egalitarian activism and demonstrate that which Laurie Crumpacker calls Stowe's "nineteenth-century androgyny" (78) as a mode of life which is totally "neither a feminine nor a masculine" (102) one.<sup>8</sup> When the group learns of George's escape, Rachel, quoting Isaiah 54:10 and Exodus 13:3, announces the freedom from captivity from her position with the practical angels who help make it happen: "The Lord hath had mercy on thee, daughter; thy husband hath escaped from the house of bondage" (167). In Stowe's vision, in the Quaker settlement, men and women participate in freedom together, albeit in different areas of responsibility. The Quakers demonstrate an alternate model to Shelby's patriarchy. Before George and Eliza travel on to Canada, Simeon instructs the young husband in his duties as the head of a family. He delivers a lengthy quotation from Psalm 73 with a compassionate homily, echoing Mary Shelby's advice to Tom ("Put thy trust in him . . . he will make it right").

The words of holy trust, breathed by the friendly old man, stole like sacred music over the harassed and chafed spirit of George . . . . If these words had been spoken by some easy, self-indulgent

exhorter, from whose mouth they might have come merely as pious and rhetorical flourish, proper to be used to people in distress, perhaps they might not have had much effect; but coming from one who daily and calmly risked fine and imprisonment for the cause of God and men, they had a weight that could not but be felt, and both the poor, desolate fugitives found calmness and strength breathing into them from it. (226-27)

As captives of their consciences, Simeon and Rachel break the law without the intention of violence; their behavior instructs the runaways on their way to free status. Stowe's lesson follows. With a private code, positive models know their orientation, show flexibility for expression of it in public action, and advance the growing models who continue their formation.

In the negative typologies, illustrated by Legree and Marie St. Clare, characters are captives of greed, avarice, and selfishness. Others, like Haley, the slave trader, Skeggs, the slave auctioneer, and Monks and Loker, the slave catchers, send slaves further into descent. They respond to the market side of slavery in an irony of slavery's displaced value system. Never admitted to polite society, they are, nonetheless, essential for that society's pursuit of its polite ways because of the necessity for a cheap labor supply. They are captives of the dark side of slavery, dealers in human suffering and insensitive to people's misery as long as they make money.

Haley, describing himself as having "management . . . and humanity . . . [as] the pillar of his management" (16)

looks upon trade and money as his religion and religion as an insurance policy at the end of life. In his various removes, plying his captivity as his business. He pontificates on his views.

"I al'ays meant to drive my trade so as to make money on't, fust and foremost, as much as any man; but, then, trade an't everything, and money an't everything, 'cause we's all got souls. I don't care, now, who hears me say it,--and I think a cussed sight on it,--so I may as well come out with it. I b'lieve in religion, and one of these days, when I've got matters tight and snug, I calculates to tend to my soul and them ar matters; and so what's the use of doin' any more wickedness than's re'lly necessary?--it don't seem to me it's 't all prudent." (85)

His Bible references come from hearsay because he has no education, "no larning," but "if 't an't right" he calculates "to 'pent on't in time" (151). Until then, he sits down discontentedly "with his little account-book, (to) put down the missing body and soul" of suicidal Lucy "under the head of losses" (161); he exploits Tom's true virtue, using his piety as a selling feature to St. Clare, ironically increasing the market worth of spiritual values he personally depreciates by making Tom's religion a commodity (179-82).

Chloe stands alone as an example. Her market motivation adds a gloss both on Mr. Shelby's objection to Emily Shelby's taking music students to earn Tom's redemption, and Haley's exploiting Tom's religion for material gain. Impelled by love, she hires out to earn the money for Tom's

freedom in a culture trapped by the market mentality, allowing Stowe to suggest the church's market for redemption is compromised by the market's need for slaves for economic salvation. Chloe's determination to forge new answers to slavery's enduring problems derives from Tom's model in his commitment to his beliefs and Emily Shelby's example of dedication to her duty. The practical plan which results suggests to the audience that moral change involves creative thinking and hard work.

In Stowe's trinitarian habit of mind, positive forming models come in three groups. The first shows how to reform slavery; in the captivity typologies of George and Eliza and George Shelby, a change in public acts evolves as a result of private morality. The second group demonstrates how to change the nation; Ophelia and St. Clare, mirroring the nation, display changes in private acts of public morality. The third group reveals how to change the individuals in order to accomplish the work of the first two groups; Topsy and Cassy show the necessity of creating private morality in order to have a public one.

In actual bondage, George and Eliza begin their travel in Kentucky. Through escape, they experience removes in Ohio, Canada, France, and America. As they advance in their socialization in freedom, they also become more mature in personal faith. Both processes influence their formation as the strong activists they need to be in Africa. Eliza finds

comfort in the Bible during her ascension stages, beginning with Emily Shelby's teachings and progressing through the places they occupy as they travel. George reacts to the Bible according to the moral activist stance of the one sharing it with him: he rejects Mr. Wilson's scriptures in Kentucky; accepts Simeon Halliday's admonitions in Ohio; converts to Eliza's faith during the flight north; and ends with a commitment to its formative nature for his own life contribution in a new land.

George Shelby's captivity arises from his youth and immaturity. His early beginning with positive influences from Tom, his mother, and understanding the Bible stands him in good stead. When he goes away to school, his formal education accompanied by maturation contribute to his formation and function the way the removes do for the other characters. The results add to his sterling qualities as an agent to help change the blight of slavery. The mature George synthesizes Tom's spiritual model, his mother's moral teachings, and the Bible's ethical standards to create his private code which influences his public actions.

Symbolizing the regional needs for for cultural reformation, Ophelia and Augustine portray the nation in their captivity. Ophelia possesses the rigid theology and attitude of the North; she is mechanical, predictable, and unfeeling with her Old Testament style of language which reflects a New England harshness. Augustine exhibits both

the insight and inertia of the South; he believes in his mother's, Tom's, and Eva's Bible, but has no respect for inadequacies and hypocrisies elsewhere. Each is touched by genuine love and feeling, and each demonstrates how the nation can change; the heart converts while the public morality becomes a private act of benevolence. The group changes through the transforming processes of its members.

Topsy and Cassy add another dimension. Before individuals or groups can participate in social change, they must have education and character formation that create a private morality before public action can take place. The Bible in Topsy's captivity has no meaning; for Cassy, it holds distorted meaning. Their frames of reference take shape in the loving deeds of Eva for Topsy and the sacrifice of Tom for Cassy. With an ethical base formed, they take their places in Stowe's cosmos of meaning for the nation; public morality demands the creation of a private morality.

With the nation as her theater and the population for her cast, Harriet Beecher Stowe orchestrates an expansive tale of captivities to pose the dilemma of the American self. In the tradition of James Fenimore Cooper, Natty Bumppo goes into the wilderness for renewal in the tensions between frontier and settlement (Motley 1-5, 112-13). But in the sermon/story tensions of the settlement maintained by slavery, the wilderness expands metaphorically to become the culture itself. Illustrating Norman Holland's definition of



"identity as having three simultaneous meanings as an agency, a consequence, and a representation" (33), Tom enters the wilderness for martyrdom to demonstrate an ideal. George Harris goes for the creation of a self.

Stowe's captivities vary from the classical examples. Tom's redemption price lies in his death. He has Mary Rowlandson's removes but not the return, because of Stowe's greater cosmological purpose in the governing eschatology which establishes ascent, descent, and lateral movements as governing ones. None of the captives return unless for moral action; with most, they move on in her eschatology; relationship is circular, but time and movement are linear, either horizontally or vertically. Salvation takes its meaning from its physical and spiritual implications for characters in their various situations. For Tom, the character who models moral authenticity, redemption progresses from spiritual (he gets religion) to physical (bought by St. Clare) to spiritual (martyred); for George Harris, the one who will cause change, redemption moves from the physical (escape) to physical (freedom and education) to earthly-spiritual (he takes moral action as a result of conversion); for Augustine St. Clare, the ineffective Southerner, it proceeds from physical (free and educated) to immature physical (impulsive action) to heavenly-spiritual (conversion in death); and for George Shelby, the effective Southerner, it advances from physical (free and educated) to

mature physical (effective action) to earthly-spiritual (he takes public action as a result of private ethics). In conclusion, Stowe's purpose in her strategies with the captivity narrative illustrates a cosmic picture of what is at stake in American captivity of slaves and slavery's captivity of America. She uses the tradition of the captivity narrative to communicate the nature of slavery as a form of bondage for the entire culture which its master Christian design and plots of those who are believers must attack and overturn. Stowe exploits a genre which allows an individual to confront chaos, order it, and find personal salvation; the experience contains a private and national meaning. By retaining the form and substituting the social institution of slavery for marauding kidnappers of Puritans, she illustrates the mortal difficulties facing the nation. Uncle Tom's Cabin, her monumental captivity narrative, provides individual catharsis which offers public instruction and communal lessons. Held captive, the culture must participate in the captivity narrative's purification of pitting sermon with story in order to strengthen faith for action to eliminate slavery.

Spiritual Autobiography, Confessions, and  
the Conversion Narratives

Uncle Tom's Cabin performs as a spiritual autobiography, a confession, and a conversion narrative. The

conventions of spiritual autobiography provide a theater where the Puritan rhetoric of self can act, doubling "back on itself, . . . ready to come out with tenfold intensity in the unsuspected little things of this life" (Oldtown 923). It plays a key role in creating the peculiarly American notion of self in which the individual life is linked with national destiny. With their affinity for Augustine who directs humanity "toward an indivisible present that includes past and future" (Bercovitch American 41) in efforts to fuse "human initiative and divine calling" (77), the Puritans seized the genre in its three expressions: autobiography, confession, and conversion narrative.

Distinctive perspectives in the three narrative forms provide a way to examine the formation of self identity according to the Puritan practice of separating reflection and action related to belief. In regard to self contemplation, the spiritual autobiography provides the historical account; the confession gives the philosophical version; and the conversion narrative supplies the ecstatic expression (Jones Salvation 12-13). Lives represented in spiritual autobiographies are influenced by socio-political conditions. As Patricia Meyer Spacks points out, autobiographies "provide interpretations, not merely records" (Imagining 15). While they "assert the meaning of the self's experience and even the primacy of the inner life," they also imply "meaning determined from outside" (28). Subjects

under study behave as sensitive registers of theological, social, emotional, and psychological structures. Their examination uncovers dislocations, illuminates conflicts between the self and society, and grants self-understanding. As genres, the narratives become a way to separate the self from a frightening world. In their conventional forms, they constitute a medium to examine private identity and social environment in a search for order.

Confession narratives articulate a person's divine election to grace. They chart the recognizable stages of progress toward Christ with the descent into and retrieval of one's self for assurance and evidence of correspondence to a sequence of experiences which assured the seeker of salvation.<sup>9</sup> With attention fixed on the self, conversion "became a quest" (Cockshut 3). Due to the communal perception of the national mission, the soul searches for relief from the insecure, private self within the larger corporate identity by becoming assimilated into the group. Theodore Hovet describes Uncle Tom's Cabin as a Puritan conversion narrative that puts the myth of the inward quest with images of American contemporary life in the Puritan traditional forms using European mysticism to find not only "spiritual rebirth" but also "a home denied . . . in American society" ("Principles" 267-270). The concept that "home is nowhere" in American Puritanism (Ziff 27-30) yields under Stowe's careful explorations to reveal not only home as an ideal,

but also a guaranteed legal right through the teaching activity of the Puritan narrative forms.

William Spengemann explains the paradigm of spiritual autobiography as a three stage expression of confessions, and draws on the classic model of Augustine which was so important to the Puritans: historical, philosophical, and poetic (32). In the first there is self-recollection, then use of self for self-exploration, and last, self for expression of self. The pattern suggests a consideration of Uncle Tom's Cabin as a spiritual autobiography, confession, and conversion. Stowe uses these distinctive orientations of self-examination on the part of characters for analysis of slavery and society. Because of the mental habit from Ramist logic which permits a division between reflection on the self and action on behalf of oneself, the reader can observe characters engaging in the customary activity required to become members of the society. They pass from the historical reflection gained from spiritual autobiography, through the self-exploration evidenced by their confessions, and proceed to conversion in an ecstatic expression of self. With the reflective work accomplished, they are ready for public action to demonstrate their private experience. As characters intervene on behalf of each other to bring about change as a result of conversion, the audience participates with a corresponding personal examination. Urged on by Stowe, the reader makes a commitment to ethical action.

As a group, the forms provide the morphology of conversion, the preparationism which precedes conversion and grants individuals membership in the covenant which carries with it group identity and spiritual redemption. The various stages unfold America's master plot, the narrative of how America becomes a Christian beacon for God in the world through conversion of individuals. Stowe's strategies with Puritan narrative genres enact the culture's master plot by means of characters who accept the master design of an ideal Christian world and mold their behavior according to its rigorous standards. They place individual experience and ideal law against captivity law by means of the conventions of spiritual autobiography, confessions, and conversion narrative. The result unfolds as a dense strata of the private and public contexts of characters in their various stages of preparationism on the way to nineteenth-century democratic Christianity.

Stowe demonstrates her social protest through the use of the forms with the propagandistic incursion of authorial voice to add other concerns. Conventional spiritual autobiography is "a vital expression of the search for personal salvation" as the soul reviews experience in the light of "God's plan" to search for "past sins or present impiety" gaining from the "abasement-salvation theme . . . hope and courage (for) those in doubt of their own fate" (Vaughn and Clark 5-6). In order "to regiment selfhood," the Puritan

energy turned to Augustine's Confessions "as a model of self-portraiture" and used the signs of regeneration from Bunyan for their personal confessions of public doctrine (Bercovitch Origins 23). As a "trial of the self under the active guidance of the interior conscience," confession concerns an ethical exercise with exterior sociological consequences (Hepworth and Turner 40-41). Conversion reorients life and enlists the entire personality with all of a person's faculties to the outer ends directed by the inward change (Cohen 5-7). In Stowe's strategies, the genres give the experience of the characters. By recounting the inner status of characters in response to outer situations, she establishes a bond with the audience who identify their own stories in those of the characters.

The stages of preparationism are the conventional processes of knowledge, conviction, faith, combat, and true, though imperfect, assurance which Edmund Morgan calls the morphology of conversion. Narrative typologies become the principal device to elaborate stages. In the Reformist tradition of using typology to show the analogy between the individual and the universal, the exempla in a book demonstrate variations of emulation of Christ. The exemplum is microchristus, establishing the action from the individual to the universal. Using both positive and negative examples in Uncle Tom's Cabin, Stowe shows the interior of America under the external force of institutional slavery. As they

move, characters react while they are educated in places and find identity in relationships. They interpret the experiences and their stories and what they learn in spiritual autobiography as they pause in places exposed to potential identity through relationships they confront. Spiritual narratives become ways in which Stowe can memorialize God's providence, but like Mary Rowlandson and other captives, she assumes "the added responsibility of turning personal experience into public ideology" (Derounian 85).

Every servant is afflicted, which is just punishment because of depravity. Tom says, "I'm sure I'd rather be sold, ten thousand times over, than to have all that ar poor crittur's got to answer for" (Uncle 73). In its effort for survival and identity, the self rises to God through denial. Tom pores over his Bible for aid; "It must be true; for, if not true, how could he live?" (174)). With humility, the self declares itself by denying itself. Rejecting self-assertion, Tom affirms identity through his pilgrim hymns of paradoxical humility and self-assertion (42-44).

Stowe maps the metaphorical journey of Tom's self through his places of habitation. His self denial progresses from awareness to total denial in the way his physical self passes from having a comfortable home, his own cabin, to the place where he has nothing, not even a coffin in which to be buried (489). Self-denial is complete when he knows he has nothing. By Tom's willing participation in the



transformation and with his active compliance to that juncture, the total self denial confers identity: a moral model for national America.

The soul on pilgrimage is a travel tale. Another implication follows the captivity removes of characters. Journeys of other characters contribute parallels to the conventional exempla development: Ophelia from New England, to the South, and back; George Harris from Kentucky to Canada, to France, to America, to Liberia; St. Clare from New Orleans to New England, and back to New Orleans (with nothing new having occurred until he dies). With union in Christ being the beginning rather than the end of life, all have the same pilgrimage. Personal choice is pre-eminent, but characters never can choose correctly, as the exemplum strata demonstrates. As Augustine St. Clare's inability to act decisively illustrates, pietistic voluntarism raises personal choice to a central position. But characters experience an inability to choose correctly, even when possessing a practical divinity to know what is right. In the clash between separation from and homage to God, self-denial becomes complete when the character knows he or she has nothing. There is the struggle between the sola fides of Luther and exemplum fidei of Augustine to regiment selfhood as a way to authenticate faith and teach dogma. With the importance of the Bible in Uncle Tom's Cabin and the collection of lives which it includes, typology arises from

the novel to merge the lives of saints with heroes of secular faith.

Tom and Eva model Christ, but various others illustrate that which results in the lives of people obedient to Him. Stowe not only shows the implications for those individuals, the communal life about them, and society as a whole, but she also provides a contrast between Tom and Eva as black and white, male and female, messiahs. Eva says, "I can understand why Jesus wanted to die for us . . . I would die for them, Tom, if I could," (323) and Tom does die for them. Simon Legree and Marie St. Clare are New England and Southern devils, male and female. But Legree is no more free of his spiritual dimension than Tom is; he is victim of it, rather than victor with it:

. . . a human soul is an awful ghostly, unquiet possession, for a bad man to have. Who knows the metes and bounds of it . . . shudderings . . . which it can no more live down than it can outlive its own eternity! What a fool is he who locks his door to keep out spirits, who has in his own bosom a spirit he dares not meet alone . . . . (491)

Stowe permits no escape from the consequences of self-analysis. A character's spiritual condition always carries a moral, whether the lesson embraces a positive or a negative conclusion.

Purgation, illumination, and union follow the Puritan stress on activism and experience; the union with Christ is not the end, but the beginning of life. Valuable because they show the true norms of identity, the lives of saints

are to be emulated because they emulate Christ. Every servant is smitten, a legitimate punishment because of his sin and the self's antipathy toward God. Tom discloses the conventional beginnings for spiritual autobiography with the soul's despair with self: "I'm in the Lord's hands," said Tom, "nothin' can go no furder than he lets it" (117). His prayers and hymns reflect the progress of his self-denial; his humility exists with self assertion, as he affirms identity by rejecting self-affirmation.

Characters experience journeys as encounter of self in order to discover values and enact moral codes. While on their journeys, they pause in places, tell their spiritual autobiographies, and articulate their confessions. The places consist of various "homes" where they are educated, permitted to recount their experience, and examine rules and laws which bear on them in distinctive ways. Both their private and public situations inform their destinations to provide didactic value for the audience. Those who proceed through spiritual autobiography from confessions to conversion narratives because of the relationships in the homes they occupy provide Stowe with her authoritative call to a feeling for people as a worthy route to redemption.

Spiritual autobiographies, confessions, and conversion narratives also permit Stowe to demonstrate this strategy by means of additional kinds of character typologies as groups which illustrate homes and the relationships in them.

Ursula Brumm, in her analysis of American thought and religious typology, argues that types are fixed at both poles of their reference, in contrast to symbols which can move toward any interpretive direction. Peculiar to the type is "the serious religious intent in regarding the processes of prefiguration and fulfillment as predetermined by God" (24). Characters as typologies may become exempla of groups in the home as heaven, with mother, father, child, saintly child, son, and daughter demonstrating the master design of Heaven as Home and government and nation as protracted family. Mother becomes a governing type for development of the private ethic of the home: Eliza assumes identity in her captivity as bride, wife, and mother; Emily Shelby, Mary Bird, and Rachel Halliday serve her as models while she passes through their homes in her ascension from places to destiny. Mother defines others: Cassy exposes the displaced mother; Marie St. Clare shows the perverted mother; and Mammy illustrates the denied mother.

Father assumes symbolic proportions as the leader and activist in the public arena: George mellows and matures when he is with his family and responsible for them; Mr. Wilson, Simeon Halliday, and Phineas Fletcher educate him while he journeys through their homes in his rise to his ultimate work. Father reveals the true nature of others: Harry and Butler are betrayers of Cassy; Augustine St. Clare is father-mother to Eva; Mammy's husband is exiled. Stowe

makes a political point with her array of fathers. In the way that dependents in the home are cared for by those charged with its management, so the nation is to model their policies for the citizenry.

Because of the nature of the relationships in the places through which they pass, characters articulate their own experience, sermons, and personal codes in biography. In addition, they test individual conclusions with confessions to tell the story of their experience with their own law as resolutions for the conflicts. They illuminate it further with a biblical text, usually in the style of a sermon, and emphasize additional points with a prayer or a song. With hymns and prayers which illustrate their inner natures, they gain understanding of their spiritual autobiographies and make confessions with their revised sermons which demonstrate ethical codes. The power of relationships to influence ethics within the culture becomes apparent for audience instruction as characters confess their stories in places where they are exposed to love and fair treatment. Conflicts between sermons and stories move the plot when characters identify with positive models who teach them ethical orientations.

Home is Stowe's place for the creation of unified human personality, synonymous with the individual self. Essential for the individual, the family group, and national identity, home nurtures where confession occurs. At home, members of

the "family, friends, and strangers touched Saints at times, as did, of course, the persons of the Trinity" (Cohen 21). For the individual, it is the place both to give and receive love. As result, the nurture encourages spiritual development together with emotional maturity. For the family, home produces a school where the individual learns about government in a private sense. A person comprehends factors which influence matters like economy, values, social interaction, moral behavior, and religious principles. The nation, then, becomes the public arena for enactment of privately learned formations. The "link between the family and the community at large" assumes their fusion for the preservation of order (Demos "American" 423).<sup>10</sup>

With Heaven as Home as a model, earthly home defines the places where characters pause as they move through time and geography. Based on divine models, positive characters reflect heaven and negative ones reflect hell. Hell is the anti-Heavenly home, filled with displaced people and fragmented families, including ancillary social institutions like decadent churches with their hypocritical clerics and parishioners, and all enslaved segments of society resulting from the institution of slavery. Heaven as Home as ultimate place becomes the paradigm that informs the social protest inherent in the kinds of homes where Stowe's reality based typological characters confront their various kinds of captivities. As the paradigm, heavenly home exposes the

earthly homes with their positive and negative qualities. Heaven and home, according to Stowe, allow the entire personality to develop and function freely. Places in the novel take shape as homes with variations of its components or deviations from its ideal. In homes, characters review their spiritual autobiographies. Then they relate confessions which demonstrate their ethical education. Their experiences test personally held laws of their microcosms as they relate individually to the macrocosm of nineteenth-century America. They learn how to react to each other in a loving environment: a place where spirit, body, understanding, meaning, responsibility, accountability, and feeling mesh in private ethical health. Ideal homes equip characters to become activists in public morality to reflect heaven as home, a place of wholeness, in the public domain. Homes in the novel become suspended interludes in the movements of individuals, implying places of the group where members express their experience and test the rules while being educated in them; they confer pauses for individuals to learn through their types, settings, and stories which sermons and stories are valid and ethical and which are not as they journey through a captivity-shaped pilgrimage.

With the definitive archetype of Heaven as Home in mind, analagous to what Fowler calls the "ultimate ideal environment, each person's utopia" (29), Stowe moves her characters. She creates a semiotic representation of the

paradigm in her text as Tom slowly reads from John 14:21-22: "Let--not--your--heart--be--troubled. In--my--Father's--house--are--many--mansions. I--go--to--prepare--a--place--for--you" (174). A controlling metaphor, home is Tom's destination; but the spaces between the words signal both his spaces and gaps in getting there, as well as his need to continue his education in the text that will assist his arrival. All of the other homes face testing by the home in heaven from Stowe's vision and, additionally, by comparison with each other. The Southern plantation contrasts with the Quaker settlement for various purposes, but in her vision, both reflect shortcomings in appropriating the model of home as heaven which she interprets from her religious heritage. Rachel's and Simeon's home fits the ideal more completely, but they have to deal with threats of physical and spiritual violence to their well-being. Other comparisons pit the New England economy of stony Cousin Vermont, Ophelia, against Dinah's disorder; the Victorian domestic ideology of the Shelbys and the Birds contrasts with the St Clares's opulent decadence. Legree's home deviates as a perversion; the Halliday's live in the one to be emulated as the place of transition en route to the supernatural one. But finally, all are governed by the primary type: Heaven as Home.

Heaven as Home and home as heaven project communitas.<sup>11</sup> Tom always generates communitas where he is, with or without home, his cabin; the same is true of Eva, in spite of her



home, a mansion. As location, the place remains unimportant for them to disseminate their aura of Christ. Spiritual life subsumes the physical one through descension to death which enables them to transcend because of belief, education in that faith, and the uninhibited experience of emotion and love in its expression. Because of love, Tom and Eva, one as a martyr and the other, a sacrifice, point the way to heaven as home, giving the heavenly, or other-worldly model for those who live there. For Tom and Eva, New Jerusalem is home; angels form the communitas. Their songs and prayers form a discourse to their thoughts about heavenly home as a typology paradigm; they are captives of "that country," to borrow Eva's phrase. Scripture reinforces their concepts and views of heaven; Eva's gospel about it is love. Tom believes the biblical model; he both experiences and expresses his feelings about it.

The forming models, the two Georges and Eliza, find orientation from exempla as they proceed, further reflecting the good and evil orientations as they progress through experience to become the hope for the future. They are America's behavior models. The encompassing forming model is actually America, reforming in response to the characters whose resolutions serve as exempla to the world of social change and allow the nation to continue as God's light to the world. America's motivation and only hope lie in the jeremiad call for reformation and conversion at the end.

The removes, places, and relationships of the characters in their sermons and plots trace America's maps, both physical and spiritual ones. In the romantic setting on the deck of the Mississippi steamboat, Tom looks out on America:

When there seemed to be nothing for him to do, he would climb to a nook among the cotton-bales of the upper deck, and busy himself in studying over his Bible . . . For a hundred or more miles above New Orleans, the river is higher than the surrounding country, and rolls its tremendous volume between massive levees twenty feet in height . . . Tom . . . had spread out full before him, in plantation after plantation, a map of the life to which he was approaching. (173)

In looking across the fields to the homes with Tom, the reader slowly absorbs in horror the degree of hypocrisy in the idealized Jeffersonian yeoman farmer.

Poirier says in writing about Jim and Huck Finn on the river that the "environment of the shore is an investment in history and locale," but the two are "out of place and beyond economics" (15). Tom and Eva move on the river, too, but Tom is the basis for economics. As such, he never knows freedom and is eventually destroyed. Water defines the kind of journey between the places, demonstrating the mutability of home and place.<sup>12</sup> Because Tom's journey is primarily a spiritual, allegorical one, he travels on rivers. Their fluid movement correlates with that of his unanchored presence in reality. A place of potential, the Mississippi carries the slaves deeper into bondage, obeying the dictates of market mentality in regard to human qualities, but Tom

also looks at America as he passes it and the audience sees through his eyes Stowe's vision for her country. It implies a place of death and life. Lucy drowns herself to escape, and Tom risks his life to save Eva. The Red River ascends, takes him into the depths of Legree's hell, and offers only the gothic scenery of the damned. Tom, Stowe's Prometheus for nineteenth-century America, incarnates the ideal at all times, wherever he goes.

In contrast, the Harrises supply the action. Eliza crosses the Ohio into the Canaan of freedom. George disguises himself to cross over. Eliza and little Harry assume disguises, new identities as the three are ferried across the lake into Canada. But in exotic, romantic New Orleans, Tom remains on shore by Lake Pontchartrain. He cannot cross. Even if he could, no freedom exists on the other side, for his freedom is other-worldly. Stowe questions the nature of the place, America, by contrasting nature of its homes with supernatural models.

He saw the distant slaves at their toil; he saw afar their villages of huts gleaming out in long rows on many a plantation, distant from stately mansions and pleasure-grounds of the master;--and as the moving picture passed on, his poor, foolish heart would be turning backward to the Kentucky farm, with its old shadowy beeches,--to the master's house, with its wide, cool halls, and, near by, the little cabin, overgrown with the multi-flora and bignonia. (173)

When Tom sees St. Clare, Ophelia, and Eva together on the steamboat deck, the vision poses a synthesis of the three

(175). America, romantic as Byronic Augustine St. Clare in his education and indolence, could also strive for the purity of Eva and the common sense of Ophelia. Stowe sends her forming characters who are in training for citizenship through the homes of the flexible models. There, she investigates potential combinations of character traits for those who work to change the America of slavery.

As with the ideology of Christianity, sacrifice, not unanchored freedom, is the central ordering principle of community and domesticity. Freedom means the right to choose one's own form of group bonding instead of slavery, society's enforced bondage. Although conditioned by the group, freedom comes in a variety of expressions. Inner freedom to choose one's own form of servitude constitutes the ultimate freedom and shapes the moral code which gives rise to social behavior. Tom shows death as the inflexible sacrifice; George Harris demonstrates life as flexible sacrifice. Community always requires adjustment, adaptation, and sacrifice on the part of the group members if they want to share in communitas. In the model of the Quakers as enablers, Stowe pictures an egalitarian home which glows because of the work of cultural subjects activating their narrative theology. Eliza and other parents sacrifice to be able to participate in the progress of humanity and its continuity in their children; there is no other way. She risks her life for Harry; George gives his in the sacrifice

of self-denying work for the boy. Characters as typologies become exempla of groups to illustrate Home as Heaven, with Mother, Father, Child, Saintly Child, Son, and Daughter demonstrating the mythos of earthly home as heaven and government and nation as protracted family.

But George and Eliza must learn how to build a place of their own as they move, ascending, through the places of others until they finally arrive in Canada to establish their scattered family, now gathered, in a permanent home in their cottage. Home for them evolves as they go through homes, beginning in the South. They grow in stages of conversion in Stowe's preparationism to become free Christians as they ascend to freedom. Eliza knows Tom. She learns the heavenly model for personal morality from his life and Mrs. Shelby's teaching. She and the Hallidays teach the personal code to George which will grant standards for the group. Of this world, their unformed home has as its task to work through the struggle of formation, which illustrates a formational model.

Eliza begins in the Shelby home, as Tom does. Emily and Mr. Shelby, in their great house, have a home flawed by market intrusion into its sanctity when the reader first meets them. After running away, Eliza encounters the house of Mary and Senator Bird, where Stowe demonstrates one way for members to convert each other to public weal as the father and husband is persuaded by the wife to gather the

courage to act on his convictions. The Shelby great house follows that model later when young George adopts Emily's ethics. The father remains flawed, but the son joins the mother. These two flawed but redeemed homes, because activist members persuade others to inject private morality into public spheres, propose a transitional model.

In contrast, Tom descends into deeper slavery to join Augustine and Marie St. Clare in their exotic mansion which portrays polarized members of communitas. Marie is never aware of reality. Augustine neither accepts nor accedes to it. Parent to both her parents, Eva's supernatural life does not endure reality. Their home portrays a dysfunctional model and is lost.

Tom sinks lower in bondage to Simon Legree and Cassy on the plantation where Legree lives in a decaying structure subverted by public market morality; its rules determine private, domestic scenes. George Harris begins in a place like Legree's before he runs away. The material is the only reality which makes Legree susceptible to forces he does not comprehend and vulnerable to Cassy's exploitation of the supernatural against him. Legree, as symbol of the plantation and absolute patriarchal power, denotes a perverted model and is destroyed.

When George and Eliza meet in the Halliday home, they have arrived at their most teachable time. With tenderness, yet assertive convictions, Rachel, Simeon, and the Quakers

in their practical buildings show their family as the settlement of God on earth. Life's intangibles are their reality and private values dictate public morality. They present the earthly model of the heavenly one: home as heaven reflecting Heaven as Home. Tom, by enduring Legree's hell as his home and gaining victory over it through his own moral perfection, creates his inner home as heaven which reflects Heaven as Home; he gains access to it in his death and transcendence. There are offenders of The Home in all examples and all regions. Within this primary type of home, other character types form allegorically and contribute the perspectives of meaning which Stowe wishes to include in her theme of home. In them, confessions indicate that she argues on behalf of the home as the place where character formation occurs.

Conversion narratives include an additional step; in commitment to an inner turning, the individuals find resolution for the group problem. They "testify to the personal experience of conversion as precisely and persuasively as possible" (Caldwell 6) and pass into membership in the group to do its work. Through what Edmund Morgan has termed the "morphology of conversion," the processes of knowledge, conviction, faith, combat, and true, imperfect assurance, proceed in the believer's experience (Visible 66-73).<sup>13</sup> But the expression of the conversion does not end its work. Spiritual growth continues in a repetitive circularity of

the phases which build on experience from the vantage of the true, although imperfect, assurance. In Stowe's strategies, when a character reaches a decision and decides to follow it or not, the act takes on moral significance and the audience judges whether it is a negative or positive act. Even in Stowe's gospel of love, conversion is not for everyone, just as it was not in Puritanism. Stowe's difference signifies that the outcome rests with the individual's choice instead of being one of the elect. Her preparationism shows the characters as they weigh evidence, make decisions, express openly the private act, and demonstrate their salvation by means of ethical behavior. Every character's resolution rests in either conversion or non-conversion to her Christian ideology. Conversion of characters provides a variety of resolutions to slavery for audience consideration: Tom's leads to martyrdom as a result of his refusal to meet slavery's violence with violence; Eliza's rouses her to flee slavery; Mrs. Shelby's allows her to live in the midst of slavery without its violating her moral orientation; Mary Bird's calls for adherence to a higher law than the one permitting slavery; the Hallidays confront and disobey slavery's unjust laws with willingness to suffer the consequences; George Harris's molds him into a new person of private moral fiber in order to circumvent slavery in public ways; and George Shelby's conforms his public action to abolish slavery in private ownership. Stowe makes clear



that private conversion to personal faith followed by ethical action in the public arena indicates the course to follow. Her conversion narratives, like the Puritan models, are cyclical. They are not complete in the telling but in the action which follows. Characters who have formed, or are forming, still have work to do, the outer evidence of their inner condition.

Uncle Tom's Cabin contains a collection of conversion narratives, the genre of the spiritual testimony required for admission into Puritan church membership. In Stowe's use of conventions, the conversions admit the characters to membership in the society. Lack of conversion on the part of America means an end analagous to Simon Legree's. Tom's conversion grants his admission into the Kingdom of God when he dies (479-481). Showing the result and work of God's grace in the human soul, and emphasizing its presence with frequent quotation of scripture, Stowe furnishes an array of conversion experiences: the straightforward witness of Little Eva and Tom; a diary style confessional from St. Clare; the proof texting of Ophelia; Topsy's sojourn from depravity to sainthood, aided by Eva's divine touch and New England education; Cassy and Em's reunion in belief after escape; and Simon Legree's regression from and ultimate rejection of grace. Replete with yearnings for safety, comfort, acceptance, and happy endings, characters travel from self-awareness to self-surrender (or self-pride, in the

cases of Legree and Marie). The narrative is geographical and physical as well as interior and spiritual.

Serving as guides both to present reality and eventual, universal understanding, the scriptural texts they use about themselves become elemental in narrative constructions. The conversion narratives, heavily reinforced by scripture and given in diary-style confessionals, show the work of grace in the soul in the straightforward testimonies of personal conversions. By means of the internal journey of the conversion narrative, Stowe stresses the moral implications for the nation. A synthesis of the Old and New Testaments and a yearning for refuge, solace, and a happy ending, Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin as a conversion narrative offers a vision of the American dream as a deliverance from the sin of slavery which begins with an awareness of personal sin and proceeds from self to self-surrender. In a movement that is geographical, physical, and spiritual, the power from one affects the group. Stowe does this by the increased emphasis on grace in American Christianity.

Grace became a more prominent part of American religion as a result of the Awakenings and continued revivalism. That emphasis brought increased interest in Christology. The growth of the psychology of feeling began to assume prominence in the same era. Victorian sensibilities flourished, as well. As a result, the emotion which assumes an important place in Uncle Tom's Cabin arises from a variety

of contexts within Stowe's experience. But the book is more than the nineteenth-century sentimental novel because its model comes from Stowe's Trinitarian view of Christianity with the impact of the tender, nurturing quality of God the Son in the Godhead. Stowe expresses her concept of the Trinity in Oldtown Folks with its significance for humanity.

What have I not read and suffered at the hands of theologians? . . . We are in ourselves so utterly helpless,--life is so hard, so inexplicable, that we stand in perishing need of some helping hand, some sensible, appreciable connection with God . . . How many hours have I gone round and round this dreary track . . . a divine ray . . . shone upon me . . . it was merely the simplest statement of the truth that in Jesus Christ, ever living, ever present, every human soul has a personal friend, divine and almighty. (1091)

The way to spiritual identity was through Christ in the Godhead because of the nurturing quality of love. Its human parallel found expression in the family which informed the public family, the nation. Stowe remarks:

. . . every individual is part and parcel of a great picture of the society in which he lives and acts, and his life cannot be painted without reproducing the picture of the world he lived in (885). . . Among the peculiarly English ideas which the Colonists brought to Massachusetts, which all the wear and tear of democracy have not been able to obliterate, was that of family (1102) . . . Even in those very early times there was some dawning sense of what the great American nation was yet to be. And every man, woman, and child was constantly taught, by every fireside, to feel that he or she was part and parcel of a great new movement in human progress (1200) . . . deliverance [learned in family relationships] came through that greatest and holiest of all the natural sacraments and means of grace,--LOVE. (1332)

The Trinity informs the family which interprets the Trinity. For Stowe, the analogy patterns all of society because she adheres to the cultural attitude that the family and government inform each other. More specifically, she believes social interaction based on love and Christianity is learned in the family and enacted in the nation. She maintains that moral families create a strong country. The reverse is also true; destroy the family, and destroy the nation simultaneously. The slave families are savaged, but institutional slavery affects every segment of the culture: family, church, and government. Stowe not only argues for abolition; she calls for complete social reform. Her passionate jeremiad altar call in the last chapter demands it. She does employ sentimentalism and Victorian conventions, but behind their use always stands her ordering paradigm of the love of God, incarnate in Christ, and the earthly model of the mother in the family, functioning as Christ does as the feeling quality in the Trinity. As conversion is a process in Puritan thought and practice, the conversions in the book result from the presence of the Redeemer's love and the sinner's affirmative response to it. Conversion takes place because of relationships, not the logic and rules of dogma. In Trinitarian thought, salvation becomes possible in the love of Christ. In Stowe's examples, conversion occurs when relationships get past the captivity orientations with all their framing scriptures and removes, evocative of Mary

Rowlandson's captivity narrative, to assimilate the confessions. Conversion occasions character changes in attitude and behavior. In the preparationism of secular sermon and national conversion, Stowe confronts slavery and elevates the reform impulse for a sociological concern to a holy cause. She uses the tradition of the narrative forms for the morphology of conversion to demonstrate America's need for spiritual conversion in order to repudiate the sin of slavery which holds it in bondage. America's master plot of being the light of the world experiences great danger. As remedy, conversion, which enables moral reform after the sequential process of conversion, leads to salvation which grants both personal and national meaning. Puritan narrative forms allow an individual first to gain self-knowledge and then to apply and adapt that experience to private and public rules in order to understand self and society. Stowe retains those forms but substitutes slave narratives, domestic scenes, and dialogue for the self-analyzing processes of the Puritan genres. By using the conventions of the founders, she reveals the inner and outer contexts of characters and, thereby, America. Because of the revelations, she argues for national change.

#### Propaganda Tract

Uncle Tom's Cabin is a massive propaganda tract with its inclusion of the author's issues and sermon rhetoric.

Stowe was a prolific tract writer. Her style and Christian commitment admirably suited her day when neither critics nor readers distinguished greatly between fiction and religious propaganda. Jane Tompkins compares factual accounts of the American Tract Society's Tract Visitors (as their titles were spelled), tract texts, and fictional discourse from the nineteenth-century and argues that the way reality presents itself in any given moment in history mirrors accounts of it which at the time are held to be true. For Stowe and her contemporaries, the "highest function of any art . . . was the bringing of souls to Christ" with the endeavor joined by "evangelical clergy [and] sentimental novelists [who] wrote to educate their readers in Christian perfection and to move the nation as a whole closer to the City of God" ("Tracts to Texts" 426-427). America's history with tractates and broadsides, both political and religious, goes back to colonial experience. In 1829, the American Tract Society undertook a massive experiment in social welfare to visit families, minister to the poor in a material way, and distribute Bibles and religious tracts. They organized prayer meetings, urged church attendance, and engaged people in conversations about the state of their souls. Stowe was a regular contributor to the American Tract Society. Her essay, "Earthly Care, A Heavenly Discipline," was a perennial favorite, running in constant publication more than

seventy-five years. The power of the tract literature lay in its rhetorical tradition, shaped by

. . . the same network of assumptions . . . supported the religious beliefs of evangelical Christians . . . [because] a text depends upon its audience's beliefs not just in a gross general way, but intricately and precisely . . . . The Protestant-Republican ideology . . . identified the spreading of the Gospel with the building of a nation . . . . The implantation of virtue was the primary goal of nearly everything that nineteenth-century America read . . . novels . . . or religious tracts. (431-32)

Seeming to replicate itself, a text's tone and message served audiences from several strata. According to Tompkins, when extreme spiritual matters are of consequence "spontaneous eloquence, Biblical and oracular in style, is the most persuasive form of rhetoric" (431).

Stowe's strategies with the tract allow her to become a public activist with her private moral views; they permit the incursion of an authorial, didactic voice to add other issues which she espouses. Just causes and rhetorical authority characterize the tract; conventions involve logical presentation. As propaganda, the novel sets forth the narrator's public stance of private views. Stowe focuses on three principal issues in her use of propaganda in the novel: slavery, education, and colonization. She stands against slavery, for education, and, for different reasons, both for and against colonization of freed slaves in Liberia, West Africa. She dispenses a program for the freed slave and a moral platform for America in a polemic against

people and elements in the culture that obstruct America's moral destiny as the light on the hill to the world. Two centuries of election and revival sermons developed the style and imagery of the propaganda tract. Cotton "Mother" Mather, as she referred to him, had one who could wear his mantle in this Puritan daughter who created a new myth standing on his shoulders as she called the children of the founders to guard the heritage of the holy.

Stowe came slowly to her anti-slavery post.<sup>14</sup> For seventeen years, she lived in Cincinnati, Ohio, a free state, across the river from Kentucky and slavery. She moved there with her family when her father, Lyman Beecher, became president of Lane Seminary which held the hope for a theological education beacon in the west. Within two years, she married widowed Professor Calvin Stowe, one of Lyman's faculty, and lived on the frontier, barely subsisting on her husband's meager salary and the earnings she could add to the family coffers through her writing. During the years of struggle and childbearing, she knew black people, their experiences, and the daily evidences of slavery on the frontier.<sup>15</sup> Good Ramist logician, Lyman, ever confident he could debate the side of any argument and win, miscalculated the potential responses to irrational oratory from the polar positions of abolitionist and pro-slavery views. He and his offspring were anti-slavery but distanced themselves from the excesses of the abolitionists. In the beginning, they



were sympathetic with the colonization theory, but eventually rejected it as they, with most thinking people, recognized it as an attempt to deflect emancipation logic.<sup>16</sup> Harriet's oldest brother, Edward, aligned himself with the more aggressive activists and barely escaped mob action when a close friend, Elijah Lovejoy, an anti-slavery newspaper editor in Illinois, was killed at his office by a rioting pro-slavery mob.<sup>17</sup> Lyman's young abolitionist student, Theodore Weld (later abolition leader and husband of Angelina Grimke, Southern anti-slavery activist and women's rights advocate), challenged Lyman's more cautious attitude and destroyed the seminary's support base from Eastern anti-slavery financiers.

Stowe's writings during those years do not exhibit the turbulence about her; she systematically sold stories and sketches reflecting her New England past and Puritan heritage in pieces that pioneered in local color and realism.<sup>18</sup> Back in New England after Calvin accepted a faculty post in Brunswick, Maine, at Bowdoin College, his alma mater where he had been a schoolmate with Nathaniel Hawthorne and President Franklin Pierce, Harriet's sympathy with the slave increased to an emotional pitch as national tensions swirled and boiled.

Three events, grown mythic with the telling, relate to the propaganda bomb called Uncle Tom's Cabin. The first relates the story of her vision during a communion service

in Brunswick of Tom's death long before she conceptualized the book, which she wrote down in a burst of inspiration and kept. The second involves the account of the Beecher family rage at the Fugitive Slave Act, the letter from Edward's wife, Isabella, saying, "Hattie, if I could use a pen as you can, I would write something that will make this whole nation feel what an accursed thing slavery is," and Hattie's standing, crumpling the letter to her breast, saying, "I will write something! If will--if I live!" (Forrest Wilson 252) The third, which everyone who writes about Stowe feels compelled to add, is President Lincoln's response when he entertained her at tea at the White House: "So you are the little woman who started this big war" (Lyman Beecher Stowe 180-181, 205).

After a tentative beginning in attempts to get a publisher, Harriet's epic first knew print in serialization in Dr. Gamaliel Bailey's National Era. At first envisioned as a smaller work, it thickened under her fiery inspiration, creativity, and monthly installments. Episodic and cinematic, it flowed each month in response to the images which came to her, and the circulation of the magazine increased with each addition of Stowe's grand propaganda piece. Certain of its economic success in book form, J. P. Jewett, her Boston book publisher, already had the earlier part of the serialization in stereotype before she finished the last chapters.<sup>19</sup> As the "hairline of ink" started its "long

journey" that "ended at Appomattox" (Forrest Wilson 258), creating what Leslie Fiedler calls "the inadvertent epic" (17) in his book by that title, her passion and righteous wrath grew with her "pictures," as she called the scenes which flung her fiction on the pages (Johnston 202-209) and came to her in wave after wave. The images were so forceful and compelling that even she, in later years, in an allusion to her own beloved scripture texts, said of her book that sold out the first printing of 5000 in two days, 20,000 in three weeks, and eventually millions in hundreds of translations to become the first modern bestseller, "God wrote it."<sup>20</sup>

But she did write the book. As Forrest Wilson notes, she sent the "spider-web pen line" racing across the pages in response to the "steel of her passion" (271). She suffered through deadlines and revisions; God didn't. She shaped a propaganda attack against slavery to lead in social change. It begins on the first page of the Preface of Uncle Tom's Cabin:

. . . unhappy Africa at last is remembered; Africa, who began the race of civilization and human progress in the dim, gray dawn of early time, but who, for centuries, has lain bound and bleeding at the foot of civilized and Christianized humanity, imploring compassion in vain . . . . The object of these sketches is to awaken sympathy and feeling for the African race . . . among us . . . . (9)

She foreshadows the closing rhetoric of the book's conclusion and the tone of her propaganda effort and foresees its success as well.

When an enlightened and Christianized community shall have, on the shores of Africa, laws, language and literature, drawn from among us, may then the scenes of the house of bondage be to them like the remembrance of Egypt to the Israelite,--a motive of thankfulness to Him who hath redeemed them!

For, while politicians contend, and men are swerved this way and that by conflicting tides of interest and passion, the great cause of human liberty is in the hands of (God). (10)

After stories of laws that require breaking of law, she stages a dramatic performance from George Harris, a slave under the law:

. . . you have a country; but what country have I, or any one like me, born of slave mothers? What laws are there for us? We don't make them,--we don't consent to them,--we have nothing to do with them; all they do for us is to crush us, and keep us down. Haven't I heard your Fourth-of-July speeches? Don't you tell us all, once a year, that governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed? Can't a fellow think, that hears such things? Can't he put this and that together, and see what it comes to? . . . am I not a man, as much as anybody? . . . my father--(was) one of your Kentucky gentleman--who didn't think enough of me to keep me from being sold with his dogs and horses . . . when he died. I saw my mother put up at sheriff's sale . . . she begged . . . he kicked her away . . . my master takes me right away from my work . . . comes between me and my wife . . . . Do you call these the laws of my country? Sir, I haven't any country any more than I have any father . . . . I don't want anything of your country, except to be let alone,--to go peaceably out of it. I'll fight for my liberty to the last breath I breathe. (135-37)

As advocate for the slave, Stowe builds her case.

Then the propaganda turns to the "dealers in the human article" (380) and vividly portrays the financial transactions in human life with tavern posters describing runaways

(129) and Haley's newspaper advertisements for slave sales

(143). Authorial commentary enters at appropriate places:

The trader had arrived at that stage of Christian and political perfection which has been recommended by some preachers and politicians of the north . . . . [H]e had completely overcome every humane weakness and prejudice. His heart was . . . where yours, sir, and mine could be brought, with proper effort and cultivation. The wild look of anguish and despair . . . might have disturbed one less practiced . . . . [H]e was used to it . . . . You can get used to such things . . . . [I]t is the great object of recent efforts to make our whole northern community used to them, for the glory of the Union. So the trader only regarded the mortal anguish . . . and . . . calculated whether she was going to scream, and get up a commotion on the boat; for like other supporters of our peculiar institution, he decidedly disliked agitation. (158)

She bows to efforts to eradicate slavery in the world in such a way as to make the American practice more horrible.

Who does not know how our great men are outdoing themselves, in declaiming against the foreign slave-trade. There are a perfect host of Clarksons and Wilberforces risen up among us on that subject, most edifying to hear and behold. Trading negroes from Africa, dear reader, is so horrid! It is not to be thought of! But trading them from Kentucky,--that's quite another thing! (161)

The hint of decline from God's favor for America begins:

. . . as God chasteneth whom he loveth, he hath chosen poor Africa in the furnace of affliction, to make her the highest and noblest in that kingdom which he will set up, when every other kingdom has been tried, and failed; for the first shall be last, and the last first. (213)

Point after point, she constructs her legal and moral brief against the source of her outrage:

If it had been only a Hungarian youth, now bravely defending in some mountain fastness the

retreat of fugitives escaping from Austria into America, this would have been sublime heroism; but as it was a youth of African descent, defending the retreat of fugitives through America into Canada, of course we are too well instructed and patriotic to see any heroism in it . . . . (232)

The child who has lost a father has still the protection of friends, and of the law; . . . the slave has none. (371)

A slave warehouse! . . . men have learned the art of sinning expertly and genteelly, so as not to shock the eyes and senses of respectable society . . . (379) . . . . [S]he knows that tomorrow any man, however vile and brutal, however godless and merciless, if he only has money to pay for her, may become owner of her daughter, body and soul; and then, how is the child to be faithful? (384)

Stowe arrives at the novel's end and hammers in the lesson of fiction from the textbook of life with accounts of actual events which support the propaganda case she has brought against slavery (499, 510-13). Eloquently, she closes with a benediction on her tract from the ethics of George Shelby which promote social change (509) and charges specific sections of the country to join the moral crusade against slavery (513). She adds: "Nothing of tragedy can be written . . . that equals the frightful reality of scenes daily and hourly acting on our shores" (514).

Her motive is not to deal with how slavery happened or with the political programs to correct it, but to show it for what it is and, in moral outrage, to demand the nation respond in the same emotion to rise up and abolish it. Her efforts aim to eradicate slavery; judgments against her for not having an entire social program for problems the society

continues to work on have a hollow ring. Her actions support her vision and her call rings to Americans to "feel right . . . pray" (515) and act on those commitments. She agitates for emancipation, not colonization. After the Civil War, she lived in the south and started a school in Mandarin, Florida, for blacks. Her biographies recount her efforts to help in a variety of ways to put her vision for social change into public reality.

Uncle Tom's Cabin argues the case for education. As a teacher, Stowe believed in education as did her sister, Catherine Beecher, a pioneer in educational theory and a recognized educational authority. Stowe was involved in Catherine's innovative efforts before she married, teaching at her schools and writing texts. The two co-authored a children's Geography, although Stowe was the author. She taught in the schools Catherine founded in Hartford and Cincinnati; the two wrote a book, The American Woman's Home, dealing with the relationship between education and economics. Household Papers and Stories, Stowe's collected and published columns, dealt with many issues, education being a principle one. She knew education's importance for the slave to participate in citizenship, and its ability to grant economy, social value, and millennial expectations for the freed slave to survive.

Uncle Tom's Cabin demonstrates time and again the ability to read as an avenue to identity, introducing the

idea first in the conversations in Tom's cabin kitchen when young George shows improvement in his reading ability and works at teaching Tom to read (34, 41). Characters with positive qualities are educated or strive to become educated. For Stowe, the primary place of learning is the home; worthy slaves determine to read to become more than things. Tom learns to read for his identity. Her description of his poignant plight going down river, being unable to write home, and barely able to read the promises from his Bible for hope in his isolation (174) become more touching in the heavily marked text which identifies him (175). He labors at his reading lessons with Eva and eventually can write with extreme effort, making it possible to become the Word's representative as he models words that define him by creating himself through the text which identifies him.<sup>21</sup>

Negative characters have little or no education; Haley is not an educated person (143). But characters who are forming to do the ethical work of social change are either already educated or become so in the process of the novel. The reason the Shelbys have a claim on Eliza lies in her being well-treated and educated (28). George receives no education until he goes to work in Mr. Wilson's factory where he learns to read and write (137). In Canada, he insists on Harry's receiving a proper education (498). Eva cries because the slaves can't read (338) and wants to have a school to teach them. Augustine warns Alfred, his twin,



of the consequences from the examples of the French Revolution and the St. Domingo slave rebellion if America does not educate the slaves:

. . . educated they will be, and we have only to say how. Our system is educating them in barbarism and brutality. We are breaking all humanizing ties, and making them brute beasts; and if they get the upper hand, such we shall find them. (314)

Augustine challenges Ophelia, and therefore the North, by giving her Topsy to educate.

You send thousands of dollars to foreign missions; but could you endure to have the heathen sent into your towns and villages . . . If we emancipate, are you willing to educate? How many . . . in your town, would take in a negro man and woman [and] teach them . . . (366)

In his letter at the end of the book, George chronicles the superb education he has acquired as a symbol of his worthiness to lead in the social change venture (501).

The novel provides opportunities for Stowe to give her position on colonization for freed slaves. In its early expressions, colonization held an appeal; the theory placated guilty consciences by sounding like an honest effort to repatriate with some remuneration the devastation wrought by the slave trade. But it soon became obvious that colonization was a rhetoric and defense for the South and others who did not want to make the difficult choices regarding an end to slavery. Very few were actually repatriated and those who did return either could not adjust to life in Africa, or they became exploiters of Africans and weaker

repatriates, sometimes engaging in the slave traffic themselves. Positions on slavery formed generally into three lines: abolitionists who wanted immediate, unrestricted manumission; colonizationists who advocated gradual manumission, remuneration, and repatriation; and anti-slavery groups who could see both sides, but favored a system that would free and educate the slaves and incorporate some economic provisions to prevent the collapse of the Southern financial foundation.

Stowe's contemporaries understood her position. Stebbins writes in his work on colonization:

The tears that coursed down many a cheek while reading, in Uncle Tom's Cabin [sic], the story of the gentle Eva laying her white hand on the head of Topsy, and making the poor outcast feel, by sweet and gentle words, that kind affection could reach even her, were so many evidences of prejudice melting into sympathy; those sympathies must slowly crystallize into principles, and then the Colonization Society and its auxiliaries will cease to exist. (10)

No proponent of colonization, Stowe's views on the subject appear in the words of George Harris, the same character who has been quoted to ridicule her for supposedly supporting colonization efforts. George says:

I grant that this Liberia may have subserved all sorts of purposes, by being played off, in the hands of our oppressors, against us. Doubtless the scheme may have been used, in unjustifiable ways, as a means of retarding our emancipation. But the question to me is, Is there not a God above all man's schemes? May He not have overruled their designs, and founded for us a nation by them? (502)

As an important black character, George has to understand the pitfalls in the scheme.

Stowe lets the audience know she is aware of the traps in colonization, then she uses it for her purposes: the rhetorical effect always present in Puritan sermons. Stowe makes Liberia the "new city of God" and equates the new black man with the new Moses, the Old Testament type of leader who saved his people. George is not Tom, the Messiah, who teaches salvation, but rather, the teacher, who administers salvation to his exodus community with education, the popular redemption. If this New Jerusalem in America does not mend its ways, God will found a new light on a new hill; it carries her religious ideology, not a social program. Her social program includes education which nurtures as it instructs into citizenship so that the freed slaves can be a part of this culture. But colonization provides her propaganda agenda with windows from which to preach. Both have views to the past and the future, allowing her to use the past to make a plea for social change to insure the future. Relying on the cultural and religious ideology of Puritan beginnings, it furnishes a way for George Harris to be his own master and provides an escape from American slave beginnings.

. . . our race have equal rights to mingle in the American republic . . . But, then, I do not want it; I want a country, a nation, of my own. I think that the African race has peculiarities, yet to be unfolding . . . if not the same with those

of the Anglo-Saxon, may prove to be, morally, of even a higher type. (503)

Referring to the past permits Stowe to point forward to say that colonization is not the way for America to demonstrate a repudiation of its errors. Colonization affords the Janus-faced American muse a way to look back on sermon to shape story for the future through the use of propaganda techniques.

Propaganda emerges in her use of sermon rhetoric as well as in her social concerns. At times, the novel has the tone of a lawyer's language in a legal brief to evoke the style which she uses across the spectrum of her writing in a variety of contexts such as magazine tracts, Lady Byron, A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin, and the letter to her step-mother, Lydia Jackson Beecher, about financial provisions for Lyman she had made (4 March 1858, Folder 309, BSC). As an intruding narrator, she comments on special sermon points or morals she wishes to make. Like the movements between the activists who create change in the book, the propaganda works back and forth between narratives and characters for adjustments from both sides of the equations set up to elicit change and action. The rhetoric of propaganda in sermon form begins to heat like the fires from Jonathan Edwards's hell when she writes, "And now, men and women of America, is this a thing to be trifled with, apologized for, and passed over in silence?" (514)

Puritan tensions abound in the sense of self, the importance of the mission errand, the awareness of national election, and the role of the jeremiad. Tom, a poor, benighted black slave with nothing, attains everything in his self-denial, thus becoming a model for self actualization for a nation. The national identity teeters between the depraved self transformed in Christ as Tom is, and the depraved soul that chooses to remain in depravity, as Le-gree, Simonias Satanus [the author's sobriquet], does. Stowe shows in her tractate broadsides between the narrative tracks that the mission errand is at stake and if America does not repent to drive the scourge from her midst, it will pass to another agent. America, the elected nation is in danger. The wall of Nehemias Americanus is broken. Weeds flourish in the New England garden of the soul. The New Israel city has spread beyond its hill into sprawling suburbs called wild Kentucky and sinister New Orleans. The wilderness lies both inside and outside the wall, constituting danger because of testing and punishment, and conveying the blessing of God's nearness due to that peril wherein lies the hope implicitly in her jeremiad. However, if repentance does not occur, the lament informs, God poises, ready to perpetuate Himself and His name and progeny through George Harris, Nehemiah Africanus [author's sobriquet]. With his remnant of Anglo-Saxon blood, aided by Eliza, her mother, Cassy, who is reclaimed from depravity, and Topsy,

who is redeemed from depravity, he will found the new city on a hill in a new nation, LIBERIA, elected by God to found a replacement for fallen America. In jeremiad rhetoric, Stowe levels her propaganda against the sins of slave-trading America.

Individuals find resolutions for the group problem, the social problem which Stowe protests. Although there is individual resolution, the group must take action and change or be destroyed by the social problem in ways illustrated by the characters who remain unconverted to a new ethic and behavior. Stowe's strategies with genres equip her with a rhetoric to call the nation to conversion in order to stamp out spiritual, moral, economic, political, and social evil. Her propaganda tract and jeremiad rhetoric demand the action Stowe wants as prevention for the apocalypse she sees from her vision of the social problem as she preaches stories against slavery. At the end, there is no holding back.

A day of grace is yet held out to us. Both North and South have been guilty before God; and the Christian church has a heavy account to answer. Not by combining together, to protect injustice and cruelty, and making a common capital of sin, is this Union to be saved,--but by repentance, justice, and mercy; for, not surer is the eternal law by which the millstone sinks in the ocean, than that stronger law, by which injustice and cruelty shall bring on nations the wrath of Almighty God! (519)

Forrest Wilson makes the judgment: "Sitting in her own Israel, she really believed" that once the South saw slavery in its stark reality, it would voluntarily manumit its

slaves (276). Uncle Tom's Cabin certainly shows her efforts to make that come about by casting the entire nation in sin.

Jan Dawson develops a concept of Puritanism as a cultural residue demanding moral education and reform that led to orthodox theology's incorporation into Social Christianity ("Puritanism" 509-510) which, in turn, resulted in an "ethic of self-discipline and simplicity" to "serve the promotion of true democracy" (524) in the nation. Allied with her thought is Gene Bluestein's concept of literary Calvinism:

. . . the idea that, as a consequence of original sin and predestination, human beings are equal in depravity . . . joined in a brotherhood of sinners within a democratic society whose central mission is to prevent inherent evil from flourishing by circumscribing the individual and institutional energies (196) . . . [T]he image of New England roots penetrating into hot, Southern soil turned out to be an accurate if not wholly conscious prediction of the direction literary Calvinism would take in our literary history . . . . (201) What literary Calvinism chooses to underscore is the ideological inference which seventeenth-century Puritanism could not: the God who is the author of such a system in which all men and women are absolutely equal in sin, inescapably joined in the brotherhood and sisterhood which devolves from their depravity--that deity is indeed a democratic God. (213)

Literary Calvinism supplies a framework which enables American artists to transform a view of human nature into claims of radicality which individualize American thought. Uncle Tom's Cabin utilizes every potential of that Puritan force.

Harriet Beecher Stowe sounds the altar call; a nation responds. In her strategies with Puritan genres, she wails

a prophetic sermon created with allegorical story and the typological characters set realistically in 1850 America. The smaller strategies cohere to create her grand one because of the power of her voice and her ability to maintain both the authority of the preacher and the allure of the storyteller. Stowe's Preface mini-sermon follows the plan to instruct, win acceptance, and excite feelings through the proper, logical unfolding of its parts. But a curious thing has happened to the Puritan sermon on its way from a first generation specimen like Samuel Danforth's "Errand into the Wilderness" (Plumstead 54-77), for instance, to Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin. Danforth's work observes White's recipe of three parts logic to one part emotion where extra-biblical examples are allowed in that order. But Stowe, while following the cooking instructions, varies the amount of the ingredients and where they are mixed. She begins with story, empowered by her biblical master design and plot, and explicitly puts the emotive, affective purpose first; she conflates the conventions of the Puritan sermon and narrative genres with those of the sentimental novel to do the work of culture. In doing so, she serves a hearty meal in the kitchens of her book which changes the way America pictures itself. She seats blacks and whites at the same table and, by extension of the domestic sphere into the public one, grants freedom and citizenship to black Americans with one stroke. Fisher says that the work of culture



"articulates" by "giving shape to and sorting out some part of the past as it can be of use to a particular present" where it "stabilizes and incorporates nearly ungraspable or widely various states of moral or representational or perceptual experience." Because of that, "the end of slavery as a legal and military fact" was "a partner term to the insistence by Stowe, in Uncle Tom's Cabin, on human representability for black Americans" (1-2). The central act of cultural work which builds that "aspect of self-consciousness" by means of which "the unimaginable becomes, finally, the obvious" constitutes "the most sophisticated process of social life" (8).

Both Stowe's form and substance operate off the master design which provides the master plot. Strategies of the genres form a story shaped by a life to give a message of protest for the way that life is brutalized. The world of the story is the world of Tom, exemplar of Christ, the suffering servant, who is the social ethic answering with authentic interiority problems of story's exteriority. Strategy points to the storyteller who has the voice of the preacher, standing within the context of the story's world, pointing to reality from the truth of the story. Her scripture comes at the end of the Preface, to give it foundation, and with it she communicates the theme of her master sermon: "God will deliver." With this placement, she signals it has been operative from the beginning, granting authority to

that which she sets first: the master story. With "the scenes of this story," she positions those who need deliverance first, enhancing their plight while assuring their release from it. Armed with the governing law of God and the privileged place of all who are in His plan, she sallies forth to do battle against a society that does not obey the ideal law with stories of individuals to show violations.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See Edward Wagenknecht (132-94) for additional discussion of Stowe's synthesizing her religious ideology in work, a practice which always structures her fiction. Eleanor Miller's dissertation deals specifically with the Christian philosophy in Stowe's New England novels. Her Christological views make possible the connection she forges between a theological system and human enactment of it which influences all of her writing. For more commentary on Stowe's Christocentric position, consult the following: Marie Caskey (3-33, 169-207); Boydston, Kelley, and Margolis (246-49); Maureen Goldman (124-51); James Smylie (67-85) and Ann-Janine Morey (745-51). Thomas Joswick examines her moral reasoning that comes from the religious values she espouses.

<sup>2</sup>Chard Powers Smith relates the example of James Fitch who takes up the question of whether the world was created or eternal in his work, The First Principles: a question never entirely resolved with Aristotelian logic. Ramist logic solved the problems: either the world was created or not; if not, there is neither cause of its existence, nor design or purpose in it; but these conditions seem absurd; if created, either God created it or it created itself, and the latter is absurd; therefore, God created the world. The style of thought became instinctive. When Webster demanded to know if the "Federal government is a servant of the state legislatures or the creature of the people," he was using the Ramist rhetorical style, as was Lincoln in his "house divided" speech when he declared the nation must be "all slave" or "all free" (113). This style of opposites held in tension to move syllogistically to conclusions was that which Stowe used as an eleven-year-old to win her father's approval and the school prize at Litchfield Academy with her essay, "Can the Immortality of the Soul be Proved by the Light of Nature?" Significantly, it is reprinted in its entirety in her "autobiography" prepared with her son's assistance (Charles Beecher Stowe 15-21). It is also the system used by Catherine to write what was considered the best refutation of Edwards on the will and precipitated the comment from a German theologian, "America has a woman who can refute Edwards? May Columbus be forgiven for discovering the land!" (Wagenknecht 37).

<sup>3</sup>For his analysis of more than 2000 Puritan sermons, Harry Stout uses as an organizing principle the terminology

of the five parts of classical rhetoric taught in the manuals of Cicero and Quintillian: "Invention" (inventio); "Arrangement" (dispositio); "Style" (elocutio); "Delivery" (pronuntiatio); "Memory" (memoria) (5-6). Because of the bifurcation of logic and emotion coming from Peter Ramus and amplified by the great teachers of Puritan preachers, William Perkins and John Udall, I use the terms they developed and those White uses which recur with some variation in the sermons read for this study: see Plumstead 53-77; 85-105; 115-139; 150-176; 183-220. White says Cicero anticipated the bifurcation and Perkins just recognized what had long been taught when he developed his approach to suit Puritan need and wrote that "the ministrie of the word . . . must be plain . . . powerful and lively in operation . . . The word preached must pierce into the heart . . ." (203). For commentary on the theory and work of Perkins, see Teresa Toulouse (14-23). Phyllis M. Jones and Nicholas R. Jones say the three most influential manuals for Puritan preachers were The Art of Propheying by William Perkins (1592), the chapter "Of Ordinary Ministers, and the Office in Preaching" in The Marrow of Sacred Divinity by William Ames (1623), and The Faithful Shepherd by Richard Bernard (1607 and 1621); they discuss sermon organization from theory that guided the preachers (6-9).

<sup>4</sup>White quotes from student notes on preaching taken by Henry Dunster, who became Harvard College's first president. See also William Henry Erklauer, Jr.'s dissertation, "The Dynamic Forms of Puritan Discourse: The Rhetorical Practice of Six New England Puritans;" "Radical Spiritism: Sweet Sugar-Candy Religion," in Philip F. Gura (49-92); and Robert J. Wilson (121-44).

<sup>5</sup>For a treatment of Cotton Mather's pietism and thought on emotion, see "Bonifacius" in Kenneth Silverman's The Life and Times of Cotton Mather (227-60). Michael J. Colacurcio contributes a good overview of "redefinition, reassessment, and reevaluation" of Edwards and states emphatically his premise that Edwards was a Christian philosopher "whose philosophy 'placed itself at the service of Scripture and was willing to take orders from it'" (56) in his essay, "The Example of Edwards: Idealist Imagination and the Metaphysics of Sovereignty." For the theological, philosophical, and historical thought of Edwards, see the essays in Critical Essays on Jonathan Edwards, edited by William J. Scheick, which concern those subjects (67-196). M. X. Lesser supplies accounts of grace, wrath, and love in the narratives of Edwards in chapter three, "Scriptural and Rational Doctrines," (34-65) of his book, Jonathan Edwards. For Edwards and revivalism, specifically, consult The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and Its Consequences, edited by Alan Heimert and Perry Miller: "Justification by

Faith" (8-13); "A History of the Work of Redemption" (20-34); "The Distinguishing Marks of the Spirit" (204-13); "Thoughts on the Revival of Religion" (263-290); "Qualifications for Communion" (423-34); and "A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections" (516-39).

<sup>6</sup>Biographers note that Stowe had in mind a shorter piece of fiction March 9, 1851, when she wrote Gamaliel Bailey, editor of National Era, of her plan to write a story about "the patriarchal institution." Her letter to him states she intended to write a "thing" that "may extend to three or four numbers" and she planned to have it "ready in two to three weeks" (Forrest Wilson 259-60). Kirkham believes the delay in publication was due to her efforts to gain the copyright (70). Bailey's letter to Stowe May 8 indicates he sensed Uncle Tom's Cabin would be longer than she first said. The first installment occupied little more than half the front page of the June 5, 1851 issue. Serial publication posed difficulties: she wrote in Brunswick, Maine, 545 miles from the publication site, which precluded her reading proofs; issues varied from part of a single chapter to as many as three complete chapters; she had the constant pressure of writing against deadlines and unreliable mail service; and the emotional stress of the creative process interfered at least once, when she missed her deadline after the death of little Eva (75, 109, 113). The audience reaction to Uncle Tom's Cabin in serial was so impressive that Jewett in Boston, the publisher Stowe selected in September, was stereotyping by January, 1852, to have the book ready as soon as it finished in serial in the Era (142-49) in March, 1952. Wilson relates how word of the serial went from person to person and copy was passed from family to family. He doubts any magazine since has had as many readers in proportion to its publication (272).

<sup>7</sup>Sometimes the texts are given as a character's own words. For example, when Simeon renders his private homily to George Harris, he is really quoting Psalm 73, verses 2-3, 5-8, 10-11, 16-18, 20, 23-24, and 28 (226). She often uses biblical material as allusions or for metaphors. "Trust in God" [1 Timothy 4:10], spoken by Mrs. Shelby when Tom is carried away by Haley, becomes a recurring symbol used by different characters in a variety of contexts. Stowe rarely cites a source, unless the selection forms a chapter text. Even that practice shows she is quoting from memory and is not as concerned with textual exactness as she is with effect. For example, she says the epigram for chapter XXXIV is from Ecclesiastes 4:1, but it is actually the last part of the first verse and the first half of the second one. This serves to underscore her biblical habit of mind and indicate how its language, stories, characters, and morality provide her with a communication base for her world and

identity. She and her audience share a commonality in religious thought and language which in turn connect her vision and message for America regarding slavery.

<sup>8</sup>Elizabeth Ammons says Rachel Halliday, "sitting at the head of her family's table . . . illustrates how humane and spiritually nourishing mother-rule might be" ("Heroines" 155). Jane Tompkins makes the same point, saying Rachel Halliday is "the millenarian counterpart of little Eva," enacting "the redeemed form of the Last Supper" in the "Holy Communion as it will be under the new dispensation" (Sensational 142). The image is powerful, but the comments point to the reflected half of the picture. The controlling model in back of it is the master design of the Trinity with the mother as the typology of Christ the servant who nurtures the family of God with all of the members present. Making Stowe an advocate of dominant feminism ignores her sincere allegiance to religious themes and her absolute, lifelong devotion to her family. She approved of women's rights, but never at the sacrifice of faith, home, and family. Laurie Crumpacker takes issue with contemporary critics who label Stowe a domestic feminist and claims instead the usefulness of examining "her ideas about women's roles within the context of social transformation, including but not limited to women's rights" (78). Stowe investigates in fiction whether or not women and men "are born destined for separate spheres" or if "they are conditioned to fill certain gender roles" (90) and concludes that "motherhood is hardly an innate womanly instinct" (96) nor should education be the reserved solely for men.

<sup>9</sup>U. Milo Kaufmann's study presents a background on the traditions in Puritan meditation; note the sections on devotion which stress the part of imagination (21-24), the scriptural basis (27-39), the issue of authority (41-59), and the role of the interpreter and character as example (61-95). See Daniel B. Shea for a development of the traditional patterns in Puritan spiritual autobiography (87-100) and a historical account of the variations (152-233). In the first there is self-recollection, then use of self for self-exploration, and last, self for expression of self. These roughly correspond to my definitions for spiritual autobiography, confession, and conversion. Marjorie Boyle discusses the classical rhetoric in Augustine and makes the significant point that the text is invented "from the self as a rhetorical place" about God, not the self, which grants an insight into the Puritan fondness for him (24-25).

<sup>10</sup>Edmund Morgan calls families the "foundations (and) nurseries of all societies" (Family 143). Anthropological history supports the connection between family and society; Puritan societies placed the family directly in the civic

and theocentric mesh of their theory and practice. Philip Greven proposes that a person's response to public authority is predicated by adaptation and adjustment to authority learned in the family. Charles Cohen says family, with others, influenced the "Saints" for conversion in a "communal process . . . (that stretched) from the regenerated individual to the wider public and ultimately to heaven" (21). Shirley Samuels treats the period between the Revolution and the Civil War to set out "practices of the state and the family, and the institution of the novel in the early republic" (381).

<sup>11</sup>I use communitas with a synthesis of three meanings in mind. First is the biblical understanding of a shared identity in a covenant society which produces a sense of community among its members. Second is Reinhold Niebuhr's concept of the self and its communities with larger and smaller entities granting acceptance and/or exclusion (Self 46-52). Those communities may occur because of geography, history, race, religious faith, or any variety of reasons. Niebuhr's ideas hold both theological and sociological implications. Third is Victor Turner's identification of communitas in the second, or marginal, stage in his studies of rites of passage in Zambia (8). The first phase separates the subject from social structure role; the second concerns his isolation; the third reincorporates him into a new societal role. Concerning far more than tribal rites, the anthropological work yields religious and psychological benefits for study of interaction.

<sup>12</sup>See John Seelye's Prophetic Waters, especially "A Fabric Huge" and "Providential Passages" for the psychological and literary effects of rivers on American culture (253-309). Richard Poirier writes about American books as "an image of the creation of America itself" by artists who attempt "the practical possibility of enclosing the world in their imaginations" (3).

<sup>13</sup>For analyses and critical studies of specific conversion narratives, see Patricia Caldwell (119-86) and Charles Cohen (135-241).

<sup>14</sup>Forrest Wilson says Stowe's first contact with slavery came when she saw a wanted poster for a runaway slave when she arrived in Cincinnati with her father and family in 1832 (95). She published with regularity during the seventeen years she lived in Ohio. With the exception of the summer of 1836, when she and Henry Ward briefly collaborated at the Journal and Western Luminary while he was interim editor, she did not write any antislavery material. Kirkham believes Orestes Browning's series of articles on Carlyle's Chartism, which ran in Cincinnati's Western Messenger from

October, 1839, to May, 1840, provided a view of slavery which Stowe made central to her later sketches and her novel. Browning said slavery was evil and should be abolished but wage slavery among free laborers would simply replace the older system. He maintained the regeneration of the race would come only by changing the institution, not the managers. Its abuses do not extend from the personality of the masters, but from slavery itself. Make all the owners good Christians and the evil does not lessen at all. Uncle Tom's Cabin's basic theme concerns the corruptive effects of slavery as a system (Building 52-53). Five years later, "Immediate Emancipation," which appeared in the Evangelist, January 2, 1845, "marked a turning point in the direction of the attitude toward slavery" that Harriet had found five years earlier in Brownson's "Laboring Classes" (55). She lived in Cincinnati four more years, but it was not until she returned to New England that the smoldering intermixture of her experiences, the turmoil surrounding the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, and the increasing awareness of injustice brought her to the creation of her great anti-slavery novel.

<sup>15</sup>All of her biographers write about Stowe's personal experiences with slavery. Kirkham provides the most concise accounts and relates them to sources for characters and incidents in the novel (Building 111-49). Critics suggest influences from other writers on Stowe's method and aesthetic (Wagenknecht 116-32, 155-75), but also generally agree she is writing from the native tradition of pathos and piety, the emotional force "that was overwhelming in the midst of the national crisis of the 1850s" (John Adams 48), and the power of personal experience. Kirkham traces parallels of artistic treatment in writers such as Bunyan, Scott, and Dickens, but credits her with genius in the use of personal experience. He furnishes detailed sources for characters and incidents with correctives on critical errors in attribution. For example, he takes more than twenty pages to analyze and supply correct data for the "legends that breed legends" about the character of Uncle Tom (81-102). Cincinnati was at the crossroads between freedom and slavery: an important link in the underground railroad. He says Stowe felt compelled to offer proof for her originality in A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin, but the preface indicates her attitude toward the material in it, collected after her novel's publication. It provides data to reinforce her story, not to point to incidents or people who are specifically pictured in the book. Kirkham believes she was writing from actual first- and second-hand experience and presents evidence for his views. For example, a young slave woman actually did cross the Ohio on the ice and the feat was reported in several written accounts (106). Stowe once employed a young black woman who turned out to be an escaped



slave; when her master appeared in Cincinnati, Calvin and Henry Ward spirited her away at night to the house of John Van Zandt, ten miles away, who helped runaways. Topsy's source was a young child in one of Stowe's schools (127).

<sup>16</sup>G. B. Stebbins book published in 1853 traces a history of the "pro-colonization movement" beginning with Jefferson's proposal of a plan for colonizing the free "colored population" (14). Although the Colonization Society claimed to be a philanthropic movement ". . . its highest idea of philanthropy toward the colored man is to mark him as the Pariah of our American civilization . . . and send him to Africa that we may be rid of his unwelcome presence" (5-6). The book affords evidence that the movement was for the benefit of the slaveholder and slave states, allowing them to send free Blacks back, be rid of the financial burden for them, and receive remuneration in the process. It includes chilling evidence of those who were repatriated becoming slave traders themselves. Repatriation was not voluntary for the 8500 who were relocated; "their consent was never asked; it was only slavery or expatriation" (145). Of that number, 1044 were recaptured from slave ships by government cruisers. Nearly half the remaining number were from Virginia.

David Livingstone's letters validate Stebbins's account of Liberian ex-slaves and their occupation in slave trading themselves (235-58). His eye-witness accounts of the slave trade within Africa and the involvement of specific national groups, such as the Portuguese and Arabs, lend a pathetic gloss on culturally received information about the epoch.

An ironic turn on colonization is Louis Farrakhan's contemporary demands that Afro-Americans be repatriated.

Reparations must include the freeing of all blacks from state and federal penitentiaries. Then let us ask our brothers and sisters in Africa to set aside a separate territory for us, and let us take the money that America is spending to maintain these convicts and invest it in a new reality on the African continent . . . What contribution could we make to that great continent after 400 years of living in the United States, having been blessed to graduate some of our people from the finest institutions of learning in this nation and having in our number the most educated group of black people anywhere on earth? . . . We appeal to America's leaders to move with dispatch to solve these problems so that this great ship of state, with all its finery, may sail on to a greater destiny. (Mills 114-16)

By making adjustments for Farrakhan's Black Muslim base and George Harris's Christian symbols, a reader finds remarkable similarities in the texts. Some issues are the same; for

example, the praise for education, the rhetoric of America, and the sea voyage imagery.

<sup>17</sup>See Robert Meredith's life of Edward Beecher for the following: an account of the Lovejoy murder (3-7, 91-101); the relationships between New England thinkers, Garrisonian abolitionists, and the growing involvement of the Beechers in the abolition movement (73-126); and the reactions of Stowe to the Lovejoy controversy (184-185).

<sup>18</sup>For a chronological bibliography of Stowe's writing, consult Margaret Hildreth's Harriet Beecher Stowe (1-154). Hildreth (155-257) and Jean Ashton's Harriet Beecher Stowe: A Reference Guide afford a critical bibliography. Josephine Donovan's New England Local Color Literature: A Women's Tradition places her as an innovator of that genre (1-24, 50-67). Kenneth Lynn links her to Balzac and Faulkner (xv, xxiv); various critics claim corollaries between her and Cooper and propose that she anticipates Twain, Faulkner, Caldwell, and other Southern writers (Charles Foster 60-1). Faulkner said Stowe "was writing about Uncle Tom as a human being--and Legree and Eliza as human beings, not as puppets" (Riggio 57). Check Wagenknecht (155-75) for her writing methodology. See Coultrap-McQuin (80-104) for Stowe's mature career, especially her work in domestic feminism.

<sup>19</sup>Kirkham's (Building) combined biographical account of Stowe and critical edition of Uncle Tom's Cabin traces her masterpiece through three stages in manuscript, newspaper serialization, and book publication. He provides collations, headnotes, and an exact rendering of the composition and revision practices of Stowe. By proposing through his text that her story was the product of a long literary apprenticeship rather than the rush into print by an unpracticed writer which some studies have maintained, he supplies detailed attention to the editing she did in preparation for the novel's publication which shows she made changes giving greater characterization to Mr. Shelby and young George and omitted potentially offensive comments which appeared in the serialization. The one oversight, her fault and the publisher's, was leaving the footnote of reference to Dr. Joel Parker which did quote him correctly as a Northern pro-slavery clergyman, but caused her a great deal of grief before the matter was settled.

See Ellen Louise Madison's dissertation, "A Parallel Text Edition of Uncle Tom's Cabin: Materials for a Critical Text." Madison finds very few substantive changes between the National Era text and the Jewett text in the first 31 chapters. Jewett had begun stereotyping in the fall of 1851, a more expensive process reserved for books the publisher felt would sell well. Compositors freely changed stylistic matters such as punctuation and paragraphing, and

details of her spellings in the Era such as "Oh" to "O" and "Mass'r" to "Mas'r." With Jewett using the Era text, few changes would be expected. In the last issue in January, Bailey mentioned in the Era that Jewett was stereotyping as fast as the novel appeared in his magazine. When Stowe finished the book, she did turn to revision and sent Jewett a list of changes she wished to make, one of them being the removal of the offensive footnote referring to Dr. Joel Parker on 191 of the first volume. Jewett did not break his stereotype to do so, and ensued the lengthy public battle between the Stowes and Parker. Substantive variants begin to show up in the middle of chapter 32 in the National Era (33 in Jewett, because he thought the divided long chapter 32 in the Era was two chapters) and continue to chapter 37 (38). Chapters 37 and 38 (38 and 39) contain few or no changes. Chapters 39 and 40 (40 and 41) have many differences and then from 41 (42) to the end there are very few differences.

Like Kirkham, Madison concludes Stowe was revising and gives her credit for being a much more careful writer than critics or most of her biographers have granted. In comparing extant manuscript leaves with the Era text, she agrees with critics that Stowe left punctuation to the compositors, but not with the comments that she did not revise. For example, Kirkham and Madison write of the original manuscript pages which show three beginnings before deciding the introductory scene. Madison says the Era text for the first 31 chapters should be used as the authoritative text with the incorporation of authorial changes and corrections from Jewett. Beginning with chapter 32, Jewett may become at times the authoritative text as both were being published almost simultaneously. Kirkham and Madison are in basic agreement with conclusions on textual matters.

<sup>20</sup>Stowe's comment has, understandably, elicited a great deal of critical commentary: Howard Mumford Jones writes, "The anecdote has a certain hallucinatory fascination. Many a writer, once his book is out, has a queer feeling that somebody else wrote it" (viii); Leslie Fiedler says that if God had "written and autographed it, it could not have sold better--some 300,000 copies in the very first year of publication, and millions in the following years" ("Harriet" 112); Forrest Wilson notes that "she never deviated from the attitude that the novel was God's and not her own" (295); Kenneth Lynn asks, "Even if we assume that God was indeed her Muse, the question still remains, why was her Muse a realist?" and adds, "Yet her interpretation is not altogether useless, inasmuch as it serves to remind us of how important a part of Mrs. Stowe's life was the problem of religious faith" (xviii). Gossett provides the most comprehensive summary of views regarding her claim (94-96).

Stowe was being typically Puritan in making the comment and referred to the deeply held belief in the human as agent of the divine. God is Author of His own Text, the Bible, in Puritan understanding of how humanity has received Holy Writ. As God wrote the Ten Commandments on stone in the presence of Moses two times with the first ones shattered (Exodus 32:19) and the second ones placed in the Ark of the covenant (Exodus 40:20), there is precedent in the use of humans for divine penmanship. The logic runs through scripture: "But there is a spirit in man: and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding" (Job 32:8). In her thought, there is a continuing metaphor of Word as divine presence: "In the beginning was the Word" (John 1:1); "This is the disciple which testifieth of these things and wrote these things: and we know his testimony is true" (John 21:24); "All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness" (I Timothy 3:16); "For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit" (II Peter 1:23). So Stowe was not disclaiming authorship; rather, she was, again in good Puritan fashion, establishing the source of her inspiration and her total submission to it without personal pride in what it had accomplished through her obedience to its demands. Its "subject is God the creator as good and just" and she considered the book, as Augustine regarded his text, not even of her own invention, "but of the brooding of the Spirit" (Boyle 25).

<sup>21</sup>Kirkham believes the slave narratives and abolition tracts provided Stowe with invaluable knowledge about the deep South. With hundreds of slave biographies in print, the form developed into a genre to become formulaic with conventions of its own (Building 99-103). A slave proved his or her identity as a person by learning to read and write one's own story. The practice served Stowe's purposes also for her strategies with the conversion narrative. James Olney makes the point that black history was preserved in autobiographies and narratives rather than in standard histories "because Black writers entered into the house of literature through the door of autobiography" (15). Charles Hambrick-Stowe's book is a corrective on the stereotype of Puritan devotional life as crippling and anxiety producing. He believes it lifted the practitioners from self-abasement to ecstasy because devotional exercises reached the affections (22-53).

## CHAPTER II

## STRATEGIES AND VOICE: THE MESSENGER

Harriet Beecher Stowe launched her program to change America with the two voices in the text of Uncle Tom's Cabin.<sup>1</sup> Her vision for America and her solutions for the problem of slavery come through these two voices: moral didacticism which relates to the master design that is shaped by Christian doctrine, sometimes stated but always implied; and sentimentality that expresses the master plot by means of stories which question the way that society interprets doctrine. Together, the two impulses provide a rhetorical pattern to enlist the reader in Stowe's plan to abolish slavery similar to the way in which the divided parts of intellect and emotion of a Puritan sermon persuaded its audience. They produce three levels of reform for audience understanding. Coming from the biblical orientation of the culture, one calls for reform for the sake of God, nation, and slave while the second, deriving from domestic ideology and the sentimental novel, advocates change because of home, family, and the shape of continued existence. Arising from moral reform movements apart from religious and domestic incentives, the third one assumes

melodrama's force to demand reform for the sake of social benefit.

One dimension of Stowe's voice came from her preaching heritage; the other resulted from her storytelling talent shaped by domestic ideology and its sentimentality. As an affirmation of the covenant model, the preacher tone grants authority. When dominant, it argues for the urgency of the religious vision, communicating biblical ideals and granting Uncle Tom's Cabin the authority of Puritanism with its conventions for emotional enactment of Christian doctrine. Theodore Parker, imminent theologian and contemporary of Stowe, spoke for other clergymen as well, when he commented on her book's success, cited its appeal to the conscience, emotions, and soul, and added, "New England Orthodoxy never did a better thing" (Gossett 176). Karl Keller comments on how thoroughly she knew the "New England Hermeneutic tradition" (98) and the manner in which she "was obsessed with America as Christian metaphor" (102). However, her sentimentality magnifies one aspect of the covenant, grace, and grants direct access to it by means of love which elevates emotion to a position of authority co-existent with doctrine. When dominant, it argues for the urgency for social order by proposing reform with narratives of sentimentality which manipulate sermon conventions for the intellectual assent to emotion. Gossett claims it was "Stowe's consummate art as a storyteller that allowed her to invest the

cause of abolition" with the sympathies of romance, delineations of character, scope of observation, American spirit, and narrative faculty (181). The transference of substitutions and manipulations on behalf of characters occurs within the affective experience which convinces with emotion that the changes are logical, reasonable, and preferred. When the didactic and the sentimental function together in dialectic tension, Stowe's voice argues for the urgency of religious vision and social order joined in the logic of what is right because of love. The two bond together to produce an authoritative text of passionate feeling on behalf of reform. Their conflation creates a style in which the language of Puritanism domesticates the slave into citizenship and sentimental domesticity elevates him to personhood.

Stowe's narratives introduce reform by presenting her ideological world vision through sermon techniques together with story method. Simultaneously, they imply order and experience as both complementary and in collusion against slavery. God wants all races to be free; all races want to be free; therefore, American slave laws must be opposed. Brook Thomas states that she "exposes Tom to the full extent of what is allowed under the law" in order to establish that "the slave code itself was an inexcusable evil" (114). She illustrates that "so long as the law considers a human being a commodity, the calculating world of the market" with

"unsympathetic, almost inhuman" trader and owner carry "out the logic of the system" (120). As a double effect, didactic moralism carries her vision, and sentimentality in the narrative force communicates her solutions. In the dialectic tension, the moralistic tone in the book as a sermon and the sentimentality in the stories structure her protest to illustrate the potential ways to respond to the problem of slavery. From a pattern of repetition in dealing with character, scene, symbols, images, and dialogue, the reader learns from the strategies of her two-edged voice the range of resolutions to imitate as options in confronting slavery.

Frank McConnell sees the double effect in Stowe's voice. He says her

. . . narrative voice alternately recounts the lurid history of slavery and announces the coming of the Lord's Day . . . [she] does not distinguish stylistically or unconsciously between these two incommensurable kinds of speech . . . [she shows] her total lack of consciousness of this verbal problem. (737-738)

However, he notes the symptoms without making the diagnosis. Stowe possesses two voices, not one, and the ability to communicate by recounting and announcing in a dialectic between the two is exactly the source of her power. Claiming the key to Uncle Tom's Cabin resides in Stowe's New England doubleness which comes from her Puritanism, Charles Foster declares that Stowe had a deeper source of doubleness than the play of mind and emotion. He argues that she assumes opposing roles by distinct turns rather than by the



blending of extremes as Emerson, Thoreau, and Frost practice; he states she "belonged to what we might call the primitive manifestation of New England doubleness--that is, to its intensely Puritan phase" (11). The "lurid" story of slavery, as McConnell describes it, and the apocalyptic sermon held in tension are purposely done and stylistically unwavering because of the duality in her voice. Edmund Wilson describes the effect as a "certain eruptive force" with characters who "leap into being with a vitality . . . arguing and struggling, like real people who cannot be quiet" and continue "prattling and preaching" to enact "a drama that demands to be played to the end." The audience becomes aware "that a critical mind is at work, which has the complex situation in a firm grip" and will control and coordinate the interrelations "no matter how vehement" events become (5-6).

Stowe represents two images of the American literary artist: the preacher and the storyteller. Her narratives require her preacher voice for authority; the sermon style needs her storytelling voice to illustrate religion's compelling force in her world. This doubleness in her writing characteristically interprets the present and anticipates the future in the rhetoric of the past, giving a Janus perspective on her literary contribution. The preacher evokes rules for society from the past and speaks to the present; the storyteller looks at the present to outline the

future by relating stories which suggest reform by testing the rules in order to keep them valid for society's needs. A potential contradiction between the two perspectives works in tandem because of her voice. Coming from both mouths of Stowe's Janus-faced muse, the same voice holds the sermon and narrative elements in tension and allows the stories to push the boundaries imposed by the sermon. The contrast between what should be and what is sets the doubleness of the storytelling preacher.

Her life provided Stowe a Puritan view to sermon and the frontier eye for detail and ear for story. The Puritanism back of the sermon and the frontier experience back of the storyteller create depth and density which fuse with the style of sentimentality. She needs the ordering effect of sermon and doctrine to empower the commonplace stories with divine authority in order to demonstrate how far afield a society held captive by slavery has gone in its claims to be a Christian nation. She uses biblical orthodoxy and her own stories of mid-nineteenth-century America to develop a different view of the culture's concept of conventional piety. Beginning with the doctrine which she and the society share, Stowe places the outcasts and individuals who practice simple biblical teachings of mercy and justice from love within the ideals of the national covenant. Those who do not present evidence of moral activism to reform America become part of her cast of hypocrites and sinners, even if

they occupy positions of respect in the public arena. Using the Bible as her source of orthodoxy, she subverts the cultural exploitation of biblical material with her stories which uncover injustice. On the riverboat, for example, she dramatizes the exchanges between ministers who discuss the obscure meaning of Old Testament passages used to validate slavery. Meanwhile, Tom and his fellow slaves on the lower deck struggle with the meaning of New Testament assurances of love and acceptance in a world where family and identity are withheld. By evolving a different interpretation of the cultural norms of orthodoxy while adhering to its idealism, she erodes its societal norms and substitutes the qualities of domestic ideology: love, compassion, and nurture. The result becomes a methodology for practical change of cultural norms while staying within the boundaries of the culture's acceptable standards. With the lessons learned from that which takes place within the conventions as people react to movement, place, and relationships, the readers gain an understanding of the way reform enacts itself.

Both she and the country underwent a crisis of faith. Puritan Calvinism embodied Stowe's personal slavery. Struggling with its bonds, she came to her view of the nurturing home as the place to teach character formation. A more relaxed faith in the Christ of love replaced the harsh legalism of traditional religion. Like the captive freed from Indian captivity who returned with a lesson for the

group, she proclaims her message of love to the nation on the pages of Uncle Tom's Cabin. As Keller notes, she "sees theology and daily life as one" so that the "common America gets theologized, is made part of a scheme, takes on meta-phorical significance," and the "ideal past and ideal future become continuous." Although it emerges in "a smaller voice than we hear from Mather or Whitman," the self is America (121). With lessons from her own redemption, she fuses private emotion to public justice in order to reveal the national enslavement to outmoded political and religious views which supported slavery. As a good Puritan saved from captivity, she connected personal redemption with the nation's plight to reverse its direction.

Stowe saw herself as God's agent to direct a new path. She makes clear her preference to change society's standards through individual response to ideal Christian codes which grant authority to challenge traditional standards. The process demonstrates three courses of action open to characters: they can compromise in order to remain within slavery as the identifying group and its standards as Mrs. Shelby and Chloe do; they may adjust to the constraints from that defining group in order to change its greater rules and unifying story as Tom and Eva demonstrate; or they must launch out with a new group to enact a variation on the greater rules and story imbedded in freedom as George and Eliza Harris and George Shelby do.

During the decision-making process regarding the course to take, the private and the public dimensions of a character's interaction with others occurs which makes reform possible. The sermon voice calls for allegiance to an existing body of standards or dogma; the storytelling voice poses life experiences of characters in story plots which question or invalidate the ethical claims of the group culture as it currently relates to the ideal. Since Stowe's preacher voice guides surely, competently, and confidently, orthodoxy protects her storyteller's vulnerability, even when the storyteller's stories test orthodoxy and tradition, necessitating their reassessment. In this tension, her narratives, empowered by sermon style, become subversive stories which introduce needed revision of laws with moral changes for American culture.

Her strategies with narrative reveal a dialectic tension between the authoritative, performing voice of the preacher who is outside and beyond the character and reader and the entertaining, participating voice of the storyteller who is inside and within the character and reader. With both involved, the reader receives a story-sermon which becomes simultaneously a sermon-story. From the order and rule of the preacher's voice and the illustrative testing of that law by the storyteller's amassing of experience, the reader as spectator gains a variety of resolutions to contemplate for personal action regarding slavery.

### The Preacher's Tone

When Stowe appropriates the preacher role, her voice assumes sermon rules with their accompanying standards by its tone. Sermon as genre shapes her story. David Damrosch says that "genre is the narrative covenant between author and reader" because of the "framework of norms and expectations shaping both the composition and the reception of a text" (2). However, in his study of genre in biblical literature, he concludes that genre is never determining in itself because of creative forces at work which dynamically repress, adapt, and transform a text's content. The artist determines the extent of its potential force. Stowe's use of Puritan genres in Uncle Tom's Cabin would have remained one more publishing evidence of the increasing conflict between slavery views without the energetic and ambitious application of her preaching style. Sermonizing came as naturally as breathing to her.

Stowe spent her life in a preaching atmosphere. Lyman Beecher relished the birth of sons because boys in the Beecher family meant future preachers. Congregational preachers in Connecticut in the Beecher hey-day were the state's "lords spiritual and temporal" and Lyman dedicated himself to the "rearing of sons for the ministry." At Roxanna's seventh lying-in, after three boys and three

girls, she gave birth to Harriet, June 14, 1811. One of the three girls was another Harriet who died in 1808 after living one month. Lyman was expecting another son and had chosen Henry for the name, but he feminized it to Harriet and waited another two years for his Henry. But fate played its benign joke on him in his second Harriet.

What price a woman-child in 1811? This one would outreach her father and all her gifted brothers combined. Lyman Beecher would live to see her take Parnassus for a pulpit and count into her flock the peoples of the earth. The "great gun of Calvinism" had begotten a major prophetess. (Forrest Wilson 21)

Beecher, who once remarked that his young Harriet was a genius and he would "give a hundred dollars if she had been a boy" because she "would do more than any of them" (Gilbertson 22), articulated his awareness that there was no existing platform for her particular talents. However, his daughter created her own rostrum.

Stowe writes of the preacher's work of preparation, his feelings for his work in his calling, and about the particular eighteenth-century anti-slavery sermon of Samuel Hopkins in The Minister's Wooing. The task of the preacher is to open the mind and heart to the "strivings of the spirit," a phrase that was "a living form" (662) for Stowe and a way of life for New England.

The Doctor . . . made up his mind it is his duty . . . I'm afraid it will make him quite unpopular . . . So the next morning, although his friends trembled for him when he rose in the pulpit, he never thought of trembling for himself; he had come in the covered way of silence from the

secret place of the Most High, and felt himself still abiding under the shadow of the Almighty. It was alike to him whether the house was full or empty [because] . . . he had the simple duty of utterance. (673)

There follows a jeremiad with the "heavy, dreadful woe" that hangs over "the heads of all those whose hands are defiled by the blood of the Africans" and peals forth "all evident tokens of the displeasure and impending judgment of an offended Justice."

The sermon rolled over the heads of the gay audience, deep and dark as a thunder-cloud, which in a few moments changes a summer sky into heaviest gloom. Gradually an expression of intense interest and deep concern spread over the listeners; it was the magnetism of a strong mind, which held them for a time under the shadow of his own awful sense of God's almighty justice . . . a little child once described his appearance in the pulpit by saying, "I saw God there, and I was afraid."  
(674)

Stowe knew the preacher's task, his inner preparation, his disregard for self in delivery, and the commitment to his calling. In the aftermath of Uncle Tom's Cabin, time and again she exhibited those same qualities.

She had intimate schooling in the preacher's voice from her father. Forrest Wilson says she accompanied Lyman on his frequent walks to the cemetery on Copp's Hill in Boston in 1828 during her sixteenth summer at home from Catherine's school after Lyman had moved from Litchfield. They searched for graves of the old Puritan worthies in the ancient cemetery. After one of the visits, he said to his congregation:

I stood today by the grave of the Mathers. I  
looked back to the early days of New England. I



called the God of our fathers to witness that I would never give up this battle until the faith of the Puritans was vindicated and accepted among their posterity. (76)

Stowe, too, responded to the experience and repeated allusions to visiting graves of the Mathers, the "Saints on Copp's Hill," in later fiction (Oldtown 1157, 1176). Beecher's comment reflects on the preacher's work. The task of the preacher's voice is to open the way to the strivings of God's spirit, hold listeners with the power of the intellect for the sake of God's causes, and obey the duty of speech by speaking as God. Edward Davidson writes of Puritan sermonizing:

The characteristic sermon of any minister came into existence when he played the role of expressing from within himself the being and thought of another, a character who is prior to and behind his own thought and expression. He cannot speak entirely in his own voice because the words he uses are the words of another who is divine and therefore superior to him in thought and language . . . The minister speaks for God, for himself, and for the audience. All together they are the voice of a divine subjectivity--what God has spoken, what the minister is empowered to speak, and what the audience is privileged and inspired to hear. (512)

Stowe's fictional minister characterizes Davidson's description. In recasting his mind and the way in which he prepares himself for his critical sermon, she writes:

. . . the Doctor . . . sat the while tranquil in his study . . . with that patient assiduity for which he was remarkable, all the terrible texts which that very unceremonious and old-fashioned book rains down so unsparingly on the sin of oppressing the weak.

First families, whether in Newport or elsewhere, were as invisible to him as they were to

Moses during the forty days that he spent with God on the mount; he was merely thinking of his message,--thinking how he would shape it, so as not to leave one word of it unsaid,--not even imagining in the least what the result of it was to be. He was but a voice, but an instrument,--the passive instrument through which an almighty will was to reveal itself; and the sublime fatalism of his faith made him as dead to all human considerations as if he had been a portion of the immutable laws of Nature herself. (Minister's 672)

The passage validates her comprehension of the preacher's calling and mental habits.

However, in addition to understanding preachers and the preaching process, Stowe saw herself as a preacher. In a letter to George Beecher, one of her seven preacher brothers she wrote:

I always thought George that I had a spirit that if I had lived in chevalaric [sic] ages I could cheerfully have armed out my brothers and sent them to the battle But oh how much more noble if by my prayers & words I can brace the spirit for a nobler contest a contest not with flesh and blood--but with Principlaities and Powers & Rulers in "High places & not carried on with perishable weapons but with the sword of the spirit & the power of God--You see my dear George that I was made for a preacher--indeed I can scarcely keep my letters from turning into sermons-- . . . Indeed in a certain sense it is as much my vocation to preach on paper as it is that of my brothers to preach viva voce . . . (20 February 1830?, Acquisitions, SDF)

Stowe's novel affirms her estimation of her preaching gift.

In Uncle Tom's Cabin, she assumes her task. Stowe's preacher voice imbues the governing impulse for the world of the novel by first giving the religious authority for the speaker's voice. It becomes a metaphor for those qualities

of tone which convey authority, literal language expressed figuratively, communication of time and progress according to a divine plan, ideal place and relationships, rhetorical presence, oratorical stance, and exhorting activity. The preacher tone communicates the moral taught by didactic sermon in the novel through logical arguments in dialogues and by re-creating reality in credible characters who respond to an ideological vision. Proposing a romantic view of the world as it was and could be, it extends hope for change to correct error and excess. The preacher voice dominates at times, giving clear information in elevated oratorical language and sermonic style. For example, the preacher sets individual, ideal form around characters, as in accounts of Tom. When Tom learns he is to be sold from his family, the authoritarian voice says:

Sobs, heavy, hoarse and loud, shook the chair, and great tears fell through his fingers on the floor: just such tears, sir, as you dropped into the coffin where lay your first-born son; such tears, woman, as you shed when you heard the cries of your dying babe. For, sir, he was a man,--and you are but another man. And, woman, though dressed in silk and jewels, you are but a woman, and, in life's great straits and mighty griefs, ye feel but one sorrow! (Uncle 55)

When Tom goes into the slavery of the deep South, the voice of control steps on stage.

Cicero, when he buried his darling and only daughter, had a heart as full of honest grief as poor Tom's,--perhaps no fuller, for both were only men;--but Cicero could pause over no such sublime words of hope, and look to no such future reunion; and if he had seen them, ten to one he would not have believed,--he must fill his head first with a

thousand questions of authenticity of manuscript, and correctness of translation. But, to poor Tom, there it lay, just what he needed, so evidently true and divine . . . As for Tom's Bible, though it had no annotations and helps in margin from learned commentators, still it had been embellished with certain way-marks and guide-boards of Tom's own invention, and which helped him more than the most learned expositions could have done.  
(174)

The linguistic style, evoking the image of the preacher, alludes to the authority of the Bible, puts the speaker in line with the author of the Bible, and becomes God's voice to place Cicero and American parents parallel with Tom, elevating the slave to a superior position due to the feeling elicited from unethical treatment.

Stowe orders her novel's structure according to her vision by means of the preacher's voice. Informing the design for the story plots which derive their authority from it in order to challenge its efficacy, the sermon's rhetoric communicates her world of time, movement, place, and relationships. She praises society for its identification with sermon ideals which give it meaning and scolds for the violations which spotlight its sin and hypocrisy. But doctrine does not dictate her behavior. Nor does it determine how she creates her novel's characters. Stowe's moral standard for any situation emanates from the dictates of a loving heart attuned to the text and precepts of the Bible. "She was a Golden Rule Christian" who "took the Bible for her text without the trimmings of sectarian hair-splitting"

which tempered the eclectic philosophical positions taken by her characters (Kirkham Building 125).

In addition to the authority which comes from the more easily recognizable sermonic characteristics, adherence to the Bible for authority grants her preacher's voice other strategies. The Bible is a book for Christian doctrine; it is also a text for exploring the subtleties and nuances which customize doctrine to inform its practical implementation into human life.

Erich Auerbach's Mimesis provides ways to understand Stowe's method in Uncle Tom's Cabin. Demonstrating the profundity of the biblical text and its impact on Western literature, he writes about the two uses of direct discourse in the Bible; characters speak but do not express thoughts, and God commands but does not declare motives and purposes.

The text remains mysterious and "fraught with background" . . . God is always represented in the Bible, for he is not comprehensible in his presence . . . only "something" of him . . . he always extends into depths. But even the human beings in the Biblical stories have greater depths of time, fate, and consciousness than do [those] in Homer . . . they [are] caught up in an event engaging all their faculties, [but] . . . not so entirely immersed . . . [that] they do not remain continually conscious of what has happened to them earlier and elsewhere; their thoughts and feelings have more layers, are more entangled . . . [they remember] constantly conscious of what God has promised . . . and . . . already accomplished [with souls caught between] desperate rebellion and hopeful expectation. (8-10)

In addition to the characteristics of God and biblical characters, the Elohist, or the biblical narrator, had to

believe the objective truth of the stories passionately or else be a conscious liar: "no harmless liar like Homer, who lied to give pleasure, but a political liar with a definite end in view, lying in the interest of a claim to absolute authority" (11). What he produced was directed toward truth more than realism.

Placed in historical settings that are commonplace, yet claim authority, Uncle Tom's Cabin reflects the foundations from Auerbach. God provides design, characters show evidence of it, and the narrator is absolutely convinced of the efficacy of both. Accordingly, the religious doctrine, not the stories, raise the claim to absolute authority for the narratives because "doctrine and promise are incarnate in them and inseparable from them," making them "fraught with background" and "mysterious," containing concealed meanings. With the biblical narrative in need of interpretation "on the basis of its own content, its claim to absolute authority forces it still further in the same direction." Instead of forgetting individual reality in the escape of reading, the text "seeks to overcome audience reality" and the reader fits life into its world and "elements in its structure of universal history" (12). God deals with the human figures and time shows them developing into full individuality. It is "during the course of an eventful life" that characters "are differentiated into full individuality" and "it is this history of a personality" which the Bible presents "whom God

has chosen to be examples" as He "continues to work upon them" (14-15).

Perhaps as startling as the profound historicity which Auerbach reveals is the social activity which penetrates the the Bible and sets it apart from other ancient texts with its difference from them residing in what constitutes elevated style and the sublime.

. . . from the first [the stories], the sublime, tragic, and problematic take shape precisely in the domestic and commonplace . . . The sublime influence of God here reaches so deeply into the everyday that the two realms of the sublime and the everyday are not only actually unseparated but basically inseparable. (19)

The implications from Auerbach's analyses become notable for Harriet Beecher Stowe, an imminently profound Bible student who is writing fiction for moral purposes. Discourse assumes the reality of time and God's purpose in it, but does not reveal the totality of God, who cannot be comprehended, nor of the characters, whose formation is never finished. Density and complexity deriving from the mystery demand interpretation from the text which contains both doctrine (which gives it an orientation to truth in general), and story (which holds the doctrine and promise that yield character protest and expectation). The success of the text depends on the absolute, ardent belief of the writer in the document's truth. While domestic settings prescribe the environment for the narrative enactment of relationships, the movement proceeds from the exalted to the ordinary. The

power of the fusion lies with the voice of the preacher who refuses to separate the doctrine from the story, for to do so cuts the narrative loose from its moorings and leaves it blowing in the wind.

In addition to an alliance between the writer and preacher, a symbiosis occurs between the writer and reader of the religious text. Because she layers the preacher voice within the various structures of Uncle Tom's Cabin, Stowe releases two impulses: one toward a divine plan and the other directed to its human performance. The two meet in narration, dialogue, scene, characterization, and in patterns of repetition of particular words which evoke recurring images to call attention to the divine and human intersections. Stowe's narration comes from a background of knowledge that is both outside and within the text. In direct discourse or dialogue, the reader has a responsibility to understand the writer's fund of knowledge which makes the scene to which the audience is privy either succeed or fail as a performance. The scenes become crucial to show the many strata the preacher's voice articulates. In the repetition of key words which become motifs, the impact of narration and dialogue which are always disclosing but never complete, the characterization depends both on action and silence to form a composite of the double movement which the writer and reader understand. For example, in the travel narration which relates to George Harris's flight to freedom



and Tom's further descent into slavery, the writer and reader know each character responds to a divine plan which makes their opposite ends both understandable, commendable, and of worth to the audience for the reader's personal application. In each domestic scene, with the manipulation of conventions to illustrate additional lessons about the character and culture, the two impulses continue. Tom's stoic silence and position in the text as the moral model underscore the power of the divine in human life while George's objections and anger fuel both his resolve and his formation while he grows into the practical form of Tom's spiritual model. Particular words with biblical source appear repeatedly and reinforce the continuing revelations from narration, scenes, dialogue, and characterization. For example, dog as word and symbol appears early in Uncle Tom's Cabin and endures to its end. When associated with Tom, the "moral miracle" (251), the connotation becomes faithfulness. He is a "beloved dog" to Eva (211) who will go to his death at the hands of Legree who tells his slave overseers, like dogs, to "give this dog such a breakin' in as he won't get over" (415). But George takes another meaning which involves his struggle to escape from men who behave like "dogs" (136) and a system where none care for him more than for a dog and humans are treated as beasts; if he dies from bad treatment, he is "kicked out, buried like a dog" (140).

Robert Alter's The Art of Biblical Narrative provides a method to dissect Stowe's form-giving preacher's voice within Uncle Tom's Cabin. According to Alter, the biblical narrative as a whole always poses two directions: divine strategy and human enactment. As a pattern, the various narratives fashion a spectrum between the opposite extremes encountered in disorder and design, providence and freedom, with human nature ensnared in the dialectic (32-33). A biblical preference exists for direct discourse with narration taking a subsidiary role to dialogue. With the speech act in the foreground against the layered background of possible interpretations, the reader's role becomes more conscious as a figure to produce effect and define relations within the text (65-67). The dynamic imparts a dramatic quality or the impression of a performance. As a pattern, the biblical narrative begins with indirect discourse, moves into dialogue, and draws back to narrate, but centers in the character exchanges which aid them in discovery of themselves, either affirming or exposing their relation to God through the force of language. When narration occurs, it may be for a chronicle overview, or a segment may become a compositional element in the fiction. Dialogue weaves narration's fabric but offers no "free motifs;" what is reported is essential (77-80).

This entire interweaving of exposition, narration proper, and dialogue is executed within a frame of expectations set up by the annunciation type-scene, and the role of that particular convention

. . . rounds out . . . [the] artistry of the episode. (85)

In addition to dialogue and type-scenes, techniques of repetition provide characterization at the same time they narrate the formational power of the biblical text. Verbatim fulfillment follows the constantly repeated pattern of either a command or a prophecy which confirms an underlying view of historical causality which, in turn, jibes with the vision of history that informs the story. The repetitions translate "into a central narrative device" of "the unswerving authority of a monotheistic God manifesting Himself in language" (91).<sup>2</sup>

Auerbach and Alter provide perspectives on the writer and the text which inform the reader's response to both. Descriptions form of the writer-preacher which affect the text and reader, based on Auerbach's propositions; characteristics of the text which reflect the writer and reader come from Alter's work. Auerbach's biblical writer has pervasive knowledge and passionate belief in a text which is directed more toward truth than realism but contains the realistic; he assumes inherent doctrine that claims absolute truth for the story which shows characters as developing personalities in historical and domestic settings. Alter's text describes a double presentation of divine plan and human performance as a unit, although two actions; in its parts, human options appear as possible behavior selected

between extremes of design and disorder. The text as a composition grants prominence to dramatic direct discourse which produces a fast moving plot in type-scenes to provide understanding from their use of conventions. At the same time, supportive narrative supplies chronicle overview, segments for digressive compositional elements, and opportunity for repetition of words and phrases to reinforce doctrine.

Application of these descriptions and characteristics to Harriet Beecher Stowe and Uncle Tom's Cabin yields a writer-preacher who fits Auerbach's observations on the biblical writer and a book which employs Alter's textual commentary on the text of the Bible. Kirkham tracks the real-life models for Stowe's characters and her use of Byron, Chateaubriand, Curran, and Bryant to illustrate the "legendary retentiveness of her mind" (Building 167-169) and her intuitive genius for relying on her own experience. He stresses her mimetic power which functions both in her literary models and her own experience. With the Bible for her primary source book for quotations and allusions, together with her lifelong study of it, she imitates those characteristics which Auerbach's and Alter's scholarship reveal. This is not to claim that she anticipates the descriptions which they formulate; rather, that she portrays an example of a nineteenth-century writer whose form, style, and imitation of the Bible coincide with the authority text

itself and with those who wrote it whose formations and characteristics Auerbach and Alter study.

In addition to everything else said about Uncle Tom's Cabin, it endures as Stowe's translation of the Bible in nineteenth-century idiom. Tompkins claims that sentimental fiction was "the most influential expression of the beliefs that animated the revival movement" and "shaped the character of American life in the years before the Civil War" ("Tracts" 426). Since characters rarely "got beyond the confines of private space . . . most of what happened takes place inside the 'closet' of the heart." In context, "sentimental" means the "arena of human action" and "has been defined not as the world but as the human soul." Such fiction "shares with the evangelical reform movement a theory of power that stipulates that all true action is not material but spiritual" and those who know how to struggle for their souls "will one day possess the world through the power given to them by God." Such a theory of power displays itself not only in assertions about religion and declarations of faith, but also "as a principle of interpretation that gives form to experience" (427). Without Stowe's knowledge of the Bible and passionate belief in it, there would have been no Uncle Tom's Cabin. It rose from her biblical faith in response her offense at society's defiance of her ardent vision of biblical teaching. To read even a few lines in her work is to sense the presence of a

writer who has a Bible habit of mind and a biblical language base.<sup>3</sup>

Theology was a way of thinking for all of the Beechers. Biblical and philosophical debate around the table was routine with Lyman pitting the wits of his daughters and sons against each other indiscriminate of each other's age or sex. Catechism and Bible study up to two hours a day took place at home and additional Bible reading was supervised at school. During the time Stowe lived with her Grandmother Foote, after the death of her mother, Roxanna Foote, she was catechized in two churches each day: the Church of England of her mother's people and the Congregational exercises of Lyman's. On Sunday, when Sabbath rules proscribed frivolous activity, the Bible became a way to play.

Then there was not, as now, the intellectual relation afforded by the Sunday School . . . Our whole stock in this line was the Bible and Primer, . . . our main dependence for whiling away the tedious hours between our early breakfast and the signal for meeting . . . our invention stretched to . . . keep up our stock of excitement in a line with the duties of the day! For the first half hour, . . . a story in the Bible answered our purpose very well; but, having despatched the history of Joseph, or the story of the ten plagues, we then took to the Primer: and then there was, first, the looking over the system of theological and ethical teaching, commencing, "In Adam's fall we sinned all" . . . (Stowe, Mayflower 132-133)

Stowe fits Auerbach's descriptions of the writer who is an authority of sacred text. Having personalized the biblical text, she knew it as a life-ordering device. In Richard

Griggs's sense of a theologian as one who can correlate the relationship between the human and the divine by providing "a clear account of exactly what he or she knows and of just how he or she knows it" (13), Stowe qualifies as an eminent example.

Part of her training in preacher voice came from experience. As the daughter of a minister, sister to seven, and wife to a professor-preacher, Stowe listened to sermons all of her life. But she also considered herself a preacher and she put her talents to work for moral reform. Ann Douglas says of Henry Ward Beecher and Harriet, nineteenth-century America's most famous preacher and writer, that both had real genius, but while the brother's true calling was commercial, the sister's was ethical.<sup>4</sup> In fact, all of Lyman's children possessed his revivalist spirit. Stowe viewed herself as having a prophetic calling. She wrote sermons (Douglas 244); she determined to use her pen as her pulpit. Because the sublime and the commonplace existed side-by-side for the Beechers, she learned the style early. Lyman once admonished Catherine about her spiritual welfare in one sentence, told her to buy flannel underwear which he would pay for in another, and then returned to his religious blandishments:

Your account of your journey affected me much and though you gave us a 'humorous' description of your appearance & that of the company, I hope you regard the good hand of god in your preservation and will not fail to devote to him that life which he has so often snatched from death . . .

You ought if you do not to wear flannels in that new and raw climate. Purchase and make you some & I will pay for them when we come on . . . The promises 'Blessed is the man[?]' and the doctrine 'affliction is the lot of man' make it out that all men are blessed . . . (26 May 1819, Folder 2, BSC)

Stowe's correspondence imitated her father's style. Her letters to her preacher brothers read like expositions among sages of theology, sprinkled with homely asides and bits of news. She wrote the same kind of letters to Calvin during their separations. In one, she questioned the matter of religious attainments, discussed household financial responsibilities, and then admonished her husband for his melancholia and hypochondria:

My love you do wrong to worry so much about temporal matters. You really do wrong, you treat your saviour ungenerously & you ought not to do it. Every letter of yours contains such unbelieving doubts "Who will take care of us & keep us out of debt?" My love if you were dead this day--and I feeble as I am with five little children I would not doubt nor despond nor expect to starve. Tho if I did expect to starve I could bear it very well since Heaven is eternal. Was I a widow standing just as I am, I would not have one fear. I know God would give me and my children our passage in such fashion as suited him & if his wishes did not neet mine I would bring mine to meet his. It is all humbug--got up by Satan--this fussing about a temporal future. If you will put the affairs all into my hands & let me manage them in my own way & not give a thought during the winter, only to be good & grow in grace I'll engage to bring things out in the spring--now do take me up on this--Only one thing my love I decline--I will not settle up this matter with Boardman for you [a handyman]. Would not even let me see the final letter you wrote him, so that all I will do is this, to put an accurate statement of all accounts into your hand & the final adjustment shall lie between you & I think it will be a matter of little difficulty. And now thou of



little faith, instead of beholding the sea that it is tempestuous, behold the radiant face & form above it, walking the waters serene & Godlike & saying as he reaches forth his hand "Oh thou of little faith wherefore dost thou doubt" I think for a lover you have been quite sparing of letters to me my dear. (September 1844, Folder 70, BSC)

She makes abrupt switches from admonition to family finances in a narrative style, then immediately turns to sermon.

But the Beecher practice of the blended preacher voice in mundane matters reflects the linguistic style of the era. In tracing the stylistic parallels between sentimental fiction, accounts of actual events in people's lives, and nineteenth-century religious tracts, Jane Tompkins notes "the same network of assumptions that supported religious beliefs of evangelical Christians shaped their rhetorical conventions as well" (431).

Using the preacher tone of voice, Stowe directs Uncle Tom's Cabin toward truth; use of the genres and character typologies allows her to address truth in allegory and in realism, as well, with the realistic settings of her characters. Her claims for the veracity and applicability of the Judeo-Christian God of the Bible take place as characters develop on their way to conversion: the way she visualizes society could make a moral change. Stowe "redefined the country as a church" (Keller 122) and drafts her sermon.

Preach, she does. The specific instances are easy to spot. The more sophisticated ways require a bit more patience to uncover but they pay rich rewards, for in addition

to the more obvious didactic qualities, Stowe freely employs Alter's analytic scheme of theme, type-scenes, sequences, motif, and Leitwort to imprint the formative power of doctrine on her story of Uncle Tom. The Preface sermonette confers the theme: God decrees that all races be free. It projects the two directions for the dialectic between divine plan and human enactment which determine the sequence of action between design and disorder. In direct discourse, narrative bonding occurs and produces two impulses. Dialogue allows characters to reinforce the theme; narrative chronicles an overview to guarantee action sequence in the divine/human tension and character segments to grant additional thematic commentary. For example, when Tom is sold, the narrative describes the leave taking with the emotion in it and segments show each one's reactions to it. The last person Tom sees from his cabin era is young George Shelby who runs after him and Haley when he knows what has happened. In their dialogue as Haley takes Tom away, Tom says to George:

"O, Mas'r George, you has everything,--l'arnin', privileges, readin', writin',--and you'll grow up to be a great, learned, good man, and all the people on the place and your mother and father'll be so proud on ye! Be a good Mas'r, like yer father; and be a Christian, like yer mother. 'Member yer Creator in the days o' yer youth, Mas'r George." (125)

Tom begins with the boy, cites his excellence, ties him to the fifth commandment (Honor thy father and thy mother), and

seals him to the "Creator" (who wants Tom to be free in Stowe's Preface text from Isaiah and the Psalms) with Solomon's admonition from Ecclesiastes 12:1. In the discourse, Tom, the human model of Christ, reviews sacred history in a present moment to direct its future course on an ethical base projected from his belief in the certainty of that account of time. And the reader moves backward along the continuum from exemplary young George in the present, which belongs to God, to the Creator in the beginning of time, to the wise ruler Solomon, an Old Testament type of Christ, then returns to the present with Tom, the human model of Christ. However, Christ-like Tom is the sacrificial model in the divine plan, even as he participates in its human interaction. So George in the future, by behaving in certain ways mentioned by Tom and being within the biblical frame of time and relationships, will hold one illustration for successful resolution of the divine plan. The preacher's voice in Tom's dialogue reinforces Stowe's theme and reasserts it as biblical ethic rooted in biblical religion which is not shapeless mystic thought but structured truth.

George Shelby, the young master, provides one hope for abolishing slavery, but all slave owners will not reach the place of conversion where he arrives. So Stowe provides another avenue to liberty. She sets in place the other side of freeing the slaves, the example of the assertive slave who responds to the God-given hunger of His will within that

all races be free, motivating the actions the slaves can take to be free.

In this projection of the bi-directional effect of divine plan--human enactment in another of the novel's many partings, George Harris, Stowe's polar model to both Tom and George Shelby, encounters an older white master, Mr. Wilson, to whom he had been indentured by his cruel master. But in this separation, George runs away, the opposite behavior of Tom's obedience. Whereas Tom encourages George Shelby's continued maturity and spiritual rectitude with biblical reinforcement, George Harris justifies his flight in anger with accusations against the system which allows people to make laws that equate other people with animals. The morality of his logic, with his feelings, convince Mr. Wilson, who has been arguing submission and return, the very attitude which Tom portrays and counsels. Tom urges obedience to design to control disorder; George argues resistance to disorder to bring about design. While Tom inspires his young master to grow to his calling to act morally within the law, George convinces Mr. Wilson of the justice of his breaking the law. The stylistic narrative and dialogue strengthen the thesis of freedom.

"I grew up . . . not a living soul that cared for me more than a dog; nothing but whipping, scolding, starving . . . I've been so hungry that I have been glad to take bones they threw to their dogs; . . . when I was a little fellow, and laid awake whole nights and cried, it wasn't the whipping, I cried for . . . it was because I hadn't a friend to love me on earth . . . I never had a

kind word spoken to me till I came to work in your factory . . . you treated me well . . . encouraged . . . [me] to learn to read and write . . . now comes my master, takes me right away from my work . . . comes between me and my wife, and says I shall give her up . . . I'll fight for my liberty to the last breath . . . You say your fathers did it; if it was right for them, it is right for me!"

This speech, delivered . . . sitting . . . walking up and down . . . delivered with tears, and flashing eyes . . . was altogether too much for the good-natured old body to whom it was addressed . . .

"Well! go ahead, George, go ahead; but be careful, my boy . . . "

"Mr. Wilson, you have shown yourself a Christian in your treatment of me . . . You Christians don't know how these things look to us. There's a God for you, but is there any for us?"

"There is--there is; clouds and darkness are around about him, but righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne [from Psalm 89:1-4]. There's a God. George,--believe it; trust in Him [from 1 Timothy 4:10] . . . "

The real piety and benevolence of the simple old man invested him with a temporary dignity and authority, as he spoke. George stopped . . .

"Thank you for saying that . . . I'll think of that." (136-141)

George begins with himself, lists violations against his freedom, articulates the denial to human society and feeling, and links himself to the emotion and rhetoric of the nation's rebellion.

With his discourse, George, the human model of the real slave, assesses secular history in his present moment to express his despair in its having any ethical solution in the future. He moves from that hopelessness to the human kindness Wilson gave and, because of that behavior, can at least trust in the ethical base Wilson espouses because of Wilson's responses and offers of money. Mr. Wilson moves

the dialogue from legal equality to spiritual equality, the higher law of assured justice in the Old Testament sealed by the closure of personal belief in the New Testament. Freedom will come either by the obedience-love ethic of Tom and young George or the disobedience-feeling morality of George Harris and Mr. Wilson, but it will come because God ordains it and slaves and whites are committed to it. Mr. Wilson's voice becomes the preacher's at the end of the dialogue to underscore Stowe's theme and affirm the certain outcome she finds based in biblical authority.

Narrative chronicle overview serves the preacher's voice to keep the divine plan's plot moving. With the thematic contribution from the dialogue, the reader becomes equipped to respond more intelligently to the narrated sequence of events. One instance from innumerable ones which makes the point derives from Tom's behavior in Haley's hands.

Partly from confidence inspired by Mr. Shelby's representations, and partly from the remarkably inoffensive and quiet character of the man, Tom had insensibly won his way far into the confidence even of such a man as Haley.

At first he had watched him narrowly . . . but the uncomplaining patience and apparent contentment of Tom's manner led him gradually to discontinue . . . restraints, and for some time Tom had enjoyed a sort of parole of honor . . .

Ever quiet and obliging, and more than ready to lend a hand in every emergency which occurred among the workmen below, he had won the good opinion of all . . .

When there seemed to be nothing for him to do, he would climb to a nook among the

cotton-bales of the upper deck, and busy himself in studying over his Bible . . . (173)

Tom, as biblical ethic and religion incarnate, behaves in exemplary ways which win his enemies and enlarge his reputation as one in touch with God's person, time, and purpose.

While the preacher's voice shapes Tom as the slave who will be destroyed by the peculiar institution in his descent into deeper bondage, it forms Eliza, the one who will escape through her ascent from it. His submission and defeat parallel her flight and escape. They start from the same place in Kentucky with each experiencing individual plots in three stages. Tom's relates to degrees of being owned and having ownership. Dispossessed of his cabin and unattached on the river, he owns his clothes, hymn book, Bible, and the toys he can make from discarded items for Eva; attached and owned in St. Clare's mansion, he gains more and better clothes; and terminated at Legree's plantation in abject bondage, he loses all he owns except his Bible, the rough clothes he wears, and his soul. In reversal, he gains freedom in death, returning to the Creator (who wants him free) after a three stage process to transcendent conversion. Tom's movement progresses from group to individual. Eliza's flight propels her from action alone to integration into a complete domestic group. She escapes across the Ohio alone with her child, having only a meager bundle of clothes and food; by land between Quaker settlements reunited with

her husband, other slaves, and Quakers; and across the lake into Canada by disguise and deception as one kind of domestic group in order to be free in her own identity with her true family. Each stage of her getting nearer to freedom shows her with more possessions.

Her dialogue with Mrs. Shelby demonstrates her mother's heart and desperation at the further fragmentation of her family. Conversation with her husband and Tom and Chloe links her to the preacher's beliefs.

"O, missis, do you suppose mas'r would sell my Harry?" And the poor creature threw herself into a chair and sobbed convulsively. (20)

"O, George, we must have faith. Mistress says that when all things go wrong to us, we must believe that God is doing the very best." (29)

" . . . but oh, Missis--you ought to have heard her talk! If she an't a Christian and an angel, there never was one. I'm a wicked girl to leave her so; but then, I can't help it. She said, herself, one soul was worth more than the world; and this boy has a soul, and if I let him be carried off, who know what'll become of it? It must be right: but, if it an't right, the Lord forgive me, for I can't help doing it!" (52)

Eliza obeys the higher law of God. The chronical overview between her plot and Tom's gives a contrast between her decreasing sense of being alone with his increasing one.

A young and slender woman, with garments torn and frozen, with one shoe gone, and the stocking torn away from the cut and bleeding foot, was laid back in a deadly swoon upon two chairs. There was the impress of the despised race on her face . . . His wife . . . was busily engaged in restorative measures . . . old Cudjoe had got the boy . . . and was busy chafing his little cold feet. (102) Eliza leaned out of the carriage, and put out her hand . . . Her lips moved,--she tried once or twice, but there was no sound,--and pointing upward, with a look never to be forgotten, she fell



back in the seat, and covered her face. The door was shut, and the carriage drove on. (110)

Because she obeys the higher divine law, others who share her commitment to it aid her escape to freedom.

The sermon from Tom's narrative overview tells what happens to the slave identified by God as His own. If he obeys the law, his belongings are taken away and what he is given does not involve ownership; but that which he does own, his human soul, cannot be possessed by another human being. His identity derives from his own choice and determination. In belief, he is his own domestic center.

The other side of the sermon from Eliza's narrative proposes that in order to be free the slave must take initiative alone by assuming responsibility for personal history, have assistance to complete the action, change identity, and form a new domestic group. No matter which direction narrative development takes, the struggle toward freedom always takes prominence because of the divine law which overcomes any human legislation to the contrary. Conclusions for the slave from the sermon doctrine become axiomatic: God created all men and women with spiritual identity and He intends for them to be free; if the body cannot be free, the soul is; the outcome rests with each individual's choice.

Narrative segments between the overview present additional thematic commentary. In the opening setting in

Kentucky, Tom's wife reigns in his cabin, "the delight and pride of Aunt Chloe's heart" (32). Her awe of young George who can read and who teaches Tom to read the Bible and write is matched by her pride in her reputation as a cook. Later, between the dramas unfolding in the journeys of the slaves south and those going north, comes an interlude in Kentucky which reflects on that theme. Chloe gains permission to hire out to a "perfectioner" as a cook to earn money for Tom's redemption. The preacher's voice delivers another commentary on the novel's master design. God wants slaves to be free. While some run away and some succumb, others take matters into their hands with more practical measures as the storyteller explains how characters enact their stories after they make their decisions. Perhaps Chloe gives the most cutting insight of all into the market mentality that deals in human beings as a business without being openly challenged by institutional Christianity. Chloe's economic theory and market philosophy are motivated by love as she sells her skills to a business that will pay her so she can buy Tom's salvation. She sells what she can do to buy Tom's physical redemption. But the church, which should be Tom's advocate as the custodian of the arena where spiritual redemption is transacted, has abandoned the slave because of the vested interests of society's needs for his labor. Her marketing of her abilities for the sake of her true love for Tom reveals a society where the church's

market for redemption is compromised by the market's need for slaves for economic salvation.

### The Storyteller's Style

Stowe's storyteller voice offers intimacy, warmth, affection, and proposes strategies which illustrate reality and experience. She "was a born storyteller" and a "born writer" whose mind "bubbled with stories, as she once said," and "when she took her pen in hand, even in pain and weakness, she came into her kingdom" (Wagenknecht 168). She had the gift of what Henry James calls "the suddenly determined absolute of perception" of seizing an idea from the "air and going to work to authenticate it" (156). Aware of the religious bias against the novel, Stowe was always careful to dissociate herself from its pejorative aspects. Part of the reason she wrote The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin the year after her masterpiece appeared was to justify the truthfulness of her art by cataloging evidences to serve as parallels to her fictional scenes in an attempt to convince detractors of their truthfulness. Yet she knew the power of story. Her views on fiction appear in the prefaces to her books. In A Library of Famous Fiction she states

The propensity of the human mind to fiction is one of those irresponsible forces against which it has always proved vain to contend . . . . The boundaries of the present life have everywhere, in all lands and countries, proved too narrow and too poor for the wants of the soul . . . . Now the possession by human beings of the glorious faculty of living an unreal life, and seeing things

invisible, is a sufficient answer to those who doubt the uses of fiction . . . . Since the world must read fiction, let us have the best . . .  
(vii-x)

However, fiction's greatest power lies in its moral effect.

She says of its overwhelming force:

The use of the novel in the great question of moral life is coming to be one of the features of the age. Formerly the only object of fictitious writing was to amuse. Now nothing is more common than to hear the inquiry of a work of fiction, 'What is it intended to show or prove?' . . . . [T]ruth must be offered to people in the way they will take it best. When a person does this, the work is to be judged of not mainly as a literary or artistic worth, but as a moral instrument.  
(Wagenknecht 161)

Her articles on writing in Hearth and Home reveal a writer who has studied her craft; she urges an Anglo-Saxon style of concreteness and simplicity that shuns ornamentation and suggests the Bible, Holmes, Hawthorne, Bunyan, and Thackeray as models. Her chapter on Abraham Lincoln in Men of our Times (1-11) contains a comparison of Webster's and Lincoln's language that sounds like a modern technical writer counting words and syllables; she leaves no doubt about her preference for Lincoln's powerful and simple style.

But she always defers to the power of the story to arise in answer to its own dictates and resolves to obey them. "A story comes, grows like a flower, sometimes will and sometimes won't, like a pretty woman," she asserts, but she was no ordinary teller of stories and makes the fact plain in the preface to Pink and White Tyranny.

This story is not to be a novel, as the world understands the word . . . a three-story affair,-- complex . . . requiring not end of scenery and dramatis personae, and plot and plan, together with trap-doors, pit-falls, wonderful escapes and thrilling dangers; and the scenes transport one all over the earth . . . this is a commonplace history, all about one man and one woman, living straight along in one little prosaic town in New England. (ix)

Nevertheless, she knows the fascination of fiction and attempts to educate her audience about the preferred kind to read. Her views on story take shape in My Wife and I, her novel about the publishing world.

It appears to me that the world is returning to its second childhood, and running mad for Stories. Stories! Stories! everywhere; stories in every paper, in every crevice, crack, and corner of the house. Stories fall from the pen faster than leaves of autumn, and of as many shades and colorings. Stories blow over here in whirlwinds from England. (1)

She relates the world's many sources of stories and the publishing styles, then wonders what Solomon, who "remarked rather testily, 'Of making many books there is no end!'" [Ecclesiastes 12:12] would have said "had he lived in our day . . . and looked over a modern publisher's catalogue?" David Reynolds maintains this shift toward narrative in homiletic style, as well as in the publishing world, provides an evidence of the decline of theology and the rise of religious fiction which the pulpit itself recognized with the growing use of illustrations and stories in sermons ("Rise" 480). He incorporates Stowe's comments into the introduction to his essay.

Soon . . . every leading clergyman should embody in his theology a serial story, to be delivered from the pulpit Sunday after Sunday . . . (romances like) Rev. Dr. Boanerges, of Plymouth Rock Church, will begin a serial story, entitled "Calvin's Daughter," in which he will discuss the distinctive features of Protestant theology . . . by the time all these romances get to going, the system of teaching by parables, and opening one's mouth in dark sayings, will be fully elaborated. Pilgrim's Progress will be no where. The way to the celestial city will be as plain in everybody's mind as the way up Broadway . . . the present life and the life to come shall form only one grand romance. This will be about the time of the Millennium. (Wife 2-3)

Stowe seems to be enjoying a joke with story at sermon's expense.

And yet, Stowe knows exactly why such authors as Hawthorne and Melville lost out to the writers whom Hawthorne called "a damned mob of scribbling women," which has become a metaphor for the authors of sentimentality. Bolton, who is a literary critic in My Wife and I, remarks:

The people who lounge on beds after dinner are our audience, and there must be nothing wiser nor stronger than they can apprehend between sleeping and waking. We talk to a blase, hurried, unreflecting, indolent generation, who want emotion and don't care for reason. Something sharp and spicy, something pungent and stinging--no matter what or whence. And now as they want this sort of thing, why not give it to them? (334)

But Harry Henderson, the protagonist and aspiring writer says to his uncle, "I hope I shall be true to myself and my religion in it . . . Current literature--the literature of newspapers and magazines, is certainly a power." The uncle answers:

"A very great power, Harry . . . far outgoing that of the pulpit, and that of books . . . [writing stories] has access . . . and gets itself heard as a preacher cannot . . . It ought to be entered into as solemnly as the pulpit, for it is using a great power." (92).

Stowe writes all the speeches; the dialectic between them summarizes her philosophy of fiction and helps explain the impact of her narrative voice in Uncle Tom's Cabin. In storytelling, she opens her mouth in dark sayings, even though phrased in sentimental style. She takes the power from both and forges her own. Even that act comes from her Puritan heritage with the urging from the founders to provide different types of preachers: "a 'pastor' to comfort and a 'teacher' to emphasize doctrinal issues" (Jones Salvation 4). Her peripatetic village storyteller, Sam Lawson, who wanders in and out of her New England fiction, provides proof that Stowe knows and utilizes the different offices of the preacher and the storyteller. Sam's views on the plight of humanity offer counterpoint and commentary on the received wisdom of the preachers. A great favorite of the American audience, Sam challenges any conventional wisdom.

The storyteller's voice casts the protesting impulse for the world of Uncle Tom's Cabin. As a metaphor, it comprises qualities in Stowe's voice which convey experience, figurative language expressed literally, communication of time and progress according to a human plot, narrative presence, intimate stance, and entertaining activity. It

supplies narrative strategies, through story and character by means of positive or negative interaction with the master plot, that reveal the inadequacies of the contemporary societal forms which originated from the sermon's master design in the culture's foundation. Narrative becomes a system itself to organize and represent experience, form relationships between character and plot, and provide critical reflection on some development within the story. At times, the storyteller voice masters, giving clear information in narrative language and story style, communicating through narration, scene, character, and dialogue. For example, the reader first meets Tom in the conversation between Shelby and Haley when Tom's owner tells the trader that Tom is "a good, steady, sensible, pious fellow" who has come and gone "round the country" for his master on business since he "got religion at a camp-meeting four years ago." Shelby has "found him true and square in everything." He reports on Tom's answer to those who urge him to run away to Canada while he is traveling on business for Shelby: "Ah, master trusted me, and I couldn't" (12). The reader acquires information directly about Tom.

At this table was seated Uncle Tom, Mr. Shelby's best hand, who, as he is to be the hero of our story, we must daguerreotype for our readers. He was a large, broad-chested, powerfully-made man, of a full glossy black, and a face whose truly African features were characterized by an expression of grave and steady good sense, united with much kindness and benevolence. There was something about his whole air self-respecting and



dignified, yet united with a confiding and humble simplicity. (34)

The linguistic style in the voice summons the image of the storyteller, alludes to the authority of human experience, puts the speaker in line with the authority of the human personality, and becomes an advocate voice to place Tom in position as a hero and elevate the slave to a superior position due to the treatment as a protagonist in a literary work.

Stowe wrote about the storyteller's task:

When one has a story to tell, one is always puzzled which end of it to begin at. You have a whole corps of people to introduce that you know and your reader doesn't . . . Strictly speaking, it is necessary to begin with the creation of the world, in order to give a full account of anything . . . we can only write as we are driven, and never know exactly where we are going to land (Minister's Wooing 527, 535, 543).

In the preface to Uncle Tom's Cabin, she states the moral principle for her novel, reiterating the intention to enter into the story as solemnly as into the pulpit and use its great power: "The object of these sketches is to awaken sympathy and feeling for the African race, as they exist among us" (9).

The tone of the storyteller in Stowe's voice does the work of ordering her realistic world and its master plot for the novel which challenges the master design formed by the doctrine which, in turn, gets its authority from the Bible's narratives. That plot assumes the verisimilitude of Stowe's

ideology. Through rhetorical characteristics, story and plot communicate that world, depicting the human implementation for her Christian vision of time and movement, her ideal for private and public places, and worthy models for relationships. In using the commonplace and the ordinary for heroic action, she insists her fiction deals with history, interprets the world, and does more than entertain. The cultural bonding with that ideology is both lauded and condemned: praised because it emanates from a sincere desire on the part of the individual to emulate those divine paradigms which control it, and censured due to the society's hypocritical exploitation of it. With that purpose as justification, she initiates the plot with the first chapter beginning the introduction to the big story of the book, "In Which the Reader is Introduced to a Man of Humanity."

Late in the afternoon of a chilly day in February, two gentlemen were sitting alone over their wine, in a well-furnished dining parlor, in the town of P\_\_\_\_\_, in Kentucky. There were no servants present, and the gentlemen, with chairs closely approaching, seemed to be discussing some subject with great earnestness.

For convenience sake, we have said, hitherto, two gentlemen. One of the parties, however, when critically examined, did not seem . . . to come under the species. He was a short, thick-set man, with coarse, commonplace features, and that swaggering air of pretension which marks a low man who is trying to elbow his way upward in the world. He was much over-dressed . . . His conversation was in free and easy defiance of Murray's Grammar . . . profane . . .

His companion, Mr. Shelby, had the appearance of a gentleman . . . the two were in the midst of an earnest conversation. (11)

With the stage set and character descriptions in place, Stowe, the narrator, steps back and lets the two reveal themselves in their own language.

"I can't make trade that way--I positively can't, Mr. Shelby," said the other, holding up a glass of wine between his eye and the light.

"Why, the fact is, Haley, Tom is an uncommon fellow . . . worth that sum anywhere . . . You ought to let him cover the whole balance of the debt; and you would, Haley, if you had any conscience."

"Well, I've got just as much conscience as any man in business can afford to keep,--just a little, you know, to swear by, as 't were . . . and, I'm ready to do anything in reason . . . but this yer . . . is a leetle too hard . . ." The trader sighed . . . poured out some more brandy.

"Well, then, Haley, how will you trade?" said Mr. Shelby after an uneasy silence.

"Well, haven't you a boy or gal that you could throw in with Tom?" (12-13)

In three pages, Stowe's storyteller voice has sketched into place a microcosm of America's macrocosm of slavery where the hypocrisy of a moral nation enacts itself in an intimate scene between two men making a business transaction. But the domestic setting is flawed by the immorality resident in human beings buying and selling other humans. The contrast between home and market stands revealed in the interchange. Lines of conflict are drawn for a culture which maintains as legal a system in which ethical behavior gets a price tag and another human life is tossed in like an extra sack of potatoes to make up the sum to pay a debt. The reader is introduced to three men of humanity: one who sells people, one who buys them, and the one who is bought and sold. The

storyteller settles back in a familiar tone, with the authority which comes from being inside the experience, to tell stories of characters living under rules of the present in order to express the horror those laws allow. The stories will illustrate, test, and erode the rules of market mentality, and call to a higher code for affirmation of human life in character and scene for the future.

David Jasper compares the New Testament and literary imagination to make a bold claim for the power of story: "Stories forged upon the anvil of the imagination take life far more seriously than do the manipulations of the rational in the human mind." Further, he asserts that stories possess an "infinite capacity for vision and insist that the frustrating limitations of the world will be relieved by an everlasting new heroism" (4). Imagination refuses to be bound by patterns of thought which characterize conceptual or dogmatic thinking. The power of parables in biblical writing forces the imagination to enter into the text and create its own stories for meanings that are open-ended, thereby guaranteeing their individual applications. Stories in sermon intensify and concentrate life while they select and shape history, even exaggerating and distorting in the pursuit of truth (17).

Ann Douglas says Stowe gained the story qualities as well as the sermonizing tendencies from her father.

She was very much her father's daughter, if not his superior, and in ways for which one admires

and likes her. Of Beecher's children, only she relished the vernacular as he did; she outdid her father in her shrewd instinct for comedy, and became the only major feminine humorist nineteenth-century America produced. She had Beecher's ear for dialect, his eye for realistic detail. With this relish for the actual Stowe combined, like her father, a genuine sense of the sublime. Lyman and Harriet grasped the essential Calvinist truth which Melville understood so well; that sin itself is the sublime, and that only its enormity puts men on speaking terms with God. (244-245)

With the storytelling gift, she drew her materials from experience and observation. In Uncle Tom's Cabin, models "nearly always were people she had met or incidents she had witnessed" (Gossett 286). Raymond Weaver believes she would have perceived in Melville's selection of "white as the quintessential evil, and the Albino whale as the symbol of 'the palsied universe that lies before us a leper,'" an "Ethiopian sermon in reverse" (xix). The inversion on type in Tom makes his blackness white in the way Moby Dick's whiteness assumes evil. But Tom's blackness becomes synonymous with the feminine qualities associated with Christology in the Trinity. Identity with Christ purifies Tom, not the access to femininity; the character of Christ takes first order in the paradigm resulting in the grace which Stowe attributes to women. She did believe women possessed a special sensitivity to spiritual matters and experienced greater responsibility to behave with Christian morality.

An early memory recalled her Grandmother Foote's easy intimacy with the New Testament evangelists. When Stowe was

a motherless little girl of five and living with her grandmother, evening entertainment consisted of reading the first four gospels in the New Testament and listening to the older woman's comments on the various apostles with "her idea of each . . . so distinct and dramatic that she spoke of them as familiar acquaintances." During that time she began committing to memory the hymns, poems, and scripture she composed from as she was older. The next year, her oldest sister, Catherine, wrote:

Harriet is a very good girl. She has been to school all this summer, and has learned to read very fluently. She has committed to memory twenty-seven hymns and two long chapters in the Bible. She has a remarkably retentive memory and will make a very good scholar. (Charles Stowe 8)

Her education provided the polish for telling stories which came by giftedness and inclination. Her older brother, Edward, wrote that she read everything she could get her hands on (13). She found barrels of sermons and pamphlets in the garret of her home in Litchfield, to which, at age six, she returned again and again for "the most unintelligible things," like "An Appeal on the Unlawfulness of a Man Marrying His Wife's Sister," which "turned up in every barrel she investigated." In the very bottom of a barrel of "musty sermons," she found an old copy of The Arabian Nights (9) which became her companion and a genie to uncork her vivid imagination. Lyman Beecher's library provided retreat and sanctuary for her. Of all of his theological tomes, her

favorite was Cotton Mather's "'Magnalia'" in a new edition of two volumes" (10). Lyman guarded his children's reading habits carefully, but her aunt gave her a copy of Byron's poetry. Stowe's Romantic bent remained until late in her writing career.<sup>5</sup>

When she heard the Declaration of Independence for the first time, she connected national abuses with the stories and sermons which formed her identity.

The heroic element was strong in me, having come down by ordinary generation from a long line of Puritan ancestry . . . and it made me long to do something, I knew not what: to fight for my country, or to make some declaration on my own account. (11)

The feeling remained with her into adulthood. Her letters from mob-tormented Cincinnati the first summer she was married communicate her fervor. Certainly, her energy on behalf of the slave reflects its endurance.

She started her education in Nut Plains, at her grandmother's, but received most of it at Litchfield Academy when she returned home after Lyman's remarriage. By the time she went to Catherine's Hartford Female Seminary at 13 to be student and assistant teacher, she had a classic education with a strong emphasis on rhetoric, composition, and philosophy, at which she excelled. The tragic loss at sea of Catherine's fiance, Professor Alexander Fisher of Yale College, contributed one slim ray of light in the family's depression over the event. Professor Fisher had willed his

library to Catherine, and among the books was a complete edition of Scott's works. Lyman had forbidden novels to his children until that time because he concurred with the contemporary bias against fiction. However, he insisted that they read Scott's because of their moral content and heroic themes. The family learned portions, both reciting to each other and taking parts to enact.<sup>6</sup> When she went to Catherine's school in Hartford, Harriet studied French, Italian, and Latin, translated Ovid in verse, and carried "two young ladies through Virgil" (41). She started a heroic prose epic poem in Byronic style, but of a noble Christian hero in Nero's court. When Catherine caught her, she put Harriet to work on philosophy and theology to discipline her mind. Advancing to teacher status, she assisted Catherine, nationally acknowledged as a pioneer in educational principles, in setting up a school in Cincinnati where Harriet wrote the first geography especially for children.<sup>7</sup> After reading the characteristics of her education and her actual performance, it is difficult to comprehend the sense or meaning of Ashton's adjective in describing her as "half-educated" (vii). On the other hand, Kirkham writes with respect of her intellectual and literary range and traces it carefully (Building 9-10, 153, 167-169).

Stowe's Christian conversion influenced how she would shape her fiction. She experienced it in a very natural way



while at home during her fourteenth summer on the occasion of a spontaneous sermon from her father.

. . . he preached what he was accustomed to call a 'frame sermon' . . . (from) the deep feeling of the occasion, and which . . . could be neither premeditated nor repeated . . . Forgetting all his hair-splitting distinctions and dialectic subtleties, he spoke in direct, simple, and tender language of the great love of Christ and his care for the soul . . . Like a flash it came over me . . . I would trust Him for the whole . . . father came home . . . I fell in his arms, saying, "Father, I have given myself to Jesus, and He has taken me" . . . holding me silently to his heart (he said), "Is it so? . . . Then a new flower has blossomed in the kingdom this day." (Charles Stowe 34)

But other ministers and her brothers were not convinced the good seed could grow so easily. Her letters to Edward and George, especially, trace their spiritual counsel to her. After several years of interchanges and confusion, she went back to the "Christ-worship" of love and simplicity, shortly thereafter writing to Edward:

You speak of your predilections for literature having been a snare to you. I have found it so myself. I can scarcely think, without tears and indignation, that all that is beautiful and lovely and poetical has been laid on other altars . . . It matters little what service He has for me . . . I do not mean to live in vain. He has given me talents, and I will lay them at His feet . . . All my powers He can enlarge. He made my mind, and He can teach me to cultivate and exert its faculties. (44)

The Christology that she and Henry promoted emphasized love, nurture, and positive outlook, but his evolved into a theology of aesthetics and hers became a program for moral and ethical behavior.

Her letters demonstrate the storytelling style in daily life. In Cincinnati in 1833, she wrote to her lifelong friend, Georgiana May, from her Hartford days as a teacher. The correspondence contributes some insights into her storytelling craft:

I have just been hearing a class of little girls recite, and telling them a fairy story which I had to spin out as it went along, beginning with 'once upon a time there was,' etc., in the good old-fashioned way of stories . . . I have been reading the life of Madame de Stael and 'Corinne.' I have felt an intense sympathy with many parts of that book, with many parts of her character. But in America feelings vehement and absorbing like hers become still more deep, morbid, and impassioned by the constant habits of self-government which the rigid forms of our society demand. They are repressed, and they burn inward till they burn the very soul, leaving only dust and ashes. It seems to me the intensity with which my mind has thought and felt on every subject presented to it has had this effect . . . All that is enthusiastic . . . impassioned . . . I have felt with vehement and absorbing intensity . . . I am glad . . . to busy myself with trifles, since thought is pain, and emotion is pain. (67)

The pain, emotion, and thought generated a creative endeavor, for out of them came her prize-winning short story, "Uncle Lot," written for a new magazine in Cincinnati, The Western Monthly, for which she was paid fifty dollars. Her first paid publication was a story; a story of local color and human character.

Her letters consistently demonstrate her storytelling flair. In another letter to Georgiana in 1838, Stowe writes a lengthy account of the hurry and bustle of life as a young mother to three with dramatic scenes and narrative force

depicting such mundane matters as feeding the baby and making breakfast:

But let this suffice, for of such details as these are all my days made up. Indeed, my dear, I am but a mere drudge with few ideas beyond babies and housekeeping. As for thoughts, reflections, and sentiments, good lack! good lack!

I suppose I am a dolefully uninteresting person at present, but I hope I shall grow young again one of these days, for it seems to me that matters cannot always stand exactly as they do now. (92)

However, her inclination was to the intellectual vigor, the meshing of the dark and light within her. The years of study provided the counterbalance to keep the strong storytelling imagination in tension. Her son writes of her response to the first published story, "This success gave a new direction to her thoughts, gave her an insight into her own ability . . ." (68). She wrote for the next 55 years.

Where does the storyteller in Uncle Tom's Cabin find the powerful allies the preacher receives from the Bible and dogma? Paul Ricoeur's work in narrative helps explain Stowe's method as a storyteller similar to the way in which Erich Auerbach grants interpretation for the preacher-writer. Ricoeur assigns time the same kind of importance in narrative that Auerbach and Alter do in their studies. To do so, he deals specifically with Augustine and Aristotle, important figures to Puritan intellectual history. He writes of the theory of time in Augustine and the theory of plot in Aristotle and the ways in which they offer two

"philosophical horizons" to enter into human existence. Because the temporality of human experience lies at the core of narrative function and truth claim of any narrative work, every narrative work becomes a temporal world. Augustine enters the circle of humanity "from the paradoxes of time" and Aristotle from the "intelligible organization of a narrative." But Augustine "inquires into the nature of time without grounding it in the narrative of his spiritual autobiography in the first nine books of Confessions." And Aristotle "constructs his plot theories without attention to the temporal implications in Poetics, leaving" time analysis to the Physics. Augustine posits a "representation of time in which discordance never ceases to belie the desire for concordance;" Aristotle "established the dominance of concordance over discordance in the configuration of the plot" (3-4). Ricoeur perceives the two works as two sides of the same thing: Augustine inserts an analysis of time within a meditation on eternity and "groans under the discordance;" Aristotle poses the triumph of the poetic art in his concept of emplotment and shows concordance without preoccupation with time. He states:

. . . time becomes human to the extent that it is articulated through a narrative mode, and narrative attains its full meaning when it becomes a condition of temporal existence . . . to resolve the problem of the relation between time and narrative I must establish the mediating role of emplotment between a stage of practical experience that recedes it and a stage that succeeds it . . . the destiny of a prefigured time that becomes a

refigured time through the mediation of a configured time. (52-54)

In other words, the future becomes restructured time through reconciling designed time; change requires reinterpretation of traditional attitudes. In this sense, Stowe becomes her own Augustine to meditate on the temporal meaning of her created, imitated world; she is her own Aristotle bringing together characters, incidents, and interactions to mediate the temporal significance through plot. By making time both dependent and independent of plot, she grounds the book for the individual and turns it loose in history for the universal. But how do concrete and elusive forms of time move through character plot to impact an audience the way Stowe's novel did?

Nina Baym's work on antebellum fiction aligns her concepts with Auerbach's and Alter's theories of the biblical narrator and narrative. She says that the period novel's grip locates in the "formal aspect" which is understood as a correspondence "to a fundamental human need, so that form is a function of the human psyche" and plot "is fundamentally a matter of secrets withheld from the reader" in actions of concealments and revelations "imitating the reader's desires rather than external reality" (Novels 74-75).

In Reading for Plot, Peter Brooks analyzes plot as the "logic and dynamic of narrative, and narrative itself a form of understanding and explanation." It is

. . . an embracing concept for the design and intention of narrative, a structure for those meanings that are developed through temporal succession, or a structuring operation elicited by, and made necessary by, those meanings that develop through succession and time. (10-12)

. . . We are frustrated by the narrative interminable . . . If the past is to be read as present, it is a curious present that we know to be past in relation to a future we know to be already in place, already in wait for us to reach it . . . (23) In every case of narrative, must be enactment . . . to produce transformation: the plotting-out of initial givens so their uses may be transformed. (28)

In attempting to arrive at a method to study the interpretative work of discourse on story and with the transmissions and transformations enacted by plot, Brooks turns to Freud since psychoanalysis gives a dynamic model of psychic processes for the correspondence between psychic and literary interactions. He uses Freud's masterplot as a model for narrative and for the dynamic that produces forward and upward movement because "the terminus it both delays and beckons toward will offer . . . a lucid repose" (61). The work of Freud provides the most suggestive indications for the needed model since it offers the most probing inquiry into the dynamics of the psychic life and, by extension, of texts. In turning to Freud, there is no attempt to psychoanalyze authors or readers or characters in narrative, but rather to suggest that the attempt to superimpose psychic functioning on textual functioning delivers access to a discovery about how textual dynamics work and recommends some conclusions "about their psychic equivalences" (90).

Freud's masterplot in Beyond the Pleasure Principle proposes a total scheme of how life proceeds from beginning to end and provides a theory of comprehension of the life span dynamics, hence its narrative understanding. Supplying a model that structures ends against beginnings in such a way as to necessitate the middle as detour, it suggests that the intentionality of plot lies in its orientation toward the end even while the end can only be achieved through detours. Even though the reader notes the detours, "recognition cannot abolish textuality" nor does it "annul that middle which is the place of repetitions" which "constitutes the truth of the narrative text" (108). Time receives new understanding as the transformation of a struggle against time into a process full of interest which is the work of memory: "remembering, repeating, working through" so that repetition, remembering, re-enactment are ways to replay time to prevent its loss (111). From Freud's pattern, Brooks projects a plot model to assist with understanding of the dynamic of narrative transaction and transference: recall, to re-examine events; repression, to delay the end; repetition, both to master the past and bind for the future; return, to attempt resolution; and transference, as the place of interpretation for an audience.

In this manner, Brooks provides a schema to examine the Puritan narrative genres and their interaction with voice and tone in Uncle Tom's Cabin. Its dynamic serves the

strength which Auerbach and Alter grant for the biblical and doctrinal aspect of the book, the correspondences with which Baym links it to the era, and the insights from Ricoeur which provide a way to expand to the universal from the individual. With his distilled formula from Freud, Brooks brings all the streams together in a plot pattern of recall, repression, repetition, and transference of textual devices. Restrictions define limits which impose the boundaries of tradition and culture to endow structure. But resistance tests those restrictions with critical questions which arise from experience in order to enlarge structure. Out of the engagement come resolutions depicting new attitudes and different behavior.

The reader learns from the sequence, but one last interaction is needed to complete the transference within the text to the reader's assimilation for imitation of ethical behavior, which is Stowe's goal. Brooks suggests that one way to understand a text's ethics lies in melodrama, a previously maligned genre, now gaining new respectability because of the critical attention being given to the forms of popular literature. In a context of realism, melodrama stages a heightened and hyperbolic drama; it makes "reference to pure and polar concepts of darkness and light, salvation and damnation" and places the characters "at the point of intersection of primal ethical forces" where it "represents the theatrical impulse itself" which moves



toward dramatization (Melodramatic Imagination ix-xi).

Life's gestures pose questions directed toward discovering implicit as well as explicit meanings. The melodramatic novel stands balanced, poised to plunge beneath the surface to uncover the hidden world of the spirit. Melodrama

. . . shares the preoccupation with evil as a real, irreducible force . . . (it) starts from and expresses the anxiety brought by a frightening new world in which the traditional patterns of moral order no longer provide the necessary social glue. It plays out the force of that anxiety with the apparent triumph of villainy, and it dissipates it with the eventual victory of virtue. It demonstrates over and over . . . signs of ethical forces can be discovered and made legible. Melodrama is . . . not only a moralistic drama but the drama of morality . . . a moral universe . . . does exist and can be made to assert its presence and its categorical force . . . (20)

Melodrama takes part in the concerns of goodness and evil together with biblical narrative and releases its life lessons through the same process employed by the Puritan sermon: contemplation of the cosmic struggle between the forces of darkness and light in the human spirit with proposed solutions for behavior released for application by means of emotional identification. Charles Cohen and Andrew Delbanco establish the cultural tradition from Puritan experience of the affective states of transfer from reason and reality to emotion and enactment. Always a force in popular culture, melodrama appeals to the same impulse for drama that the emotional aspect of sentimental style satisfies. The pattern which "appears on the surface to be a

wildly chaotic and exceedingly trivial drama" really performs "a logical moral and philosophical coherence" offering an "idealization and simplification" of reality which the audience wants but cannot get.

In this world life is uncomplicated, easy to understand, and immeasurably exciting. People are true to their surface appearances and always think and behave in the way these appearances dictate. One of the great appeals . . . is clarity: character, conduct, ethics, and situations are perfectly simple, and one always knows what the end will be, although the means may be temporally obscure. The world of melodrama is thus a world of certainties . . . where virtue and vice coexist in pure whiteness and pure blackness; and a world of justice where after immense struggle and torment good triumphs over and punishes evil . . . (Booth English 14)

The world established by melodrama provides emotional identification which sentimentality articulates.<sup>8</sup> James Smylie observes that Stowe finds a "way to unlock the hearts of people to the injustice of slavery" by her focus on "the sympathies of Christ." By incarnating in her characters the teachings and examples of Jesus she illustrates the "Christian's responsibility to the oppressed and dispossessed" (71). As one of Stowe's contemporary readers commented, "It would be hard to read this book and think philosophically upon Slavery immediately afterward" (John Cox 111). Stowe accomplishes in Uncle Tom's Cabin that which Michael Booth claims as the work of melodrama in his examination of its artistic form, Bruno Bettelheim validates in his analysis of affection as the psychological motivation for behavioral and

ethical activity, and Philip Fisher verifies in his work on emotional transference of cultural images in literary works. Booth says melodrama's insistence on character subordination to story line and rigid moral distinctions mean that "evil can only destroy itself, no matter how hard it tries" (English 14). Bettelheim examines the non-fictional world of extreme circumstances in a Nazi concentration camp in order to arrive at ways in which an integrated personality can be maintained; Stowe employs the precepts of Christianity in fictional characters to explore the fictional world of extreme circumstances. Both conclude the answer lies in the idea of benefit coming from a philosophy in which intelligence is subordinated to human feeling. Stowe writes:

But, what can any individual do? Of that, every individual can judge. There is one thing that every individual can do,--they can see to it that they feel right. An atmosphere of sympathetic influence encircles every human being; and the man or woman who feels strongly, healthily and justly, on the great interests of humanity, is a constant benefactor to the human race. See, then, to your sympathies in this matter! Are they in harmony with the sympathies of Christ? or are they swayed and perverted by the sophistries of worldly policy? (Uncle 515)

As though in a twentieth-century echo chamber, Bettelheim seems to answer:

Just how to achieve self-realization, to preserve freedom, and adapt society to both, seems increasingly harder to know; it is felt as a central, overwhelming problem of our days . . .

To manage such a feat, heart and reason can no longer be kept in their separate places. Work and art, family and society, can no longer develop in isolation from each other. The daring heart must invade reason with its own living warmth,

even if the symmetry of reason must give way to admit love and the pulsation of life.

No longer can we be satisfied with a life where the heart has its reason, which reason cannot know. Our hearts must know the world of reason, and reason must be guided by an informed heart . . . (viii)

Both address the impact of emotion and feeling as regenerative processes. Fisher's work in the sentimental novel shows the close relationship between Victorian sentimentality and the privileged place of the family farm. He comments on Stowe's cultural work in Uncle Tom's Cabin:

Because her subject was slavery and her goal was social transformation, Stowe was committed to the sentimental form of the novel . . . Its texture is sentimental but its structure is naturalist . . . She spends great effort creating the character types and varieties of moral life that must inevitably follow from the system of slavery . . . Her novel, to accomplish its cultural work, reaches out to combine the two most resonant popular forms of the century, the sentimental form and the historical form, halfway in its transition to an economic rather than a political model.

The historical novel is the complementary form to the more radical sentimental novel which trains and explicates new forms of feeling . . . The sentimental novel arouses and excites action toward that part of the public future that is still open to decision and alternatives--slavery in the America of Uncle Tom's Cabin . . . (17-18)

Her bridging effect between sentimentality and naturalism places her in what Cathy Davidson calls "the clear beginning of a 'tradition' of American fiction," a time when the American novel "embarked on a program of cultivating the very social context it required" (Revolution 11-12).

Stowe's vision provides a master design for society which emanates from her biblical orientation. In it, time

proceeds in a linear fashion, which she demonstrates in the spatial movements of characters from beginning to end. The places which they occupy as they move provide relationships where they learn more about the Christian perspective on life. In Stowe's ideal society, all members contribute to the well-being of the larger context by ethical behavior on a personal basis. Individual stories of obedience provide a master plot which illustrates her utopia. However, by examining their experience in its light, characters reveal the existing inadequacies of a social code which also claims Christian precepts for its standards. Meanings from Uncle Tom's Cabin occur through an iterative process in the stories. By means of the recurring scenes, repression of some details, and repetition of others as they are interpreted by tone and sentimentality, resolutions for characters appear. In order to provide time as repeated events which render didactic meaning, she creates a cast of character typologies to populate the stories. In the process, she demonstrates what Ursula Brumm explicates as an interaction between American thought and religious typologies. In tracing the source to Puritanism, Brumm uncovers an intriguing paradox since American symbolism developed from "an intellectual movement decidedly hostile to images and symbols" (15). But typologies provided a way around disembodied ideas and as "the offspring of intellectual traditions which can lend them quite different meanings and functions" (7), they

supply Stowe a way to unite doctrine with stories to produce an allegory of realism. In Karl Keller's words, typology, "the type-to-antitype structure on American life with imaginative effort," forced the metaphoric relationship and "sustained one form of American Puritanism long after it had ceased to be socially or even religiously viable" (113). Characters link with each other the same way in which the place orientations do, with reference to a third entity: the figure of Christ. He is the identifying source and the commonality that unites all of the novel's positive characters who are good precisely in proportion to the degree in which they are imitations of Him.

Stowe's typologies of characters perform as positive and negative models for the audience and other characters in their beliefs and behavior; they are exempla which provide instruction as they progress, reflecting good or evil orientations with the consequences of doing so. Governing types come from her religious ideology: Heaven, Trinity, God, Christ, Father, Son, Holy Spirit, Hell, Devil, Sin, Evil, Life, and Death. Heaven as the "land of Canaan" in the sermon and music of the camp meeting atmosphere of Tom's cabin (41-43) and the "New Jerusalem" in the conversations about "gates of pearl . . . all gold" between Tom and Eva (303-307) allow a transcendent way to talk about spiritual concerns which reinforces their symbolic ends for the book's purpose. The Trinity of God the Father, Son, and Holy

Spirit govern there and represent life in all its forms while the Devil reigns in Hell, a haven for Evil and Death. On the way to his plantation with his new purchases of human beings, Simon Legree will not allow the slaves to sing about Jerusalem. Legree functions as an exemplum of the Devil; his plantation looms as Hell where the communitas is diabolical anti-home and the depraved relationships exploit and destroy.

Tom and Eva serve as exempla of the Son and the Spirit, according to the relationships of the three divine models in the Trinity. To use Guthrie's descriptions of the attributes of God (104-111), they embody love, grace, goodness, faithfulness, and uniqueness. They are models who have formed and continue to show the forming process by how they act. Eva consistently tries to make things better for people through her loving acts. When Cassy asks Tom why they are put where they cannot help but sin, he answers, "I think we can help it" (422). Tom imitates Christ the Son predominantly, giving himself in life and death for the sake of others, and, ultimately, in death for Cassy and Emmeline (479). Eva reflects the Spirit in bird imagery of "canary" (177) or "wearied dove" (341) who flits, glides, "moves like a shadow" (176) or "comes tripping" (323). The two form an alliance as a metaphoric family of God on the way to New Orleans (177). Stowe endows both with rose symbolism, the Old Testament term of "Rose of Sharon," or "Eden" (211)

being another expression for the Messiah. Eva connects with rose as blossom and color throughout the book. When she and Tom play together, fashioning garlands of roses for themselves with Eva "hanging a wreath of roses round his neck" as she "sat on his knee, like a chip-sparrow" (210), they epitomize two members of the Trinity. They move, but are always facing heaven, as in the scene on the shore of Lake Pontchartrain (303-307) when they talk about heaven and Eva tells Tom she is going there. Tom stations himself beside her during her death watch because "when that blessed child goes into the kingdom, they'll open the door wide, [and] we'll all get a look in at the glory" (344). Creating a sense of place, they carry with them their communitas, that "type of bonding which, unlike the dominant mode of human relationship in society, does not depend on class, rank, wealth, or social status" (Cohn 10). Tom's compassion and selflessness build a sphere of acceptance for the sufferers wherever he goes. Eva engenders an atmosphere of kindness and respect for everyone: slaves, adults, and even peers like her cousin Henrique. Her love is "Christ-like" and Tom venerates her as an icon "as the Italian sailor gazes on his image of the child Jesus" (302). They produce the divine relationships wherever they go. When Cassy reaches conversion, she calls Tom "Father Tom" (463). As the Trinity in Heaven who have angels as messengers, Tom and Eva talk a great deal about angels and are assisted by angels,<sup>9</sup> such as



the departed spirits of St. Clare's mother and Legree's mother. Other characters refer to Eva as an angel. In the case of Augustine, the trinity of Tom, Eva, and the angel spirit of his mother bring about his salvation.

Tom is the "uncommon" (12) exemplum, the head servant, a "patriarch in religious matters" (43), Christian teacher, friend to women, the downtrodden, and oppressed in the model of Christ (121). The mythic type (34) as hero (173, 183), Tom, in his childlikeness with Eva, evokes an image of Christ with children in the gospels (177). He and Eva are types of the family of God: he as the exemplum of Christ, incarnate sacrifice, and she as the Spirit, the pure essence and innocence of love. He continues as a "moral miracle" (251) and in numerous biblical allusions, elicits different phases and identifications with other typologies of Christ.

Eva, as an icon of the saintly Christ child and, at the same time, analogous to the Holy Spirit in dovelike descriptions, links also to America and the Mississippi River with the eventual theological overtones of "young star" by use of Chateaubriand's prose poem as epigram of the fourteenth chapter entitled "Evangeline" (172).<sup>10</sup> The river "bears on its bosom to the ocean the wealth and enterprise" of a country whose scenes of grandeur pass, reminiscent of a cyclorama, as Tom and Eva go south. The visionary nation is at risk from "a more fearful freight" on the boat, but Stowe continues to make clear in her sermonical narrative of America

that the way for the nation to be the young guiding star of the nations consists in adopting the loving ethics of the youthful star called Eva, who evokes the image of the Morning Star, the Christ.

Tom and Cassy also form exempla according to the nature of God, the Father, in the Trinity. Guthrie points out that God is Love, but He is "righteous" and metes out "justice" expressing the "revulsion of absolute holiness towards all that is unholy." A "principle of retribution in a moral universe" condemns evil (99-102). The dark side of the divine personality is His wrath. Tom always models His love and forgiveness. Clearly, sacrifice alone will not defeat the evil of Stowe's devil, Simon Legree, so Stowe unleashes the wrath of God in Cassy. Through Legree's depraved spiritual condition, his dreams of his mother's faith (a nightmare version of St. Clare's), further increase his perversion to make his superstition an aid for his continued decay and defeat at the hands of Cassy, a dramatic enactment of God's judgment (464-474). Cassy's presence as exemplum for violence expands Stowe's spectrum of potential resolutions. If Cassy has to murder, she means to escape. Even if she has to harm Emmeline to prevent discovery, she will do so. She has already killed her own child to deliver it from slavery. Life can come through Death, if it occurs in the sacrificial nature of Eva's innocence or Tom's martyrdom, or even through the purgation of the apocalyptic

judgment to which characters continually refer. But Life as continuing earthly life spotlights where morality must create change in order to stop the destruction of life in a living Death, even if violence becomes part of a character's code of action.

Other characters behave according to the didactic example of Stowe's supernatural types; they have the power of choice in their actions; and they help with the formation of other characters by acting on a moral code incipient in the spiritualized models. As allegorical representations who have realistic settings, in turn, they become exempla to serve as flesh and blood models for other characters. They may fulfill this office as individuals: Tom and Eva model the Christic personality; Tom, George Harris, and Legree provide the time and movement of Stowe's cosmos; Simeon and Rachel Halliday demonstrate home as heaven as the supreme mythos; and the Shelbys and the HARRISES point to relationships which reflect an ethos characterized by love which undergirds the ideal morality for public action.

Individual characters, in flux and in the process of formation, respond to the exempla strata: they assume identities which allow them to act both on societal groups and with individuals, as well, to bring about moral change. Emily Shelby, Mary Bird, Chloe, and the Hallidays step onto the pages of Uncle Tom's Cabin as typologies to become exempla for activist characters like George Shelby and

George and Eliza Harris who are both forming actively by personal intention and being formed by their exposure to the characters they will imitate. Simultaneously, George Harris becomes an exemplum of a secular hero and an allegory for one way to resolve the slavery problem; George Shelby increasingly matures into an exemplum of right feeling in a Southern Christian gentleman who converts to activism on his way to destroy slavery; Ophelia, as New England personified, learns about slavery's blight on the nation and converts to an exemplum of the informed; Cassy begins as an exemplum of the debased and changes to an exemplum of the reformed; and Topsy, exemplum of chaos, is created by Eva's love, her own faith, and Ophelia's education. But reaction to the types does not result in universal conversion to progressive behavior. As Stowe's Byronic Romantic hero with a Jungian mix of male and female characteristics, Augustine St. Clare, progresses in his various reactions to ethical formation to find salvation, but dies without making any positive contribution (183). The two principle exempla of hell and destruction remain unchanged. Marie St. Clare, embodied slave culture, continues as exemplum of the malformed, and Simon Legree, incarnate Northern greed and materialism, persists as exemplum of the deformed.

Typologies interact to demonstrate Stowe's reformation ideology for the culture. Uncle Tom's Cabin needs characters as types in tension with each other to produce their

allegorical didacticism which is further advanced by their names, classical allusions, Biblical allusions, and music. Characters experience time and movement, demonstrating Stowe's eschatology and her vision of cosmos to provide the dynamics for audience participation. Allegorical types as real people in contemporary culture call to the four levels of audience response treated in chapter three below. They move through places to ultimate place in their plots, describing Stowe's ontology and her mythic vision as they form settings for individual characters. They also learn from relationships. Movement through time and place in narrative exposes them to other characters and allows them to articulate their experience which defines Stowe's epistemology and her ethical vision. Their example provides instruction in character formation and proposes ways to help others while articulating the power of feeling from the relationships which empowers characters to act ethically in the scenes which reveal them.

In imitation of the Puritan narratives, she employs the divine-human interaction in the choices characters have between design and disorder through type-scenes, narrative intentions, and recurring words and phrases. With Brooks's analysis of plot dynamic as a tool, by extension, the reader can interpret the textual and social significance of those iterative devices in Uncle Tom's Cabin by their repetition, repression, return, and transference of text.

### The Storyteller and The Preacher

Stowe's voice becomes most persuasive when neither the didactic tone nor the sentimentality overwhelms the other. With balanced tension, characteristics from the storyteller and the preacher show experience in conflict with rules and suggest strategies for resolution of conflict. Kirkham writes of Stowe's habit of oppositions, saying, "Harriet seemed to function smoothly only when she could get one against one, whether it be in debate or in character" (Building 128). The governing impulse comes from her own doubleness of voice that can tell about the commonplace and the ordinary as subject matter for heroic action in the same linguistic transaction.

Stowe's preacher voice contributes design and authority to the storyteller voice which shows how individual time and experience conflict with rules once grounded in the ideology of the culture. Her strategies with voice contain cultural design and cultural oppositions to design. Inadequacies between the design and the master plot provide a revelation of the culture with a strategy for recuperating meaning in the interaction which displays both resolutions for characters and ethical options for the reader. This action occurs through the dynamic in patterns of repetition in Uncle Tom's Cabin and affective sensibility in the telling.

Using traditional forms and language, she combines them in her style and subject matter. With the Puritan sermon, she makes conventional and unconventional uses of conventions: the conventional use of the logical process of the sermon form and application of emotion become unconventional in the substitution of story and "feeling" as sermon text; the structure and authority of the preacher voice empowers the transfer of sentimental fiction as the storyteller's bible against slavery; tone and sentimentality reinforce her vision; and repetitions give the range of resolutions of conflict for characters and audience. In the narrative genres, she utilizes conventionally the conventions of self-examination, conflation of private and public in a personal and national scheme of salvation, and ethical behavior in the expected ways to give a view of noble history and meaning in the commonplace events of daily life. However, using slaves as subjects involved in the self-examination is unconventional, but the style and tone of voice in combination with the ideal and the realistic in repeating scenes provide the rhetorical thrust.

Her preacher and storyteller place the Puritan forms in dialectic tension, but with the style being that of the nineteenth-century sentimental novel. Having as its theme the abolition of slavery, Uncle Tom's Cabin submits two additional sets of conventions to submerge into those of the Puritan genres: the recurring patterns of sentimental,

domestic ideology and contemporary slave narratives. Stowe incorporates them into her program in the same manner of manipulation of conventions, movement of emotion, and style and tone of voice. But in the case of these latter two, the emotion becomes their first advocate although the religious designs and plots maintain the authority base as ethical models.

Philip Fisher writes that "sentimentality was a crucial tactic of politically radical representation throughout western culture" from 1740 to 1860. He relates:

Until sentimentality was replaced by the strategies of literary naturalism . . . the liberal humanism of sentimentality was the primary radical methodology within culture . . . Because [it] depends upon an inward and empathic emotional bond, it connects, in its intimate presentation of ordinary life, in particularly rich ways to the possibilities of the novel: a private, domestic, intimate form. Sentimentality is a fundamental moral evidence of the dominance of the middle class in literature just as epic objectivity is the moral trace of aristocratic dominance . . . the entire history of the novel as a popular form is critically tied to its sentimental texture and to its melodramatic scheme of action . . . sentimentality often marks precisely the point within accepted patterns of feeling and representation where radical revision is taking place. (92-93)

The particular significance for Stowe lies in Uncle Tom's Cabin being the "central fable of slavery in America," written by a woman, having as its setting the indoors half of Jefferson's yeoman farmer's household. In her supreme effort to reveal the decay of that ideal setting, she turned to the "most radical popular form available to middle class



culture, the sentimental novel" (91). Stowe's book proves that popular culture can do the ethical teaching for society which may have been the most damaging blow she dealt Calvinism. By employing the sentimental and domestic ideology, Kirkham's "native tradition," she confers upon them authority from the master design of her Christian vision. First allegiance to the divine model enhances and deepens the domestic icons. The doubleness of voice with repeated examples of domestic power that can affect the public arena raises the home to a divine position. Puritan practice used family as analogy for the state; Stowe elevates it to a force that can govern the state if its principles are in tune with the higher law of God, love, and moral action which supercede unjust civil statutes. Slave narratives assist in her moral program.

Slave narratives also present conventions: self-identity through narrating one's self; education to be part of the free society; selling slaves "down river;" the religious slave bound to a cruel master who denies him his Bible; lecherous overseer's seductions; the beautiful mulatto "sold to New Orleans;" the noble slave refusing to flog other slaves; and the Yankee overseer. Stowe inverts slave narrative components into the Puritan narratives to bridge the becoming saint and the developing American citizen. Unwaveringly, she makes the same kinds of cultural transfer of ideals by means of emotion with slave narrative conventions

that she does with the Puritan forms and domestic models. With tone and sentimentality through repeated scenes, she lifts them to divine identifications as spiritual models, which explains in part why Tom as Stowe created him has little emotional or social recognition by blacks. He was a black slave by name, a theological Christ by symbol, and a Puritan soul in search of salvation by mental process. In terms of narrative theology, Tom is a brilliant example, not of how theology influences political morality, but how popular culture re-invents its founding myths.<sup>11</sup>

In the repetitions of type-characters, scenes, dialogue, imagery, and words throughout the plot, the ethereal character of the culture's theology bonds with the demands of its nineteenth-century sociology. This formidable task takes place where the end of the Puritan sermon intersects with the beginning of sentimental fiction: in the appeal to emotion. The first parts of the Puritan sermon separate logic and the last portion appeals to emotion by using stories of homely illustrations to apply doctrine. Stowe begins with the feeling in domestic stories to appeal to the logic of emotion for including all races in the democratic doctrine of America. The transfer does take place because of unswerving dialectic between her cultural sermon and story. Her preacher and storyteller share received forms and language; both also assume the centrality of time in the sense of history and experience and a belief system. As

well, they both employ the devices of scenes, conventions, characters, dialogue, narration, and repetition. But the perspectives engaged meet in contradiction, for the preacher gives the ordering principle, primarily assumed from faith, and the storyteller gives the testing principle, primarily demonstrated by characters and their experience. The reader learns the lessons she intends by the sentimentality and tone of the two voices in dialectic tension with each other.

In this thrust, counterthrust, Stowe's two voices move the novel, but become most effective in the textual areas where they are presented with equal force. Characters alone and in combinations show qualities needed to confront and change slavery; repetition links character, place, relationships, and judgment for moral effect.

Uncle Tom was a sort of patriarch in religious matters [for all] . . . Having, naturally, an organization in which the morale was strongly predominant, together with a greater breadth and cultivation of mind than obtained among his companions, he was looked up to with great respect, as a sort of minister among them; and the simple, hearty, sincere style of his exhortations might have edified even better educated persons. . . in prayer . . . he especially excelled. Nothing could exceed the touching simplicity, the child-like earnestness, of his prayer, enriched with the language of Scripture, which seemed so entirely to have wrought itself into his being, . . . and to drop from his lips unconsciously . . . his prayer always worked on the devotional feelings of his audiences . . . (43)

The prescribing force of the didactic information balances with the narrative of why Tom became what he was and how he affected people. The steadiness in the tension between the

two styles releases the resolution between the ordering frames of Stowe's society and the reality of character stories within it which challenge the validity of boundaries as they are interpreted in her experience and vision.

With the various perspectives on Tom, the reader is not surprised when, confronted with the news that Haley has bought him and Chloe's urging him to run away with Eliza, he replies, both foreshadowing and sealing his end:

"No, no--I an't going . . . If I must be sold, or all the people on the place, and everything go to rack, why let me be sold. I s'pose I can b'ar it as well as any on 'em," he added, while something like a sob and a sigh shook his broad, rough chest convulsively. "Mas'r always found me on the spot--he always will. I never have broke trust, nor used my pass no ways contrary to my word, and I never will. It's better for me alone to go, than to break up the place and sell all." . . . He leaned over the back of the chair, and covered his face with his large hands.  
(55)

However, the reader, emotionally committed to Tom and opposed to the forces which both do and allow these practices, is ready for that which Stowe proposes as solutions. She can proceed, tightening one effect against the other because of her master plot from the stories which derive their authority from the master design of the world of the novel. She assumes the absolute nature of her Christian ideology, elaborated in chapter one, which posits a Christian view of time and history together with feeling and ethics. Sermon and form through rhetoric communicate that world; narrative strategies, through story and character by means of positive

or negative interaction with the master design, reveal the inadequacies of the contemporary societal forms which originated from that master design in the culture's foundations.

The entire operation depends on the credibility the characters possess. In a stroke of genius, Stowe creates character typologies which carry the power of religious tradition who are simultaneously cast as real life people in contemporary scenes. Her authoritarian preacher outside the action grants abstract allegory; her entertaining storyteller inside it fuels concrete realism. The combined force of the two voices in her pattern of repetition create the effect she wants. From manipulations of conventions, she instructs the reader who gains additional perspectives from the plot repetitions and the two kinds of voice impulses. The authority of the preacher contains the complex narrative and the storyteller's passionate, but simple, non-threatening sentimentality spins the tale in a series of sweeping geographic movements from one domestic setting to another.

Through a dynamic of restriction, resistance, and resolution, the repetitions of an individual story incorporate stories of the group focus and create effects which Stowe wants for instructing readers. Her central scenes deal with domestic settings, slave partings through flight or purchase, and death. Since they are repeated, the reader knows to look for conventions and departures from them in order to interpret the meaning of each. In each, the principal model

occurs with other variations. By examining the exemplum, the audience receives the standards of the conventions and the message from the scene. The scenes and characters show the process of inspiration from Stowe's "pictures"<sup>12</sup> that always have a biblical orientation of the spiritual and religious; they are mimetic and experience-oriented for the text and are especially notable in dialogue and dialect which are realistic and factual. Scenes link character, the master design, and America to show why abolition of slavery is needed; the individual self must be saved at all strata in order to save America.

In the domestic setting at the Quaker settlement, Stowe proposes the ideal home as her ideal place for human enactment of the divine plan (162-171, 220-239).<sup>13</sup> Both Simeon and Rachel, avowedly Christian, follow the moral teachings of the Bible which guarantee they respect each other at home and accord outsiders the same courtesy.

Everything went on so sociably, so quietly, so harmoniously, in the great kitchen,--it seemed so pleasant to every one to do just what they were doing, there was such an atmosphere of mutual confidence and good fellowship everywhere . . .  
(169-170)

Rachel indicates her activism when she assures Eliza that "the Lord hath ordered it so that never hath a fugitive been stolen from our village" (164). Simeon reinforces her role as activist and egalitarian when he calls her out on the porch to consult with her about George Harris's arrival

(166) and has the conversation with his son about the possibilities of being jailed for helping runaway slaves.

"Father, what if thee should get found out again?" said Simeon second, as he buttered his cake.

"I should pay my fine," said Simeon, quietly.

"But what if they put thee in prison?"

"Couldn't thee and thy mother manage the farm?" said Simeon, smiling.

"Mother can do almost everything," said the boy. "But isn't it a shame to make such laws?"  
(170)

Simeon's teaching attitude with his son is reflected in Rachel's way with her daughter as she gently instructs her in household management (165). Male and female children assist in preparing breakfast with all present in the kitchen where Rachel diffuses "a sort of sunny radiance" while Simeon at a mirror in the corner "engaged in the anti-patriarchal operation of shaving" (169).<sup>14</sup> She cares for the slaves he drives between way stations. Their honored guests are their fellow Quakers who drop by the great kitchen with news of the community and the joint effort of non-violently breaking the law by helping slaves escape. Among the Quakers, varieties of commitment to non-violence exist as they do among other whites and the slaves themselves. The most honored guests of all are the slaves who sit down to breakfast with them.

These, then, are the conventions in the ideal domestic setting. All the members of the communal group are avowedly Christian, following the moral teachings of the Bible which

guarantee they respect each other at home and accord outsiders the same courtesy. Simultaneously, they enact hierarchical and egalitarian roles; the father is head of the family and the mother runs the household, but she is also assertive in social causes and he is present in the domestic setting as an equal. She cooks and he grooms himself in the kitchen. Children and other dependents receive the same respect as they learn adult roles in the setting. Visitors are welcome and slaves are most welcome of all, for they provide a means whereby the private community can prove their faith with public action.

In the domestic setting in Tom's cabin, Stowe replicates the ideal with different characters from the slave strata (32-44). But the purposes are reversed for the intermingling of black and white races. Instead of black going to white for assistance, white goes to black to help. Young George comes to teach Tom to read and write. All the members of the family are together in the kitchen with children tumbling about. Black and white eat together and young George stays to read the Bible for the prayer meeting of Tom's friends and neighbors. Tom's cabin can't be the exemplum for home as heaven because of its basic flaw; he cannot own it. As Richard Poirier notes, the "building of a house is an extension and an expansion of the self." It is "an act by which the self possesses environment otherwise possessed by nature." However, "this conjunction is



possible only if the imagination and space are freed from the possessive power of all that is not nature" such as systems of any kind that derive from society and history (18). Tom's cabin cannot endure except as a memorial to his martyrdom to save those whom it houses.

Tom cannot own his home because of what happens in the Shelby house. Mr. and Mrs. Shelby share neither a common faith nor the same views on slavery.

"I have tried . . . as a Christian woman should-- to do my duty to these poor, simple, dependent creatures. I have cared for them, instructed them, watched over them . . . I have taught them the duties of the family, of parent and child, and husband and wife . . . what can I say, if you tear away . . . and sell . . . "

"I'm sorry you feel so about it, Emily . . . and I respect your feelings, too, though I don't pretend to share them to their full extent . . . I had to do it . . . "

"This is God's curse on slavery! . . . "

" . . . we poor sinners . . . We men of the world must wink pretty hard at various things . . . women and ministers come out broad and square, and go beyond us in matters of either modesty or morals . . . I trust you see the necessity of the thing . . . " (47-48)

Mr. Shelby confides nothing in his wife and Mrs. Shelby carries the management of the household alone. She does not take an active role outside the home, although Stowe makes clear she is more capable of running the family's business affairs than her husband. The relationship is only hierarchical, not egalitarian. While the couple appear together in their bedroom, they do not in the kitchen, nor or they seen eating together. Mrs. Shelby does not cook and her

husband grooms himself in the bedroom. But she supervises the meal preparations to insure the delay allowing Eliza to get away. The only visitor is Haley who comes as a social inferior, continually reminded of the fact by Shelby. Unwelcomed, Haley does not sit at the table with the mistress of the household, and she serves him food for her own agenda, not because of Christian hospitality. The reader views young George interacting with the slaves, but not with his parents. This household is flawed; the law is on the side of its master who has power to sell Tom from his cabin. By implication, the law is also flawed.

The Bird household is also divided, but less so. The guardian of the hearth, Mary Bird functions as one of Coventry Patmore's exemplary angels in the house, but she asks political questions, and determines to disobey with great emotion on the basis of the dictates of her Bible when told the Fugitive Slave Act prohibits her giving food and shelter to runaways. Senator Bird acts one way in the public forum in his legislative role, and another in private on the basis of his feelings when confronted with his wife's courage and Eliza's presence. In a democratic tumble, the couple together with their children take tea in the parlor, but all go into the kitchen with their black free domestics and Eliza. Mary Bird does not cook, but all of the family participates in preparing Eliza and Harry for a night escape. The reader does not see the Senator at his morning

grooming because he spends the night driving Eliza to safety and returning home.

In the St. Clares household, all conventions collide; the child has the Christian faith and parents the mother and father who interact in self-centeredness and cynicism. There is neither hierarchy nor egalitarianism: only co-existence, since they have separate property and finances. Blacks are either mistreated, tolerated, or neglected. The only visitor, a live-in relative, manages the household. She is the sole adult white to enter the kitchen; rigid North confronts undisciplined South in the encounter. With the contagion of the slave market in the kitchen, the real horror for the "mothers of America" resides in the discovery that family life nurtured by women is not immune from the economic life outside it (Gillian Brown 504-505). The three white adults sit down to Sunday dinner together in the dining room without children or blacks, but get into an argument.

Legree's decadent plantation mansion destroys the conventions. His place has no marriage, faith, visitors, cooking, or grooming, and no black presence except for those slaves brought to the house to be brutalized or humiliated.

After George and Eliza pass through these homes, they are prepared to build their own domestic sanctuary, a temple of the sacred, where the family can learn values and skills to participate in the secular. They incorporate what Mircea

Eliade calls "sacred space" in order to make "the world sacred."

But since to settle somewhere, to inhabit a space, is equivalent to repeating the cosmogony and hence to imitating the work of the gods, it follows that, for religious man, every existential decision to situate himself in space in fact constitutes a religious decision . . . this religious nostalgia expresses the desire to live in a pure and holy cosmos, as it was in the beginning, when it came fresh from the Creator's hands. (65)

Their apprenticeship in the homes of America teaches them to create their own holy cosmos in the home.

In Canada, with their freedom assured, home takes shape in one room that serves as kitchen, parlor, study, playroom. While all of the family interact together, Eliza prepares their tea; George grooms himself with self-improvement at his study table in the corner while he supervises his son's lessons and plays with his daughter. Black and white visitors are welcomed; they worship together and sit at table together. In honor of their faithfulness to the ideal, their lost families reunite in the Job-like characteristics of replacement for that which was lost through undeserved tragedy. George and Eliza imitate the example of Rachel and Simeon in shared responsibilities as they interact privately in the Christian ethic in order to participate in it publicly according to their acceptable cultural roles. Their positions now gain cultural worthiness because, free, they choose how they will live, and they contribute to the public

weal from a prepared base of education and spiritual commitment.

The religious, domestic, sentimental, and slave narratives come together through a repetition of reinforcement. They comment on individual freedom, interpersonal egalitarian relationships, the sanctity of home as strength of the nation, male and female complementary action as a model for private and public government, ethical treatment of dependents, spiritual identity as a requirement for citizenship, and mutual efforts between slave and free to save America by helping free the slave. The biblical models affirm the positive examples of characters who follow the ethic; they also judge the negative ones. Stowe's strategies unwaveringly indicate that contemporary readers need to follow the positive examples. She provides a fusion through emotions; feelings, as the transference energy, employ traditional biblical, sermonic forms for affective sensitivity to human suffering which results in intercession on behalf of those who suffer by joining a cause of righteous political action. Transference through emotion to contemporary life empowers Uncle Tom's Cabin with its political nature by encouraging the audience to respond to, identify with, and act in similar ways according to the range of behaviors of characters. The religious conventions from biblical precedent in domestic settings convince of their realism and moral efficacy. The storyteller's sentimentality brings them off the page

into the reader's heart and into American sensibility culturally, religiously, and politically.

Repetitions in the slave parting scenes take another tack. There are no ideals in them: only models of the different ways of reaction. The lesson teaches that partings are always examples of human tragedy and destructive to family and moral instruction which has the potential of benefit to the public life of the nation when it is done correctly. The converse is also valid; with the family and nation as reflections of each other, that which damages family life also destroys the nation because of the inner decay. Examples of slave partings spread a range of illustrations both for instruction and empathic identification to energize reader reaction.

When Eliza and Tom part, Tom goes because he has been sold and shows obedience to Kentucky law, the reverse for God's law which intends that all races be free. But that disobedience on Tom's part to the higher law becomes a sublimation, a greater good by way of the example through his restitution because of his voluntary self-sacrifice. In other words, although he disobeys the higher law by obeying the human law, he earns a greater heroic element by the tragedy he endures to provide a moral model for the nation.

Tom goes in sadness, but strong in his faith, an encourager in his words and actions. Eliza disobeys Kentucky law that will sell her child from her, obeys God's law of

freedom, and places the sacrificial nature of mother for child above personal danger. Overcome by love for her child, she leaves with guilt for Mrs. Shelby whom she also loves. When she parts from the Birds, she goes with honor and assistance; the Hallidays add teaching to their help. Chloe remains behind with anger and rage, but determines to do something of a practical nature to redeem Tom because of her love and character; she is the only one of the intimate circle who must endure; Tom's finds release through death, Eliza's gains freedom through escape. Chloe's only respite enters from hard work and hope.

George's partings show the emotional cycles of the slave en route to freedom. When he leaves Eliza, intending to flee, he is desperate; with Mr. Wilson, he shows defiance; with the slave hunters, he becomes enraged; with Simeon Halliday, he begins to mellow; in Canada, he learns contemplation.

But the slave carried deeper into bondage resorts to spiritual landscapes for release. Contemplations often serves as his sole companion. When Tom leaves the St. Clares, he is honored, but not free; when he departs from Legree, he is dishonored, but set free in death.

From the repetitions in the slave partings come a moral instruction: home is destroyed; families are separated; basic human rights are violated; and the slave who cannot be free in his own strength must transcend spiritually in

death, ascend physically in flight, or endure in the limited avenues of hope.

Death scenes, of course, are the staple of sentimental novels. They provide Stowe with a number of dramatic stages for enacting her beliefs, the most celebrated one being the death of Eva. Stowe does the same thing with death that Emily Dickinson does; she uses art to examine it critically. The difference is that Stowe does so in the sentimental style to teach a moral about slavery; Emily Dickinson does not. Death was no stranger to Stowe. She lost her mother when she was five. Her beloved eldest son, Henry Ellis, drowned in the Connecticut River in the spring of his first year at Dartmouth. Samuel Charles, her one-year-old baby, died in a cholera epidemic in Cincinnati while Calvin was away. Her letters to him about the child's illness and death have the same tone and some of the same descriptions which appear in Uncle Tom's Cabin regarding Mrs. Bird's loss of a baby son. Kirkham feels that little Eva may be an idealized version of the baby; it is certain she always held his memory close, referring to him as her summer child. Another gloss on Stowe's experience with death can be found in the moving account which she wrote to the family of a Lane Seminary student who died in a cholera epidemic. Sensitive and full of day-by-day detail, she tells in the twelve page epistle of the last days of the young man's life in a report of the care she, Calvin, and the other students



gave him in her home.<sup>15</sup> Although she writes about death sentimentally in parts of Uncle Tom's Cabin, she had no allusions regarding it. With detached objectivity, she says:

Of course, in a novel, people's hearts break, and they die, and that is the end of it; and in a story this is very convenient. But in real life we do not die when all that makes life bright dies to us. There is a most busy and important round of eating, drinking, dressing, walking, visiting, buying, selling, talking, reading, and all that makes up what is commonly called living, yet to be gone through . . . (184)

. . . the waves of life settled back to their usual flow, where that little bark had gone down. For how imperiously, how coolly, in disregard of all one's feeling, does the hard, cold, uninteresting course of daily realities move on! Still we must eat, and drink, and sleep, and wake again,--still bargain, buy, sell, ask and answer questions,--pursue, in short, a thousand shadows, though all interest in them be over; the cold mechanical habit of living remaining, after all vital interest in it has fled. (355)

Despite death's harshness, it does not alter the rhythm and continuity of life.

Naturally, death scenes held some of the most stylized conventions of nineteenth-century sentimentality. Accounts of them convinced and moved people because they were real to their experience. Jane Tompkins traces the similarity in style and content of the actual experience of a minister's visit at a death scene, the account of how to sustain people in a death from a tract, and the death scene in a sentimental novel. She makes the point that the three are almost identical in their language and treatment of death ("Tracts"

431). Stowe uses a variety of death scenes to suggest that an individual may not have autonomy in life, but does have power to choose how to die, thereby writing the finish of one's own story.

Death serves as closure to life, conferral of identity, and summary of meaning for the person's life. In Peter Brooks's reading of Freud, death provides the end of the life story and its plot. And in the traditional Puritan sense, lessons learned from it extend to the community with an emblematic marriage of the soul to God that gives meaning to the person and reassurance to the community. Those meanings arise from the deaths in Uncle Tom's Cabin.

Tom's death is ideological enactment and completion. As principal and ideal, he dies as a redemption sacrifice; it becomes both a reenactment of the crucifixion and a display of the stages of conversion. When he knows the end of what faces him with Legree, his despair corresponds at first with the soul before God, imitating Christ in the Gethsemane passion. That stage ends with his dream of Eva in Puritan, biblical, and sentimental fusion simultaneously when she "raised her deep eyes, and fixed them lovingly on him" after reading to him the promise of God's presence in tribulation from Isaiah 43:2 (406). The rising of his soul begins with his first beating and visit from Cassy; the defeated love of God in Tom (Christ) is replaced by the vengeful wrath of God in Cassy, evoking Stowe's promise from

the beginning that God will sustain. Tom as Christic model in the Puritan journey of the soul and Cassy, calling to the sentimental mode of the betrayed mother as the wrath of God, come together in the second part of Tom's transformation when Cassy says there is "no law here, of God or man, that can do you, or any one of us, the least good" (420). She tells Tom she wants him to help her kill Legree:

[Tom said] " . . . Nothing but evil will come of it. The Lord hasn't called us to wrath. We must suffer, and wait his time."

"Wait!" said Cassy. "Haven't I waited?--waited till my head is dizzy and my heart sick? What has he made me suffer? What has he made hundreds of poor creatures suffer? Isn't he wringing the life-blood out of you? I'm called on; they call me! His time's come, and I'll have his heart's blood!" ((462)

In their alliance, Stowe puts God in tension with Himself in the union of Tom as bold love and Cassy as waiting vengeance. Cassy, who not only kills her child to keep it from slavery, but also threatens to kill Emmeline if she engages in the feminine Victorian activity of "fainting" (471) when they are fleeing Legree, continues as the wrath of God to counterbalance His other side of love while Tom wavers before his trial. When Tom reaches his lowest ebb, he has the crucial encounter with Legree and knows he must die, finding release in the decision as Christ did in Gethsemane. His spirit enlarged, his confidence restored, the love of God resumes its power and Cassy begins to call him Father Tom. Sealed by his death of sacrifice and her escape, she

blends back into domesticity, as an analogy of heaven as home and the model place for ideal relationships. With her trial over at Tom's death, Cassy as the wrath of God can be subsumed into the love of God in complementary Trinitarian balance once more when the crucifixion is finished and redemption accomplished. But until then, the lines are drawn between God and the Devil on Legree's plantation with Legree determined to make Tom "give out" and Tom declaring he will "never do it" (445). Stowe places God in tension with Himself in the union of Tom as bold love and Cassy as waiting vengeance. Tom is not called to wrath, but Cassy is:

Stung to madness and despair by the crushing agonies of a life, Cassy had often resolved in her soul an hour of retribution, when her hand should avenge on her oppressor all the injustice and cruelty to which she had been witness, or which she had in her own person suffered. (460)

By the time she reaches Legree's hell, she can assume the typology to fit her role there. When Legree calls her a "she-devil," she says she would rather be in the dirtiest hole than under his "hoof," and she "hisses" in snake imagery (431).

Lant says in her essay on Cassy that Stowe "hides her in the dark places of the novel, leaving domestic fictional strategies" (54) and writes of Tom as heroine and Cassy as the hero. She says that Cassy, in separating herself from domestic ideology which makes her endure, refuses oppression

(64) but simply returns to domesticity when the crisis passes, with Stowe's "ragged genius" restoring what slavery threatened to destroy (68). However, Cassy exceeds the concept of either victim or hero and surpasses the violence of the real slaves to do what no mortal can do: make life possible for the slaves. A clue to Stowe's purpose with Cassy exists in a letter she wrote to her son in 1879.

It was with some fear for myself and my faith that I began these OT studies, but by keeping a prayerful attitude, by suspending first judgment and laying every difficulty in a filial spirit at the feet of my Father, I found a sweetness, light and comfort in those studies not inferior to what I found in the N Testament . . . I think the character of the God of Abraham Isaac and Jacob is a lovely one. Tho armed with terrible power, and tho capable of a terrible severity, yet He seems to me to be Love . . . (April 1879, Folder 197, BSC)

Another interpretation for Cassy's transcendence lies in considering her as the wrath of God. She is not Legree's counterpart, but rather is Tom's. She and Tom form the new Godhead, not Rachel, Tom, and Eva. Tom represents the Christic crucifixion; she epitomizes His violence in conquering hell by invading it as Christ did in His journey between the crucifixion and the Ascension. She demonstrates the violence of God in Christ in subduing Legree's hell. A clear parallel arises between Tom's crucifixion and Cassy's victory. Their conversations are like Christ's passion in the garden when He dealt with a temptation to evade death. Stowe makes her biblical point in Tom's death and Cassy's

survival. In the fall, this activity continues, but the models show suffering and self-sacrifice as one ethic, and violence or judgment as another. The events of the Civil War and continuing violence bear it out. For Stowe's spiritual other-world vision, there is also the symbol of final judgment in the eschatology of Christian interpretation.

With all the attendant apocalyptic language in Uncle Tom's Cabin, there is the evocation of the evil woman in the book of Revelation. But in Cassy's autobiography to Tom, Stowe's irony plays against the contemporary domestic ideology of the mother as the angel in the home. God's vengeance directed against the whore of Babylon as the metaphor for His unfaithful people in the Apocalypse becomes, in Cassy's inversion, the Old Testament God's wrath in judgment against the hypocrisy of slavery in Stowe's portrait of Cassy as the gang-raped virgin and mother of New Orleans. Tom's personal victory comes in death because he is assured he is saved and will go to God. Determined to keep his part of the covenant, he resists Cassy's plan to kill Legree and forgives his murderers. Tom's trinitarian significance exists in Christ's abandonment by God, the Father, during the crucifixion. Tom lies forsaken. Eva and Cassy provide the two sides of God: love and wrath. But Tom's last vision of Christ provides the integrated, completed self of God which symbolizes the integrated process of salvation for Tom. It is not the female spirit of Eva that makes him mother to the

social orphans on Legree's plantation, but the self-actualized exemplum of Christ who brooded over Jerusalem in the gospels, comparing himself as a mother hen and its inhabitants as rebellious, runaway chickens. Tom sought the slaves to nurture them in the same manner. For those characters who help show the third person of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, this is the hope: Christ in the world through His spirit in his own, the converted. With crucifixion completed and salvation assured, Cassy as God's wrath can reunite with His love, as she does in her feeling for Tom, and attain restoration which is symbolized as reunion with family. In the manner in which the captivity narrative character attains redemption through violence as re-entry into the group to resume responsibility, Cassy takes her place in the redemptive scheme for others.

Eva's death as drama proposes the ideological summary and commission. Eva and Tom are Christ; he portrays the Crucifixion and Atonement. She represents the events of the Lord's Supper before she dies; her death alludes to the biblical Ascension. Eva teaches everyone in her death scene which she presides over and controls as Christ did with His disciples at the Last Supper. But for the bread and wine of communion "in remembrance of me" [Luke 22:19] and the holy "relics" from the tradition of Christian history, Stowe substitutes the locks of Eva's hair which are secular relics of Victorian sentimentality.<sup>16</sup> There is no mistaking Stowe's

analogy between Eva and Christ with Eva as the Lamb of God and her intention to use the relics for her loved ones for communion implications. She tells the biracial group about her bed she wants them to remember her and her love for them when they look at the lock and says, "Come, Aunty, shear the sheep" (336). Like Christ requesting the disciples to set up the occasion for their last meal together for his teaching summary and leave-taking, Eva asks her father to call the family and slaves together, the only time this happens in the St. Clare household:

"Papa, my strength fades every day . . . There are some things I want to say and do,--that I ought to do . . . you are so unwilling to have me speak a word on the subject . . . there's no putting it off. Do be willing I should speak now!"

"My child, I am willing! . . . "

"Then, I want to see all our people together. I have some things I must say to them . . . "  
(337)

Eva's sermon to the slaves is based on John 14 and Christ's farewell discourse to His disciples. However, it summarizes Stowe's Christian theology of love with her agenda for education, conversion, and freedom from slavery; she wants "to speak to them about their souls" and starts crying when she talks about their not being able to read (338-339). As Christ promised the Holy Spirit to His followers as His continuing presence, Eva gives her hair:

"I want to give you something that, when you look at, you shall always remember me. I'm going to give all of you a curl of my hair; and, when you look at it, think that I loved you and am gone to



heaven, and that I want to see you all there."  
(339)

Those who are present touch her hem like people did in the presence of Christ [Matt. 9:20; 14:36] (339); her brief audience with each is Love's confrontation and the beginning of conversion steps for Ophelia, Topsy, and the rest (340); when she dies, Tom is present for the Ascension. In Holy Spirit and Victorian angelology fusion, she can come to him later as his comforter. No wonder Stowe took to her bed and missed a deadline after Eva's death; she had killed Christ. Ann Douglas says, "Little Eva's significance has curiously little to do with the plot of the book in which she appears" (3). But Little Eva serves all of Stowe's purposes; it is a central scene for her vision. Eva's death contains Stowe's ideological summary through nineteenth-century America's contemporary saint, the beatific child; through Eva, Stowe releases innocent love as a spiritual sacrifice into the religion of American popular culture.<sup>17</sup>

Augustine St. Clare's death is a solution to answer the unanswerable. Discerning, but apathetic, wise, but unacting, St. Clare knows all the questions and answers, but questions little and answers nothing. His one passion is Eva whose approaching death he meets with denial. After the haircutting scene, he says, "I cannot have it so! The Almighty hath dealt very bitterly with me!" His cry comes from Ruth 1:20, the words of a grieving mother, Naomi, whose

sons have died. She is the mother-in-law of Ruth, ancestress of Mary, the mother of Christ. Through the convention of death bed salvation and the adoration of the dead mother (that Stowe admits patterning after her own mother whom both she and the family continued to eulogize), Augustine gains salvation without moral deeds. This is cheap grace in Stowe's habits, but perhaps he had suffered enough. In his death, she seems to suggest there is no way out for cynicism and procrastination, no matter how sympathetic the cynic and procrastinator may be.

A number of other slave deaths provide the shadowside of options in opposition to choices made by the runaways. For Lucy, the deranged mother who cannot face life robbed of her husband and child, death by suicide is a choice for escape. Prue's death comes as deliverance from intolerable endurance. Used as a slave breeder, degraded beyond imagination, she resorts to alcohol and thievery to persevere. Her drinking serves as a corrective to Tom's temperance sermon to St. Clare. Both Tom and Eva stand in awe of the terrible suffering Prue endures and say nothing of her drinking for release.<sup>18</sup> Stowe's death scenes, communicated in repetition with the shaping force of voice style and tone, remind that death is the leveling factor for all races. There are ideal conditions of the soul facing death; to be at one with Christ is available for slave and free, adult and child. Death provides options for free choice

whatever one's social situation. It may be noble for a cause or it may be the only way out. Characters may not be able to make choices in life, but they can choose in matters of death.

Repetition in Stowe's plot patterns transpires with recurring words. At times they have sermonic intent: at others, narrative. Stowe uses them in her own voice; she also turns them over to characters. Depending on who recalls them and how they are used, they are examples of Brooks's metaphoric clusters and Alter's Leitwort and serve to intensify and amplify the meanings in the conclusions from the manipulations of conventions. They also give sermonic reinforcement, story illustration, and dialectic for commentary on the theme.

For example, Stowe tells in a straightforward manner that "shiftless" is Ophelia's word.

The great sin of sins, in her eyes,--the sum of all evils,--was expressed by one very common and important word in her vocabulary--"shiftlessness." Her finale and ultimatum of contempt consisted in a very emphatic pronunciation of the word "shiftless;" and by this she characterized all modes of procedure which had not a direct and inevitable relation to accomplishment of some purpose then definitely had in mind. (189-190)

So when Ophelia speaks the word in different ways, the reader knows what the variations mean. Dinah's mess in the kitchen is "shif-less" (246), muttered to herself, but to St. Clare, it is, "Such shiftless management, such waste, such confusion . . ." (249).

Principle and necessity make two other examples. They interweave with other market words such as fortune, capital, business, and management. Stowe's irony gleams as Haley tell how he loses as few slaves as anyone in the "business," a fact he lays to his "management" (14). But the "business" of Eliza's running away (58) frustrates his "business" of getting up a gang for sale (143). In irony, Mr. Shelby is a man of principle faced with the necessity of paying his bills, so he sells Tom to Haley (47). But principle and necessity at the Bird home demands another kind of action that is ethical (115). When Sam returns from Eliza's escape which he has helped effect, he mimics the fourth of July orators and deals with "principles" satirically (95-97).

Four recurring words demonstrate how the repetition pattern works to shade and extend meanings. The first two, in tension with each other, inform the last two which also both oppose and affirm each other.

The first two are "dog" and "nature." In the broad sense, dog refers to the way people act or are treated and refers usually to actions related to law and structure. Generally, nature implies the way people are made and fit the context of experience. In the last instance, "dreadfull" runs through the book like a refrain and encompasses a vast array of comments on slavery. Its partner word, the only possible solution is "Canaan," the title of a song and the metaphor for escape, reflecting one of the few forms of

resistance available to slaves. Only song can transcend the dreadfulness if the slave has no other avenue of escape in response to the higher law of God which does not treat humans as dogs, but extends, rather to their nature.

"Dog" makes its debut in the beginning scenes of the novel when Haley leaves and Mr. Shelby thinks about what he has done.

"I'd like to have been able to kick the fellow down the steps," said he to himself, as he saw the door fairly closed, "with his impudent assurance; but he knows how much he has me at advantage. If anybody had ever said to me that I should sell Tom down south to one of those rascally traders, I should have said, 'Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?' (18)

The quotation is from 2 Kings 8:13 and refers to the story of Hazael, the servant of the King Benhadad of Syria, who goes at his master's request to inquire of the prophet, Elisha, if the king will recover from his illness. Elisha has a trance and sees Hazael's usurping the throne, which he tells him, weeping. Hazael replies with Mr. Shelby's comment. So, from the beginning, there is a condemned image of dog as a destroyer from scripture and a betraying carnivore in contemporary society who is legally within his rights to be a dog that overthrows men and women from their divinely appointed places in creation. "Dog" repeats and repeats: Haley wants dogs to hunt Eliza (75); a Kentuckian refers to him as a dog (80); Tom Loker (low-cur), the slave hunter, comes to help Haley (81, 87); he is doggish (85); the two

converse about the best use of dogs with slaves (90); George says men are like "dogs" and no one cared anymore for him than a dog (136); if he dies, he will "be kicked out and buried like a dog" (140); Legree gets fierce dogs to hunt Cassy and Emmeline (472). In some instances, dog implies gentleness and warmth, but the allusion always carries dependency and vulnerability with it, reinforcing the larger negative implications of unrighteous and unjustifiable law. George's dog, Carlo, a gift from Eliza, is drowned for spite (28); Old Bruno can't go with Eliza because he is emblematic of the antagonisms she will face (51, 56); St. Clare's manservant is a "poor dog" who wants to be like his master (209); Tom is a "beloved dog" to Eva (211) and a "pious dog" to Legree (415). Legree calls Sambo and Quimbo in to drink with him because his dogs won't come in (416). Dog, in its dozens of uses, illustrates the animality of legal slavery, and its illegality in the eyes of God. Stowe builds her allegories, but not all of them are equal in ethical claims because in her vision, all social forms have foundation in proportion to character which embraces a higher nature.

Nature reflects the way people are made. While they may be bound by religious values on one side and a legality which denies them representation on the other, they do have recourse to an inner adjustment. Stowe pictures the other side of the individual in the wilderness: the settlement mentality of James Fenimore Cooper which is necessary for

survival. While self-expression is always limited, neither is it every totally denied. It is the "natur'" of the mother to protect her child, so Eliza should run away (55); the husband's "nature" is to protect his family (150); Tom nurtures and cares for others (117). Characters have negative qualities reflected in the way the word is used: Haley's "nature" exhorts his property (126); Legree's "nature" in his economy with his slaves is to "use them up" (395). "Natur'" as intuitive theology opposed to learned theology grants the understanding of the heart and requires action (114-115). Nature carries the imprint of the human spirit and has the potential to soften the law of dogs.

The levels of interaction which dog and nature release allow another repeating word to comment upon the results. "Dreadful" appears first as Eliza's response when George tells her he is going to run away to Canada; she says it would be "dreadful" if he should be caught (31). Tom says forever is a "dre'ful" word, and links it to the eternal punishment in the Apocalypse (82). Chloe reflects her stoic practicality with it when she says at Tom's sale, ". . . de Lord lets drefful things happen . . . I don't seem to get no comfort that way" (116), giving Tom's and her prophetic end. The word becomes a refrain as characters put their own spin on slavery and its coming judgment. George runs a "dreadful risk" (140); it is "dreadful" to separate families (150) and "dreadful" of Haley to sell the slaves (161). Ophelia says

St. Clare's way of economy (and the South's) is "dreadful shiftless" (192) and thinks Eva's manner of caressing Tom is "dreadfull" (211); Marie St. Clare calls Mammy "dreadfully selfish," a "fault of the whole race" and Augustine replies in satire to her and ironically to the reader, "Selfishness is a 'dreadful' fault," posing a comment on himself at the same time (200); Eva, the ethical innocent in the household, says she would die for the "dreadful" separation the slaves suffer (and she does). In the slave market, people swear at Cassy's son "dreadfully" and tear him and her skirt from her (426). At Legree's, Sambo is a "drefful" wicked thing (481) and Legree "dreaded" Cassy because of her power over him although he owns her. At the last, when Tom dies he asks young George not to tell Chloe how he found him because "'t would be so drefful to her," sealing the benediction of truth on Chloe's prophecy of the dreadful things that happen to people enslaved.

In its first use by Eliza, "dreadful" is connected with escape to Canada. Escape also becomes metaphorically "Canaan," the title of a camp meeting song. Stowe uses music for the slaves to transcend the "dreadfulness" of slavery.

. . . the poor, dumb heart, threatened,--prisoned,--took refuge in that inarticulate sanctuary of music, and found there a language in which to breathe its prayer to God! (399)<sup>19</sup>

She knows music also has the power to subvert by means of its transcendence. Within the dynamic of rising above the



dreadfulness resides the power of transference to a superior ethic. Stowe's emphasis on feeling which appears without basis for forming social organization to a modern mind articulated precisely evangelical reform theory. Sandra Sizer's project in gospel music and social religion explains moral change in terms of feeling. Available literature demonstrates that "prayer, testimony, and exhortation were employed to create a community of intense feeling, in which individuals underwent similar experiences" which centered on conversion and "would thenceforth unite with others in matters of moral decision and social behavior." The language laid a foundation in terms of emotion, a feature of the gospel hymns (52). Sharing common states of feeling, "people would 'walk together'" and would be in agreement (59). The texts of music, the hymns, reinforced both the feeling and the agreement to preserve good order which endured because of people's "relying on the spiritual and moral discipline provided by conversion, and on the company of fellow Christian, operating without the coercive force of government" (72).

The music sung in the meeting at Tom's cabin foreshadows the plot in the hymn, spiritual, and camp meeting song titles (42). "Die on the field of battle" becomes prophetic of Tom's end at the beginning; "I'm going to glory" and "Canaan, bright Canaan" foreshadows Eliza's action. Canaan is God's promise to Israel in the covenant in Genesis 17:8;

the Bible reaffirms it many times. Israel as escaped slaves from Egypt with Moses, first, then Joshua, their leaders, going over the Jordan in a miraculous crossing (Joshua 3). Stowe provides a fascinating twist on the slave and Puritan Old Testament heroes. For the slaves, Moses and Joshua assume roles as deliverers because they present redemption as freedom; for the Puritans, Jeremiah serves as interpreter because he emphasizes redemption as purification. The Ohio is the slave Jordan. Joshua crosses his river on stones, but Eliza's miraculous apotheosis happens on chunks of ice. Sam reports it back at the Shelby home: "Wal, she's clar 'cross Jordan. As a body may say, in the land o'Canaan" (91). With the repetitions from characters, Canaan increases its transcendent symbolism. Eva is going there, and Tom waits at her death scene to get a glimpse of the glory when she enters. Canaan opposes the dreadfulness of slavery in ways the system cannot combat because its address is to the heart; it affirms that slavery is as dreadful as all the characters say and proposes a way to rise above the awfulness. After the dreadful beating that ends his life of slavery, Tom sings of Canaan from the slave quarters, knowing he has absolution from the dreadfulness of apocalyptic eternal punishment which he voices in the book's beginning.

"When we've been there ten thousand years,  
 Bright shining like the sun,  
 We've no less days to sing God's praise  
 Than when we've first begun." (456)<sup>20</sup>

Stowe develops imagery in the same way she builds meaning from recurring words: by introducing them with religious and sentimental values and repeating them in a variety of contexts to connect to theme through the nuances of voice. Two images from many that serve as motifs are star and Apocalypse. Each has biblical foundation; each has identity within sentimental native tradition; and in the book's treatment both have implications for confronting slavery.

Star is the biblical morning star, Christ, and is used interchangeably for Eva, America, and in allusions to Tom. Eva is mythic, allegorical, noble, and if America can rid itself of slavery, it can be like the morning star in God's kingdom as she is, restored to its innocence, and as Tom is when morning star (Christ) looks down on man of sin, purified by his sacrifice (427). Tom's morning star of liberty in Revelations is the Harris's star of liberty in getting to Canada (447-448). Tom has all identity stripped from him, but the Harrises have a variety of disguises. George changes his identity to a European to become a free American in Canada; Eliza becomes a free man in America in order to gain freedom as a woman in Canada; Harry becomes Harriet, a free girl in America, to grow up a free man in Canada, using the name of his creator, Harriet; Mrs. Smyth, a Canadian Quaker, assumes a different office to accompany them over the lake.

The image of the Apocalypse begins with the old woman's sermon in Tom's cabin with "glory" as victory in death,

followed by allusion to Revelation (42). The word is picked up in themes of Tom and Eva; the apocalypse of slavery endangers all of society; it is the dias irae for all (272). There is the threat of a "last judgment" as death and violence giving their own moral solutions; (364). Tom and Eva talk about a "sea of glass, mingled with fire" (303); she departs as a "lamb" going to "glory" (323). She signifies also the Rose of Sharon, another recurring image of Christ used for her and Tom. Already used symbolically in her characterization, the colors of the sentimental rose, white, pink, and gold (which are also the colors used for the heaven of Revelation) permeate her death room, and the icons of saintly children on the walls keep watch while she waits for her domesticated apocalypse.

Topsy brings not roses but red geranium and white japonica, emblematic of sacrifice and innocence (334-336), the apocalyptic destruction of slavery. As sacrifice to relieve slavery, the ambiguity of Stowe's hope can be seen in her description of Eva as a "half-blown tea rose-bud." Does she mean the flower is half-bloomed or half-destroyed? In the apocalypse of death and slavery, is the bloom unrealized potential or a potential that has past? This is the question to America in Stowe's reform crusade called Uncle Tom's Cabin. Liberty as a concept and metaphor connect the apocalypse of the runaways as they endure earthly trials for physical freedom with that of the non-runaway while their

encounter with earthly trials only hold out spiritual freedom. Both have victory, but with different consequences.

Other symbols enter the slavery debate. Ophelia is rocklike, stony, mechanical as a clock, inexorable as a railroad engine (189, 193); St. Clare lives in exotic surroundings, is a Romantic dreamy figure, an inactive thinker, indolent, and indulgent. They oppose each other as images of North and South with her stoniness and his decadence. In their exchanges, and in St. Clare's dialogue with other characters, Stowe's gift for satire and irony emerges most explicitly.

Giles Gunn writes a negative assessment of Stowe in The Interpretation of Otherness, calls Uncle Tom's Cabin "a Baedeker to the ideological confusion and moral ambiguity of her own age," asks if she altered fundamentally "conventional modes of reflection and assessment," and adds that the "scholarly consensus on this question is generally negative" (145-146).

. . . despite her abhorrence of these practices and their effects (slave-holding), all she could propose as an antidote was the strangely unChristian notion, shared for some time by no less an important Northern contemporary than Lincoln himself, of racial separatism and African resettlement for the emancipated slaves.

Compare this with Mark Twain's novel. Not only did he repudiate the idea of racial separation--albeit an easier thing to do after the Civil War than before it--but he attacked all the props which supported Mrs. Stowe's culture religion, all the assumptions which undergirded her criticism of contemporary social life. (146)

Gunn equates Stowe with sentimentality and leaves both where they belong in his critical opinion.

In Sensational Designs, Jane Tompkins analyzes nineteenth-century America's sentimental literary texts to assert that the age did not suffer from ideological confusion and moral ambiguity (xi). Critics like Gunn can assume moral superiority to sentimentality because Stowe did alter conventional modes of reflection and assessment. Philip Fisher says she put a window in the culture that was never there before she wrote her novel. No one saw the black man or woman as a part of America until Uncle Tom's Cabin. The work was so effective that no one realized the window had not been there before. As for agreement, there has never been scholarly consensus on anything Stowe did. She did not advocate colonization or racial separatism; Tom and Eva went down the Mississippi together just as Huck and Jim did. Furthermore, the escaping slaves ate and slept in the homes of the whites who helped them get North. And nobody attacked the ramparts of the culture religion more fiercely than Stowe. Gunn says Twain compelled us "to realize how inimical society is to the interests of the individual self" and to consider how "the deepest and most natural impulses . . . can provide a genuine basis for human community" (148). This is exactly the program Stowe proposes with permanent changes in society coming from the heart. Twain could no more to stamp out racism than she did, but

they both did turn a spotlight on it in strangely similar ways. Both used satire and irony; both played the role of storyteller and preacher. Twain's irony comes from his innocent narrator; his characters provide satire in preacher voices. Both call for social change. Stowe's innocent narrators preach along with the rest, including herself. She engages in satire and irony in her own voice to argue for social change and sets up some characters both satirically and ironically in themselves and in their dialogue with each other. All of the devices call for a new social ethic which both Twain and Stowe advocate.

Stowe's ironic treatment of the Haley-Shelby scene as men of humanity buying and selling humanity sets the tone. When Haley loses Eliza and returns to the tavern where he "sat him down to meditate on the instability of human hopes and happiness in general" (81), the twelfth chapter becomes deeply ironic and satiric.

. . . (Haley) thought first of Tom's length, and breadth, and height, and what he would sell for, if he was kept fat and in good case till he got him into market. He thought of how he should make out his gang; he thought of the respective market value . . . other kindred topics of the business; then he thought of himself and how humane he was, that whereas other men chained their 'niggers' hand and foot both, he only put fetters on the feet, and left Tom the use of his hands . . . and he sighed to think how ungrateful human nature was, so that there was even room to doubt whether tome appreciated his mercies. He had been taken in so by 'niggers' whom he had so favored; but still he was astonished to consider how good-natured he yet remained! (142).

On the boat down river, the passengers function as a Greek chorus and offer more variations of America's perspectives on slavery given in irony and satire. John has just been sold away from his wife who does not know it and Tom tries to comfort him.

And over head, in the cabin, sat fathers and mothers, husbands and wives; and merry, dancing children moved round among them . . .

"Poor creatures!" said the mother, in a tone between grief and indignation.

"What's that?" said another lady.

"Some poor slaves below," said the mother.

"And they've got chains on," said the boy. . . . a genteel woman sat sewing, while her little girl and boy were playing round her. "I've been south and I must say I think the negroes are better off than they would be to be free."

"The most dreadful part of slavery . . . is its outrages on the feelings and affections,--the separating of families . . . Suppose . . . your two children . . . should be taken from you, and sold?"

"We can't reason from our feelings to those of this class of persons . . . "

. . . "It's . . . the intention of Providence that the African race should be servants,--kept in a low condition," said a grave-looking gentleman in black, a clergyman . . . (150-151)

This scene in the South comments on the South in the way the North comments on itself with the microcosm of Northern opinion taking shape in the villagers's comments about Ophelia's going to New Orleans as St. Clare's housekeeper.

. . . Miss Ophelia had spent a quiet existence of some forty-five years, when her cousin invited her [to New Orleans] . . . considered by her father and mother as one of "the children," and the proposal that she should go to Orleans was a most momentous one . . . [her] father took down Morse's Atlas . . . to make up his mind . . . [her] mother inquired, anxiously, "if Orleans wasn't an awful wicked place" . . . [the trip] was known at the minister's, and at the doctor's, and at Miss



Peabody's milliner shop . . . the minister, who inclined strongly to abolitionist views, was quite doubtful whether such a step might not tend somewhat to encourage the southerners in holding on to their slaves; while the doctor, who was a stanch colonizationist, inclined to the opinion that Miss Ophelia ought to go . . . southern people needed encouraging. (188)

However, the realistic picture of America comes from Tom's observations. Irony casts the great mercantile sweep of America seen from a riverboat through the eyes of a slave (172-174) and continues in St. Clare's lost love to mix with satire in his marriage to Marie (185). Bequeathing her talent for irony and satire to St. Clare, Stowe calls on him to display it in a variety of scenes. He responds with satire to the self-centered characters and irony to the self-deluded ones. The reader encounters the flair first in St. Clare's exchanges with Haley about Tom. Ironically, Haley adds up Tom's spiritual values for a market sum. Satirically, St. Clare asks

"All the moral and Christian virtues bound in black morocco, complete! . . . Well, now, my good fellow, what's the damage, as they say in Kentucky; in short, what's to be paid out for this business?" (179)

Stowe sends irony and satire through the novel like a prism in the sun; her talent shines back of her voice and all the other voices who help her with the story of Tom and slavery. With St. Clare as her great showpiece, she mutes her voice in his to shade the various messages about slavery through irony and satire. Although Stowe casts Marie ironically,

her speech becomes satire to the reader. Allying himself with the reader, Augustine answers Marie with satiric replies.

"They [Mammy's children] were dirty little things--and I couldn't have them about . . . they took up too much of her time; but I do believe Mammy has always kept up a sort of sulking about this. . . I do believe, now, though she knows how necessary she is to me, and how feeble my health is, she would go back to her husband to-morrow, if she only could . . ."

"It's distressing to reflect upon," said St. Clare, dryly. (202)

Augustine takes the storyteller role with Ophelia and debates the North through dialogue with her. But in the conversations with his twin, Alfred, he assumes the preacher guise to scoff and argue and answer the South with insight into the negative aspects of the South with the understanding of the North. Stowe juxtaposes the storyteller and the preacher in St. Clare to let North and South answer each other through his satire with the irony of Ophelia and Alfred.

"Well," said Miss Ophelia, "do you think slavery right or wrong?"

"I'm not going to have any of your horrid New England directness, cousin," said St. Clare, gayly. "If I answer that question, I know you'll be at me with half a dozen others . . . I'm not going to define my position. I am one of the sort that lives by throwing stones at other people's glass houses, but I never mean to put up one for them to stone." (217)

. . . "I made up my mind . . . to let things go just as they do. I will not have the poor devils thrashed and cut to pieces, and they know it,--and of course, they know the staff is in their own hands."

"But to have no time, no place, no order,--all going on in this shiftless way!"

"My dear Vermont, you natives up by the North Pole set an extravagant value on time! What on earth is the use of time to a fellow who has twice as much of it as he knows what to do with? As to order and system, where there is nothing to be done but lounge on a sofa and read, an hour sooner or later in breakfast or dinner isn't of much account . . ." (250)

With Ophelia, his tone is either straightforward and open, or lightly satiric, as he refuses to allow Northern rhetoric to force him into impractical positions for the Southern reality he experiences. But with his twin, his voice changes to that of a preacher and his mood conveys irony. When Augustine and Albert spend the day together, they talk of political and religious matters. Augustine indicts the South's aristocratic orientation.

"I tell you," said Augustine, "if there is anything that is revealed with the strength of divine law in our times, it is that the masses are to rise, and the under class become the upper one."

. . . "O, come Augustine! . . . The Anglo Saxon is the dominant race of the world, and is to be so."

. . . "Well, there is a pretty fair infusion of Anglo Saxon blood among our slaves now . . ."

. . . "there goes an old saying to this effect, 'as it was in the days of Noah, so shall it be;-- they ate, they drank, they planted, they builded, and knew not till the flood came and took them.'"

"On the whole, Augustine, I think your talents might do for a circuit rider," said Alfred.

. . . I tell you, Augustine, if I thought as you do, I should do something."

"I dare say you would,--you are one of the doing sort,--but what?"

"Why, elevate your own servants, for a specimen," said Alfred . . .

"You might as well set Mount Aetna on them flat, and tell them to stand up under it . . . under all the superincumbent mass of society upon them . . ." (316-317)

St. Clare provides a way for Stowe to present a variety of perspectives on Southern attitudes which saves Southern character from stereotypical blind allegiance to slavery and its attendant culture. His dialogue also reinforces her bias for her model characters. For example, his tone with the straightforward, ethical characters, such as Tom and Eva, or the dependent ones, like Topsy, conveys literal exchanges of information without heavy irony or bantering satire. St. Clare's doubleness reflects Stowe's voice. His dialogue casts dramatically the same devices her voice enacts in the novel and illustrates the book's figurative and symbolic meaning for sermonic reinforcement, story illustration, and dialectic for commentary on theme.

#### Results of the Synthesis

Two examples illustrate faulty understandings of how Stowe's strategies work. Carl Van Doren comments on the inability to "explain the mystery of a work which shook a powerful institution" and adds:

Leave out the merely domestic elements of the book--slave families broken up by sale, ailing and dying children, negro women at the mercy of their masters, white households which at the best are slovenly and extravagant by reason of irresponsible servants and at worst are abodes of brutality and license--and little remains. Many of the pages, too, are purple with melodrama . . . (119)

By analogy, this is a bit like saying of The Scarlet Letter, leave out the male-female relationships, the allegory, and

the religious sensibility, and little remains. In the case of Uncle Tom's Cabin, Stowe's style, itself, both "explains the mystery" and answers how she involved her audience to shake the powerful institution of slavery. Van Doren lists the stylistic components without connecting their presence with the novel's result.

In her adaptation of Uncle Tom's Cabin, Anne Terry White discusses at length her method in making a form of Stowe's book acceptable to young readers. She "excluded references to books, events, characters, and things outside a young reader's knowledge and understanding," removed vocabulary, changed "old-fashioned punctuation," and substantively changed some portions, such as the part dealing with Cassy.

Cassy is introduced into the book very late, when the reader wants to get on with the action . . . Here not only cutting but a change of pace through partial substitution of indirect for direct discourse was indicated . . . the description of the Kentucky tavern is a needless excursion [and] Sam's address . . . on returning . . . I believe that leaving out unessential religious commentary and interpolation has in every instance made the book more readable . . . In adapting Uncle Tom's Cabin, I have been more faithful to the matter than to the manner, for Mrs. Stowe's manner often defeats her aim, which is to inform and to stir.  
(ix-xiii)

And that, negatively, makes the point; Stowe's manner with "religious commentary" and the "needless excursions" into narrative constitute precisely what did inform and stir her audience to create the effect she desired. White repeats

Van Doren in failing to appreciate the significance of "Mrs. Stowe's manner," and cuts it from the adaptation bearing her name as editor.

Positively, Stowe's subversive stories within the context of orthodoxy demonstrate how to reform tradition while remaining within its parameters. She uses structures and their parameters to make unorthodox changes within the context of orthodoxy. The way she shapes young George Shelby to be a legal answer for the end of slavery demonstrates the effect of manipulated conventions in her pattern of repetitions. In the process, voice tensions work in the reality settings of the biblical based characters to implement her vision for America's moral reform.

As epigram for the title of Chapter XII, "Select Incident of Lawful Trade," she writes, "In Ramah there was a voice heard,--weeping, and lamentation and great mourning; Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted" (142). Although she does not give the citation, as she rarely does, it comes from Jeremiah 31:15 and Matthew 2:18 and links the destruction of family from Old and New Testament sources with the current activity going on in American slavery. On the same page, while contemplating his plight in slavery, Tom thinks of an ironic phrase, "We have here no continuing city," from Hebrews 13:14, making the subtle connection with the fleeting nature of the covenant when God's people violate their part of the agreement. In a

subliminal process, the reader understands the new city on the hill of the Puritan covenant cannot extend to nineteenth-century America where the market contracts which brutalize humanity replace a cultural covenant that awards national identity. The pure love of Christ exists only in a black slave who is victimized by the society in which he learned about the Savior and His love. Mothers, as allegorical constructs for Christ, work hard to provide enough love to save society.

In addition to deliberate quotation of Biblical material which grants her authority, Stowe employs characters from the Bible to form her typologies. In turn, the characters quote from the Bible, as well, creating themselves as ex-empla and illuminating their own characters with their own texts to validate or repudiate qualities, according to the didactic needs of the novel. For example, she writes of Tom:

. . . in his own simple musings, (he) often compared his more fortunate lot, in the bondage into which he was cast, with that of Joseph in Egypt; and, in fact, as time went on, and he developed more and more under the eye of his master, the strength of the parallel increased. (240)

His honesty and Christian character grant him more respect and responsibility from Augustine St. Clare. A bond grows between master and slave, increasing the analogy of Joseph and Potiphar, and Tom, a "moral miracle" (251), agonizes over the increasing dissipation of his owner. Eventually,

he approaches his master with his own homely sermon, urging St. Clare to be "good to himself" and avoid the potential loss of body and soul from alcohol, quoting Proverb 23:32 in his tearful appeal, "The good Book says, 'it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder!' my dear Mas'r!" (242)

However, long before this, he has established spiritual and moral character by being that same kind of exemplary human, though a slave, in the house of the Shelbys (12), with his willingness to be the sacrifice to save the rest of the slaves in Kentucky (52), and in his trustworthiness in any situation (126). Through his own initiation into print culture from young George Shelby's teaching, he could slowly read himself a sermon from John 14:21-22, "Let not your heart be troubled . . ." (174) as he sat in the back of Haley's wagon, leaving his home and relationships to descend into slavery's hell-pit in New Orleans. Throughout the vicissitudes of his continuing and deepening bondage, he reaches out to fellow sufferers like suicidal Lucy (159) and despairing Prue (255-256). While Tom, the existential comforter to others in the midst of his own dilemmas, continues true to his calling, Stowe assures the reader that God will yet "come out of his place to save all the poor of the earth" (172), crafting a message of hope from Isaiah 26:21 and Job 24:4 for a hopeless situation as Tom watches America from the deck of the boat, *La Belle Riviere*, while traveling down the Mississippi to be sold by Haley in New



Orleans. But she does not allow the promise to have a pious sentimental cliché status. The beneficial result of hope becomes muted as the reader holds in mind the thread of apocalyptic imagery which runs as a motif through the book. From the author's controlling intelligence, Chloe supplies a paraphrase from oral culture of the prophecy of tribulation to its fulfillment in apocalyptic judgment pictured in a variety of Old and New Testament sources such as Deuteronomy 32:25, Matthew 24:19, and Revelation 6:9.:

Don't dey tear der suckin' baby right off his mother's breast, and sell him, and der little children as is crying and holding on by her clothes,--don't dey pull 'em off and sells em? Don't dey tear wife and husband apart? (72-73)

St. Clare's mother "always wore white" the way "in Revelations . . . the saints . . . were arrayed in fine linen, clean and white" (264) and her favorite hymn, Mozart's Dies Irae from "The Requiem," causes his comment, "What a sublime conception is that of a last judgment! . . . a righting of all the wrongs of ages (364)!" Eva reads from her Bible about the "sea of glass, mingled with fire," a quotation from Revelation 15:2 (303), and recounts her visionary experiences of an ascension to the end of her time (304). Tom's actual experience of savagely terminated life while in Legree's hell, described by "dark places" from Psalm 74:20, to transcend through the Psalm 98 "victory" he calls for adds his seal to the apocalyptic seals of Revelation. With the sacrifice model and allegorical lessons in place, Stowe

returns to a real setting with the Christ-like Georges who actively attempt to forestall the holocaust. George Shelby frees his slaves; George Harris pioneers new cultural models for the freed slaves. Together they will usher in a new millenium to avoid the certain destruction if America does not repent of the moral evil of slavery.

Using allusions to the Bible and its characters, Stowe empowers her own characters: young George Shelby reads the last chapters of Revelation to the slaves at worship in Tom's cabin (43); Tom thinks of "an unfashionable old book" (142); Eva reads from her Bible (334); Augustine St. Clare reads the Bible to Tom (362) and speaks of it as his mother's book (217); and Tom saves his Bible when Legree takes all his other fine possessions from his days with the St. Clares (392). Old Hagar in the slave auction house, used for breeding slaves and being torn from her last child, carries the name of Sarah's slave in Genesis 16-17 and 21 whom she gave to Abraham, then cast out Hagar with her son Ishmael when Sarah conceived Isaac; Rachel Halliday (162-165) bears the name of the favored wife of Jacob and mother of two sons, Joseph and Benjamin, in the original twelve forming the tribes of Israel, whose stories are told in Genesis 30-33; and Simeon, Rachel's husband, has a variation of Simon, a common Biblical name, but employed in the novel with allusions to the caretaker, apostolic role of Simon Peter in the Quaker settlement (166).

Stowe's direct quotations and multiple citations authenticate her own book to become a biblical text for the cause of anti-slavery. Her strategy's effectiveness becomes apparent in one analysis from many of its total approach. Stowe begins Uncle Tom's Cabin with the verses from Isaiah 42:4, Psalm 72:12, and 72:14, given in poem form in the preface (10), and ends the book's narrative with Mrs. Shelby's quotation in her dialogue from Isaiah 61:1 and Luke 4:18, "He healeth the broken hearted, and bindeth up their wounds" (508) as she and her son direct a ceremony of emancipation for their slaves. The group remembers Tom's death as they celebrate their freedom. Earlier, in a reversal on Puritan imagery, Stowe has Tom struggle with the meaning of his being sold to Haley, the slave trader:

As to Tom, he was thinking over some words of an unfashionable old book, which kept running through his head again and again, as follows: "We have here no continuing city, but we seek one to come; wherefore God himself is not ashamed to be called our God; for he hath prepared for us a city." These words of an ancient volume, got up principally by "ignorant and unlearned men," have, through all time, kept up, somehow, a strange sort of power over the minds of poor, simple fellows, like Tom. They stir up the soul from its depths, and rouse, as with trumpet call, courage, energy, and enthusiasm where before was only the blackness of despair. (142-143)

The first phrase, beginning "We have here no continuing city," comes from Hebrews 13:14, and "wherefore God . . . hath prepared for us a city," is found in Hebrews 11:16, an inverted order in Biblical sequence in the same manner in

which she inverts the Puritan expectation for an enduring city. "Ignorant and unlearned men" refers to Acts 4:13, allowing her to give the cyclical closure of both Old and New Testaments, an action echoed in Mrs. Shelby's comments by her quotations from both testaments and linking Tom to the inspired "unlearned" writers of the Bible. Stowe draws from a variety of Biblical contexts and references which she holds continually in mind almost as subconscious thought, ready to draw upon for her artistic purposes. In this instance, in addition to the character illumination which it gives to Tom, it reflects backward to Puritan heritage and forward to George as a new typology of the American caretaker priest to the newly freed people. When, earlier, he symbolically stikes down slavery by knocking Legree flat, forming "no bad personification of his great namesake triumphing over the dragon" (488), St. George as patron saint of a nation comes to the reader's mind to join a cultural icon with a Biblical one. Mrs. Shelby's use of scripture increases the dramatic impact of the scene depicting her son, George, as he frees the Shelby slaves at the same time he memorializes Tom's martyrdom and vows to commit himself to their instruction and care. As evidence that his private morality dictates his public actions, he discards the old market mentality of the owner for the ideal standards of the employer who will both pay wages and educate the employees

in the new morality of shared ethics which permeate both the private and the public spheres.

The biblically schooled reader, who formed Stowe's 19th-century audience, comes to this closing scene after 500 pages of Stowe's densely conflated style to experience biblical recall in almost every sentence. Tom's thinking of the Hebrews passage at the beginning of his descent into slavery's deep-South hell foreshadows his own redemption in death and the rise of a Christ typology who will bring redemption to the living. In evocation of the faithful high priest in Hebrews 2:17, Christ, who ". . . in all things (was) made like unto his brethren . . . a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people," George Shelby stands before his people, in this chapter entitled "The Liberator," and makes his covenant with them, the new covenant of a changed attitude which America must accept. As the new covenant of a new group based on the sacrifice of Christ in the book of Hebrews shapes the image of George's comments about Tom as a worthy exemplum, so does George's act define a new model for America to emulate in Stowe's masterpiece. When young George Shelby says the freed slaves cannot be taken and sold, that he expects to carry on the estate and "teach" them "what, perhaps, it will take . . . some time to learn,--how to use the rights" he is giving them "as free men and women" and concludes, "I trust in God

that I shall be faithful and willing to teach . . . my friends, look up, and thank God for the blessing of freedom" (509), he is continuing the Hebrew allusion at the end of that book where the writer says (and the reader recalls that Tom has read), "For here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come. By him therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips giving thanks to his name" (13:14-15). After George pronounces the benediction, the newly covenanted group sings a hymn, "The year of Jubilee is come,--Return, ye ransomed sinners, home," which alludes to the Old Testament law of leaving the land fallow every seventh year. Other elements than soil preservation are involved, namely that humanity does not hold property, even the soil, in perpetuity (The New Bible Dictionary 1112), but possesses it as a stewardship under God's absolute ownership (Leviticus 25:23). In this context, Jubilee signifies freedom from sin in the song and freedom from slavery in the setting with young George Shelby. Stowe's clear implication stresses that America must also seek this new expression of the further revelation of the covenant as being one between jointly free people.

Stowe's Preface follows the plan to instruct, win acceptance, and excite feelings through the unfolding of its parts. But a curious thing has happened to the Puritan sermon on its way from a first generation specimen like Samuel Danforth's "Errand into the Wilderness" (Plumstead

54-77), for instance, to Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin. Danforth's work observes White's recipe of three parts logic to one part emotion where extra-biblical examples are allowed, in that order. But Stowe, while following the cooking instructions, varies the amount of the ingredients and where they are mixed. She begins with story, empowered by her biblical master design and plot, and explicitly puts the emotive, affective purpose first; she conflates the conventions of the Puritan sermon and narrative genres with those of the sentimental novel to do the work of culture. In doing so, she serves a hearty meal in the kitchens of her book which changes the way America pictures itself. She seats blacks and whites at the same table and, by extension of the domestic sphere into the public one, grants both freedom and citizenship to black Americans with one stroke. In Fisher's words, the work of culture "articulates" by "giving shape to and sorting out some part of the past as it can be of use to a particular present"; it "stabilizes and incorporates nearly ungraspable or widely various states of moral or representational or perceptual experience." Therefore, "the end of slavery as a legal and military fact" became at once "a partner term to the insistence by Stowe, in Uncle Tom's Cabin, on human representability for black Americans" (1-2). In Stowe's novel, the central act of cultural work builds that "aspect of self-consciousness" by means of which "the unimaginable

becomes, finally, the obvious" constitutes "the most sophisticated process of social life" (8).

Both Stowe's form and substance operate off the master design which provides the master plot. With her scripture coming at the end of the Preface, to give it foundation, she communicates the theme of her master sermon: "God will deliver." With this placement she signals it has been operative from the beginning, granting authority to that which she sets first: the master story. With "the scenes of this story," she positions those who need deliverance first, spotlighting their plight while assuring their release from it. Armed with the governing law of God and the privileged place of all who are in His plan, she sallies forth to do battle against a society that does not obey the ideal law with the stories of individuals to show the violations. She sets up the reform levels and sends them into the audience to do their work from the religious, sentimental, and melodramatic moral positions of the readers where she intends to initiate reform.

Harriet Beecher Stowe creates the narrative-sermonic drama of America. She pulls from the threads of her Puritan heritage the rich colors of genres familiar to her as breath to create characters, settings, plots, conflicts, styles, imagery, theology, and themes for her cosmic stage; she stands as two directors, one a storyteller, the other a preacher, to direct, interpret, and comment on the action on



her stage; and she depends on the shared historical, cultural commonalities with her audience. It is no surprise her creation became a popular drama almost immediately, and no surprise it has endured. Creation speaks to creation and elicits more. Neither does it surprise that none of her melodramatic copyists surpassed her. Nobody did it better. In her sense of the heroic, she performed in the melodrama at the same time she created it.

In Uncle Tom's Cabin, Stowe builds a house which is also a home that becomes simultaneously in her vision the church, temple, nation, government, and marketplace because of the foundations in ethics gained in the private sphere and implemented in the public one. Stowe's genius lies in the fact that she did exactly what she could not permit her women and Augustine to do; she acted publicly in the world to influence the market with her best seller which aroused the greatest public conflict of all, ironically pitting the most private segment of society, family, against itself as national brothers met on battlefields. Interestingly, southern diarist, Mary Chestnut, seems alone in noting this side of Stowe.

. . . they [Southern homemakers] hate slavery worse than Mrs. Stowe. Bookmaking which leads you to a round of visits among crowned heads is an easier way to be a saint than martyrdom down here, doing unplesant duty among them--with no reward but John-Browning drawn over your head in this world and threats of what is to come to you from blacker devils in the next. (245)

Having read Uncle Tom's Cabin several times, Chestnut rises as a credible critic.

However, Stowe made the hearth, the place of the storyteller, and the pulpit, the locus for rules, come together where the privacy of the heart could meet the responsibility of the rules. They join in the house that Stowe built. The bricks are the genres; the horizontal and vertical mortar becomes the two voices holding together the house for the family of the nation: the Union, comprised of individuals from the home, the church, and the state. She addresses each group in her audience, the great congregation which encompasses all of those who live in the house she constructs. By means of the double voice, she lifts slaves to divine identifications as spiritual models. Tom's triple role as black slave, theological Christ, and Puritan soul both restates and expands, re-creating the cultural genetic myth. Stowe sends her slave into nineteenth-century America as Christi Americana Domestica, Tomas Christianus Negrus.

Covenant thoughts always eddied in Puritan pools of the mind. The Old Testament was organized around the temple, but the New Testament found its structure around decentralized house churches throughout the Roman Empire. Paul's letters addressed the "church in your house" and he knew the members by name, reflecting the intimacy Jesus had with his small cluster of twelve followers. Stowe's book projects the opposition between centralized and decentralized moral

experience in the image of the antagonism between the temple and the house church. Both held value in antebellum America, but Stowe saw the power of the house church with its domestic imagery as the crucial, perhaps only, adversary worthy to take on the entrenched power of all of society's entrenched temples, whether those of religion, government, or the market. In Stowe's vision, neither clergy nor church was essential to salvation, but belief in Christ was. That was non-negotiable, but it was the litmus and the basis for any transaction for all that she preached in her story about Tom and his empty house. Mothers, as allegorical constructs for Christ, worked hard to save society. Only Tom who has taken the white man's religion seriously and "is living in accordance with the principles of the religion they all profess" stands bravely "for the dignity of his own soul but at the same time pardoning Simon Legree" (Edmund Wilson 9). Tom is true Christianity; his empty cabin signifies his empty house church, robbed of spiritual presence. At the same time, the nation's temples stand equally devoid of spirituality because of the moral debachery worked in the intrigue against Tom. Radical change must occur to prevent the wholesale destruction which awaits. Harriet Beecher Stowe, moral messenger, calls for a cultural response to her message of morality.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>In writing of Stowe's sermon tone, I rely on those characteristics she would have learned from Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana, especially the use of typology, basic Biblical language, the imagery of wilderness and garden, the idea of reformation which meant restitution and return, jeremiad rhetoric, and covenant theology which facilitate a synthesis of myth and history (63-73, 89-179). She wrote of her reaction when Lyman, her father, brought Cotton Mather's book home: "What wonderful stories those! . . . Stories that made me feel the very ground I trod on to be consecrated by some special dealing of God's Providence" (Charles Stowe, ed. Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe, 10). Her biographers comment on ways in which it influenced her. For example, see Charles H. Foster's The Rungless Ladder (56-57) and Edward Wagenknecht's Harriet Beecher Stowe: The Known and the Unknown (135, 248-49). In addition, her New England characters find the "Magnilly" endless sources for conversation from such as the village jack-of-all-trades and storyteller, Sam Lawson, (Sam Lawson's . . . Tales 28) to those from the "stately old families of New England" who have a tendency "to constitutional melancholy" as "well set forth by Dr. Cotton Mather, that delightful old New England grandmother, whose nursery tales of its infancy and childhood may well be pondered by those who would fully understand its far-reaching maturity" (Oldtown Folks 1103). In Pogonuc People, considered her account of her own childhood, a little girl reads Cotton Mather and the narrator says, "No Jewish maiden ever grew up with a more earnest faith that she belonged to a consecrated race . . . called and chosen of God for some great work on earth" (175).

For the specific developments of Puritan sermon style in dominant metaphors, motifs, and imagery, see Emory Elliott's Power and the Pulpit in Puritan New England (3-15). Harry S. Stout shows how the founders created a "self-perpetuating 'people of the Word'" by "extending the sermon to all significant facets of life" (3); note especially these chapters: I. Invention, 1620-1665 (13-64), and V. Memory, 1764-1776 (259-311). Critics recognize the biblical and religious influence on Stowe's writing. Ann Douglas calls Uncle Tom's Cabin "a great revival sermon" (245) and Goldman refers to the influence of the spiritual autobiography and providential history in Stowe's work (iv-vi).

Critical sources also cite influences from several narrative and literary traditions and strategies which contribute to her storytelling skills. Charles Foster provides an extensive account of "a coda of themes" he believes Stowe encountered from Richardson, Defoe, Scott, and Cervantes (12-17), links her to Cooper and Twain (60-61), and claims she anticipates Howells, James, and Faulkner (61-63). Wagenknecht says she allied "herself with the world-wide contemporary democratic movement in the novel" and is in "harmony with Chaucer's plea for the realistic use of low-life materials in The Canterbury Tales" (164); he says she was "as keenly aware as any twentieth-century writer that the feudal aspects of Southern civilization made it a good field for novelists" (241). Many recognize Scott's effect as romancer, writer of travel tales, use of recent history, and storytelling techniques which taught her how to put her sketches together: see Howard Mumford Jones (ix); Gossett (9-16); Crozier (22-23) Forrest Wilson (243, 247), and Gossett (8-9, 82). Others see Dickens in her work as sentimental and domestic fiction with a bite and message: Kirkham (Building 77); Gossett (168-69). Dickens assumed his own importance in her work, but she did not approve of his omission of an overt Christian message. For an account of their initial friendship and deteriorating relationship, see Stone's essay (188-202). Wagenknecht suggests that Scott "was worth more to her than all other writers put together" (144-45), but analyzes how she was independent in her own artistic styles from all writers although she read and admired many authors. Carl Van Doren says her influences are more American in origin; she "had no foreign master . . . Instead the native tradition . . . sentimental, pious, instructive narratives written by women chiefly for women" and employs those strategies in the way in which Uncle Tom's Cabin treats slavery in terms of its effect on the domestic system (110). Kirkham discusses her writing within "more than one literary tradition" and summarizes his conclusions:

Yet the principal influence which led to Uncle Tom's Cabin . . . was the force of the native tradition . . . "pathos and piety" . . . [that] "grew sweeter . . . through adversity, finally becoming a true Christian of Mrs. Stowe's own model, earnest, charitable, strict with herself but tender towards others." Uncle Tom's Cabin was not a break from Harriet's earlier work: it was of a piece with it . . . (Building 77)

Herbert Brown says that "pathetic episodes were inherent in a social order which permitted families to be separated and domestic ties to be violated at the will of a master" (257). Artistically and ideologically, she treated slavery in terms of its effect on the domestic system as Foster indicates (36-40). Kirkham and Wagenknecht acknowledge the importance

of literary influences, the native tradition in particular, but agree that her experience was more important as actual sources of material. However, the "native tradition" of sentimental, domestic narratives has another shaping form from the culture with slavery in its background. If her placing slavery in the sentimental mode is all of a piece, to quote Kirkham, then her compacting it as *THE American captivity* is breathtakingly original as she places the culture's design and plot in tension against it, mutually empowering both. She conflates the Bible-based divine models of master design and plot from the religious tradition with sentimental and domestic ideology as it was expressed for the popular market; she uses the market to subvert the market mentality in slavery, but religion is coopted in the process.

<sup>2</sup>Five kinds of repetition occur in biblical narrative to underscore doctrine and veracity, according to Alter. In his terminology, they are Leitwort, motif, theme, sequence of actions, and type-scene. Leitwort is a small unit, even a word-root, which gives added meaning to theme through repetition. Motif comprises a concrete image, quality, or object that has no meaning without the narrative's defining context. Sequence of action appears in the folktale form of three repetitions, or three plus one, with intensification or increment from one occurrence to the next. Type-scenes are episodes occurring at portentous moments in the career of the protagonist which is composed of a fixed sequence of motifs, associated with certain recurrent themes, and perhaps to recurrent Leitworter. The middle three in this schema are present in the range of other narrative, but the two ends, Leitwort and type-scenes, reflect distinctively biblical literary conventions (92-113). To borrow Alter's language, Stowe uses both type-scenes and word repetitions extensively in the domestic settings and slave partings.

<sup>3</sup>Stowe writes in Oldtown Folks:

Among the many insensible forces which formed the minds of New England children, was this constant, daily familiarity with the letter of the Bible. It was for the most part read twice a day in every family . . . and . . . as a reading-book in every common school . . . I think no New-Englander, brought up under the regime established by the Puritans, could really estimate how much of himself had actually been formed by this constant face-to-face intimacy with Hebrew literature. (1138-39)

Uncle Tom's Cabin demonstrates her ease with the Bible. Reading analysis in the process of research yielded ten pages of Bible references, either in direct citation or by allusion. The King James Version of the Bible and Cruden's

Complete Concordance of the Old and New Testaments are the sources used to verify and cite Stowe's Biblical quotations and allusions in Uncle Tom's Cabin.

At times she employs scripture as chapter titles: XXII, "The Grass Withereth--The Flower Fadeth," [Isaiah 40:7-8 and James 1:10-12] (301). Frequently, she takes passages for chapter epigrams: XXXI, "The Middle Passage," ("Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and canst not look upon iniquity: wherefore lookest thou upon them that deal treacherously, and holdest thy tongue when the wicked devoureth the man that is more righteous than he?" Habbakuk 1:13) (391); XXXII, "Dark Places," ("The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty." [Psalm 74:20] (398); XXXIII, "Cassy," ("And behold, the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors there was power, but they had no comforter." Ecclesiastes 4:1 [actually part b, or the second half of the verse] (408); XXXIV, "The Quadroon's Story," ("And behold the tears of such as are oppressed; and on the side of their oppressors there was power. Wherefore I praised the dead that are already dead more than the living that are yet alive." Ecclesiastes 4:1 [actually 4:1b and 4:2] (415); XXXVIII, "The Victory," ("Thanks be unto God, who giveth us the victory." [1 Corinthians 15:57] (453); XXXIX, "The Stratagem," ("The way of the wicked is as darkness; he knoweth not at what he stumbleth." [Proverb 4:19] (464).

As another composition device which employs the Bible, Stowe either cites or evokes biblical passages which reinforce her repeating images. For example, in conjunction with Chloe's paraphrase to emphasize the suffering and destruction to human family relationships in apocalyptic imagery (72), the language used alludes to 1 Samuel 15:3; 22:19; Jeremiah 44:7; Lamentation 2:11; Mark 13:17; and Luke 21:23.

Russell Dilday says the Bible "derives its authority" from its "own character and nature" and the "events and the truth which it relates." In giving external evidence for its experienced power, he cites its ability "to move the hearts" of people and "the remarkable survival . . . across the centuries in spite of opposition" to continue in "widespread circulation . . . in multiplied languages," crossing racial and cultural barriers (34-35). See Luis Alonso Schokel, S. J., "The Psychology of Inspiration" (24-56), Northrop Frye, "Theory of Archetypal Meaning: Apocalyptic and Demonic Imagery" (57-66), Johannes Lindblom, "Symbolic Perceptions and Literary Visions" (67-76), and Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., "The Old Promise and the New Covenant: Jeremiah 31:31-34" (106-20) in The Bible in its Literary Milieu, edited by John Maier and Vincent Tollers.

The Bible and Social Reform explores the relationship of the Bible to major American social movements. James

Brewer Stewart's essay, "Abolitionists, the Bible, and the Challenge of Slavery," (31-57) recounts the early growth of the movement and investigates the assumption on the part of the reformers of an identity of values with their potential converts. Stowe's ability to speak to the present from the value structure of the past owes its force to her Puritan doubleness.

<sup>4</sup>Henry Ward Beecher received his sister's unfaltering loyalty and devoted support throughout both their lives. With Charles, they were the three youngest children of Lyman's beloved Roxanna, and their bond was special. When their mother died in August, 1816, Harriet was 5, Henry, 2, and Charles, a year old. In a circular letter to friends, she wrote of Henry, saying he "is more angel than brother-- he is too good for me . . . I long to see Henry this evening for I have a world of thoughts I want to tell him" (Stowe to Elizabeth Mills, n. d. 1835?, "Copies," SDF). With the affection bordering on the erotic which she expresses for Henry through the years in her letters and writings, a researcher wonders if, in addition to all of the other theories about her actions in the Byron scandal, she might not have had some psychological catharsis at stake. In her thinking, she and Henry were united chronologically, temperamentally, and spiritually through their expanding the boundaries of Christology in public religion. She wrote letters about Henry which included such statements as, "He is myself" (Fields 366). In Pink and White Tyranny, the character, Grace, describes her brother John as "the best lover a woman could have" and turns down marriage to a man she loves in order to keep house for her father and brother. Stowe does not mean lover in the modern sense, of course, but the consequences are the same. In truth, she enjoyed a special relationship with all of her brothers, but Henry enjoyed her special affection.

In the early Cincinnati days, Harriet and Henry collaborated in writing and publishing endeavors; they traveled the road together to personalizing a softened Calvinism through the Christ-worship of love; they spent time together over their ideas. However, their biographers indicate Harriet gave more in the relationship. When Uncle Tom's Cabin began to take shape in her mind, she poured out her vision to him in a near all-night brother-sister talk during a visit he made to her home in Brunswick. His response was the often repeated, typically expansive, Beecher reply which Harriet described in a letter to Lady Byron, check it, "Do it, Hattie! And I will scatter it as the leaves of Val-lombrosa!" But indications are that he did not even read it until a year later. By that time Hattie had scattered her own leaves (Forrest Wilson 255). Contemporaries who found it difficult to admit that a woman could write Uncle Tom's Cabin, said he wrote the book. Beecher knew that, because



when his own Norwood came out to much less success, he quipped, "This will prove I did not write Uncle Tom's Cabin" (514).

But Henry was vital to the anti-slavery cause. Perhaps his most celebrated activities were the slave auctions held in his pulpit at Plymouth Church in Brooklyn when he would place runaways, especially pretty young female slaves, before the congregation and "auction" them for the price of their redemption to buy their freedom from their owners. Abraham Lincoln said, "We could not have won this war without Henry Ward Beecher." He insisted Henry be present for the final ceremonies of the Civil War's ending as the orator at the raising of the Stars and Stripes over Fort Sumter because of his importance in the war effort (506). Celebrity status esteem of this kind for a preacher is hard for a late twentieth-century mind to appreciate. The aura about the Beechers, and Henry as the most famous preacher son, remains, however. In a recent trip to the Pennsylvania Dutch country, I visited a grain mill that is now on the Historical Registry. With great pride, the guide showed the framed marriage license of the couple who developed the mill to its fullest potential in the late 1800s. They had traveled to New York after Christmas in 1867 to be married in Plymouth Church by the great Henry Ward Beecher.

Mark Twain admired Henry's oratorical style and went to Brooklyn to hear him preach to learn from a master before Twain began his lecture circuit career. A marble bust of Henry still sets in the foyer of the Twain home across the top of the knoll from Harriet's house at Nook Farm where the Twains and the Stoves were neighbors in Hartford, Connecticut. He wrote a sketch about Beecher, "Rev. Henry Ward Beecher's Farm," which is included in his collected tales (116-17). Although they disagreed over institutional religion, Twain once said to his guests at dinner that Henry Ward Beecher looked like God looks when He has a winning season (Scott Pass, lecture, Stowe-Day Foundation, Hartford, 5 May 1990). Twain's long association with the Beechers was involved and intimate. Harriet's brother, Thomas, married him and Olivia Langdon in Elmira, New York (Forrest Wilson 557). Another sketch takes Thomas Beecher as its subject: "A New Beecher Church" (Twain 191-96). Notes in the archives of the Stowe-Day Foundation between Stowe and her famous neighbors indicate an amiable friendship. A copy of a note owned by the University of California from Stowe to Twain reveals the sense of humor they shared.

You have discovered a principle--you probably don't know it--as didnt Sir Isaac Newton when the apple fell--but you have--You have discovered that a man can call by installments--It is a discovery: & may be applied to many May not a man in extremes send his hat and boots to call? I suggest the question? (1876?, "Copies," SDF)

When Stowe went on the lecture tour 1873, she visited Mrs. Langdon, Mark Twain's mother-in-law, in Elmira (Kirkham "Harriet" 38).

<sup>5</sup>Byron's death affected her deeply. Lyman commented that he "did hope he would live to do something for Christ" because of what "a harp he might have swept" and wished he could have talked with the great poet to get "him out of his troubles" (Forrest Wilson 62). Biographers relate her love of Byron's poetry, an early attempt to write a Christian epic poem modeled on Byron, and the recurring Byronic characteristics in her heroes, especially Augustine St. Clare: see Forrest Wilson (62, 534-35); Foster (82, 219-26); and Gossett (11, 128, 322, 356-57). Her later friendship with Lady Byron and the part Stowe played in the public expose of Byron's incest have led to ridicule and serious questions about her motives. Foster writes the most reasoned summary on the matter:

Quite obviously, she delighted in her closeness to Lady Byron, and considered her friendship with her "a stupendous fact," but Puritanism rather than egotism would seem the obvious explanation for Harriet's disclosure. For nine years after Lady Byron's death, she waited in vain for the English critic with enough courage to risk his reputation in a statement of facts that would vindicate her friend. But no one dared speak what so many knew or surmised. [When her friend was scorned, she] imprudently spoke the truth when duty and justice demanded it. (224)

<sup>6</sup>Stowe loved Scott's writings. During her triumphal tour of Europe, she insisted on a trip by moonlight to visit Melrose Abbey. Moonrise was late, 11:00 p.m., and rain threatened, but the party arrived at midnight and were rewarded by a faint moonglow on the ivy-covered walls (Forrest Wilson 360-61). Stowe claimed Uncle Tom's Cabin was a historical novel. Scott's habit of blending romance with fact and historical setting gave her precedent to do so. But she did not include Scott in her A Library of Famous Fiction, Embracing the Nine Standard Masterpieces of Imaginative Literature. Her selections consisted of: Pilgrim's Progress, Robinson Crusoe, The Vicar of Wakefield, Gulliver's Travels, Paul and Virginia, Vathek, Undine, Elizabeth, Picciola, and three from Arabian Nights, "Aladdin," "Sinbad," and "Ali Baba."

<sup>7</sup>Stowe's storytelling voice resonates in the section of her geography in which she describes New England and shows her preference for its ways quickly: "Dear Children: I have taught a little flock of children of my own . . . The Pilgrim fathers from old England" believed strongly in three

things, the Bible, education, and work. They "took great pains to secure for their children" a church, school, and industrious habits. Therefore, the children, who "always had a church and a minister" learned to "obey the commands of God as written in the Bible." Because they had a "school house built with the church," they were "well educated." Since the children were "trained to be industrious and economical" the descendants "distinguished for their reverence for the bible, for their good schools, and for their industrious habits." She summarizes, "This is the reason why no people in the world have been more prosperous in every kind of business than those in New England" (42)

In the tenth lesson, she writes about the "Southern or Slave States," saying "I now wish you to understand more of the evils that followed the introduction of slavery." She concludes, "Freedom is attended by intelligence, industry, and prosperity; and slavery brings with it ignorance, indolence, and poverty" (84-5). In her section on the New England mills, however, she paints a different picture of the labor. "If you should go into these mills, you would see one monstrous long room, where great machines would be carding the cotton, or wool, into rolls." She continues the description, then adds, "A great many men and women are employed . . . houses back of the mills are places where they board and sleep" (41).

By the time she writes Uncle Tom's Cabin, however, she can make the comparison between the two forms of bondage as the interchanges between Augustine and Ophelia demonstrate.

<sup>8</sup>The obvious melodramatic qualities of Uncle Tom's Cabin predisposed it to the exploitation of the stage version. The play is beyond the purview of this dissertation. For its historical development and continued life, see Gossett (260-83) and Forrest Wilson (324-25). Harry Bird-off's book-length treatment, The World's Greatest Hit: Uncle Tom's Cabin, presents a comprehensive treatment of the play and the ancillary industry that grew from it. Two dissertations investigate aspects of theatrical version. Andrews researches theme and variations between the book, the play, and the film versions; see (104-300). Shipps studies a basic theory of Stowe, the idea that personal conduct serves as a model for social interaction, and relates it to George L. Aiken's stage adaptations of her book and to Bruno Bettelheim's The Informed Heart, a psychiatric evaluation of the value of feelings for social interaction in extreme circumstances. In comparing the philosophy as it is illustrated by the three, Shipps finds an ethos in melodrama expressed by each (188-92).

Stowe did not see the play until the winter of 1857 when Francis Underwood, founder of The Atlantic Monthly, who had convinced her to sign on as one of its charter writers, persuaded her to go with him to the stage performance in

Boston (Forrest Wilson 439). She attended two other performances during her life. Although she originally refused her permission to dramatize the book, she eventually wrote her own arrangement of selected scenes which she entitled The Christian Slave for the express use of a former slave who had become an actress, Mrs. Mary E. Webb, to incorporate into her professional tour to England.

<sup>9</sup>See Nina Auerbach (Woman and the Demon 63-108) for the development of angel iconography and imagery in English literature. J. N. D. Kelly discusses the early Judaic and Christian interest in angels (7) and powerful ones mentioned by name (95). Otto Weber writes of angels as inhabitants of heaven, (I, 487) in some way the servants of God; both the Old Testament and Paul reject worship of angels (I, 359). But that has always been difficult to do when angels show up to announce such stunning events as virginal conception, the birth of Christ, and the ascension of Christ, to say nothing of periodic messages of apocalypse and destruction. Donald Guthrie lists the appearances of angels in the Bible (124, 134, 136, 138-140, 145-47, 865, 885). The New Bible Dictionary traces their work and office during the different Biblical periods (37-8). Angels were messengers of God, familiar with Him in a face to face relationship, therefore, superior to humanity. As creatures, but also of holy and uncorrupted spiritual essence, yet with free will, angels were not impervious to temptation and sin. The general definition for angels in both the testaments is mortal messenger. The Dictionary of Christian Lore and Legend groups them in three hierarchies: counsellors, governors of the stars and elements, and messengers (26). Considered extremely beautiful and sexless, they were given androgynous appearance. In Milton's Paradise Lost, both angels and demons are bisexual; "For Spirits when they please/ Can either Sex assume, or both" (I, 423-24). But the ones seen are like the martial, commanding, male Raphael in his flight to earth (V, 226-74). By the nineteenth century, angels became homebound in the cult of womanhood, known most widely through Coventry Patmore long poetic celebration of marriage and love in "Angel in the House." Stowe's angelology in Uncle Tom's Cabin seems to be a synthesis. When Tom and Eva talk of angels, the model comes from the Bible. But in sentimental contexts of home, the angels take on the aspect of domestic ideology. However, the mother angels of Legree and St. Clare function as the mortal messengers of God to bring salvation or doom's judgment.

<sup>10</sup>French romantic author, Francois Rene, Vicomte de Chateaubriand (1768-1848), visited the United States July 10-December 10, 1791. Included in his travel was a trip from Baltimore to Niagara Falls and a short residence with an Indian tribe. In 1827, he published Voyage en Amerique

which described his experience with fictional embellishments. His other works having American settings include Atala, Rene, and Les Natchez (Oxford Companion to American Literature 136).

<sup>11</sup>The cultural results of Stowe's Tom infuriated James Baldwin. He struck back with his celebrated attack on Stowe and criticized her for the black male emasculation:

Tom . . . has been robbed of his humanity and divested of his sex. It is the price for that darkness with which he has been branded.

Uncle Tom's Cabin, then, is activated by what might be called a theological terror, the terror of damnation; and the spirit that breathes in this book, hot, self-righteous, fearful, is not different from that spirit of medieval times which sought to exorcize evil by burning witches; and is not different from that terror which activates a lynch mob. (94)

But Stowe's concern rested with female chastity and family integration. The theological terror he rejects was a misjudgment on his part because it was what she used against the culture to set the slaves free. It was not intended for Tom, or Baldwin. The crusade against evil is always the easy part; social action turns into the hard work. All Stowe ever advocated was all that anyone can do: feel right, act right. If that isn't enough, this century has not offered much more.

For critical comment on the contribution of slave narratives to American literature, see William H Robinson (81-99) and Norman R. Yetman (165-210). Consult the following scholars for specific reference to Frederick Douglass: John Sekora discusses language and personal history as a means of understanding slavery (157-70); Donald Gibson investigates the public and private dimensions of the Douglass personal narrative (549-69); John Burt deals with the act of writing as a passage to identity (330-44); and Lucinda MacKethan connects literacy to the transformation which makes a slave a man of letters (55-71). Joanne Braxton provides a feminist reading of the slave narrative traditions, using Harriet Jacobs (379-87) and Esther Terry suggests the power of personal narrative with or without the ability to read and write in her analysis of Sojourner Truth (425-44). Frances Smith Foster writes of the autobiography of Jarena Lee, a free Black woman who became the first female minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Church to illustrate the differences between Black autobiography and the slave narratives (126-51).

<sup>12</sup>Stowe visualized "pictures," or mental images of scenes, from which she composed her text. In her initial

letter to Gamaliel Bailey, editor of The National Era, who published Uncle Tom's Cabin in serial, she said:

My vocation is simply that of a painter, and my object will be to hold up in the most lifelike and graphic manner possible Slavery, its reverses, changes, and the negro character, which I have had ample opportunities for studying. There is no arguing with pictures, and everybody is impressed by them, whether they mean to be or not. (Kirkham Building 66-7)

Kirkham says her pictorial method packed so much detail into each scene she drew the reader into a sense of reality and being present which gave her additional authority because her "pictoria poesis" became so believable (68).

<sup>13</sup>Stowe found the Quakers to be suited for her artistic purposes. Her early short stories involve them with pacifism, domesticity, underground railroad, and freeing slaves. In the societal shifts of emphasis on home and family that occurred in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century America, New Englanders, especially, looked to the Quakers for new models (Levy 4-5).

<sup>14</sup>Tompkins says Simeon's shaving in the corner of the kitchen reveals Stowe's matriarchial intent to replace men with women (Sensational 146). Susan K. Harris writes that the "Quaker kitchen signals a matriarchal society founded on cooperative love" (175). But in the sense of the kitchen being the heart of the Puritan house's architecture (Chard Powers Smith 47-128) Rachel is not disenfranchising Simeon; rather, he is entering the heart of the family as a co-equal, caring member. In her fiction and non-fiction, Stowe repeatedly used the kitchen and the chimney as metaphors for the place of the home's heart. For a variation on this Puritan attitude toward home architecture, see Melville's short story, "I and My Chimney" (159-89) which also works from the symbolism of the chimney to portray differences between the private feelings of men and women.

<sup>15</sup>Stowe's long letter to the sister of the dead man, Mrs. Catherine Kidder, records in diary fashion the progress of the fatal illness, the man's symptoms, the feeling level of his friends, their evidence of care by attendance at his bedside, the joint religious efforts of Bible reading, prayer, and hymn singing to attempt to support him, and his response to them in a joint participation in the death process. After his death, Stowe tells of the preparations of the body for burial, the funeral, and the location of the grave. The entire letter creates the same kind of narration and tone for a reader as the account of Eva's death does. One notable example relates to Stowe's cutting the dead man's hair to send to his family, her description of the

corpse decorated with flowers, and her reference to his white shroud as the white linen of the saints in Revelation which continues as a metaphor in Uncle Tom's Cabin:

The last thing that night Anna & I went to the chamber where he slept--laid his shroud beside him & uncovering his face looked at him--He seemed so peaceful--like a weary suffering child that had fallen asleep on its mother's bosom--there was an inexpressible air of comfort & rest about him that cheered our hearts--We took several locks of his hair to keep as memorials for his sisters & friends, & then covering him left him to sleep with his Savior . . . He looked so calm, so still, so free from pain,--so pure in his white shroud with his hands folded peacefully . . . one or two small white flowers were laid on his breast, & several leaves of geranium & rosemary upon his pillow--I thought of the saints who are clothed in fine linen clean & white . . . (After February 1843, Acquisitions, SDF)

A comparison of the real and fictional scenes reinforces Jane Tompkins's thesis that the popular conventions of tracts, life viewed religiously, and sentimental fiction in the nineteenth-century America shared the same texts.

<sup>16</sup>Saving locks of hair as sentimental remembrances was a practice in nineteenth-century America. Stowe uses the practice in other novels; in The Pearl of Orr's Island, the foundling child, Moses, has a bracelet of his dead mother's hair which helps reveal his identity later in the novel (73). A lock of Stowe's hair, dated November 1846, is in the archives of the Stowe-Day Foundation (Acquisitions).

<sup>17</sup>Marguerite Holubetz traces the conventions of death-bed scenes in Victorian fiction with their melodramatic spectacle as a way to provide heroism to the humble (14-34). John William Ward notes that Stowe manages to get two death-bed scenes out of Eva, but she is presenting that which St. Clare argues more persuasively: "love is literally not of this world." With the way of Legree as the way of the world, one can only die before it "and hope for heaven" (487). The cultural icons of idealized women and saintly children in the era add their impact to the literary tradition as Martha Banta's explorations into the "images of the ideal" (377-427) and "angels at the threshold" (428-62) verify. Karen Halttunen's chapter on death in Confidence Men and Painted Women evaluates Victorian mourning and the death ritual (124-52).

Karl Keller says both Stowe and Dickinson speak for Puritan culture and contrasts them to show two different results of Puritanism in the nineteenth century (97-124). In spite of Stowe's sentimentality, many of the ideas which

come from reading Eva's death scenes evoke poems of Emily Dickinson because they touch the same issues. See these examples: "These--saw Visions--/ Latch them softly--/ These--held Dimples--/ Smooth them slow--/ This--addressed departing accents--Quick--Sweet Mouth--to miss thee so-- (#758 371); "A Clock stopped--/ Not the Mantel's--/ Geneva's farthest skill / Can't put the puppet bowing--That just now dangled still--" (#287 132); "There's been a Death, in the Opposite House, / As lately as Today--/ I know it, by the numb look / Such houses have--always--" (#389 185); "It's coming--the postponeless Creature--/ It gains the Block--and now--it gains the Door--" (#390 186); "The Frost of Death was on the Pane--/ "Secure your Flower" said he./ Like Sailors fighting with a Leak / We fought Mortality" (#1136 509). Poem #758, the first sample, corresponds to the sentimental description of Eva on her death bed (Uncle 347); #287, the quietness in the room at the awareness she has died (348); #389 and #390, the descriptions of the house and the grief within it (348); and #1136, Augustine's inability to stop Eva's death.

<sup>18</sup>Stowe's permitting her characters to find justification in drink is quite a concession from the daughter of the century's leading minister who pioneered the temperance movement. One of her earliest sketches, "Let Every Man Mind His Own Business," is pro-temperance propaganda (Mayflower 158-82) and additional anti-alcohol rhetoric runs through all of her writings. Lyman Beecher's objections to alcohol came from his school days because of the immoral behavior of preachers in their drunkenness and, later in his pastoral career, of the social problems related to alcoholism. His children always supported his position (Haltunen "Gothic" 108-09).

Wagenknecht's account of the discrepancies between Stowe's public position on the use of alcohol and her private practice provides an interesting footnote on her reform interests. She praised abstinence in public. When Fanny Fern's husband authored a temperance book, Stowe wrote her literary colleague to say she hoped the book would sell by thousands. Stowe and her party made a point of refusing wine during her celebratory tour in Europe. However, privately, she was not an abstainer. When she was working in 1856 on Dred, her other antislavery book, she felt faint at her publisher's office, and the gentlemen present refreshed her with two glasses of champagne. Later, in July, she wrote from Andover requesting a half dozen more bottles of Catawba "to support the hot weather and the long pull." In June of 1862, she wrote to her daughter, Hattie, that she was sending home two boxes of claret which the doctor had prescribed and Calvin must pay the charges upon arrival of the shipment. Sounding like an epicure in December, 1883, she wrote:



As to that old wine it is very choice old Burgundy, which Brother Henry got on purpose for your Father and me and I hope it will come safe and sure what every way you send it for it is worth its weight in gold so to speak. (192)

But one time the wine did not arrive safely. Calvin wrote in an undated letter to a Mrs. Phillips about some wine broken in transit, adding "When temperance men will get wine, they always get found out" (248). Two undated letters to Hattie in the Beecher-Stowe Collection prescribe the following ritual:

My publishers offer \$200 a number if I will write recollections of my life. In this way with very little labor I can gain \$800 a month.

In order to do this there must be a change which I now will indicate.

I--The wine &c I have usually taken at 11 o'clock to be placed in the dining room closet where I can get it at 6 o'clock in the morning. I can then do my morning's walk before breakfast and have the forenoon clear for work. If you will begin this tomorrow--please tell me.

The other letter prescribes more variations:

The changes I wish to make are two.

1st Directly after breakfast give me that portion you have hiterto given at 11 o'clock.

I shall take it and take a walk of an hour and a half to equalise the stimulant that it may not rush to the brain--and be home ready to go to writing at 11 o'clock and write two hours.

2 Directly after dinner give the same--and I shall take my afternoon walk and have two more hours to devote to writing. The stimulus will be used up in active out of door exercise which will strengthen my general health. (Folder 181)

Stowe's private and public positions on alcohol appear to be one of the few instances, perhaps the only one, where she fell into another Puritan characteristic: hypocrisy.

<sup>19</sup>Stowe and all the Beechers had a profound love of hymns. Stowe describes being in the Litchfield church as a little girl, where her father was pastor, and hearing "the execution of those good old billowy compositions" that sailed "smoothly out into a rolling sea of harmony" (Mayflower 428). She wrote Psalm hymns (Hughes 1, 270, 480, 563, and Methodist Hymnal 31), and even a hymn about how much she loved them, entitled "The Old Psalm Tune" (Paine 704-05). Her most enduring hymn, "Still, Still With Thee" (Bailey 497-98) is based on Psalm 139:17-18. It was first published in The Plymouth Collection of 1855, the hymnal of her brother, Henry Ward, along with two others she authored (Foote 215-16). She and her brother, Charles, assisted in

the hymnal's editing. During her 1852 spectacular European tour, she took Charles in her traveling party to serve as her private secretary. Forrest Wilson says Charles was the handsomest and most artistically inclined of the brothers (340). As a musician, he added to the cultural atmosphere of her entourage. While they were in Italy, Stowe bought him an Amati violin. Charles, who lived in New Orleans for a time, provided Stowe with some of her material for Uncle Tom's Cabin. He traveled on the Mississippi on "La Belle Riviere," the name she gave to the boat which took Tom to New Orleans. Also, Charles told her about a slave owner he met whose character traits Stowe adapted for Simon Legree. In the private journal which he kept during the trip, Charles writes about the group gathering on the deck to sing hymns. Eventually, seasickness takes everyone except him and Stowe. He writes:

Hatty and Stowe and I are as good sailors as any and maintain our vigilant watch over the great red pipe on deck. Hatty and I sing in the midst of the roaring winds and waves, and the officers and men pretend not to notice it, only I know that they stop talking and keep very quiet till we get through. Our lieutenant was much charmed with "Amazing grace, how sweet the sound" . . . (11)

That hymn is the one which Tom sings as he dies.

For a study in pre-Civil War slave music, see Miles Mark Fisher's Negro Slave Songs in the United States, especially the last chapter which deals with the metaphorical implications of Christian terminology which doubled for a secret text related to escape (176-93).

<sup>20</sup>William Reynolds recounts the biography of John Newton, author of "Amazing Grace." Ironically, Newton was captain of a slaving ship before his conversion, ensuing career as a minister, hymn writer, and collaborator with William Cowper in the collection of Olney Hymns in 1779 (35). Reynolds, Professor of Hymnology in the School of Church Music, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas, wrote the following letter in response to my questions about the text of the hymn as Stowe presents it. The stanzas in Uncle Tom's Cabin do not follow contemporary hymn texts exactly. Reynolds writes:

Henry Ward Beecher published a hymnal in 1855-- Plymouth Collection of Hymns and Tunes. It was one of the first church hymnals which contained both words and music on the same page--one stanza between the staves of music, and below the music in poetic form . . . I checked my copy to see if these stanzas were there. I also checked my facsimile copy of John Newton's Olney Hymns. Let me reproduce Newton's "Amazing Grace as in this latter collection:

1.   Amazing grace! (how sweet the sound)  
       That sav'd a wretch like me!  
       I once was lost, but now am found,  
       Was blind, but now I see.
2.   'Twas grace that taught my heart to fear,  
       And grace my fears reliev'd;  
       How precious did that grace appear,  
       The hour I first believ'd!
3.   Thro' many dangers, toils and snares,  
       I have already come;  
       'Tis grace has brought me safe thus far,  
       And grace will lead me home.
4.   The Lord has promis'd good to me,  
       His word my hope secures;  
       He will my shield and portion be,  
       As long as life endures.
5.   Yes, when this flesh and heart shall fail,  
       And mortal life shall cease;  
       I shall possess, within the vail,  
       A life of joy and peace.
6.   The earth shall soon dissolve like snow,  
       The sun forbear to shine;  
       But God, who call'd me here below,  
       Will be for ever mine.

This is the original Newton hymn, and in Beecher's hymnal, the above six stanza are the same.

So the first stanza of Tom's song is John Newton's sixth stanza of "Amazing Grace," and the second stanza of Tom's song is an altered version of Newton's fifth stanza.

Now, regarding "When we've been there ten thousand years!" First of all, it is not the work of John Newton. I am persuaded that it is a part of an anonymous hymn known to us as "Jerusalem, my happy home," that dates from the late sixteenth century. John Julian's Dictionary of Hymnology devotes four pages to the discussion of this unusual hymn. As many as fifty or more stanzas, not all in the same collections, have been attached to this sequence of four-line common meter stanzas. In traditional folk manner, additional stanzas have been added along the way without attribution.

The earliest collection in which I have found "When we've been there ten thousand years" is A

Collection of Sacred Ballads (1790), compiled by Richard Broaddus and Andrew Broaddus, of Carolina County, Virginia. Andrew Broaddus was a well-known and beloved Baptist minister who pastored the Baptist church in Carolina County, Virginia, for many years. We have a microfilm of his collection here at Southwestern in the Music Library. Here is "Jerusalem, my happy home" as it appears in this collection. [The stanza in question is the tenth one.] You see how naturally stanza ten brings to a conclusion the sequence of stanzas in this version. I have not been able to find this stanza in this hymn earlier than 1790, but have found it in other collections after 1790 . . . So, I can only conclude that Harriet Beecher Stowe, in putting together three stanzas for Tom's song, took two from John Newton's "Amazing Grace" and added a third stanza from an anonymous writer. Surely all three of these were well known in some areas of America by the time she wrote Uncle Tom's Cabin. (William Reynolds, letter to the author, 6 May 1991)

The hymn and its widespread use in its various forms illustrates Sandra Sizer's thesis in Gospel Hymns and Social Religion that religious conversion as the basis for the Christian evangelical, revivalistic movement of nineteenth-century America furnished the foundation for a new social order. Her "historical sociology of religious language" in hymn texts verifies a community of intense feeling which contributed to the religious orientation of the culture (10).

## CHAPTER III

## STRATEGIES AND AUDIENCE: THE RESPONSE

Harriet Beecher Stowe's audience became the agent to enact her proposed reform as a result of identification with and response to character resolutions. The preacher and Puritan forms expounded a new covenant for new members; the sentimental storyteller illustrated the new covenant with new members. In the process of reacting to familiar texts from the religious, sentimental, and popular sources within Stowe's national congregation, readers implemented the new covenant of citizenship and legislated the democratic work of society's integration.

Uncle Tom's Cabin did the cultural work of expressing and shaping the social context that produced slavery while proposing behavioral and ethical equations between characters and readers for a reader reaction to abolish it. Stowe's novel simultaneously provides both a political attack on slavery and a vivid idea of what it was like to live in mid-nineteenth-century America. Jane Tompkins advocates study of texts as attempts to redefine the social order rather than viewing them as works of art which embody enduring themes in complex forms. As powerful examples of

the way a culture thinks about itself, articulates problems, and proposes solutions, texts shape a particular historical moment. So, according to Tompkins, they are written to win the belief and influence the behavior of the widest possible audience. By having designs upon their audience in terms of wanting to make people think and act in a particular way, writers, through their texts, provide people with a means of ordering the world they inhabit. Readers after the time of the text must have a grasp of the cultural realities of religious beliefs, social practices, and economic and political circumstances which produced them. Tompkins invokes history as a way of accounting for the enormous impact of works whose force escapes the modern reader unless effort is made to recapture the world view they sprang from and helped to shape. In order to understand what gave the text its force, a reader must try to recreate with sympathy the context from which it came, she argues, not criticizing their problems and social and political attitudes, but trying to inhabit them to make them understandable (Sensational xi-xiii). Tompkins observes:

. . . a novel's impact on the culture at large depends not on its escape from the formulaic and derivative, but on its tapping into a storehouse of commonly held assumptions, reproducing what is already there in a typical and familiar form . . . [it] becomes exceptional in reaching a large audience through embrace of what is most widely shared . . . the text succeeds or falls on the basis of its "fit" with the features of its immediate context, on the desired response . . . (xvi-xviii)

Fiction does a certain kind of cultural work within a specific historical situation with plots and characters providing social reality for a community which authors and readers shared in order to dramatize its conflicts and recommend solutions (200). Stowe's keen perception of her audience allowed her to take full advantage of reader collaboration.

In Cathy Davidson's analysis of the creation of a book, the last step of formation is the audience (Reading 9). Nina Baym says the "reader was an aspect of the novel's form" in antebellum fiction "because among literary genres [it] conformed most immediately to the shape of a human emotional experience" (Novels 63). Davidson argues that readers are as important to literature as the writers and says that the history of the unprivileged is a vital force in the shaping of American culture (Revolution 1-2). Calling the novel the "chapbook of the nineteenth century" because it was cheap and easily accessible to those outside the established literary tradition who read little besides novels (10), she notes:

. . . the early novel embraced a new relationship between art and audience, writer and reader, a relationship that replaced the authority of the sermon or Bible with the enthusiasms of sentiment, horror, or adventure . . . readers, as much as texts, operate within historical contexts . . . contemporary criticism still perpetrates its worst tendencies when it attempts to valorize an ostensibly historical reader who turns out to be mostly another apotheosis of the contemporary literary theorist. Nor can we conveniently overlook the historicity of the writer. To subject an eighteenth-century American novel to a Derridean deconstruction that does not take into account the

codes whereby it was originally constructed demonstrates, again, mostly the transubstantiations of the critic (5)<sup>1</sup>

The reader was a vital part of the novelistic transaction; a great mass of readers eagerly waited for the novels. Baym comments that the nineteenth-century novel reader was a real person who liked to read, to own, and to buy novels.

The reader was not in the text as construer of meanings, interpreter of value systems, or supplier of bridges over gaps in signification. These concepts of reader behavior lay far in the future, and they imply a profoundly different kind of activity . . . modern theories locate the reader activity at the level of getting meanings, in understanding at no more than the level of the sentence . . . The reader in the nineteenth-century novel . . . is responding to a very high level of structure rather than to the lowest . . . [and] discriminated worthwhile from worthless fiction on the grounds of moral content (which we now call theme) . . . [the context] assumed two things . . . novels were read because they were novels and not something else . . . novels were constituted as such by their character as invented stories . . . narrated in prose (Novels 63-65).

Readers took their work seriously and responded to novels by applying the morals to their own lives.

Cathy Davidson speaks of the forces which shaped the "interpretative grids" of readers, or the "'community assumptions'" of the audience, as a way of reading texts in response to a set of circumstances which both created the texts and the ways of reading them and, in addition, help explain the results which the texts created (4-10, 73-79).

Books, in whatever era, have performed many different functions for the same reader at different times . . . within one society there can exist many different and often overlapping reading communities and many kinds of readers. An



individual can participate in more than one reading community and can have different strategies and purposes in different situations . . . Nor do the dichotomizing terms "elite" (serious) and "mass" (popular) culture . . . help to clarify the issues . . . That the elite-versus-popular polarity has persisted in academic discourse may well be a factor of the academic's own desire to identify with elite values rather than . . . cultural production or consumption . . . recent analyses of taste and canonization have attempted a less circular description of relationships between class attitudes and reading choices (Reading 17).

Communities of readers as interpreters of fiction's intentions fashioned the essential element for Stowe's moral strategies in Uncle Tom's Cabin.

This chapter will address three reading communities from mid-nineteenth century America which collectively formed the audience, the third and last segment of the event called Uncle Tom's Cabin: the religious; the sentimental; and the socio-political. Three forms of literature help shape an understanding of the way the three communities enacted a transference of Stowe's antislavery message: the Bible, the sentimental novel, and the melodrama. In consequence, they structured the reform levels propelled by Stowe's voice in her novel: the religious, the sentimental domestic, and the moral. Taken together, the three conflate Stowe's idealistic faith: as religious, faith is traditional; as sentimental, it is popular; and as moral, it is melodramatic. No book was ever more passionately and overtly programmed for reader response than Uncle Tom's Cabin. Stowe's audience eventually included readers around the

world, but she directed it to America. America was waiting for it and responded.<sup>2</sup>

How could this happen? How could a story that began with an humble woman's visionary musings about a disembodied ending scene during an obscure communion service become the first international bestseller? The reason for the book's impact lies in its being an energetic joint venture between author, text, and audience. Abolitionists had used the same rhetoric and logic for years only to divide the nation where Stowe's greater effect was toward union.<sup>3</sup> Sentimental novelists had referred to social problems, but their works held no reforming strength. Stowe's secret lay in her dialectical ability: the power to hold a variety of oppositions in tension at the same time, address each, allow each to address its opposite, and keep all related to each other even when they apparently went in reverse directions. Abolitionists preached; the clergy wore out their congregations and themselves with preaching. And Stowe stood back of her text as other preachers did, giving her sermon the authority of her presence. But she also stood between it and the audience, between it and her characters, and against it with her audience and her characters, then against certain members of the audience and particular characters, softening the sermon with sentimentality. Allied with the audience, Stowe and her text formed a great circle of melodrama in a sermonic conspiracy set against slavery through

its awful story. A reader can only glimpse the force of that creative enterprise by understanding who comprised her audience through an attempt to inhabit the context, to modify a phrase from Jane Tompkins. That historical ambience and the reader response to Uncle Tom's Cabin made it the literary event that it was. By paying attention to critical evaluations of who readers were and where were the clusters of contributed meanings to a text from those who read them, the impact of Uncle Tom's Cabin becomes more understandable. The biblical language and tone project the moral that one must give obedience to a higher law than man's. Traditional Puritan literary forms and style provided access to Stowe's first community of interpretation.

#### The Religious Community of Interpretation

Religious and cultural conditioning granted audience understanding and identification from the Puritan heritage because of the sermon and the narrative genres encountered in Stowe's voice as a storytelling preacher. Uncle Tom's Cabin forms the background for a community of interpretation because it appeals to the culture's reliance on the Bible which interpreted the past and indicated the future, the spirit of revivalism which urged reform and constructed institutions to facilitate it, and millennial expectations which both motivated ethical behavior and shaped cultural

identity. These three interconnecting impulses comprise the orientations for a religious community of interpretation.

Uncle Tom's Cabin appealed to the culture's reliance on the Bible. However, great skill and sensitivity are required in basing a reform movement on biblical principles. Every reformer who originates from a Christian context must employ the Bible in the reformation, but the Bible alone is not sufficient because it can also afford a rhetoric of authority for opponents to the proposed change. Stowe casts the ambiguity of the Bible in social reform in the dialogue on La Belle Riviere as Tom goes down river to New Orleans with Haley.

. . . a clergyman, seated by the cabin door (said) "'Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be,' [Genesis 9:25] the scripture says."

. . . "See what 't is, now, to know scripture. If ye'd only studied yer Bible, like this yer good man, ye might have know'd it before, and saved ye a heap o' trouble. Ye could jist have said, 'Cussed be'--what's his name?--'and 't would all have come right.'"

A tall, slender young man, with a face expressive of great feeling and intelligence, here broke in, and repeated the words, "'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.' [Matthew 7:12] I suppose," he added, "that is scripture, as much as 'Cursed be Canaan.'" (151-152)

By framing the basic biblical arguments espoused by the two polar extremes on slavery, Stowe draws the audience into her own polemic. Dramatic characters in dialogue convey a human reality which sermons and debates ignore. Readers know Stowe forms her book from the Bible; they also recognize

that the union radiates a nucleus and a power to change attitudes.

The Bible has centuries of credit for being the focus for reform movements. However, reform tends to be an elusive quality, depending upon the agenda and purposes of the reformers. The Bible's bane and blessing lie in its ambiguity, in its capacity for furnishing proponents from either side of an issue with ammunition to fuel their attacks. In early Indian missions, for example, the Bible provided the Puritans with a method for social control and a way to transform Indian culture into an idealized version of Euro-American social structures while proposing it as a way to take God's Word to the heathen.<sup>4</sup>

Bible-inspired men and women arose in the decade of the 1830s to challenge slavery in fiery evangelistic rhetoric best illustrated by William Lloyd Garrison's language from the September 3, 1831 issue of his publication, Liberator:

Woe to this guilty land unless she speedily repents her evil doings . . . The blood of millions of her sons cries out for redress! IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION can alone save her from the vengeance of Heaven. (Stewart 32)

However, slavery had been a fact of American life since its beginning. Garrison's sensationalism was well-intentioned, but often alienated more than garnered support. With the exception of a few zealous Quakers, little fuss had been made about it.<sup>5</sup> But in the aftermath of the great revival movement that went to the frontier, then returned to the

cities like a tidal wave, idealistic young evangelicals found the routine of their religious institutions fell short of their expectations and they questioned the authenticity of their own commitment to them. As they viewed their society's radical dislocations from biblical precedents, they saw the cause of all the sins was the one original sin: slavery. They felt the clarion call to cleanse the nation as the Temple of God and began the public demand for immediate uncompensated emancipation and dissolution of all legal discrimination. Stowe knew the issues of slavery from her experiences with her family's involvements opposing it and her life on the Ohio for seventeen years. Since the mid-1830s in Cincinnati, various members of the Beecher family had been involved in anti-slavery activities in varying degrees of commitment.

With the tradition of biblical authority for any issue in the public domain, early reformers committed to abolition felt that the moral persuasion of the Bible would be sufficient to overthrow slave power and free the slaves. Idealism and fervent opposition to slavery purged and purified Christian commitment to the task; they believed in their cause based on biblical teaching and felt that its power would usher in true reform.

. . . abolitionists claimed that everything about slave owning stood in defiance of biblical injunction, and they eagerly elaborated these charges on rostrums, from pulpits, in newspapers, in dozens of published testimonies . . . slaveholders . . . violated every biblical injunction

against covetousness, greed, and licentiousness.  
(39)

To support their claims, abolitionists pored over the Bible to find appropriate analogies with parallel following parallel in biblical indictment to convince the nation that slavery and scripture were destructively opposed to each other. But Southern commitment to slavery and Northern racial prejudice conspired against the biblical assault. Violence met abolitionist organizers and broke up their meetings. Throughout the 1830s, mob action continued as slavery tensions mounted.

James G. Birney, a Southern writer, turned from his support of slavery first to colonization, then to abolition, and finally to politics. For a time, he worked from Cincinnati. His experiences with maintaining his newspaper, the Philanthropist, are representative of the riots and dangers faced by abolitionist editors. During the summer of 1836, when Birney faced constant mob action and the eventual destruction of his paper and type, Stowe was a bride, but alone, because Calvin was gone to Europe to investigate the Prussian school system and buy books for the Lane Seminary Library. She wrote to him:

The excitement about Birney continues to increase . . . The mob madness is certainly upon this city . . . For my part, I can easily see how such proceedings may make converts to abolitionism for already my sympathies are strongly enlisted for Mr. Birney . . . The office is fire-proof, and enclosed by high walls. I wish he would man it with armed men and see what can be done. If I

were a man I would go, for one, and take good care of at least one window. (Charles Stowe 82-84)

She and her brother, Henry Ward Beecher, were running another newspaper in town at the same time while he served as Editor-pro-tem of Cincinnati's Journal and Western Luminary from June until the paper was sold in December. Both Forrest Wilson (154) and Bruce Kirkham (Building 48) agree that Stowe's "first published utterance on the slavery question" was a letter placed in Henry Ward's editorial the summer of 1836 during the Cincinnati riots. While Calvin was away, pregnant Harriet had moved into her father's home and helped Henry with his journalistic duties. On June 12, Birney's press was mobbed. About the twenty-first, she wrote to Calvin in Europe.

Yesterday evening I spent scribbling for Henry's newspaper in this wise; "Birney's printing-press has been mobbed . . . many of the respectable citizens are moving in the line of their prejudices."

I wrote a conversational sketch, in which I rather satirized this inconsistent spirit, and brought out the effects of patronizing any violation of private rights. It was . . . designed to draw attention to a long editorial of Henry's in which he considers the subject fully and seriously . . . Both our pieces have gone to press today . . . (Charles Stowe 82)

Her piece is a socratic interchange between a Mr. L\_\_\_\_\_ who is an anti-Birney man and one named Franklin who denies abolitionist sympathies, but backs his opponent into a morally untenable position by pushing the extremes of his arguments (Forrest Wilson 183-186). The "letter" gave Henry



a base for his remarks on the riots. Her brief sketch, "Immediate Emancipation," which appeared in the Evangelist January 2, 1845, marked a turning point in her attitude toward slavery with its moral that good people are found even among slaveholders, and Quakers are helpers in the crisis.

Kirkham sketches a summary of the Beecher and Stowe induction into anti-slavery action. Brothers George, William, and Edward entered the fight; George even joined the Anti-Slavery Society at Batavia, Ohio, in 1836 and became a lecturer for Claremont County. Lyman began to edge closer to the left from the middle and allowed Horace Bushnell to speak in his church "where before he would not have been permitted to speak at all" (Building 36). In the summer of 1837, Harriet visited her brother William in Putnam, Ohio, and wrote home to Calvin:

Abolition being the fashion here, it is natural to look at its papers.

It does seem to me that there needs to be an intermediate society. If not, as light increases, all the excesses of the abolition party will not prevent humane and conscientious men from joining it . . . what is there in Cincinnati to satisfy one whose mind is awakened on this subject? No one can have the system of slavery brought before him without an irrepressible desire to do something, and what is there to be done? (Forrest Wilson 196)

In retrospect, her question rings with irony.

Early in 1837, the Stowes hired a Negro girl to work for them who said she was free, but they learned she was a

fugitive and her master was in Cincinnati looking for her. In a nighttime flight like Senator Bird's aid to Eliza, Calvin and Henry Ward spirited her off to the home of John Van Zandt (Lyman Stowe 175). In October, Edward attended the Illinois Anti-Slavery Convention and preached twice in Alton at the formation of the Society there. When his friend, Elijah Lovejoy, was murdered, the Beechers thought Edward was killed with him. An uncompromising abolitionist editor, Lovejoy refused to be silent after being repeatedly attacked by mobs and having his presses thrown into the river. Already stung by the negative reaction to "the great postal campaign" (Stewart 41) in 1835, when abolitionists suffered a setback from flooding the mails with over a million pieces of abolition literature which they believed would convert the recipients, the radicals felt a backlash. Alton's murder stunned the country. The goal of nation-wide conversion to emancipation began to lose its force. On the verge of collapse, the abolition movement broke into factions and none continued their beginning sole emphasis on biblical sanction for their efforts. Garrison and his group appealed to higher law in a spirit of enlightenment, leaving both the Bible and the Constitution behind. The conservatives called themselves the Liberals and began to engage in practical political maneuvers. After the Civil War, none survived with their faith intact (Sandeem 1-2). Garrison and his group withdrew into alienated radicalism and the

pragmatic wing entered a secularized form of abolitionism by attempting to make inroads through organized political action. In separation, they epitomize the ineffectiveness of the Bible alone in reform attempts. But the Garrisonians sat circumspectly above all the other groups in their perfectionism and departure from cooperative endeavor ready to pounce on any segment of society. In the process, they grew into a more "serious political activity on behalf of the slave which no vote-conscious political abolitionist could ever emulate" (Stewart 50).

"Bible politics" became the term adopted by those abolitionists who determined to follow a "style of activism that would fuse immediatism with the process of campaigning and voting" (46). Judged by the criteria of black activists, the Bible politics of the conservative abolitionists strengthened any hopes that people like Frederick Douglass and William Wells Brown had to learn the lessons of citizenship. "As practical-minded blacks" quickly learned, for all the racism and conservatism, the wing of abolition involved in politics held "the only sources of power capable of actually destroying slavery and bringing some measure of bi-racial idealism into American politics" (48). In the long view, both factions enjoyed qualified success in their use of the Bible for reform, but Stowe's success was immediate because she let the Bible help her by imitating its stories rather than by trying to implement its doctrine through more

forceful means. She held its structures back of the characters from both the North and South, all of whom were sinful, and allowed them to engage their plots with the terrible national sin of slavery. Because a novel assumes the shape of life, as Baym has reminded, the readers found themselves in the national plot and heeded Stowe's plea to "feel" and "act" on the basis of the Bible's commands for people to love as God loves.

Stowe recognized in the beginning of her attack on slavery, as Northern abolitionists did not in their inception, that the South, as well they, could use the Bible to defend its positions. Also, she knew from experience the specious reasoning of the Northern pro-slavery clergy who often served pro-slavery as powerful allies. From growing up in the Beecher household, she possessed the roots of religious radicalism as completely as any of the Garrisonians. Radical behavior as a result of Puritan attitudes was as old as the settlement of New England. As Philip Gura notes, a review of New England church, town, and colony documents shows a wide range of theological opinions "before the Restoration and a complex relation of such diversity to the internal development of American Puritan doctrine." In New England, there was "'no constant to be injected' by the settlers into the waiting body of the new continent" but rather the "'actions, reactions, interactions' of the heterogeneous population themselves" (7). Radicality was a

cultural convention as much as the literary forms which developed from radical worship: sermon, captivity narratives, spiritual autobiographies, and conversion narratives. Her advantage lay in the lifelong model she had in Lyman who stood with one foot in New England Puritanism, attuned to its radicalism, and the other in Protestantism, propelled by its revivalism, and walking generously, even joyously in his confidence in himself and his abilities to bring all to God. Documents and letters which relate the details of his relationship with his children reveal a man deeply committed to a profound concern for the spiritual welfare of each. All of them found their way to some kind of separate peace with Puritan Calvinism.<sup>6</sup> Although he could never make the final emotional break with Calvinism, pragmatically, he did, feeling that the only reason sinners remain in sin is from want of light. His life impulse emanated from providing that light; he never doubted his ability to illuminate faith; he lived the spirit of revivalism and so did his family. Marie Caskey writes:

It is not the fashion to praise those who go soldiering with Christ and believe that what the country needs is to be remade by a holy band . . . We are embarrassed, on the one hand, by the Beechers' veering toward moralistic claptrap and, on the other, by their unabashed adherence to a heroic ideal of discipleship. Without attempting to assay the Beechers' religious commitment . . . it was an age of belief . . . because their collective beliefs and collective questionings left a mark on the nation . . . no historian can ignore [them]. (xiii)

Both Beecher writings and stories about the Beechers written by their supporters, as well as their detractors, filled the newspapers. They were the "bellwethers of the liberal middle class in the United States" and Orestes Brownson coined the term "Beecherism" in 1871 to describe America with the family name (Ashton vii).

Beecherism means revivalism. The spirit of revivalism urged reform and constructed institutions to facilitate it. Ann Douglas is right to call Uncle Tom's Cabin a massive revival sermon. When Stowe writes, "A day of grace is yet held out to us, both North and South have been guilty before God; and the Christian church has a heavy account to answer" (Tom 519), she is winding up a sermon that could have fit the camp meeting revival she describes in Dred (281-295). American society, attuned to revivalism, provided an interpretive community for their very own camp meeting text which she amply provided. Uncle Tom's Cabin included qualities America had learned to associate with revivalism.

Revivalism was characterized by its democratic effort to bring all souls into the Kingdom of God through right preaching and a profession of faith in Christ to witness to conversion which would be followed by good works as evidence it had occurred. In Awash in a Sea of Faith, Jon Butler suggests the story of religion in America after 1700 is "one of Christian ascension rather than declension--Christianization rather than dechristianization--and of Christianity so

complex and heterogeneous as to baffle observers and adherents alike" (2). He claims very little is known about lay authority in a society where people were first declared sovereign.

The term popular religion . . . means no less and no more than the religious behavior of laypeople. It is defined by its clientele rather than by its theology, by its actors . . . popular religion was not necessarily anticlerical or anti-institutional, nor was it necessarily rooted in occult or quasi-pagan folk customs. Popular religion was what the laity made it . . . Historians cannot deduce lay or popular religion from sociological conditions and theological principles or read the characteristics common to one time and place directly into others. Popular religion must be analyzed in . . . historical settings among real people in real places across real centuries. (4)

In America, popular religion was the hallmark of the culture. It supplied the dominant myths and provided the recurring images which defined meanings in Uncle Tom's Cabin and held out solutions for society's problems.

By the 1820s, American society posed overwhelming problems for the pious. Obsession with social problems confronted New England Protestantism with "its own form of future shock, beset on every hand by the dynamic forces of secularism and economic modernization."

Yankee ministers met the challenge . . . [with] an impressive counterattack that emulated the techniques of their irreligious foes . . . the Tract Society, Temperance Society, and Bible Society spewed forth thousands of pamphlets exhorting repentance . . . [and] emphasis on the conversion experience . . . powerful evangelists like Lyman Beecher and Charles G. Finney, proclaimed . . . God-given power to . . . choose redemption . . . [and] deemphasized original sin,

stressed people's responsibility for own salvation and the creation of a better society. (Stewart 33)

The evangelical commitment for social reform came as a companion to enthusiasm for revival. In one way, reform was secondary to revival in that it was not considered to be truly competent unless it emanated from hearts transformed from self-love to sacrificial love for others.

The assumption that Christianity was the only basis for a healthy civilization was basic to evangelical thinking . . . Religion was the basis for true virtue; the purer the religion, the higher the morality . . . The supposedly self-evident superiority of Western civilization . . . was . . . due to the influence of Christianity and Protestantism in particular. (Marsden 12)

The rise of the Temperance Movement, Tract Societies, and Sunday Schools as ways to reform America came from religious revivalism which was the spiritual side of popular movements against slavery, poverty, and greed. In its way, Uncle Tom's Cabin is one huge Bible tract, one very long Sunday School lesson extolling Bible study and personal purity.

The emancipating glory of the great awakenings had made Christian liberty, Christian equality and Christian fraternity the passion of the land. The treasured gospel of the elect passed into the hands of the baptized many. Common grace, not common sense, was the keynote of the age . . .

What [is exciting is] . . . the dawning discovery that revivalistic religion and the quest of Christian perfection lay at the fountainhead of our nation's heritage of hope. (Timothy Smith 7)

Revivalism thrived as a holy crusade and created seemingly simplistic responses to overwhelming social problems.

However, its unpretentious program of love and benevolence



stems from intricate motivations. Its presence throbs from the pages of Uncle Tom's Cabin with Tom's holding meetings in his cabin after his conversion at a revival, singing his Methodist hymns, and witnessing of his faith to those he meets. Stowe clearly saw conversion as a prerequisite to love others in a manner which insured public moral change.

Popular movements arising from the contexts of Hebrew and Christian faith always rotate around biblical ideas of great complexity and persisting social relevance. Religious revivals and the belief that they were imperative grew consistently among all denominations during the first half of the nineteenth century, with favor for them flourishing especially in cities. From a broad spectrum of Protestant Americans, representing all social classes and sections of the nation came support for the missionary, educational, and moral crusades of the era. As keenly as their presumed superiors, ordinary people felt the nation's need for moral strength to counter their own kinds of barbarism. People wanted to check slavery's expansion and to educate the illiterate masses. They believed their culture would benefit from planting the law of the Lord in the hearts of the people and in the laws of the republic. Revival movements facilitated social organization everywhere (249-261). All persuasions increasingly relied upon religious awakenings both to conscript members from the great unwashed political body and to maintain biblical moral order in a society

deeply engrossed in its experiment with democracy in its body politic.

Stowe's novel utilized a language common to all believers because of revivalism's leveling effects which had incorporated them into the religious community of interpretation. Its bridging church traditions from all sections of the country illustrates revivalism's power. Butler writes that the state church tradition rather than the dissenting heritage gave American Christianity its shape through 1740, taking its formational power from the dynamics within territoriality, coercion, and public ceremonialism which were potentially divisive. However, the different varieties of church style in the colonies used them in different ways, especially when considered from the point of view of the laity whose needs and desires they sought to meet (165). With disestablishment which came early in the eighteenth century, these differing practices fed into the plural origins of revivalism and characterized the kinds and varieties of institutional proliferation which resulted from the movements. The breadth and diversity, not cohesion or restriction, underscored their significance (177).

Although the country did not have a legally established faith, foreign travelers and serious Americans believed that evangelical Protestantism had made itself the religion of the land and that its clergymen were the mediators of public ethics and morals. American Christians created a "new

pattern of church-state relations, unknown since the first century" called the "'voluntary system' to distinguish it from the state-church tradition in Europe." Alexis de Tocqueville noted in 1833 the efforts American clergymen exerted to avoid political turmoil actually increased their social influence, allowing religion to regulate the community through its authority in manners and morals (Timothy Smith 35). Stowe benefitted from the preacher identification for her readers from her family of preachers and from her preacher role in her book. But she also profited from revivalism as a lay person.

Revivalism's glory engendered a greater role for lay leadership in American churches while it created a new ethical environment, initiated a shift from Calvinist to Arminian doctrine, and stamped holiness, sanctification, and perfectionism on American Christianity. From the social expression of these spiritual endeavors came the many social agencies to help the poor, the attack on slavery, and the millenarian approach to the gospel of the Kingdom with its religious and political implications. Social problems and theories about them spread from mid-century convictions about sinning and suffering humanity. The rise of benevolences, such as the city missions, settlement projects and the social services of the American Tract Society can be traced directly to revivalism's reforms.<sup>7</sup> Not so easily addressed was the dichotomy between liberty in Christ and

slavery in Christian America. Instead, the "peculiar institution" cut to the heart of the nation, the gospel, and the world, and denominations continue to bear organizational identities that derive from that conflict. As the preaching lay minister in her book, Stowe appealed to all of those impulses which had derived from revivalism's social reforms.

Women and ministers, primarily, attended to the work of the benevolences while husbands, the captains of industry, were away in the marketplace. This ministry method provides Ann Douglas with one of her charges that American culture became feminized during the nineteenth century in ways that were not in the country's best interests. It also contributed to the perpetuation of the myth of feminine superiority in spiritual matters. In Uncle Tom's Cabin, Stowe plays both to and against that practice. She subscribes to the power of women but shows in her range of characters that they are human with all the strengths and weaknesses humanity experiences. Between Rachel Halliday and Marie St. Clare, readers find an array of different kinds of women. She assigns to ministers the same sort of representative display, from Marie's pandering preacher to the young, unidentified pastor on the riverboat who confronts the patronizing older one. The types of husbands illustrate the similar qualities. Tom is totally good and Legree is completely bad, but between the two exists every kind of model. By using the cultural assumptions, she can exhibit the

varieties from the type and draw the reader into his or her character parallel for purposes of personal identification. Then the audience moves toward a different ethical behavior by imitation of the character's reactions to slavery.

Jane Tompkins addresses both Douglas and those critics who denigrate the power of domestic influence with her explorations into texts as agents of cultural formation rather than objects of interpretation and appraisal. Social benevolences with their attendant activity, in one sense, provided a needed outlet for women's energies in culturally acceptable ways while, at the same time, their activity performed a benefit for the society. In Uncle Tom's Cabin, Stowe urges a particular benevolence upon women; she calls them to claim their power of moral leadership in the home and to rid the nation of slavery with aggressive ethical behavior on behalf of the slaves whose homes are destroyed. In her vision, fragmented homes produce a disintegrated nation.

Revivalism provided the missionary impulse to save the nation with home missionaries going all over the country with their sermons, tracts, and practical helps for the needy and destitute. Lyman Beecher's call to head Lane Seminary in Cincinnati was an Abrahamic call to convert the promised land of the West. Constance Rourke's account of their journey from Boston (90-95) to that city on a Jordan between Ohio and Kentucky and Stowe's letters about it evoke

the image of a triumphal procession. However, the Beecher train are not the royalty, but a patriarch and his tribe entering Rome to be fed to the lions, confident in their superiority to Caesar, and knowing they will take over the empire. That missionary impulse advanced beyond America to the world as revivalism instructed Christian Americans in their destiny to take the name of Christ to the rest of the world and drive poverty and injustice from the earth for the sake of the democratic Kingdom of God. The missionary impulse in Stowe's masterpiece is the great call to America to undo what it has done in order to do what it is supposed to do. Stowe restates in fictional form Alexis de Tocqueville's insight into American character.

The great privilege of the Americans does not simply consist in their being more enlightened than other nations but in their being able to repair the faults they commit. (Alexis de Tocqueville 631-632).

Revivalism proposed a primary method to "repair the faults" in mid-nineteenth-century life. Stowe advocated overthrow of slavery to mend the major one. Not only did slavery have to end for the sake of the present, but its destruction was essential for America's millennialist hopes.

A third concern of the religious community of interpretation came from millennial expectations which motivated ethical behavior and shaped cultural identity. Stowe's recurring apocalyptic images and her affinity for associations with Revelation clearly mark her millennial concerns

and give her connections to others who shared them. Millennialism has a number of meanings, depending upon the audience with which the word is used. It is one of the oldest patterns of thought in Western civilization, according to Ruth Bloch, who writes of the ancient millennial belief in a "future age of perfection" and the debates about it by scholars from various disciplines. In the eighth century B. C., Isaiah first wrote about the idea that human history is divinely ordained and will lead to "a period of heavenly perfection on earth." That concept has received extensive elaboration within the respective theologies about providential matters within Judaism, Islam, and Christianity. With other mythologies about the future, the millennial belief spread worldwide (Visionary xi). Millennialism in Uncle Tom's Cabin comes from the biblical teaching of an end to history with divine judgment coupled with apocalyptic suffering of the saints at the hands of those in league with demonic forces.

In the strictest sense, millennialism's religious orientation comes from the twentieth chapter of Revelation. In John's vision while he is a prisoner on Patmos, he sees an angel descend from heaven with a great chain in his hand and a key to "the bottomless pit" (verse 1). He binds Satan and casts him into the pit where he is kept a thousand years and then is let loose for awhile (verses 2-3). During that thousand years, the righteous dead reign with Christ in a

kind of first wave resurrection (verses 4-7). For a time, Satan is free to persecute and do evil, then he succumbs once more to the power of God, at which time the final judgment takes place with the resurrection of all dead to answer for their sins in the flesh (verses 8-15). Several things complicate this account which the narrator says at the beginning is a vision. One has been the argument between literal and symbolic interpretations which is further entangled by the metaphoric quality of Revelation, itself.<sup>8</sup> Another derives from its association with the apocalypse, which generally means a prophetic revelation concerning a cataclysm with good triumphing over evil, and the final judgment, neither of which anyone really understands and almost everyone with any interest in them form theories to explicate. The apocalypse and final judgment, in turn, coincide with a Christian view of history, an eschatology that holds to a beginning with creation that ends with the end of time. In this linear concept of time, God is present to His chosen ones in sacred history which defines and gives formation to all of history, which makes sacred and secular history two sides of the same thing. The preoccupation with the last book of the Bible becomes understandable when one believes any part of the Bible; it is the end of the beginning, the way the story ends. Stowe's persistent allusions and imagery signal her fascination with it. History will culminate in the triumph of God's people, the earth will



become a paradise for the righteous, and suffering will cease. Simply put, the events of Revelation will happen at the end of time. But then, some comment is needed for the millenium which has figured almost incidentally in biblical text but so prominently in Western civilization and American cultural identity. Its importance becomes more than incidental when understood as an explanation concerning one's time and one's place during one's span on earth. In short, the millenium concerns life and land. And as spiritual, literary, psychological, and political forces nuance those understandings they become even more complex. "It has formed the core" of a "persistent tradition," motivated debate which has "affected the historical consciousness of the modern world," and precipitated overwhelming quantities of secondary literature (Bloch Visionary xi-xii).

Stowe's millennial emphasis falls on the imagery of Revelation and the doom which is destined for those who stand in the way of the faithful who wish to model the ethics of love for life in the present. Her political uses of the millennial themes involved reform motives, also. According to her view, judgment awaited the sinning nation. However, she was not original with the materials.

The Puritans brought millennial expectations with them to the new world. James Davidson's analysis of eighteenth-century preaching on the "Last Days" shows them to have an essentially apolitical character with a logic that pertained

more to sociological issues (179-181). In tracing how Puritan visions were challenged by the growing concept of civil union, Mason Lowance stresses the role of typology in defining the millennial vision by the way it articulates future expectations in the "language of the biblical past" (228). However, Donald Weber's examination of the sermon texts of five representative preachers on the eve of the Revolution, one of them being Jonathan Edwards, Jr. (47-73), shows how "the clerical mind actively constructed a rhetorical world in an effort to impose narrative order onto the experience of historical contingency" (6). Jonathan Edwards, Sr. drew evidences from history for his belief that the millenium might already be occurring in America. Perry Miller says Edwards took the people "to the very threshold of the millenium" and suggested that for a while the preacher believed it had begun in Northampton (318). In his day, Edwards answered the charge Miller makes in a reply to an English minister who levelled the same accusation: "It has been slanderously . . . printed concerning me, that I have often said, that the Millenium was already begun . . . the report is very diverse from what I have ever said" (Dwight 213). Although Edwards did labor at his millennial views he was content to wait, believing in the kingdom's certain coming and hoping it would be soon. But his affinities for America as its potential site were known.<sup>9</sup> Stowe agrees that America has been chosen as the place. But she adds a

new dimension; its ethical base will be implanted by the preaching at home.

Uncle Tom's Cabin spotlights the day's current American crisis: the inevitable impetus in national events which triggers millennial associations. Jon Butler points out that millennialist rhetoric in America predicting Christ's return "thrived on dramatic events, such as the episodic colonial revivals or the French and Indian war, and the Revolution proved an efficient incubator for yet another cycle" (216). Ruth Bloch's thesis stipulates that "the millennial tradition contributed to the formation of revolutionary consciousness" and "provided the main structure of meaning through which contemporary events were linked to an exalted image of an ideal world" (Visionary xiii). It illuminates how Americans understood the Revolution and the ensuing birth of the American nation. She indicates that millennialism can be defined in the narrow sense in its reference to the literal belief in "supernatural, imminent, and total transformation of the world as foretold in the twentieth chapter of the Book of Revelation" or in the broader sense to mean any future golden age. Because any visionary ideas of the period were still biblical ones, she chose the more restricted view for her study.<sup>10</sup>

Timothy Smith adheres to the narrow view, also, in his work on the Bible and social reform. He does not agree with the connections made between millennialism and political

ideology, which support imperialism with the chauvinism implicit in its dogma of America's role as God's chosen nation, by scholars like Nathan Hatch and Martin Marty who widen it to match the expansiveness of American thought through the nineteenth century. Smith's position helps keep millennialism more reassuring in its beginning impulse by being more private and time-based; he views it as being beneficent in this way, with less militance, secularism, and public pervasiveness.<sup>11</sup> The narrow view provides an individual focus; the broader one assigns an enlarged picture of America and its destiny, having to do with place as well as history.

Nathan Hatch writes that by 1747, Jonathan Edwards "carried a heavy burden" because of the dimming brightness of the Great Awakening. His solution was to join a group of Scottish ministers in prayer that God would "pour out his spirit, revive his work, and advance his spiritual kingdom in the world, as he promised." This program of Edwards for initiating the "kingdom of God in church and state" was united prayer "till whole nations be awakened, and there be at length an accession of many of the chief nations of the world to the church of God" (Sacred Cause 1). Hatch traces this repeated pattern of linking millennial expectation to national mission and private spiritual condition, noting the repeated importance of religion during times of national stress because of the nation's role as the primary agent of

redemptive history (3-17). Uncle Tom's Cabin addresses the same conditions and emphasizes national sacred history.

In spite of her gospel of love, Stowe represents that which Reinhold Niebuhr suggests in stating that aggressiveness and even warlike behavior are consistent with national self-interest and Christian destiny. He makes the comparison between the kingdoms of David and Solomon and adds

The dubious character of Solomon's superiority over David contains a particular lesson for America. It achieved dominion over a whole continent with comparatively little effort . . . [Americans are] consequently inclined to forget that an imperial impulse prompted the conquest of Oregon, California, and Texas. It is a Solomonic civilization which denies or forgets that it ever had a David preceding Solomon. (Beyond Tragedy 58-59)

Stowe's advocacy of breaking the law to save the nation coincides with Niebuhr's position.

The union that encompasses land and identity which comes from the land assume Stowe's idealism for the nation chosen by God to be the light for the world. Place, or land, clearly was part of the millennial package in America. Uncle Tom's Cabin reflects that preoccupation with the far-ranging plot movements of characters.

In his chapter on the American people's space, time, and religion, Sidney Mead provides some important insights regarding this connection between the American individual and the land. The time of American people as "Americans" has been short and whatever maturity they possessed has not been that of older civilizations.

Americans have never had time to spare. What they did have during all their formative years was space--organic, pragmatic space--the space of action . . . (other societies) hemmed in, confined . . . found freedom . . . within the context of time . . . on the new continent . . . the significance of time and space was reversed . . . in America space has played the part that time has played in the older cultures of the world . . . Americans during their formative years were a people in movement through space . . . Their great and obvious achievement was the mastery of a vast, stubborn . . . brutal continent. (1-8)

Mead classifies those Americans who spent their time moving through space as the eager beaver pioneers, reluctant pioneers, and the settlers. Stowe's book adds the blacks who went with them. The great bond they shared was "the grass-roots religious expression in the gospel songs that sprang up out of the continuous movement through space" that were too simple and close to piety's roots to conceal the feelings they had as they sang "by the flickering light of fires at the great camp meetings and periodic revival meetings in churches all over the land" (10-11).

In American Incarnation, Myra Jehlen echoes Mead's thesis, saying that "the decisive factor shaping the founding conceptions of America and of the American" was "the physical fact of the continent" (3). That which Mead calls space, she designates nature, but both concur that geography provides American identity with more than a sense of time, or history. Both authors address the culture's lack of a sense of history which, in turn, colors the cultural self-expression. Jehlen states:

. . . [A]s the land's basic dimension is not time but space, the United States was defined primarily as a place . . . in their energetic impatience to get to their futures, Americans have no interest in how they arrived at the present . . . they want only to go forth each generation and each day anew . . . it is precisely because the concept of America is rooted in the physical finite that it can be infinitely metaphysical. (6-9)

Her treatment of American fiction suggests that American ideology is "traditionally revolutionary" (227) and because "the American teleology cites the will of heaven and the human spirit, but it rests its case on the integrity of the continent" (5), it persists in "presenting itself as the fulfillment of the past" leaving "its children no future but the fulfillment of the founding vision" (197-198).

Stowe's oratory at the end of Uncle Tom's Cabin emanates a fervor for the continuation of the founding vision. Perhaps this is one reason for the American obsession with the end of time in millennial preoccupations; time does not command the importance that identification with place assumes. Two examples illustrate that assumption by means of divergent evidences; one concerns the recurring image of the end of the world in American literature and the other pertains to the continuing presence in the American landscape of camp meeting architecture. Douglas Robinson argues in his book, American Apocalypses, that apocalypses are commonplace and so fundamental to American writing as to be ubiquitous, at once undermining basic values and expressing them. They signal both a rejection and an exploration of

"ideologies of the self, nature, of God and the supernatural, and of the community."

The image of the end of the world in American literature is an image of desire that seeks not to point beyond itself to some indefinite paradise but to embody the very mediatory locus that makes speculation about temporal and spatial transitions possible. If speculation is etymologically a mirroring, one finds American writers speculating about the self in relation to . . . society, nature, God, the future, and the unconscious, by staring profoundly into mirror-images of transition . . . [one can] read American apocalypses as investigations into the edge, the boundary, . . . between radically different realms. (xi-xii)

Stowe speaks of precisely this boundary when at the time of Eva's death, Tom says to Miss Ophelia:

. . . The Lord, he sends his messenger in the soul. I must be thar, Miss Feely; for when that ar blessed child goes into the kingdom, they'll open the door so wide, we'll all get a look in at the glory, Miss Feely. (Tom 344)

Robinson proposes that the inner space expressions described by American artists relate to expansive alliances with exterior unencumbered space.

But Stowe projects her interpretation of what happens to the individual within the private space onto the public, outer area. Ellen Weiss describes one example of the public evidence of private impressions which suggest implications for the millennial dimensions of Stowe's private and public spaces.<sup>12</sup> She writes about two communities, side by side, on the island of Martha's Vineyard, which have roots in Stowe's era and relate directly to revivalism with its millennial impulses which Uncle Tom's Cabin illustrates.



Together they depict what Floyd Watkins refers to as "the peculiar significance of small towns in American culture" (10) in its fiction's "movement from place to place as a chief distinction" (3). Founded in 1835, Wesleyan Grove is laid out on a 34-acre plot of land, where 300 buildings (500 in 1880) sit by each other on tiny lots that leave no room for private outdoor space other than front porches. Most are narrow, two-story cottages, of odd scale and proportions, with wide double doors that expose interiors and open onto communal paths that connect several small parks of irregular shape. A five-acre open space in the center of the area contains an iron tabernacle about 140 feet in diameter sheltering the preaching area and serves as a universal center to the community as the sun orients the solar system. This "eccentric place-making" implies an "unusual relationship between family and community" accomplishing an "urbanlike 'city in the woods'" by taking the "pervasive American event, the camp-meeting revival in the woods," and bringing it to "spectacular conclusion in a form which has something to do with that pervasive American residential habit, the suburb." Equally intriguing is the development of a summer resort adjacent to the campground. Oak Bluff, a designed subdivision that "extended the spirit and forms of Wesleyan Grove" and used professionals to "replicate the compelling magic" and "otherworldliness of the original" and added a "towered skyline to make explicit the

implied urbanity of festive throngs of religious seekers" (Weiss xi-xv). While they enjoyed the advanced state of their "city," the Oak Bluff residents were still near the place of the holy. Wesleyan Grove's historian makes explicit from the beginning the account is "about a place as well as an event and an institution," and asks

If the salvation of the human soul is of such vast importance as it is believed to be by all Christendom, why should not the place and circumstances of its conversion to God merit a history? (24)

Indeed, why not? Myra Jehlen calls it American Incarnation; Sidney named it The Lively Experiment; Harriet Beecher Stowe designated it Uncle Tom's Cabin, highlighting its private orientation. In Lisa Watt MacFarlane's phrase, this "domestic millennialism," or the scaling of millennial hopes to domestic spaces, struggled with national expectations in mid-nineteenth-century America (10). Stowe sketched the arena in the broad public geography of the country in her novel, but the struggle for the land, in her vision, was won or lost by what happened in the domestic scenes.

But by mid-century, even space could no longer provide freedom as slavery contentions threatened boundary after boundary. Passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850 released Stowe's creative reservoir and placed her in the national struggle publicly. As Martin Marty comments, the strange divisions which slavery produced indicated that most people would feel they were caught "between the upper and

nether millstones of a pro-slavery Christianity, and an anti-Christian abolitionism" (Righteous Empire 98), either of which would destroy the founding dream of a nation built on biblical precedent and revivalist renewal which guaranteed the continuation of millennial expectations for ethical behavior and cultural identity. It was the Fugitive Slave Act, the final violation of space by making the North moral conspirators in keeping slaves in bondage, that opened the floodgates of Stowe's imaginative power and sluiced Tom, Eliza, George, Topsy, and the rest of the cast into the torrent of American fiction. She enacted the culture while she gave it a new place in time.

The difference which Timothy Smith makes between his interpretation of American millennialism and the expansive characteristics of other historians who see it as the root of civil religion seems to lie in something so fragile as the difference between cause and result. His cause was a sequence of revivalism, reinforced by a perfectionist ethic of salvation, which pushed Christians toward social duty which included emancipation of the slave; the rhetoric of appeals for social reform renewed the biblical vision of the peaceable kingdom. But the consequence of that sequence, as articulated by Hatch and Marty, among others, was the vision of the righteous republic, the perfect society holding out to the world the model and promise of human laws, institutions, social, and economic structures harmonized with God's

higher laws to banish injustice and poverty (258). Stowe encompasses both subtleties and makes no difference between either in her millennial motifs. For Stowe, the millennium was already accomplished, for she read Revelation in the light of the gospel of the love of Christ whose nearest examples in her context were women and others who lived out his suffering servant image to civilize and redeem humanity. When she talks about Tom getting religion at camp meeting and his Methodist hymns, she is anchoring into this readership that saw the populist enlistment of all citizens in America. The Bible promises identity for all humanity with God and participation in sacred history in an endless eschatology from the creation to final judgment. From that vantage, Stowe issues an invitation to all who occupy a privileged space in that creation to do God's will in acts for which they will be judged in the last days to admit the slave to their camp meeting spaces to learn the lessons of American incarnation. Developing Christology decreed God as male and female. As possessor of love, grace, mercy, and tenderness, the female accepted qualities like those in Christ. But Christ is not powerless; His empowerment comes from being a member of the Trinity and His suffering servant model gave redemption its force. Neither is the female to be passive; she has power that leads to transcendence. Her force is delusionary only to those who do not value that code.

Uncle Tom's Cabin appealed to all the interests of this religious community of interpretation and they helped Stowe complete its story by heeding its sermon. From her spiritual and religious heritage, she could experiment with the implications of millennialism. Some impulses from millennialism resulted in utopian communities. Like them, Stowe's millennialism led to visionary utopianism, but unlike other communal enterprises, she turned to the one she already had chosen: the Christian home.<sup>13</sup> In Uncle Tom's Cabin, the home comes packaged in the language of sentimentality and presents its altar call in the national revival sermon of conversion against slavery. At the same time she relied on the Bible and an audience for spiritual interpretation to respond to and act upon the religious level of reform, she turned to readers from domestic ideology and sentimentality for a second community of interpretation. They did not fail her.

#### The Sentimental Domestic Community of Interpretation

Mid-nineteenth-century Victorian sensibilities guaranteed receptivity of domestic imagery, sentimentalism, and their analogies, allowing public adaptation of private experience. This community of interpretation identified with Uncle Tom's Cabin on the basis of its sentimental style, domestic ideology, and use of the cults of the saintly child and the mother with implications for melodrama.

Doreen Rosman writes that "evangelicals were characterized by a belief in conversion--from estrangement into relationship" (11). That conversion came through a process from the influence of preaching which carried the soul from sinful human isolation to forgiven interaction with the divine. Its occurrence was accompanied by a great emotional expression. Opponents of revivalism distrusted such exhibits, referring in disdain to the entire movement as enthusiasms. But proponents discounted the attacks as evidence to support their claims for a warm-hearted, Christ-centered religious experience which promoted love and noble self-sacrifice. The estrangement into relationship with God occurred with the inner, mystical work of grace with its accompanying tears and was followed by public works of loving benevolence to dependent fellow creatures. Correspondingly, the event evoked a ready analogy in the visible, practical work of grace with the emotion of private deeds of loving care to the dependent family members. The nurture and work identity in the family of God was like that encountered in the ideal family model. Both spheres found articulation in sentimental language.<sup>14</sup> The age expressed itself in sentimentality while a powerful genre of fiction arose in response to the concerns of the day written in the popular style. But it is a mistake to equate the linguistic style with uniformity in substance.

Although "popularity of fiction did not assure its respectability," by the late eighteenth-century the American public read novels more than any other kinds of books. The sentimental novel was the most commonly employed form with its vindication of virtue and punishment of vice which attempted to placate social and moral critics of fiction. Yet sentimental writers "could turn the sentimental on itself to question the very propositions they supposedly unquestionably extolled" (Davidson "Flirting" 17-21).

In her assessment of sentimental style and fiction, Baym records that the body of popular novels between 1820-1870 were written by American women authors about women.<sup>15</sup> On the strength of their popularity, authorship was established as a woman's profession and reading as a woman's avocation. In spite of a steady stream of detractors, the style and genre gave to women authorship and readers. The content, oriented toward women, tell a single tale in many variations: a young girl deprived of the support she had depended on "is faced with the necessity of winning her own way in the world." Unmistakeably, she is a heroine in a role analogous to the "unrecognized and undervalued youths of fairy tales who perform dazzling exploits" in order to "win a place for themselves in the land of happy endings." The stories also conformed to the pattern of the comic hero "whose displacement indicates social corruption and whose triumph ensures the reconstruction of a beneficent social

order" (11-12). They are "books about the psychology of women" and say that "the way women perceive themselves is a libel on their own sex," an erroneous "self-perception" which "accounts for woman's degraded and dependent position in society" (19). Varieties of evidence demonstrate that women's cultural situations from multiple causes placed increasing and determined demands on them. The novels reveal that women's lives were in ferment and women were aware of their situation. They were read "in unprecedented numbers, . . . their intent is clear, and . . . if they had succeeded they would have inspired a moral revolution in young readers." Definitive conclusions are hard to draw, but it is certain that the story of women discovering and asserting their powers to wrest "respect and recognition from a hostile and indifferent world" gave immense pleasure to huge number of American women (Woman's Fiction 21).

Baym declares Stowe did not write any works in the genre and explains her claim.

Over the course of her career, she had three major preoccupations: slavery, Calvinism and the problem of belief, and New England life in the early republic. Since her regional depictions were controlled by her sense that faith was the chief preoccupation of the New England mind, Stowe's local color writing can be subsumed in her religious concerns. Her novels about slavery and about Christian belief propose a maternal, loving ethic in opposition to prevailing patriarchal values, but the actual distribution of events and qualities among her characters did not follow sexual lines. She perceived both slavery and religion as issues transcending gender, and treated them accordingly. A writer cannot command her



interests, and Stowe's set her apart from the other American women writing in her day.

Nevertheless it is mainly from this writer, who was not fundamentally concerned with "woman's place," that we have derived our present day idea of what Stowe's age thought women should be. (13-14)

By using the style but not the formula, Stowe manipulates the form to communicate a new message. The inner shifts within the form produce a new kind of exterior bonding. The helpless, young single woman who needs a hero to rescue her from the seducer becomes Emmeline, the rape candidate, in the New Orleans slave market whose only defense is to sing the spiritual "O, where is weeping Mary?" with her anguished mother the night before they are sold and to heed her mother's desperate efforts to make her less pretty on the block the morning of the sale. When coarse, tobacco-chewing Legree with his "round, bullet head," shaggy eyebrows, and "sun-burned hair" stops before Susan and Emmeline, puts "out his heavy, dirty hand," and draws "the girl toward him," passing "it over her neck and bust," then pushes "her back against her mother, whose patient face showed the suffering she had been going through at every motion of the hideous stranger" (385-386), Stowe turns sentimental morality on its end. Leslie Fiedler certainly can say, "We do not remember the turncoat puritan Legree squeezing the virginal breast of Emmeline, eyeing her lustfully," ("Harriet" 113) if he pleases, but few would join him in his editorial "we." Using sentimental style which evokes the formula, Stowe

paints a broad canvas of the kinds of destinies black women have under slavery. The only present redemption they can expect in order to re-establish what they never have had secured (the harmony of husband, home, and hearth) is to act on their own wits as Eliza does for flight, Chloe does for solutions, and Cassy does for revenge. However, Stowe holds out a hope: the recruitment of the audience for active resistance on their behalf in real life as Emily Shelby, Mary Bird, and Rachel Halliday behave in the novel. In a brilliant stroke, Stowe awards the central role of the sentimental genre to black slave women and gives the principal supporting role, the rescuing hero, to the women of America. That Mary gains the active support of her husband and Rachel has the network of an entire community, as well as her family, instructs the sentimental audience further in collective efforts. Although Stowe did not write the genre formula, she gave her heart and total loyalty to the place from which the sentimental heroine went questing: the Christian home, domestic ideology's sanctuary.

Uncle Tom's Cabin furnishes a cast of women who represent in both degree and kind the varieties of adaptations women could make to private and public expectations for them. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century America, the home was taken for granted as the locus for society's needs.

To study the history of the American family is to conduct a rescue mission into the dreamland of our national self-concept. No subject is more closely bound up with our sense of the difficult

present--and our nostalgia for a happier past  
 (but) . . . the reality of family life in the past  
 is something else again. (Demos "American" 422)

Nineteenth-century America's brave new world was a dangerous one. Its power distribution was hierarchical which led to questions of politics and gender: for example, such matters as property rights between fathers and sons, uncovered by family historians, and feminist challenges to patriarchy and its power, revealed by studies in women's history. Stowe dramatizes women's roles in her novel and sets examples before her readers of alternative interactions within the family ranging from Emily Shelby's patient, stoic superiority to patriarchy, Mary Bird's sentimental vindication with a woman's heart, Rachel Halliday's egalitarian self-confidence, and Eliza's self-sacrifice for children. She is merely claiming for women in the privacy of the home that which Demos describes as men's opportunities in the public world of business and market.

The new egalitarian spirit, the sense of openness, the opportunities for material gain, the cult of the "self-made man": all . . . new, invigorating, and liberating at one level--but it also conveyed a deep threat to traditional values . . . . [he] had to summon energies and take initiatives that would . . . exhaust him and might involve him in terrible compromises. At the same time he would need to retain some place of rest and refreshment --some emblem of the personal and moral regime that he was otherwise leaving behind.

Within this matrix of ideas the family was sharply redefined. Henceforth the life of the individual home, on the one hand, and the wider society, on the other, represented for Americans entirely different spheres. (Demos Past 31)

While relying on received values, Stowe makes them work for her strategies in Uncle Tom's Cabin. Stowe's homemakers illustrate Ruth Bloch's findings in her investigation of sex roles. Bloch's survey of four centuries of change in sex roles reveals a pattern of hierarchy and similarity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; male control blurred distinctions with women losing autonomy but gaining access to masculine respect sources ("Untangling" 238-245). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, she finds polarization and distinctiveness; men dominated in the economic and political spheres and women gained ascendancy in the emotional, moral, and sacred spheres (245-252). For a study such as this one, the implications concern the father's role as moral arbiter in the colonial setting and the mother's in the Victorian era. In his diary, Cotton Mather recorded his philosophy of educating his children in ethical values: "I first beget in them a high opinion of their father's love to them, and of his being best able to judge what shall be good for them" (Matthews 20). Henry Ward Beecher speaks for the Victorians:

But stop. Turn back. We have neglected the heart of home, the mother's room! The old temple had no such holy of holies. The mother's room! Here came she a bride. Here only God's angels and her own husband have heard what words the inmost heart of love can coin. (72)

Stowe's spotlight on the moral force of mothers enacts in fiction her brother's florid prose.

In spite of the better known conditions of the nineteenth-century's imbalances and privations, women did have a place (home) that was primarily theirs and a vocation that was theirs alone (child-rearing) and within those confines enjoyed a degree of autonomy (12). Feminist scholarship and work of historians indicates they made the most of it.<sup>16</sup>

Stowe's model mothers demonstrate no hesitation in using their power. From a series of homes which hold degrees of limitations, they contribute their part in freeing the slaves. Emily Shelby, perhaps the most encumbered, provides the nurture for three pivotal characters: Tom, the moral ideal; Eliza, the free slave mother, who will become the new model for her people; and her son, George, who frees all their slaves. Less limited, but responding completely with emotion, Mary Bird shows love's abandon in its ethical behavior to ensure Eliza's escape. Rachel Halliday's egalitarian situation supplies the ideal which Eliza will imitate in her new role.

Stowe's mother-homemakers illustrate historian Glenna Matthews's claims about a separate domestic sphere by 1850 that was central to the culture. A housewife knew she was essential to her family and to her society because history would be affected by the joint effort of women "creating good homes" (xiii). New values attached to old words like home, mother, and wife to create many "profound consequences for American women." With a newly articulated importance in

homes, as the production sites for virtuous citizens, women gained acceptance into education. Scholars demonstrate "how significant the ideology of Republican Motherhood was in promoting better education for women." Women in a republic must be "'taught the principles of liberty and government and the obligations of patriotism'" because men depend on them and they teach the young (21). Books, novels, instruction manuals, ladies magazines, such as Godey's, and even cookbooks reveal the attention to the new potential for female self-worth by the antebellum period and efforts that taught the woman her role. Home was the man's true place, but it was the woman's empire (27).<sup>17</sup>

John Demos says that the home, idealized and sentimentalized as it became, signaled that the "crucial function of the family had now become a protective one" in two ways: protection of disappearing ways and values and of individuals caught up in the whirlwind of unprecedented change. If the "family as community" symbolized the colonial period, the "family as refuge" served as an image for the nineteenth century.

Home . . . was pictured as a bastion of peace, of orderliness, of unwavering devotion to people and principle beyond the self. Here the woman of the family, and the children, would pass most of their hours and days--safe from the grinding pressures and dark temptations of the world at large; here, too, the man of the family would retreat periodically for repose, renewal, and inner fortification against the dangers he encountered elsewhere.  
(Past 31)

Uncle Tom's Cabin depicts the home as haven: a place where sacred values under the stewardship of mothers passed into the culture. However, Stowe advocated greater activism on the part of the mothers to influence the public sphere.

Any subject so prominent in American thought was bound to have the attention of the Beechers. Catherine, Henry Ward, and Harriet were most prominent in their writings about the home. Even Eunice Beecher, worn out from work and pregnancies and yielding to semi-invalidism, joined her husband and sisters-in-law in writing about the home and published her own book, All Around the House; or How to Make Homes Happy. Stowe's series of essays entitled House and Home Papers were published in the Atlantic Monthly in 1864 and as a book in 1865.<sup>18</sup> In Addisonian style, instructional and conversational commentary treat every sort of subject although their theme repeats that a happy, sympathetic home is of greater importance than an elegant, sternly run household. She adopts a male narrator, Christopher Crowfield, without any attempt to disguise authorship, and gives her views from his perspective (which must be a temptation to critics with a psychological orientation), talking about such matters as homekeeping and housekeeping, cooking, home religion, aesthetics, and the grandeur of the Puritan chimney.<sup>19</sup> She asks what is a home and answers:

. . . the word has in it a higher meaning hallowed by religion; and when the Christian would express the highest of his hopes for a better life, he speaks of his home beyond the grave. The word

"home" has in it the elements of love, rest, permanency, and liberty; but, besides these, it has in it the idea of an education by which all that is purest within us is developed into nobler forms, fit for a higher life . . . (It has) great dignity and worth . . . this holy and sacred thing . . . the power to create a HOME ought to be ranked above all creative faculties. In this art of homemaking I have set down in my mind certain first principles, like the axioms of Euclid . . . No home is possible without love . . . There can be no true home without liberty . . . If liberty in a house is a comfort to a husband, it is a necessity to children . . . we do not mean license . . . Education is the highest object of home . . . of the parents no less than the children . . . it is incomplete if it does not include the idea of hospitality and charity . . . a true home [has] a mission of charity . . . Nor can man or woman create a true home who is not willing in the outset to embrace life heroically, to encounter labor and sacrifice. Only to such shall this divinest power be given to create on earth that which is the nearest image of heaven. (38-54)

She condenses in the passage her interactions of triads in Uncle Tom's Cabin: the historical significance of time and movement; heaven as home; and interdependent, mutually supporting interpersonal relationships. From the social dimensions derive the necessity for freedom and education.

The home inspired writers like Emerson and Hawthorne, as well. Emerson's essay, "Domestic Life," proposes shared tasks that would reflect democratic values in the domestic setting. He writes, "I see not how serious labor, the labor of all and every day is to be avoided" and says that "the reform that applies itself to the household must not be partial" but rather must "correct the whole system of our social living" by "plain living and high thinking" that



"must break up caste and put domestic service on another foundation" (113). Echoing Stowe's theories about "liberty" that makes home practical and relaxing, he writes that "a house kept to the end of display is impossible to all but a few women, and their success is dearly bought." He sounds another note of similarity with Stowe in his thoughts about hospitality, seeming to blend the private and public:

Domestic events are . . . our affair . . . public events may or may not be ours . . . My house is here in the county for the culture of the county . . . [sending] pulses of thought that go to the borders of the universe. (108-109)

Domesticity functions as an ordering principle for all of the society.

Hawthorne wields the power of domestic ideology in The House of Seven Gables when he depends on Phoebe to dispel the gothic gloom of the Pyncheon mansion.

Little Phoebe was one of those persons who possess as their exclusive patrimony, the gift of practical arrangement. It is a kind of natural magic, that enables these favored ones to bring out the hidden capabilities of things around them; and particularly to give a look of comfort and habitableness to any place which, for however brief a period, may happen to be their home. A wild hut of underbrush . . . would acquire the home aspect by one night's lodging of such a woman. (71-72)

Her first morning in the house, she takes over the "cookery book" of English dishes from Hepzibah, who does not cook, but she makes an Indian cake instead of the imperial cuisine (98-99). And when Clifford returns in the same chapter, which is entitled "The Guest," Hepzibah says, "There is

nothing but love here, Clifford," adding, "nothing but love! You are at home!" (107)<sup>20</sup>

Phoebe had what Stowe called "faculty" in her New England homemakers, whose representative in Uncle Tom's Cabin is Rachel Halliday. In the marvelous workings of "faculty" the

. . . kitchen of a New England matron was her throne-room, her pride; it was the habit of her life to produce the greatest possible results there with the slightest possible discomposure . . . Everything there seemed to be always done and never doing. Washing and baking, those formidable disturbers of the composure of families, were all over with in those two or three morning-hours when we are composing ourselves for a last nap,--and only the fluttering of linen over the green yard, on Monday mornings, proclaimed that the dreaded solemnity of a wash had transpired. A breakfast arose there as by magic; and in an incredibly short space after, every knife, fork, spoon, and trencher, clean and shining, was looking as innocent and unconscious in its place as if it never had been used and never expected to be. (Minister's 536)

The floor was sanded spotless white, and the ancient fireplace that covered one end of the kitchen crackled. At the other end ran the "dresser" with its "great store of shining pewter dishes and plates." In the "old, clean, roomy New England kitchen" the "noon-mark on its floor was a dial that told off some of the happiest days" and the clock that "tick-tacked in the corner" told with each tick the "mysterious prophecies of unkown good yet to arise out of the hours of life."

How dreamy the winter twilight came in there,--when as yet the candles were not lighted,--when the crickets chirped around the dark stone hearth,

and shifting tongues of flame flickered and cast dancing shadows and elfish lights on the walls, while grandmother nodded over her knitting-work, and puss purred, and old Rover lay dreamily opening now one eye and then the other on the family group! (537)

The central scenes of ideal domesticity with the Quakers in Uncle Tom's Cabin evoke this same emotion and imagery from Stowe's New England domains (162-171). Ammons claims Stowe pictures the kitchen scenes in the Quaker community to evoke the image "of Christ's ministry at the Last Supper" and illustrate "how humane and spiritually nourishing mother-rule might be" (155). But Barry Levy proposes another perspective based on the historical context. He says seventeenth-century northwestern Quakers were "emotionally, spiritually, and geographically among the most successful anglo-American frontiersmen and frontierswomen" because their "emotional, spiritual, and geographic frontiers were intimately related." Because they had lived on Britain's frontiers of economic, imperial, and religious expansion, Quakers "took to exploring the frontiers of intimate relations." When they transplanted themselves to the "richer American frontier" they successfully established "their unique family system as an influential cultural force" (6). Part of that system was the respect for "divine truths embedded in the spiritual human body" which led to a "folk theory of divine language" by means of which Quakers formed "communities of the Holy Spirit" which served as "saving

communities of holiness" because "exchanges within families were suffused with purity and love" (12). Defined as the "family and household of God," Quakers radicalized family organization: family life, and consequently, all social interaction assumed egalitarian characteristics; marriage took on spiritualization; childrearing was redefined and intensified; every household encouraged rational, self-disciplined women; and those women were charged to discuss and legislate in "women's matters," such as sex, childbirth, and childrearing (13). Commitment to the protection and nurture of children made "piety, profit, and community compatible" (14) with their removal to private space where members within their radical familial organization based on spiritual belief practiced sheltered autonomy. With the breakdown of old social and defining boundaries, New England reformers led the way in investigations for new social structures. Family reformers, the advocates of domesticity, found in the Quakers a pre-formed model already functioning on site and launched into a campaign of appropriation.

Instead of using the Halliday community as a platform to make Tom, Rachel, and Eva radical feminists, it seems just as likely Stowe created the Quakers for a model of a nurturing community in which love, liberty, and action on behalf of others exist simultaneously with a mutual respect that affirms its members. There is no doubt she admired them for their efforts to help runaway slaves. And there is

no question she pits the sloven nature of Southern economy against the rigid qualities of the North's. Rachel's kitchen economy of mutual responsibility and self-worth is a gloss on the confrontation between Miss Ophelia and Dinah in New Orleans. Miss Ophelia is a prime example of Northern efficiency, but does not come into the full range of her power until love softens her mechanical nature. Domestic power that will change the nation must be more than organizational ability as Gillian Brown demonstrates in her essay: "St. Clare fails to recognize the intimacy between domestic and political issues, missing the lesson of his own effort at home improvement" (504). Stowe's domesticity that will reform slavery is a revised and reformed system itself, not the reigning domestic ideology she sees as complicitous with slavery and its political economy with "no time, no place, no order" that goes on in a "shiftless way." When carried to its own logical end, as St. Clare wryly notes, it is a "hurryscurryation" (250) of self-interest. In casting the confrontation in the convention of the housekeeper-servant relationship, which McKinley points out as a standard item in antebellum didactic fiction (36-44), and the analysis of the confrontation by St. Clare and Ophelia to display regional attitudes, Stowe gives full play to her vision of a radical plan of immediate action. National change must come from mutually changed attitudes and a desire to cooperate with each other in the greater nation as home, in effect

putting the two regions in the role as mates with a reformed policy where, as Stowe says from Home papers axioms, there must be love, and there must be liberty and all must be educated to sensitivity and responsibility.

Henry Ward, with fellow preachers like Horace Bushnell and Theodore Parker, wrote more fervently and sentimentally about the home than did the Concord men. But home, domesticity, and national identity were central issues for all Americans. Those who had thoughts on the subjects published them; those who wanted instruction bought the books and papers. Catherine Beecher may have taken the spotlight from her famous brother and sister with A Treatise on Domestic Economy of 1841, one of the most famous works in the self-help genre. Matthews calls the book "a prime document of the cult of domesticity" because of its broad range of subject matter which "combined citations from the work of Tocqueville with explicit instructions on laundry" and may be seen "as the logical outgrowth of the politicization of the home after the Revolution" (7). In 1869, it was expanded and republished as The American Woman's Home and listed Harriet as co-author, although the book is largely the work of Catherine. Its contents are amazing: a total approach to everything from child-care to gardening, home heating to closet arrangement, health care to philosophy.<sup>21</sup>

The cultural destiny with which Stowe's women in Uncle Tom's Cabin are commissioned is not different from the duty

of the homemaker of her day who read the book. To be in charge of the outcome of history by how meals were served and children were nurtured was a heavy responsibility of domestic ideology, but serious and educated men and women as well as the less prepared were reading and writing books and periodicals charging the nation with the ideals of domesticity. But there was little change in the reality of shared tasks, work, or opportunities. The badge of manliness was a wife at home and "Americans expected women to reign at home . . . placed upon a pedestal of piety and sensibility" where she "governed the domestic half of the middle-class world while men did economic, political, and military battle beyond the doorstep" (Filene 8-9). Most Americans attached an appreciation of home to an "ideology of sex roles in which women were seen by nature to be more gentle, loving, and willing to sacrifice than men."

But something was new. "For the first time in American history, both home and woman's special nature were seen as uniquely valuable." Despite all the discrepancies and inequities between the ideal and the real, the cult of domesticity "had a favorable impact on women." From publishers, the church, and the public platforms, a homemaker could "see and hear her value and the value of the home for which she was responsible being affirmed" (Matthews 34).

The negative side with its potential for manipulation, exploitation, and hypocrisy are well known and admitted.

The angel in the home who kept the ideals intact with "faculty" in the sense of Renaissance courtly sprezzatura (a more cultured way to coin contemporary Madison Avenue deodorant advertising crass rule of "Never let them see you sweat") paid the price for dearly bought success, to adapt Emerson's phrase. Catherine Beecher published Letters to the People on Health and Happiness twelve years after she wrote Treatise; in it she addressed the alarming trend of ill-health in women, saying her surveys and investigations reveal that three out of four women were sick, and expressed concern that domestic responsibility was taking its toll on American women (Sklar Catharine Beecher 204).<sup>22</sup> She argued that the "confinement of the home and the growing prejudice against manual labor were acting together to ruin women's health" and charged male clergy and doctors with collusion in a double sexual ethic practiced against women (Boydston 230-231).<sup>23</sup>

Harriet Beecher Stowe, overworked and exhausted as she often felt herself to be, "had an influence on American culture and on the course of American history that no woman before had ever enjoyed--and not many since." She invoked publicly the "moral authority of a housewife to justify speaking out against slavery" (Matthews 34) and changed the portrait of America forever. She did it from motherhood's platform. When Eliza Cabot Follen, a poet, abolitionist, Sunday School worker, and revered Boston matron wrote her in



1852, asking her pointed questions about herself and how she became an "authoress," Stowe replied from the effects of her experience as a wife and mother.

So you want to know what sort of woman I am! . . . I am little bit of a woman,--somewhat more than forty, about as thin and dry as a pinch of snuff--never very much to look at in my best days and looking like a used up article now.

I was married when I was twenty-five years old to a man rich in Greek and Hebrew and Latin and Arabic, and alas, rich in nothing else . . . But then I was abundantly furnished with wealth of another sort. I had two little curly headed twin daughters to begin with and my stock in this line has gradually increased, till I have been the mother of seven children, the most beautiful and the most loved of whom lies buried near my Cincinnati residence. It was at his dying bed and at his grave that I learned what a poor slave mother may feel when her child is torn away from her. In those depths of sorrow which seemed to me immeasurable, it was my only prayer to God that such anguish might not be suffered in vain . . . I felt that I could never be consoled for it unless this crushing of my own heart might enable me to work out some great good to others.

. . . I have often felt that much that is in that book had its root in the awful scenes and bitter sorrow of that summer. It has left now, I trust, no trace . . . except a deep compassion for the sorrowful, especially for mothers who are separated from their children.

During these long years of struggling with poverty and sickness and a hot debilitating climate my children grew up around me. The nursery and the kitchen were my principal fields of labor. Then one of my friends pitying my toils copied and sent a number of little sketches from my pen to certain liberally paying "Annuals" with my name. With the first money that I earned in this way I bought a feather bed! for as I had married into poverty and without a dowry, and as my husband had only a large library of books, and a great deal of learning--the bed and pillows was thought on the whole the most profitable investment. After that I thought that I had discovered the "Philosopher's Stone," and when a new carpet, or a new mattress, was going to be needed, or when at the close of the year, it began to be clear that my family

accounts, like poor Dora's, "wouldn't add up"-- then I used to say to my faithful friend and factotum Anna who shared all my joys and sorrows "Now if you will keep the babies and attend to things in the house for one day I'll write a piece, and then we shall be out of the scrape." And so I became an authoress,--very modest at first, I do assure you . . .

You ask with regard to the remuneration which I have received for my work here in America. Having been poor all my life, and expecting to be poor to the end of it, the idea of making anything by a book, which I wrote just because I could not help it never occurred to me. It was therefore an agreeable surprise to receive ten thousand dollars as the first fruits of three months sale and presume as much more is now due . . .

I suffer exquisitely in writing these things. It may truly be said that I write with my heart's blood. Many times in writing "Uncle Tom's Cabin" I thought my health would fail utterly; but I prayed earnestly that God would help me till I got through, and still I am pressed beyond measure and above strength . . .

It seems to me so odd and dream-like that so many persons desire to see me, and now I cannot help thinking that they will think when they do, that God hath chosen "the weak things of this world." (Boydston 178-180)

Stowe's letter provides the formidable images for domestic ideology's shrine: the cult of the mother and the saintly child.

David Levin states that the "sentimental romancer in the early 1850s explicitly delineated relationships that we too often credit to the original discovery of recent historians" and gives tribute to Stowe for what she truly saw about the nature of her society and how she strengthened her book by casting those perceptions in the "central importance of passionate feeling, motherhood, and family in her condemnation of slavery" (133). Margaret Honan remarks that in

"nineteenth-century fiction . . . experiences that are most specifically feminine" such as childbirth and child care "are again and again framed as antithetical to women's writing" (xi). The Victorian ideology of the "Angel in the House" denies the physicality of women's bodies and "substitutes for the maternal body a spiritual presence that presides over but does not seem to touch its family" (157). While Stowe incorporates the norm, she also deviates from it.<sup>24</sup> Her aggressive position advocates liberty for all. She uses the antithesis against her to champion her thesis; all must be free, mothers and daughters, as well as sons and fathers. As a mother and wife she had an uphill climb. How could deeply spiritual Harriet, so ingrained with the Bible, religious, and New England tradition get from those restrictions for women to national and world prominence? How could her ideal mother head a nation's destiny by defeating slavery with love?

The Pauline precedent for Puritan theology of women provides the central paradox; in the spirit, men and women have freedom in Christ (Gal. 3:28), but in the "body" of marriage and the church as an institution, woman is subordinate to man, in a hierarchy of relationships (1 Cor. 11:3). In the centuries of theological haggling over woman, William Ames, who formulated Puritan Incarnation theology made Mary totally passive.

Mary becomes Eve, not in the typological sense in which Christ is the antitype, or the second Adam,

but through the identity of function; as Eve is a secondary cause in the Fall, Mary becomes a secondary cause in the Incarnation . . . Motherhood as Paul sets it forth in his epistles is thus not a gracious activity in which saved women exercise their gifts; instead, it places women under the old covenant of works as they participate in the fallen procreation of Eve and her Old Testament daughters. (Thickstun 8-9)

Paul consistently argued that old practices related to the law should be dropped because Christ's sacrifice had made them void, but he could not dissociate the woman's self from her body: "And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression. Notwithstanding she shall be saved in childbearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety" (1 Timothy 2:14-15). This passage gave serious theological difficulties to the Puritans who believed in justification by faith alone and their discussions of the text prove entertaining (Thickstun 10-14). Finally, they declared by fiat: "Notwithstanding her sin, God will save her; notwithstanding the curse, God will bless her"(15).

Fortunately, there is more to the Bible than the letters of Paul and access to salvation is not the exclusive domain of the New Testament. Stowe was a recipient of the long history of considering God as mother. Valerie Lagorio relates:

Included in the Christ motherhood metaphor are such maternal images as carrying the child in the womb, birth with travail, nurturing and nursing with milk, caring for the child's needs with caresses and tenderness, consoling the child in

time of stress, and kindly and reassuring discipline for the child's welfare. (21)

The similitudes continued in Puritan sermons with analogies between parenting for both parents, female imagery, and God's grace. The nineteenth century added Romantic fantasies.<sup>25</sup> Stowe appropriated all the symbolism; yet, there is more in her American mothers. Where did she find the model for the American mother? Barry Levy furnishes a convincing explanation with his connection of initial Quaker prototypes to the nineteenth-century home as a sheltered location where American women cultivated motherhood to nurture conscience in America's children. When a new family prescription as a moral substitute for declining ministerial and communal institutions was needed, Levy says the reformers of New England renovated the Puritan model with Quaker components. He claims that domesticity and the domestic rule of women had a social incarnation in America long before the ideology of the nineteenth century reformers created it as the national coin (19-22). William McLoughlin claims that the rise of domesticity and revivalism shaped a new exegesis that not only emphasized the love of God and the humanity of Christ but also tended to place the Son before the Father in Evangelical eyes. As a personal savior, Christ served as a mediator between the Father and His children. Because of the age's sentimentality, emphasis on the sanctity of childhood, and the sensibilities of heart

religion, Christ took on symbolic female imagery, not unlike the role of Mary in Catholicism. A wife's sacrifices for her husband and children paralleled the sacrifices of the Son of God to His Father by analogy (Revivals 120).

Stowe's biblical language of maternal metaphor in Uncle Tom's Cabin is prominent. The redemptive value of the mother-child bond for humanity provides the theme, the passion, and the rationale for the call to the nation to save itself from further violation of its sacredness. The Virgin and Child underwent some transformations in Puritan iconography, but the sentiment was always present in the adapted forms. Stowe's analogies between Christ and mother and mothers as forces for redemption in Uncle Tom's Cabin find more specific articulation in the differences she sketches between the two Marys in her book, Woman in Sacred History: A Celebration of Women in the Bible. Writing of the Virgin of the centuries, on the one hand, and the earthly Mother of Christ, on the other, she relies on her Puritan habit of dialectic doubleness to treat Mary as two people: "Mary the Mythical Madonna" (169-176) and "Mary the Mother of Jesus" (181-199). The language evokes the maternal virtues of the mothers in Uncle Tom's Cabin who become servants of redemption through their service to others. She begins her account of the first Mary:

No woman that ever lived on the face of the earth has been an object of such wonder, admiration, and worship as Mary the mother of Jesus. Around her poetry, painting, and music have raised

clouds of every-shifting colors, splendid as those around the setting sun. Exalted above earth, she has been shown to us as a goddess, yet a goddess of a type wholly new . . . In Mary, womanhood, in its highest and tenderest development of the MOTHER, has been the object of worship. Motherhood with large capacities of sorrow . . . with sympathies . . . such an object of veneration has inconceivable power. (169)

And she proceeds to give a three-dimensional portrait from the apocryphal, biblical, and legendary accounts of Mary with the art history growing up about her, and wranglings of the Church Fathers over her nature. In conclusion, she says that Mary's character has suffered from the excesses of Protestant and Rome reactions and asks, "What is the true character of Mary . . . It can only be inferred by the most delicate analysis of the little that the Scripture has given: this we reserve for another article" (176). As she continues, the reader recalls the maternal virtues of the mothers in Uncle Tom's Cabin who work to free the slaves and redeem america by their moral effort. She begins the second Mary:

From out the cloudy ecstasies of poetry, painting, and religious romance, we grope our way back to the simple story of the New Testament. . . Who and what really was the woman highly favored over all . . . chosen by God to be the mother of the Redeemer of the world . . .

That the Divine Being, in choosing a woman to be the mother, the educator, and for thirty years the most intimate friend, of his son, should have selected one of rare and peculiar excellences seems only probable. It was from her that the holy child, who was to increase in wisdom and in stature, was to learn from day to day the constant and needed lessons of inexperienced infancy and childhood. (181)

Following the scripture assiduously, she enumerates textual accounts and includes empathetic comments; for example, Mary's trials as a mother "were still further complicated by the unbelief of her other children in the divine mission of Jesus" (193). In closing, she sums up Mary's attributes:

In short, Mary is presented to us as the mother, and the mother alone, seeking no other sphere. Like a true mother she passed out of self into her son, and the life that she lived was in him; and in this sacred self-abnegation she must forever remain, the one ideal type of perfect motherhood. This entire absence of self-seeking and self-assertion is the crowning perfection of Mary's character . . . . We may not adore, but we may love her. (198)<sup>26</sup>

Mary inhabits Stowe's Woman in Sacred History, but her qualities also dwell very conspicuously in Emily Shelby's faithfulness, Mary Bird's love, Rachel Halliday's steadfastness, and Eliza's self-sacrifice.

Mary Ryan's review of American writings about motherhood between 1830 and 1850 illustrates that on the plane of popular culture generations were brought together by bonds of mother love rather than patriarchal authority. It was a time-consuming and exhausting responsibility and mothers were on duty for the moral welfare of their children from birth until they left home. Before 1830, a band of small-town ministers, publishers, and printers led the domestic project with appeals to fathers, instructing the heads of households on their task. However, by the 1830s different voices argued for child-centered agendas that went beyond



theological reasoning to include also political and social motivations. Changing attitudes toward education by such pathbreakers as Horace Mann began to influence the ways of dealing with children at home, as well. These are the people Levy claims adopted Quaker domesticity and mothering. Child-rearing manuals reflect the changing attitudes from "breaking the will" to "sweet and willing subjection" with children's minds left free and vigorous, open to enjoyment without fear (45-50). At first there was an emphasis on self-governance from reasoning, but the popular domestic writers like Catherine Beecher took a more rudimentary mental faculty for the foundation of child-rearing: moral education that was directed to the emotions, not reason. The rise of the mother converged with changes in the conception of the stages of childhood.

It was only after the period of infant dependency, according to earlier theories, that mother love had to be intercepted by the more rational and authoritative supervision of the patriarch . . . . The child's moral development was now expected to proceed gradually and continuously from its base in the loving maternal knot. Motherhood had been extended far beyond the woman's biological role in reproduction . . . .

Between 1830 and 1850 the custody of children was transferred directly and officially from male to female . . . within a few decades the father was removed to the periphery of the child-mother relationship. (56)

The newly discovered needs and privileges became the province of the mother; writers pulled the strings of mother love to tell American women how much her happiness depended

on the good or bad character of her children. Antebellum writers became as unrestrained in their celebration of the maternal images as Puritan preachers had been in the applications of their sermons. Breast feeding became a holy rite of motherhood; the almost erotic depictions in print of nursing babies carried no embarrassment. Lydia Sigourney reduced George Washington to infant dependency on his mother in a poem that apparently did not offend anyone's sensibilities (57).<sup>27</sup>

In this light, Chloe's question, "Don't dey tear the suckin' babe off the breast?" becomes more piercing to the national conscience and Legree's filthy hands on Emmeline more despicable. Further, throughout the book, characters deprived of mothers are more vulnerable, more lost, more despondent; little Harry, Emmeline, George Harris, Emmeline. Tom, who will not run away, says of Eliza, "Let Eliza go-- it's her right! I wouldn't be the one to say no--'t an't in natur for her to stay" (Tom 55). In Uncle Tom's Cabin, the mother's work goes on after death. It is through the office of mother angels in heaven that St. Clare gets reprieve by heeding his, and Legree is finally damned by rejecting his. The model for St. Clare is Roxanna, Harriet and Henry Ward's mother. They both eulogized her throughout their lives.

Motherhood as Madonna was an enemy to a literary career because both efforts require constant duty, but if the literary woman had motherhood, she was doubly endowed.

Stowe's correspondence with George Eliot reflects the power of motherhood to gain acceptance for one's work and to validate one's value as a woman, given all the right conditions. Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar write about the tension as the Muse/Mother dilemma in discussions about Margaret Fuller, Stowe, and George Eliot. Fuller lived an "ambitious life" she could not write about because it could not be presented within traditional literary genres. Stowe solved the same problem by "excluding any portrait of herself from the fictional world she created." Eliot pays tribute to Stowe by identifying the special strength of women as being that which comes from maternal capacity for sympathy. But she also includes the fear that possibly "Stowe's appreciation of feminine virtues could degenerate into self-congratulatory sentimentality that would finally sustain the coercion Stowe deplored" in the inherent conflicts for writers in a society where men and women are so divided by the head and the heart (483). In domestic ideology, Eliot is eager to maintain individuality, writing to Stowe after the publication of Middlemarch, "Do not for a moment imagine that Dorothea's marriage experience is drawn from my own." She says it is impossible to imagine "any creature less like Mr. Casaubon than my warm, enthusiastic husband, who cares more for my doing than for his own" (Letters 5:9 in Rose 223-224). But in regard to motherhood, she strikes quite a different tone, writing to her "dear

friend and fellow labourer" who has "longer experience than I as a writer," and enjoys a "fuller experience as a woman, since you have borne children and known the mother's history from the beginning" (Letters 5:31 in Gilbert and Gubar 533). Stowe's genius lies in her conflation of private and public vocation with enhancement for both because of her genuine, unabashed emotional commitment to the welfare of both.<sup>28</sup>

The other side of the cult of the angelic mother is the saintly child. When Baym denies that Stowe followed the sentimental novel formula, she adds that it is, however, mainly from Stowe that we have derived our present day idea of what Stowe's age thought women should be. She chides those who have "based our idea on a portrait not of a woman, but of a child--Little Eva--who is repeatedly and elaborately labeled as one whose destiny prevents her ever becoming a woman" (Woman's 15). Stowe provides a "gallery of other female characters, many of them admirable without being either angelic or childlike" (16). When Calvinist depravity was yielding to the romantic idea of innocence, the image of the divine child had special use. The idea of the special spirituality of a precocious child had immense reconciling power in an era when children did die young. A child set apart with a special mission so clearly identified by Stowe makes "the equation of her with ideal womanhood by several critics seem almost perverse in its disregard of the author's intention" (15-16).

Anne Trenskey claims that Hawthorne's "The Gentle Boy" is one of the earliest stories of the saintly child and gives the pattern for hundreds of stories that became favorite reading of nineteenth-century America: the confrontation between an innocent child and corrupt society with demonstration of the ultimate power of innocence (389). In his commentary on it, Levy says the story evokes the earliest days of Puritan and Quaker hatreds and the life and death of a "tender Quaker child" informed seventeenth-century New Englanders understanding of children and charity (18). This interpretation broadens the metaphor from a sentimental base to give it social implications.

Trenskey enumerates the distinguishing features of the saintly child: the majority are girls; a sign of inner grace is supernatural beauty, pale skin, golden curls; they are bereft of one or both parents and are often foundlings; they give an aura of holiness; if the mother is living, she is pious, fragile, and dies; the father is young, handsome, and devoted to and possessive of his daughter with affection verging on the erotic; they suffer hardship and pain, ultimately rescued by protective adults (389).

Child-centered stories intended for family reading are characteristic of the era.<sup>29</sup> They reflect increased interest in and changing attitude toward children. The romantic attitudes are in an optimism foreign to Puritanism. Pure children are saved and save others; authors share Blake's

and Wordsworth's idealization of the child with the child more pure than the adult because of being closer to nature. But they do have a Puritan orientation for they are God's chosen few. There are two main types: the saintly child born pure who stays pure, and the one initially imperfect who gains perfectability (391).

The quintessential saintly child is Little Eva. Unabashed pathos in the joyous death of a child with mystical visions of angels and paradise who possesses faith in God's love and ultimate salvation mold the type (392-393). Stowe effuses:

Has there ever been a child like Eva? Yes, there have been; but their names are always on grave-stones, and their sweet smiles, their heavenly eyes, their singular words and ways, are among the buried treasures of yearning hearts. In how many families do you hear the legend that all the goodness and graces of the living are nothing to the peculiar charms of one who is not. It is as if heaven had an especial band of angels, whose office it was to sojourn for a season here, and endear to them the wayward human heart, that they might bear it upward with them in their homeward flight. When you see that deep, spiritual light in the eye,--when the little soul reveals itself in words sweeter and wiser than the ordinary words of children,--hope not to retain that child; for the seal of heaven is on it, and the light of immortality looks out from its eyes. (Tom 307)

Stowe places the saintly child with the mother in the portrait of domestic ideology and spiritual salvation which begins in the home but extends through every level of the nation's composition. She urges the redemptive program of both figures within the icon upon her audience.

Domesticity both simplified and complicated the mid-nineteenth century. The complex interactions expressed in image as well as in experience reflect a common pattern of ambivalence and contradiction.<sup>30</sup> Women were both helpful and harmful, powerful and submissive; simultaneously, their experience provided autonomy and dependency. However, sentimentality and domestic ideology, buttressed by the cult of the mother and the saintly child, constituted private and political forces to make public the plight of human beings in slavery. The nation could neither deny the reality nor the moral outrage against it.

The sentimental community of interpretation identified with Uncle Tom's Cabin on the basis of its emotionalism, domestic ideology, and use of the cults of the saintly child and the mother with implications for classic melodrama in the sense of good and evil pitted against each other on the national stage. For a few historical moments, Harriet Beecher Stowe directed the action.

Baym says that only three women authors were discussed in mid-nineteenth-century American magazines as though they had genius: George Sand, Charlotte Bronte, and Harriet Beecher Stowe. The writing about each was troubled (Novels 259). Uncle Tom's Cabin was considered a work of genius. Although familial and domestic in its ideology, it violated the boundaries of acceptable women's literature because it addressed itself to political and social issues which were

considered to be outside a woman's grasp. It was "uncon-  
ciliatory and uncompromising--unfeminine, in a word--in its  
attitudes." After Stowe, "other women authors who dealt  
with slavery were praised for doing so in the conciliatory  
spirit that was appropriate to the female mission" (264).  
Because the book was so original and radical, adversarial  
reviewers sputtered with attempts to discredit it and usual-  
ly relied on personal villification or turned to the Apostle  
Paul to help them put women in their place. But Stowe had  
settled that issue years earlier and was secure in her role  
as a preaching and storytelling mother to America, God's  
handmaiden-scribe, who had a millennial vision and apocalyp-  
tic fears on her heart. Conversely, unfavorable reaction in  
twentieth-century America came from a perception of the book  
as being too conservative, which was a popular impression of  
the characters, primarily. Because of the play and legal  
emancipation, people no longer read the book and lost any  
comprehension of its scope and radicality. Disengaged from  
the tight union between the Bible, sentimentality, and  
classic melodrama, characters slipped into melodramatic  
burlesque and stereotypes. In the process, the novel's  
originating force diffused. Gossett describes the play's  
effect on the novel's perception:

Wherever it was performed, Uncle Tom's Cabin  
the play gave a different impression from that of  
the novel, even though in most of the productions  
it retained the antislavery theme. The strength  
of dramatic performances lay largely in the fact  
that they appealed to abolitionist arguments.



People who were unlikely to read a book or even a newspaper, people who belonged, in fact, to the class which had been recruited for riots against abolitionists, now began to show a great shift in opinion. They no longer believed in slavery . . . Yet the blacks were portrayed . . . to suggest that they had far less inherent intelligence and ability than whites. A changed stereotype was being fashioned for the blacks which was all the more powerful because it was conceived in idealism. To blame Stowe for this development is beside the point, particularly since she had virtually no control over what was done in adapting the novel for the stage. On the other hand, it is important to recognize that Uncle Tom's Cabin as a play was largely responsible for major changes in the way blacks were perceived. (283)

When he read Uncle Tom's Cabin, Dumas Malone, white southern historian of the 1930s, praised Stowe and her book: "As a Southerner who did not read it until after he was grown may I say . . . that it proved to be a far more sympathetic treatment than I had anticipated" (93-94). Edmund Wilson adds the same sentiment: "If we come to Uncle Tom's Cabin for the first time today, we are likely to be surprised at not finding it what we imagined it" (5). It draws its power from domesticity to make demands on politics.

Baym's survey of antebellum novels, readers, and reviewers reveals some insights into the era's expectations for a novel's effect. By pushing the logic, one can comprehend fiction's political ramifications. Reviewers agreed that the "novel is at home in the home's heart, with the children and the women." One Knickerbocker review (December 1858) says, "The novel, at present, more than any other variety of literature, becomes a household book, and in some

sort a member of the family" (49). Another one (September 1859) articulates this sublimation for the love of fiction:

There are novels in every style, suited to every taste, treating of every topic, revealing all conditions of life, discussing all branches of learning, rambling through every field of speculation, ordaining the principles of Church and State as easily as the rationale of manners, demolishing and reconstructing society, penetrating all mysteries, unfolding, in short, all the facts and all the wonders of the world which have been since creation, and which shall be while destiny be accomplished. The mission of the novelist is to depict society, and when we reflect that the ideas of all thinkers, the visions of all poetic dreamers, the diverse schemes suggested by love, by ambition, by benevolence, and the multiplied hopes and purposes of all classes of persons are combined and work together in what may be called the mind of the community, it ceases to surprise us that the domain of the novelist embraces every department of human thought. (37)

Stowe does not disappoint her audience in Uncle Tom's Cabin. As a good mother senses the thought of her children, she feels the mind of the community, addresses it from her Christian domestic vision, and identifies paradoxes of American political and social life in religious thought and sentimental language. But she exchanges the rungless ladder to heaven, assigned to the Reverend Samuel Hopkins in The Minister's Wooing, for a kitchen step stool. And above the lead sinks, celebrated in her letters and books on the home, hangs symbolically an imagined sampler embroidered with "Divine services here three times a day."

According to Tompkins, novelists are doing the work of culture, and culture involves politics. Shirley Samuels

describes the situation by saying that "politics is a domestic issue . . . because the family functions as allegory for the state" and "because the state is absorbed through the family" (386). Novels which show the family as a model for the nation also depict ways in which "it has become an instrument of social control." The anxiety about disorder within the family in early sentimental and domestic novels has a corollary disturbance in the political realm as historians have begun their investigations. "If politics is not opposed to but reciprocally related to the personal or familial," Samuels argues, a novel's "concern with personal and family relations . . . give it political significance and purpose." In this way, "domestic details are valuable as an exposition of historical change" (386-387). Identifications between the domestic place of the family and the political place of the state establish a congruence. Narrative obstacles in the early novels of the republic and the eighteenth century represented disequilibriums in both spheres.

But in Stowe, the state has gone beyond presenting obstacles to epitomizing destruction. With the home as its target, the devastation becomes cataclysmic. So she fuses her ideology of the political nature of the private into a platform for the public and calls her readers to action in the reform level of sentimentality. In the process, she addresses a third audience whose sensibilities were informed

by religious and domestic influences, but formed by a more secular perspective.

The Community of Interpretation from  
Contemporary Concerns

Stowe's audience endured fragmentation due to political and sociological forces. By means of its narrative sermon, her sentimental book dramatically reinterprets complex issues in a personal way, making them understandable and changeable. For the religious community of interpretation, the biblical and Puritan evocation shapes the reader's response; for the sentimental, the domestic issues are most significant; for the community of interpretation from contemporary concerns, the melodrama as an art form serves as the transference between novel and reader. Nineteenth-century America was a land of the Bible; it was also a land of melodrama. In popular culture, the two served each other effectively. Uncle Tom's Cabin illustrates their partnership.

Michael Booth says melodrama is a "simplification and idealization of human experience dramatically presented." It provides both escape from real life and enactment of how it should be: uncomplicated, easy to understand, and exciting. The world of melodrama leaves no doubt about moral principles, proper conduct, or appropriate motives. Its fears, threats, violence, and plights are signals to the

triumph of virtue (Hiss 9). Stowe's pages in Uncle Tom's Cabin, "purple with melodrama" (Van Doren 119), serve a powerful purpose.

In his restorative work in the melodrama, David Grimsted points out the commonalities between the melodramatic form and nineteenth-century democracy's social and political attitudes: shared attitude toward morality and nature; enthusiasm for democracy and domesticity; separation of the world into spheres of the practical and the transcendent; desire for ordinary lives to be exciting; and simultaneous faith and doubt about progress and providence (xi). Characters had few if any limits, subject matter could be heroic or domestic, patriotic or criminal, rural or urban, fashionable or simple, fantasy or reform. The tone could be comic or tragic with an ending to match, but "behind its many changes of costume, lay a heart, like that of its heroines, of undeviating character, purpose, and purity" (171).

Peter Brooks adds to Grimsted's thoughts with his book, The Melodramatic Imagination. He suggests that melodrama is about excess which creates a mode of heightened dramatization that enables it to signify its representations and intensity of moral claim. Within apparent contexts of realism, characters stage a "hyperbolic drama" which makes reference to "pure and polar concepts of darkness and light, salvation and damnation" (Melodramatic ix). In his relating it to nineteenth-century novelists, he sees "melodrama as a

mode of conception and expression, as a certain fictional system for making sense of experience, as a semantic field of force" (xiii). In its practical use of communication across classes, the "gestures of life call forth a series of interrogations aimed at discovering the meanings implicit in them" and the narrator "applies pressure to the gesture" to evoke "more and more fantastic possibilities to make it yield meaning" (1). The novel constantly enacts the drama of going beyond the surface of the real to touch the world of spirit (2). Melodrama's strong tools are indulgence of strong emotionalism; moral polarization and schematization; extreme states of being, situations, and actions; overt villainy, persecution of the good, and final reward of virtue; inflated and extravagant expression; and dark, suspenseful plottings (11-12). Brooks claims the melodramatic mode as the "central fact of modern sensibility" (21) and relates that to its importance for the forms of current popular literature. Uncle Tom's Cabin quickly became the most popular book of America; it fit every description of melodrama.

Brooks applies his strategies to Henry James and Balzac, two artists who have interesting connections with Harriet Beecher Stowe. Kenneth Lynn links Stowe to Balzac:

Those critics who label Uncle Tom's Cabin good propaganda but bad art simple cannot have given sufficient time to the novel to meet its inhabitants. If they should ever linger over it long enough to take in the shrewdness, the energy, the truly Balzacian variousness of Mrs. Stowe's

characterizations, they would surely cease to perpetuate one of the most unjust cliches in all of American criticism (xi).

And Henry James had this to say of Uncle Tom's Cabin in his inimitable style:

We lived and moved at that time, with great intensity, in Mrs. Stowe's novel . . . my first experiment with grown-up fiction. There was . . . for that triumphant work no classified condition; it was for no sort of reader as distinct from any other sort . . . it knew the large felicity of gathering in alike the small and the simple and the big and the wise, and had above all the extraordinary fortune of finding itself, for an immense number of people, much less a book than a state of vision, of feeling and of consciousness . . . in which they walked and talked and laughed and cried . . . Uncle Tom . . . as if a fish, a wonderful "leaping" fish, had simply flown through the air . . . the surprising creature could naturally fly anywhere, and one of the first things it did was thus to flutter down on every stage, literally without exception, in America and Europe . . . it simply sat down wherever it lighted and made itself, so to speak, at home . . . (286-287)

The book's success did seem as magical as a flying fish.

Cathy Davidson writes about the ways American writers used the novel as a political and cultural forum to express their own vision of a developing new nation in her discussion of prose fiction as subversive (Revolution 11-14). As evidence of its power, society denounced it because it presented a "counterstance" ideology and "threatened not just to coexist with elite literature, but to replace it" (39-41) by making "educational transactions" on behalf the new theories (74). Stowe's final authority for her plan of conversion for society is "an eternal and transcendent God,

but this divine authority is given both a communal context and a morally persuasive power in the novel" (Joswick 259). The power of feelings for the expression of deep communal bonds "level differences among individuals and assert a sameness of character at the root of all social reforms." Effective social bonds which create a moral environment and guarantee reform are those "mutual feelings that express interpersonal relatedness" (263). Uncle Tom's Cabin stages the melodramatic elements of the epic struggle between good and evil. Set in commonplace, realistic environments, with the exciting action and the triumph of virtues, the book transferred Stowe's so-called "counterstance ideology" didactically to the community of interpretation whose sense of America's history coincided with secular millennial expectations, governmental political enactments, and mutually beneficial social contracts.

In the sense of history and the secular millennial expectations which came from an enlightened view of morality in the state, melodrama was not sentimental in its expressions. But neither was the public context separated into technological and cognitive terms for the separate disciplines of politics, sociology, and anthropology that a twentieth-century audience recognizes. While religious categories were perceived as breaking down by some in the American experience, other groups shared the moral and ethical concerns which religion espoused. They maintained



an interest in an ethical base for the society for the sake of order and continuity.

With the trinitarian controversies and the rise of Arminianism, Deism, and Unitarianism (Olbricht 81-94), the polemical nature of American Protestantism meant the culture needed other allies in addition to ecclesiastical leadership for the formation of ethical positions. Harry Stout summarizes the plight in which New England's ministers found themselves: "Only gradually, and with great discomfort" did they realize "they had helped create an engine for change and reformation that they ultimately could not control." Their rhetoric for liberty "laid the basis for their own demise as the single voice of authority in their communities" with loss of mastery that led to disestablishment and a new social system which deprived them of the position they had hoped to preserve in counseling resistance and revolution. "More threatening than voices outside of New England were voices for religious liberty within New England society" (313). The internal criticism of other institutions and assumptions fell upon the institution of slavery to question and expose "discrepancies between the ideals of freedom and the bare facts of life in American society" (315). On the level of "regular salvation preaching," the sermon's power did not change, but on the civil and corporate level, almost everything had changed. In the developing concepts of separation of church and state with the new orthodoxy of

inviolable individual rights, the sermon, in its occasional form as "a coercive ritual of social order, could not survive the transition to independent nationhood." Americans "were bound by ties of common ideology, not a common religious faith" and secular rituals emerged to organize, direct, and revitalize the collective ideals of the community and the nation. However, even while the occasional sermon disappeared, its rhetoric gained power in the "language of destiny, liberty, purity, desertion, and redemption" which "lives on and testifies to the astonishing tenacity of the Puritan vision to shine before a world trembling in darkness" (316) Stowe chose the sermon to make an alliance of melodrama with unchurched America to convert them to abolition sentiment.

James Turner points out that evangelicalism and enlightened moralism shared ethical concerns from the time of the Second Great Awakening (about 1800-1835) with the revival swings between the frontier and the cities. "Far from rejecting the moralism of Jefferson and Paine, Evangelicals Christianized it, charged it with new eagerness, and diffused it throughout the American middle classes." By the 1830s, "morality had become central in most denominations and surged with an urgency lacking even in the self-improving drive of Benjamin Franklin." With being no longer the "fairly restrained concern of an often cautious elite" (82), moral improvement characterized the exuberant commitment of

millions in response to the religion of the heart moving them away from conversion as a religious concept toward character with its potential secular philosophy. But separation between church and state did not mean separation of religion from morality; morality infused religion into social concerns over which churches as institutions had largely lost authority and "evangelical millennialism merged imperceptibly into a more secular idea of progress" (88). Stowe's use of her pen to by-pass the pulpit places her within the secularizing activity of popular religion.

Driven by the social changes from capitalistic economic development, compassionate "heart-religion" took a profoundly human meaning; "moral progress and relief of suffering pointed to each other, and both embodied a moral principle defined in terms of human wants and needs" (89). Disruption of a culture's relationship with nature will send shock waves through its religion. Urbanization and industrialization technology and science enhanced the sense of control over nature; commercial and factory work insulated people from it (116). "Christianity was confused" in America in 1840-1870. (141) Stowe relied on her gospel of love to clarify religion's muddle in Uncle Tom's Cabin. A cultural metamorphosis was taking place which assisted her.

While Evangelical Protestantism was drawing nearer to enlightened moralism, moralism's characteristics were moving closer to religious expressions. The nation had a tradition

of reform from enlightened philosophy and the move toward individual rights articulated concepts of right and wrong from an authority base apart from Stowe's revivalist and biblical Puritan heritage.<sup>31</sup> However, Jakob Fries, a nineteenth-century philosopher of both religion and morality expresses views remarkably like hers: [on moral development] ". . . it is the conviction of the individual which first determines what the pure will of that person performs in life with vital energy" (33); [on religious practice] "Devotion in the pure thought of God is the most distinctive emotion of religion . . . religious feeling inwardly stimulates the moral life and attempts to be of service to it" (99-100). He also says if one wished to arrange new political or religious festivals and "celebrations for a nation which was lacking in enthusiasm, . . . educated classes, with their airs of . . . superiority, would greet the proposals with sardonic laughter." They would say that "the common people do probably have to be hoodwinked if they are to be kept amused." But change first existed "in the common spirit of the people before it assumed specific form" (124).

The history of moral reform during Stowe's day had gone from mimetic style through enlightenment to individual rights and the responsibility of the state in those rights. She had followed the same route in her spiritual quest and added the demand for the slave. Her religious position is the one phrased by Keekok Lee from moral philosophy: "One

dimension of moral progress" proclaims that "the scope of morality includes the whole human race" and "moral growth consists of realising that the distinction resting on tribal or sexual or legal membership" does "not affect the basic constitution of being human." To harm or kill is to do it to a human being (165). She was far ahead in her society which debated endlessly such questions as whether or not slaves had a soul; she declared their humanity by fiat and intervened energetically on their behalf. Moral reformers could join her in the great melodrama of democratic freedom.

In drafting his thoughts on democratic humanism and American literature, Harold Kaplan says that the memory of the act of willed self-creation, as the case stands with the American myth of genesis, is rare in world history. The moral responsibility and strain are founded on hopeful determination and also on an implicit sense of guilt. American narratives conceive the cycle of the "new start" not only in a theory of history but also in life experience, and concern patterns of death and rebirth together with the ceremonies of individual and social purification.

The strongest moral traditions of America, the Puritan reform and the democratic revolution, both led to the simple postulate that there was a new place where living could reach perfection and an old place where living had failed . . . (3)

A claim of "antecedent rights and the primordial contract implies a radical humanism" as a "first premise." Man is now "the great Legislator" on his own behalf (5).

This was D. H. Lawrence's point when he wrote his glittering description of America.

That is the true myth of America. She starts old, old, wrinkled and writhing in an old skin. And there is a gradual sloughing off of the old skin, towards a new youth. It is the myth of America. (54)

And it is Stowe's contribution when Tom learns he is to be sold and she writes:

Tom had stood, during this speech, with his hands raised, and his eyes dilated, like a man in a dream. Slowly and gradually, as its meaning came over him he collapsed, rather than seated himself, on his old chair, and sunk his head down upon his knees. (52)

The "new start" for Tom will come from a willed act of self-creation on the basis of absolute moral responsibility from which Stowe will claim the nation's guilt and purge it for history by social purification through spiritual conversion to a new ethic. She is eager for Tom's rule of love with her law of the heart to shape the politics of abolition, but she was not a pacifist. And neither is Tom. He does not settle into an automatic response to human interaction, but he continually expresses his willing faculty. Tom says to Legree, who tells him to flog a slave, it's what "I never will do." He adds that Legree can kill him if he wants, but adds, "I never shall,--I'll die first" (414). When Cassy says the slave cannot help but sin, Tom replies, "I think we can help it" (422). His non-violence flows from a position of strength; however, he does not fault those who take more

aggressive actions. Bible-conscious Stowe patterned him after Christ. She knew with Marstin, that Jesus is the norm for Christians: "If He rejected the political program of the zealots, it was hardly because His life or message lacked political implications" (114). Faith does not condemn the effort to fashion political structures, but does rebuke the efforts to leave some human beings out of the reckoning. If faith matures as the community of faith becomes "more inclusive, its political implications will become increasingly democratic and participatory" (113). She made love a political platform and demonstrated with her book and her own life its political enactments.

Melodrama in government involves political enactments. Gossett notes that political comment about Stowe's book was rare.

Political leaders rarely commented on Uncle Tom's Cabin, publicly or privately . . . the fact that this novel had been written by a woman made it even less likely that it would be discussed by them. The way the novel figured politically was chiefly in the comments of newspapers attached to the causes of the major political parties which were either proslavery or at least opposed to abolition. (182)

However, Stowe was not writing for the politicians, but rather, for the country. The people discussed the book; they acted upon it. Ideology succeeds when those to whom it is directed assume that it is normal, natural, definitive, and thus destined to endure (Davidson, Revolution 39).

Stowe brought Tom into the hearts of all America by making

him a metaphor for Christ whose noble suffering becomes an undefeatable political weapon against slavery. He says:

Mas'r, if you was sick, or in trouble, or dying, and I could save ye, I'd give ye my heart's blood; and, if taking every drop of blood in this poor old body would save your precious soul, I'd give 'em freely, as the Lord gave his for me. O, Mas'r! don't bring this great sin on your soul! It will hurt you more than 'twill me! Do the worst you can, my troubles'll be over soon; but, if ye don't repent, yours won't never end! (Tom 480)

The will of one prepared to die before submitting cannot be broken; it is the indestructible power.

Stowe's domestic equivalent, her Golden Rule of the love of Christ, as Kirkham calls it, is best dramatized by Chloe who pragmatically works extra hours to earn Tom's purchase. It is best expressed by Candace, the free black cook in The Minister's Wooing, and Milly, the slave breeder, in Dred. Candace cannot be catechized because she says she "nebber did eat dat ar' apple," (611) and consoles the grieving mother for her son's loss at sea after the heart-break of Calvinist reasoning from the minister.

"Honey, --dar's a drefful mistake somewhar . . . He loves ye, honey! Why jes' feel how I loves ye, --poor old black Candace,--an' I a'n't bettr'n Him as made me!" (Minister's 736).

Milly recounts the abuse of her life and the noble forgiveness of her heart, then adds, "Ah, chile, we mustn't hate nobody; we's all poor sinners, and de dear Lord he love us all." (Dred I 223). Stowe's political Christic love is like the comforting nurture of a caring mother. To claim as



Gilbert and Guber do that she made Tom a Victorian mother seems a violation of the theological positions which Stowe so carefully, and at times, painfully worked out for herself.<sup>32</sup> The broadening canon of theological study assigned the affective nature of the godhead to Christ and Stowe appropriated that hermeneutic for her own position of faith and world vision.

Elizabeth Ammons commends the political shrewdness of Stowe in making her hero's Christlike characteristics those same ones of domestic ideology, thus avoiding a vulnerability to racist whites who maintained that the slaves were brutes who must be oppressed.

Stowe's genius as a propagandist is that she exploits both conventions--the former in Eva and the latter in a panorama of mothers of both races (especially Rachel Halliday)--and then, having captured her audience's allegiance, extends that allegiance to Tom by making him, a black man, the supreme heroine of the book. Implicitly the novel asks who, without forsaking reverence for Mother and the sanctity of the Home, could fail to champion Tom's right to liberty for himself and his family and, by extension, that same right for all slaves? (159)

Stowe's caution becomes understandable in light of the political overthrow she advocates on behalf of the slaves.

In the political enactments, she worked her revolution of moral and cultural change. Joseph Blotner says that the political novel is both art form and analytical instrument to offer a means for understanding important aspects of a complex society and give a record of how it evolved. The

novelist has greater license to be subjective and take a partisan argument than a scientist who must be objective and statistically accurate. He not only includes Uncle Tom's Cabin as a political novel, but also cites it as "the most influential novel in all history" (10) while remaining lukewarm with his comments on its artistic worth:

Artistically the novel is very bad. Its structure sprawls, its melodrama creaks . . . another case in which the reading public paid no attention to critical standards. (11)

But Blotner's judgment of the artistic worth of the work could be the subjective dictum from the one judging it, and the "creaking" melodrama may account for the book's political power.

Cushing Strout also grants Uncle Tom's Cabin political currency in the sense of Auerbach's views of the importance of biblical symbolism on Western literature. In Auerbach's account of the representation of reality in Western literature which is anticipated in Bible stories, there is the universal movement in which ordinary people emerge into the foreground of a history that claims to be limitless, a scheme which has captivated the imaginations of Western writers (23). But a Christian view of reality differs from that of modern realism with its insistence on a typical or figural connection of events as signs of mutual promise and fulfillment. Strout makes the claim that the "linkage between the biblical idea of a movement in history and modern

consciousness of social conflicts and change" appears most vividly "in novels that grasp the millennialistic and apocalyptic ideas" in stories which "lay claim to the label of realism because they explore the relations of individuals to the workings of a social system." He calls Uncle Tom's Cabin the prime candidate in American literature for such a designation, with its "ambiguous pairing of a hopeful millennial vision of changed hearts" that will end slavery and an anxious fear "that a legalistic hardening of hearts may bring apocalyptic vengeance on a sinful nation" (24). He says Stowe's eschatological vision was split between the privatized, Christian, nonviolent resignation of Uncle Tom and George's political hopes for a Christian republic in Liberia.<sup>33</sup> In spite of all its impressive exploration of the system of slavery, emotionally, the novel decides for "the sentimental hope of a loving, sacrificing family as the remedy for the race problem, and in this respect is more evangelically Victorian" than Biblical or modern (25). Strout appears, however, to mistake style for symbol and overlook one of Auerbach's most compelling insights: the dominance of domestic settings as the site where the biblical ordinary people confront the importance of universal time. The family is as ancient as the millennial and apocalyptic language. It is politics's grammar school.

Uncle Tom's Cabin becomes political precisely because of the symbolism the family assumes to illustrate slavery's

destructiveness for the culture. In writing about politics and images, Michael Walzer addresses the role of symbols: "Politics is an art of unification; from many, it makes one" (196). Symbolic activity constitutes the most important means available to bring things together intellectually and emotionally. Symbols which grant the greatest effectiveness are the religious ones because they can unite human with human to the society and God. Human union can only be symbolized and it must be personified before it can be loved. An image is not a "decorative metaphor" applied by a writer who has grasped the nature of political association. The image is prior to understanding and provides an elementary sense of how individuals are linked together as members of a body, as units of thoughts and feelings, and connects them with other structures like religious systems and the universe, providing politics with a series of references (196). "Unit and reference symbols belong to a kind of intellectual domain" and the creative genius in political thought can bring accessible symbols to public use. In the case of Uncle Tom's Cabin, Stowe invests the villified slave, her great political symbol, with divinity and advocates breaking federal law because of her vision. She inserts sacred wisdom into the secular faith in the market.

Ideology must have symbols to enact its program. Ordinarily, a culture gets its symbols from its philosophy of history and its political theory. However, J. G. A.

Pocock discusses the ways in which, at a more sophisticated level of consciousness, the traditional society may insist that its practices are inherited with or without awareness that the compulsion to do so "is itself inherited from an assumed chain of transmitters so that its knowledge of its past is and can be no more than presumptive" (238). Once people are viewed

. . . as thinking and acting in ways other than those appropriate to the traditional framework, it becomes possible to envisage their behaviour in social time as a complex series of interactions between different modes of behaviour, of which the traditional is only one. (239)

A society's institutions for conservation of tradition may have within them the dynamics for confrontation with tradition, such as the church in New England did have. When this occurs, institutionalization, "the necessary cause of traditionalism, may then be the cause of a society's tradition being conceived in terms other than the purely traditional" (241). With this dynamic firmly in place and clearly understood, the move from symbol to emotional commitment to institutional change becomes a viable program for political action on behalf of reform. "Unit and reference symbols belong to a kind of intellectual domain" and the creative genius in political thought is not the person who invents new symbols but rather the one who "elaborates old symbols with new fullness and eloquence" (Walzer 196). Stowe invested some old symbols with revolutionary significance.

The sacred office of church and minister reveal their market perversion in her book. In contrast, dedicated Christian mothers in nurturing homes assume greater social value for the cultural future than traditional guardians of ethics. Reason, the sovereign over emotion which dictated laws, becomes the tyrant hiding within unjust laws which enslave human beings. Love expressed in the language of God and sacrificing motherhood overthrows reason to restore the ethical balance between human beings as the slaves traveling from family to family on their way to illegal freedom demonstrate. Mary Bird knows her Bible teaches her to love people and help them, no matter what the law charges. Because that is true, her husband breaks the law he has just helped put on the statute books. Prepared to go to jail if he is arrested, Simeon Halliday acts against the law out of love and faith in quiet dignity. He calmly instructs his son in the duty to obey a higher law while being prepared to pay the penalty for doing so.

In politics, the public positions are always evidence of private positions. Stowe demonstrates the fact throughout her book which eulogizes the home and the family. From its inception, the American home made the farm and the farms made villages and towns. In the ideology of Jefferson and Crèvecoeur, America was a nation of free and independent yeoman farmers. But Jehlen's "incarnated" space was violated by slavery and there was no cultural, literal, or

political record of it until Stowe revealed its outrage in a picture of that privileged space as it really existed. She "openly laid siege to the crowded space of representation and set its facts within by occupying an uneraseable part of that space" (Fisher 5). Her setting "was the indoors half of the Jefferson household" (91) and it incorporated the most radical political tool available to middle-class culture: the sentimental novel. The weak and helpless "gain by means of sentimental experience full representation through the central moral category of compassion" (95). The audience exchange between emotion and text took place in its melodrama.

Tompkins calls Uncle Tom's Cabin the summa theologica of nineteenth-century America's religion of domesticity, a "brilliant redaction of the culture's favorite story about itself: the story of salvation through motherly love (Sensational 125). She designates it a political enterprise that is positioned halfway between sermon and social theory both codifying and attempting to mold the values of its time. Its power to move the audience depends upon the readers being in possession of conceptual categories: character and event; attitudes towards the family and social institutions; definitions of power and its relation to human feeling; notions of political and social equality; and a system of religious beliefs that organize and sustain the rest. Death means victory as the supreme form of heroism

and brings an access of power. The death stories enact a philosophy and a theory of power as much political as religious because the human, in response to faith, can refuse to submit to political oppression because of final self-determining right over his or her own life.

The political power comes from retelling "the culture's central religious myth, the story of the crucifixion," as it is expressed in the terms of "the nation's greatest political conflict--slavery--and of its most cherished social beliefs--the sanctity of motherhood and the family." Stowe can move her audience deeply because she is able to combine so many of the culture's central concerns in a narrative that is immediately accessible to the general population through melodramatic insights.

The novel's typological organization allows her to present political and social situations both as themselves and as transformations of a religious paradigm which interprets them in a way readers can both understand and respond to emotionally. For the novel functions both as a means of describing the social world and as a means of changing it. It is not only offering an interpretative framework for understanding the culture and, through the reinforcement of a particular code of values, recommends a strategy for dealing with cultural conflict, but it is itself an agent of that strategy, putting into practice the measures it prescribes. (134-135)

Stowe designs Uncle Tom's Cabin's cultural work to remake "the social and political order in which events take place" (xvii). Using society's symbols, she makes her own substitutions to create the melodramatic sentimental project of



radical religious reconstruction. Before Uncle Tom's Cabin, Stowe made the anti-slavery commitment. Deciding the peculiar institution had to go, she shared that goal with the Garrisonians and others embarked on the crusade against slavery. Her contacts with them and her communications with black leaders show attitudes of both toward each other in their social contracts in the undertaking.

Political enactments lead to social contracts. Melodrama illustrates society functioning with social contracts. As political images arise, they are related first to cultural change in the broadest sense and then to the social strategies for accomplishing their goals. Tom and Stowe's great cast of characters provided a way for the antislavery forces to make social contracts. Variety existed within the religious and political communities of interpretation. In similar fashion, the melodramatic presence of several divergent groups which held in eradicating slavery, either as a first or secondary cause related to their specific projects, reached out to Stowe's novel with social contracts of joint endeavor; she reached back in turn. In Uncle Tom's Cabin, which some critics have "interpreted as the epitome of Victorian piety and sentimentality," Stowe "was allowing the moral antipodes of her reform culture to clash in a creative center" (David Reynolds Beneath 79) and those fragmented groups who had been waging social reform battles on numerous fronts found in her work a rallying identity. Women and

free blacks involved in political issues formed two important groups in the community of interpretation based on social contracts. While the particulars of their distinctive programs varied, they reached to each other in social bonds of mutual commitment to abolish slavery in response to Uncle Tom's Cabin.

Women comprised two basic groups. Nancy Cott pictures them as the conservative adherents to the structures of domesticity, enacted primarily in the home, and the progressive proponents of feminist demands for more equal treatment in the culture. Her work in the spreading array of antebellum literature which celebrated the cult of womanhood makes an important point: "literature becomes popular because it does not have to persuade, it addresses readers who are ready for it" (2). She analyzes women's experience between 1780-1830 because of the period's importance in historical modernization as a time of deep transformation. During the time, "in pace and intensity the change in women's experience . . . outran that for considerably more than a century preceding and half a century following" (6). She fixes the decade of the 1830s as the time most definitive in terms of illustrating "the paradox in the progress of women's history in the United States" with the "argument between two seemingly contradictory visions of women's relation to society." On the one hand is the ideology of domesticity with its categories in a sex-specific role which is played primarily

in the home. On the other hand, there is a feminist movement with its agenda which attempted to remove sex-specific limits on women's experience. Women's situations were not so radically different from colonial days in terms of social and legal status, but the aspects of lesser opportunities became more harsh with the changes which came for white men. For the society's women, the grand "Jacksonian rhetoric of opportunity had scant meaning" (6). Women's "literature of domesticity promulgated a Janus-faced conception of women's roles." While it looked back in explicit and conservative allegiance to "traditional understanding of woman's place," it also "proposed transforming, even millennial results" (8). Concurrently, the beginning shift which occurs between domesticity and feminism appears with the rise of women's print media. The publication of ladies's magazines gave editorial and publication opportunities for women authors and audiences from the entire range of reactions to women's issues as women entered reform movements from self-interest or to improve society. Stowe contributed to these with her sketches and stories.<sup>34</sup> Male and female authors created the popular literature of advice books, sermons, novels, essays, stories, and poems which both advocated and restated the domestic role. But men and women writers also contributed to publications which supported women in the roles they assumed as moral reformers in the temperance movement,

benevolent associations, missionary careers for single women, and the double standard of sexual morality.

The 1830s became a turning point for women's "economic participation, public activities, and social visibility" (6). Textile factories developed into demand centers for a women's labor force and the first industrial strike led and peopled by women took place in the mid-1830s. As women took up the petition, their one political tool, they began to speak out for their rights in a spectrum of matters such as a demand for legislation enabling wives to retain rights to their property and earnings. Stowe, who would go on to support her family and contribute the rest of her life to the support of her brothers and her father, wrote in a letter to a sister of forty dollars she had received for a piece of writing, "Mr. Stowe says he shall leave me to use it for my personal gratification" and asked if she could think of anything so foolish as a wife keeping her own money. (Kelley Private 140). But later, with the seasoning effect of life and work, she wrote in a letter to her daughters, Hattie and Eliza, whom she was urging to help her with the stresses of household management, "My time is gold, and my health is essential for the welfare of all of us" (1 August 1869, Folder 148, BSC).

The most aggressive branch of the feminists found their platform in the double demands for women's suffrage and in the attacks on slavery's insidious presence in the society.

They were "an insistent minority of women" who learned the lessons of politics as they increasingly "became active in the antislavery movement, where they practiced tactics of recruitment, organization, fund raising, propagandizing, and petitioning" (Cott 10). Credited with initiating the women's rights movement in the United States, the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848 officially marked organized feminism's beginning, but there were feminist voices in the antislavery movement by late 1830s.<sup>35</sup>

Stowe was a feminist in allegiances but not in organizational alliances or political identity. Her letters before Uncle Tom's Cabin reflect her changing attitudes toward the cult of domesticity. She could write long passages in the Beecher round-robin family letters of the pictures of domesticity, interspersed with whatever current crusade her clan had undertaken; encourage Calvin with lengthy letters of consolation in her attempts to get him out of his moods; reassure him that she "never . . . could be tempted in that way" and add her prayers that God would keep him safe from sexual temptation while away from her (Gossett 52); and send friends cheerful accounts of her children's escapades. The tone shifted with the changes in her own life. She could be businesslike with getting family and friends to check on accounts owed her by publishers; tell Calvin if he died "today" she knew she, a widow with five small children, would survive and prosper; and carefully read a long letter

of his accounts about his "hypos" while she, seven-months-pregnant, was trying to get a house set-up for them in Brunswick, then throw it in the fire (Forrest Wilson 242-243). By the time she was ready to start Uncle Tom's Cabin, she wrote simply to Calvin who was still in Cincinnati, "While the baby sleeps with me, I can do nothing" (Gossett 90). Harriet could not even speak in public during her triumphal tours of Europe after the fame of her novel. Calvin or one of her brothers spoke on her behalf. Curious to a late twentieth-century audience, the cultural taboo shows the social contracts in flux. She could shake the world with her pen as pulpit as she wrote early in life how she intended to preach, but she could not rise in the pulpit to greet the converts who flocked to her. Even that changed in her lifetime and she took to the lecture circuit a season reading from her famous book for the lyceum audiences (Kirkham "Harriet" 35-49). She always cast her vision in terms of the domestic, but she shared with feminists the respect for a woman's work and identity, the mutual agreements on religion, an enthusiastic commitment to education, and total opposition to slavery. Stowe's deep, compassionate bonding with women over many years allowed her to "draw on the values and experience of women's culture to pose a radically democratic alternative to feudal and clerical structures" (Hedrick 319). The broad bonds of womanhood granted compatibility.<sup>36</sup>

Free blacks had a social contract as well as a political one. Although many of them showed extraordinary courage in their politics, social bonding provided a more secure base for their agendas. Free blacks participated in the community of interpretation in their press, literary production, black churches, and participation in the Atlantic Abolition Movement to gain British support.

The first black periodical issued by black people in America was Freedom's Journal, beginning in New York City in 1827. Mirror of Liberty, initiated in July, 1838 in New York City, was the first black periodical published in this country. Two months later, the National Reformer was founded in Philadelphia. In 1841, appeared the African Methodist Episcopal Church Magazine in Brooklyn, and L'Album Litteraire started publication in New Orleans in 1843. Each served a different purpose: the Mirror reported the work and activities of the New York City Committee of Vigilance; the Reformer published the principles of the American Moral Reform Society; the AMEC Magazine communicated denominational matters; and L'Album published the writings of free men of color in Louisiana. However, the promoters of all four were motivated by a common objective and spoke for the single cause of equal rights through protesting both slavery in the South and discrimination in the North and South (Bullock 14). A common thread runs through the accounts of the people who ran them of heroic efforts to combat both

slavery and unfair practices. George Ruggles, publisher of the Mirror, engaged in strenuous pamphlet activity as well. One publication entitled The Abrogation of the Seventh Commandment, by the American Churches called upon Northern churchwomen to help rid their churches of hypocrisy in the toleration of slavery and white men's licentiousness toward women slaves. Signing his work, "A Puritan," he asked women to refuse to attend services when Southern slaveholders visited their churches (30). Bullock's bibliography does not note any press activity following the publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin, but a later women's periodical, Women's Era published biographical "sketches of eminent women" such as Harriet Beecher Stowe, Harriet Tubman and others (193). There is one clue that the community of interpretation from black abolitionists might have benefitted from Stowe's efforts. Bullock says after a period of dormancy around the mid-century the "black periodical press became active again between 1854 and 1863" (14).<sup>37</sup>

In addition to the black press, free blacks had representative literary people who both served the freedom cause and comprised an additional segment of the interpretative community. Andrews claims a black literary movement led by Frederick Douglass in the 1850s is a counterpart of the more celebrated American Renaissance of that era; "evidences of intellectual and imaginative kinship between the two renaissances in American letters during the 1850s suggests that



the often discretely categorized mainstream and minority literary traditions share a common romantic heritage in the nineteenth century" ("The 1850s" xi). Cathy Davidson notes:

The very act of publishing a slave narrative subverts white literacy practices and provides the black ex-slave with precisely the weapon that the whites feared: access to the power of the word.  
(Reading 150)

Until the 1830s, the fugitive-slave narrative followed the pattern of the spiritual autobiography, conversion narrative, and captivity narrative. By the late 1830s, after the split in abolitionist circles, the narratives appeared under the authorship or dictation of ex-slaves such as Moses Roper who claimed to have escaped through guile, force, or both. With the bogus Memoirs of Archy Moore and Narrative of James Williams, Frederick Douglass reclaimed the integrity of black writers with his Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave to provide a model for subsequent writers. Men like Josiah Benson followed the Douglass style which became formulaic by the 1850s, but writers with the power of William Wells Brown or Henry Bibb could compose stories which carried an original stamp (38-44).<sup>38</sup>

According to Kirkham's sources, Stowe had unlimited access to slave narratives. Of the 112 authors by 1831, many of the stories went through numerous reissues and editions. Hundreds of slave biographies were published in periodicals, antislavery materials, and anthologies of the

underground railroad experiences (Building 100). She wrote to Douglass during the serialization of Uncle Tom's Cabin.

You may perhaps have noticed in your editorial readings a series of article that I am furnishing for the Era under the title of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' . . . the scene will fall upon a cotton plantation. I am desirous hence to gain information from one who has been an actual labourer on one, and it occurred to me that in the circle of your acquaintance there might be one who would be able to communicate to me some such information as I desire . . . I will subjoin . . . a list of questions . . . (Charles Stowe 149-150)

There are no copies of replies from Douglass or his company, but she would not have needed to wait or delay her story if they did not respond. A significant line in the letter is the subdued first sentence: "You may have noticed . . . " Of course, Douglass was reading her novel. All of the fragmented abolitionist forces were. It would be their standard for the next decade.<sup>39</sup>

Carol George draws on the careers of forty black clergymen between 1830 and 1860 to demonstrate the variety and quality of black clerical leadership and to illustrate the various ways the black church and its ministers strengthened the abolitionist cause and increased black self-awareness. Some ministers formed a clerical elite who traveled, wrote books, spoke at meetings, and contributed to antislavery propaganda. But many labored long and hard at efforts to promote self-worth, self-respect, and some degree of control over life among their church members. The black church provided one of the few institutions available for black

people to gain experience in self-rule, autonomy, and institutional governance. Leadership was dispersed among the levels from the more prominent spokesmen at the top to the "men in small parishes and on the itinerant circuit" who "were able to stoke the fires of antislavery sentiment by suggesting new options to the black folks who heard them day by day" to make the black church "as close to a grass roots movement as the free black community could sustain at that stage of its development" (79). Their theology was nineteenth-century evangelical Protestantism, "heavily weighted in the direction of a humanized, liberating Christology" (88) and balanced between the sacred and the secular as a result of "seeing God acting in history on behalf of oppressed people" (89). In 1830, when organized immediatist abolition surfaced publicly, the black church was entering a more secure phase in its development which increased the potential for interaction between the two efforts (80).<sup>40</sup>

The heightened awareness of American slavery in Britain due to the efforts of black abolitionists added to the community of interpretation for Uncle Tom's Cabin. Because of their efforts, the British audience was apprised of the struggle when the pirated editions hit the British market. As abolitionist forces split, the international efforts to gain sympathy and support increased in 1840 and continued through 1860 with black Americans visiting England for a variety of reasons. Some went to raise funds for projects

in the States. Others went for education refused them at home. Every black saw himself or herself as an emissary for enslaved brothers and sisters in America. Some like Frederick Douglass and Martin Delany already possessed notoriety; others, such as Henry Brown, became famous through their lecturing in England. Some of them were ministers, but others were journalists, doctors, or writers. Talented and articulate, they gave devastating proof of the evil of slavery and America's hypocrisy in its vaunted claims for personal freedom in a land of opportunity. They were popular with audiences and did much to enlist British support while organized white abolitionist societies in America diffused their power with insider disputes. The American blacks played a crucial role in discrediting the Colonization Society and its claims. They stated a goal to erect a "moral cordon" around the United States which, according to Douglass, would be bounded by Canada to the north, Mexico in the west, and England, Scotland and Ireland on the east

. . . so that wherever a slaveholder went, he might hear nothing but denunciation of slavery [in every place and] . . . that he might be looked down upon as a man-stealing, cradle-robbing, and woman-stripping monster, and that he might see reproof and detestation on every hand. (6)

They practiced and polished in astute and intelligent ways one of the most effective codes of social relationships: "the rhetoric of us and them" (Dillon 68). However, although the British audience was warm and sympathetic both to

Stowe, on her tour, and the freed slaves, on their excursions, their government practiced duplicitous support of both North and South. The continued neutrality and increasing sympathy for the Confederacy precipitated Stowe's famous Reply to The Affectionate and Christian Address, ostensibly to the women of Britain and Ireland, in response to their public expression after her first trip to England. But it was actually "a brilliant piece of political propaganda" which pointed out "the absurdity of English sympathy for the Confederacy" (Hamand 16).

The black press and litterati, together with church members and volunteers who worked to raise British awareness, participated in the interpretative community with social contracts. Stowe accomplished in one work their agenda, borrowing their ideology, even rhetoric, using what they could not provide, even did not value in the higher work of theology and politics: the plight of the divided family and the unabashed public demonstration of feeling while urging the nation and the world to join in the emotion to convert morality to public policy.

Another group of blacks did not read her novel and had little awareness of either the book or what it meant to them: the slaves. Cathy Davidson says that the matter of who could or could not read is as important to understanding the impact of a book as is the question of who did read it (Revolution 18). Scant evidence remains of the slaves's

reaction, if any, to the book. One Northerner did try to record their impressions of it. Albion W. Tourgee, a Civil War Union officer from Ohio who lived in North Carolina after the war, published novels and advocated civil rights for blacks during the Reconstruction. A great admirer of Stowe, he felt she had committed an error in transferring "the New England tradition of logical debate to the South where it was almost wholly unknown" with the white southern characters debating the moral issues so insistently that they became New Englanders. He thought the black characters were "blackened Yankees," especially Uncle Tom who had a "predilection for casuistry," which was totally uncharacteristic of the slave.

Through all the book there is a freedom of expression, an effusive interchange of ideas between master and servant which is quite foreign to the conditions of slavery and which, no doubt, goes far to account for the fact that the man who has been a slave and comes afterward to read it, is rarely impressed, as the one who has been a free man all his life is sure to be. Perhaps the most striking characteristic of slavery was the secretiveness it imposed upon the slave nature with regard to himself, his thoughts, desires and purposes. To the slave, language became in very truth an instrument for the concealment of thought, rather than its expression. Only in moments of rapt religious excitement did he fully unbosom himself and then only in figures but half intelligible to those not kindred in experience. Uncle Tom was not only a Yankee in his love of speculation but a Quaker in meek self-surrender. It is doubtful slavery ever produced exactly this type of religious enthusiast. Those it did bring forth were not cool casuists, but either silent, self-absorbed dreamers, or flaming zealots; but Uncle Tom, like Eva, was potential rather than actual. (Gossett 361)

Tourgee told in his 1896 article in the Independent of a fifteen year experiment during his residence in North Carolina of reading Uncle Tom's Cabin to a number of ex-slaves himself, or having it read to them to determine to what degree they considered it an authentic picture of southern slavery. None considered it accurate and objections concentrated on the character of Uncle Tom.

Almost everyone of them noted the freedom of speech between master and servant. Said one of the shrewdest and most thoughtful:

"Seems like that Uncle Tom must have been raised up North."

"Mrs. Stowe didn't know much about niggers, that's shore," said another.

A blind man, whose daughter read the book to him, gave as his comment:

"She didn't know what slavery was, and so left out the worst of it." (361)

Tourgee explained his impression of the slave's intention as meaning "that it destroyed hope, aspiration, desire for betterment of individual or collective conditions" (362). The most instructive part of this fascinating bit of evidence is not that the slaves thought of Tom as being too meek as later black activists would, but rather that he was unrealistically critical of his masters, speaking out more frankly than a real slave would dare to do.

Marty writes that the "freemen dared to speak boldly, but slave Christians had no chance to develop national leaders with well-known names" and revolts were impossible in the world of plantations which were wide apart and guarded by swamps, dogs, and posses. However, a "grapevine"

developed and the enslaved became aware of each other and developed their own blend of culture and religion from what they brought and what they were given (241). Conditions of slavery as an institution prohibited teaching slaves to read, although many did learn through the kindness of a white child or owner or their own ploys. Key to lack of enthusiasm for her book from blacks since Reconstruction may be due to blacks recognizing that Tom, although a black slave, really had a Puritan psyche.<sup>41</sup> But the novel was never intended to be a psychological study of the slave. Uncle Tom's Cabin did its religious, political, and social work to free the slave through an ethos of melodrama in spiritual conversion, political enactment of activism, and social commitment of contracts. The novel made abolition a priority for all Americans: the spiritually isolated, the politically fragmented, the socially unempowered, and the abolitionist fragmented groups. It never had a sociological program for Reconstruction; its intent was to save America, redeeming all Americans from the captivity of slavery. And Stowe's great community of melodrama responded to her plea for moral reform.

#### Response of the Communities of Interpretation

Stowe's segmented audience reacted to the author's goals like an energized, organic, collective body with private emotion, public outcry, and moral change in the



national arena. From their various vantages and social commitments, they rallied to a cause. David Reynolds says:

By the early 1850s, the American public thirsted for a novel that would give vent to all the Subversive forces associated with slavery and yet would somehow rhetorically overcome these forces and ensure victory for the Conventional. It found this novel in Uncle Tom's Cabin. (Beneath 74)

The measure of her success shows in her opposition's parallel fury.<sup>42</sup> But nothing could stop the book's power.

Her strategies of tensions between the literary devices of her text provided psychological accommodations between reader and character. In addition, that identification recruited audience interaction from the levels of religious background, Victorian sensibility, and the contemporary context to provide political resolutions and consequences. Readers could see response options fully enacted with the consequences; abolition of slavery became a divine calling. Holy calls involved holy wars, but so did the eradication of slavery. The audience could choose from ranges, and degrees within ranges, of martyrdom, legal activity, illegal activity, and violent behavior in their way to join the battle. Should one not volunteer, the result was also severe and certain to come to pass. The typological sentence went from Marie's insensitive decadence to Legree's apocalyptic destruction. That which Stowe effected with genres and voices illustrated for the audience a new set of rules and stories to place in tension with personal ethics and experience in

order to reactivate moral dynamics in both private and public spheres.

In Uncle Tom's Cabin, Harriet Beecher Stowe creates the narrative-sermonic drama of America. She pulls from the threads of her Puritan heritage the rich colors of genres familiar to her as breath to create characters and themes for her cosmic stage. She stands as two directors: one, a storyteller, and the other, a preacher, to direct, interpret, and comment on the action on her stage. She depends on the shared historical, cultural commonalities with her audience in their melodrama of survival. It is no surprise her creation became a popular drama almost immediately, and no surprise it has endured. Creation speaks to creation and elicits more. Also, it is no surprise none of her copyists surpassed her. Nobody could create melodrama better.

The stage she occupies is the home; the corps de ballet there is the family. She builds a house on the stage which is also a home that becomes simultaneously in her vision the church, temple, nation, government, and marketplace because of the foundations in ethics gained in the private sphere and implemented in the public one. Puritan genres are the bricks; the two voices holding them together comprise the horizontal and vertical mortar; and together they build the cabin which becomes the home for the audience. In the world of the novel, Uncle Tom's Cabin is the place where the

family of individuals as church and government, the UNION live, because the audience encompasses them all.

Stowe has two audiences, and each is distinctive: her contemporary audience and today's readers. The fact that Uncle Tom's Cabin continues to engage audiences only validates the importance of the contemporary one because of the beliefs and ideologies which caused the heroic deeds that occurred. Reform and social welfare came from religious motivations then, not government programs. Now, religious fervor in the cause of benevolence seems anachronistic, but only because public weal is cared for in regularized ways that take on the impersonality of institutionalization. Then, sentimentality and its texts provided the reforming impetus. Now, those texts provide a source of wealth for feminist studies, but some critics recover them without their metaphysical sympathies which has the effect of undercutting their power. Then, the historical and political context provided ways to respond to gross injustice. Now, scholarship recovers the meanings as cultural work. But during the process of executing the research, discoveries allow one to glimpse the glory and sense the prize held out for messages, messengers, and responses.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Earlier, Stanley Fish called attention to "the authority of interpretive communities" which produce meanings and are responsible for the emergence of formal features . . . made up of those who share interpretive strategies not for reading but for writing texts, for constituting their properties. In other words these strategies exist prior to the act of reading and therefore determine the shape of what is read rather than, as is usually assumed, the other way around. (14)

Jane Silverman Van Buren's reading of Uncle Tom's Cabin as a semiotics of the maternal metaphor is an example of how far afield a text's meaning can be carried when a critic cuts it loose from the author's moorings and substitutes his or her own. Referring to an unexplained code and numbered columns and assigning characters and meanings which she assumes the reader follows, she takes the most curious mythic liberties and posits strange conclusions. For example, she refers to mythic levels and configurations from columns 1-4 with pronouncements on characters from turmoil between life and death, good and evil, inward and outward. She is correct to say that the novel is "one of the important texts of the nineteenth century that explores the nature of psychic ties" (73). But she talks about Topsy, then concludes Stowe's "central element of her myth is child sacrifice, particularly that of girls" (80). Continuing, she writes, "For Eva-Stowe, the mother-child sign is one which includes a martyred subject relating to a maternal object, also martyred, the sign of which is Christ" (84); she says, "Stowe presents the sign of the American three-person relationship in Uncle Tom's Cabin, mother/baby /father, the latter as a devil figure . . . as with the two-person structure, Stowe cannot find a way of presenting an intact, thriving family" (89-90).

But Stowe does find a way in her model of the Hallidays from the trinitarian mutuality. Van Buren calls Legree "a painful caricature of fatherhood," but Legree is no caricature. He has no father qualities beyond being male. If he is to be interpreted as myth and typology, then he must follow Stowe's biblical myth and be the devil as she calls him. Van Buren says there is "no character that is a match for Legree" (91). However, both Tom and Cassy defeat him. Van Buren pulls in Lyman and makes him a foe: Stowe was a

woman "raised by an intense self-appointed messiah" (64). She adds, "It seems to me that Stowe created an Eva-Tom sign as an oppositional structure to her Edwardsian father Lyman Beecher's Edwardsian Presbyterian emphasis on damnation and the tradition of Calvinism out of which he had made a cruel agony of the crisis of salvation" (85). Biographical data refutes both these claims. Worse is the misspelling of George and Eliza Harris (Harrison) (67-68) and Dred, (Dread) (86). But Van Buren keeps on: "Stowe is not yet out of it. Men are still devils for her, the root of all that [which] is troubling her" (95). This may be a comment on Van Buren's book; it is not the truth about Stowe. All of her biographers stress her qualities as a warm and loving family woman.

In contrast, Theodore Hovet's concept of the novel as a mythic master narrative assists a contemporary reader because the critic informs his argument with the social, historical, and religious atmosphere which anchor the mythic with the interpretations of Uncle Tom's Cabin. A modern reader understands, then, Stowe's portrayal of slavery as the fundamental conflict in modern Western culture between a spiritual vision of human existence and a modern materialistic ethos because Hovet explains her particular Christian, mystical tradition in terms of the religious culture in New England which shaped her response to the mythic forces she perceived ("Modernization" 500-01). He links the "master narrative as conceived in mystical literature" of a fall from the "spiritual center of the universe" with the changes occurring in nineteenth-century America, both in the North and South with the complexities of emerging industrialization and the conflicts over slavery. In this way, "'the event' of Southern slavery turns into a confrontation between the two ancient ways of interpreting human existence, the spiritual and the materialistic" (Master 18-19). When the individual turns from the material world and begins the spiritual journey back to the center, he abandons mastery to regain meaning in the role of the suffering servant. By successfully completing the journey, Tom demonstrates how society can redeem itself from materialism, division, and alienation.

<sup>2</sup>Hildreth lists fifty-nine different language translations. In addition, there were multiple editions within each language and hundreds of them from American and British publishers (24-67). Without a doubt, the novel's appearance first in serial publication prepared an audience for the book. Its immediate piracy to England precluded Stowe's realizing any remuneration from the phenomenal sales there. With each subsequent book, she took care to file a British copyright as well as an American one. Nor did she ever receive any financial return on the millions of dollars spent on the play or "Tomitudes," artifacts which sprang

into manufacture from the characters in Uncle Tom's Cabin. The book's distribution was aided by the popularity of the domestic novel, as well. Susan Geary analyzes the domestic novel as a commercial commodity in her study of best sellers in the 1850s. She notes that Jewett, Stowe's book publisher, anticipated modern advertising techniques by running a series of advertisements which informed the public before and after its publication of its continuing sales (375-76). Ronald Zboray's essay (53-71) on the importance of improved transportation and antebellum book distribution coincides with Davidson's ideas about the variety of factors which comprise a books' reception.

<sup>3</sup>Lawrence Friedman's book, Gregarious Saints, provides the historical context, rise, and subsequent fall of the American abolitionists. Especially pertinent to this study are the sections related to their missionary zeal (11-42), women's involvement (129-59), attitudes toward violence (196-224), and immediatist position on emancipation (225-54).

<sup>4</sup>For Indians, the Bible, and Puritan views regarding the same, see James P. Ronda (9-30); William S. Simmons (56-72); and Peterson and Druke (1-41).

<sup>5</sup>Jefferson's early attempts to put antislavery language into the Declaration of Independence were refused. Northern anti-slavery-minded leaders like Benjamin Franklin and Alexander Hamilton supported slavery protection devices in favor of the greater good of the union (Stewart 32).

Pro-union rhetoric marks Lincoln's early years more than any anti-slavery language. Stowe's famous private meeting with him at the White House had as a motive her intention to clarify for herself what he intended to do about emancipation. The meeting took place in November, 1862; Henry Wilson, antislavery senator from Massachusetts, ushered her and her son, Charlie, a boy of twelve at the time, into a smaller room at the White House where Lincoln sat in front of a fire. Lincoln strode across the room, greeted the senator casually, "and with his great hand extended in welcome, said, 'So this is the little woman who wrote the book that made this big war'" (Lyman Beecher Stowe 205). Before the cannell-coal fire, Lincoln rubbed his hands and said that he loved a fire in a room "because we always had one to home" (Forrest Wilson 484). Young Charley later asked his mother why the President said "to home" instead of "at home." Stowe never repeated the details of her conversation with Lincoln, and accounts of the encounter remained as a family story until Annie Fields mentioned it in her book (269). Lyman Beecher Stowe related the story in his book, and it passed into legend. Biographers have tried to determine if Lincoln read Uncle Tom's Cabin. Most conclude

he did not. In her biography of Lincoln in Men of Our Times, Stowe claims that he never read a novel; when he could read, he read a good book. The statement seems less strange if one recalls the bias against novels at the time. However, Philip Van Doren Stern records that he did borrow a copy of Stowe's Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin from the Library of Congress on June 16, 1862, and kept it more than a month (33).

<sup>6</sup>Marie Caskey divides the Beecher children into groupings to indicate the divergences among them: she places Catherine (71-100) and Isabella (101-22) together as moralists while indicating there is a great difference between Catherine's Episcopalianism and Isabella's Spiritualism; she calls Edward (123-39) and Charles (140-68) the prophets because they were easily the most serious theologians and scholars in the family; she identifies Harriet (169-207), Henry (208-48), and Thomas (249-86) as the Christocentric liberals because of their sentimental appeal to the imagery of the home. This quality had much in common with Catherine's ideas, but Catherine "contemned the affective piety of evangelicalism" and Henry and Harriet "concentrated upon the 'emotive' experience, while paring away the dogmatic growths they saw as obscuring pure faith in Christ." But Harriet "retained a deep respect for the theological acuity and psychological insight of New England Theology." Henry's theology went more in the direction of aestheticism. Thomas had a deeper appreciation of human limitations and frailty, but he was "as liberal as they in matters of belief and worship" (xii). George, a minister and next oldest to Harriet, died of an accidental gunshot wound in 1843 at 36. William was next to the oldest, second after Catherine; he served a number of churches, but did not attain the degree of notoriety of his siblings. Thomas and James, with Isabella, were the children of Harriet Porter, Lyman's second wife. Lydia Jackson, Lyman's third wife, had two married children and two older ones, Joseph and Margaret, whom she brought with her to Cincinnati (Forrest Wilson 190) when Lyman married her in 1836. Lyman had no offspring with Lydia. The children of Roxanna and Harriet Beecher never admitted Lydia or her children into their tight clan. Mary Beecher Perkins, daughter of Roxanna and full sister to Catherine and Harriet, is the only Beecher child to live a private life outside the public spotlight. However, her husband was Harriet's business manager and advisor until his death. For an indepth study in the relationship between Catherine, Harriet, and Isabella, especially Isabella's quixotic career with the suffragettes, her part in Henry Ward's adultery trial, and her bizarre vision of herself and her role in a feminist millenium, see Boydston, Kelley, and Margolis (80-111, 184-224, 292-332).

<sup>7</sup>For additional material on movements and institutions emanating from revivalism, see the following: Ellen Weiss for a history of camp meetings (3-23); Randall Balmer for contemporary vestiges of camp meeting experience (188-207); Anne Boylan on the formation of Sunday School (1-59); Martha Blauvelt and Rosemary Skinner Keller on women and revivalism (316-67); Jane Hunter on women and missions (1-127); Jane Tompkins on the rise of tracts with correspondence between their texts and nineteenth-century fiction texts (423-35); Lori Ginzberg on benevolences (36-66) and women's special contributions to them (1-35, 133-73); and J. C. Furnas on temperance for its background (9-110) and political movement (161-348).

Carl Bode's The Anatomy of Popular Culture addresses all of these influences from the perspective of four principal complexes or clusters of qualities for the years from 1840 to 1861. The first had patriotism at its center with its chauvinism as well as its opposite, the belief that Europe continued to have the superior culture. Next came a set of qualities with aggressiveness at its core which incorporated materialism, optimism, and restlessness. The third group comprised basically religious reflections with the belief in the Bible's supremacy and the dedication of the American Bible Society to place a Bible in every home. With the religiosity recurred a neopuritanism. Last of the complexes and the most important, according to Bode, was love. Softer emotions provided a counterbalance to aggressiveness and materialism; the "family circle symbolized the perfected gathering of all such love" (xii-xv).

<sup>8</sup>Just one example serves to illustrate how confusing these things become. Revelation 16 gives an account of horribly bloody and violent battles caused by seven angels sent from God to pour vials of His wrath loose upon the earth. The last one gathers all adversaries together in a place called Armageddon and empties his vial to precipitate the most destructive fight of all. The sixteenth verse says, "And he gathered them together into a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armegeadon," the only place in the Bible the place is named. The word is an anglicized form of Har Megiddo, meaning the valley of Megiddo, or the valley in front of Megiddo, which was the fortress city for the northern part of Israel. In the days of the kingdoms of David, Solomon, and their descendents, the armies of Egypt and empires to the west surged back and forth across Israel as did the armies of the east from Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia. The plain in front of Megiddo was a logical battleground and the battle myths that grew up about it served the Revelation scribe with a powerful symbol for his text about good, evil, and judgment. However, because of the simultaneous thirst for absoluteness and fascination with mystery, religious people have always been drawn to the



wonder of the unknown in Revelation and sought to implant their own solutions. Amazing theories and studies have derived from "Armageddon" and its association with other powerful images such as the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse (Revelation 9), and the "mark of the beast" (13:16-17, 14:9-11, 15:2, 16:2, 19:20, 20:4). Perhaps the best summary comes from Bernard McGinn:

Reading the Book of Revelation has tended to be more of an obsession than a pastime. Those readers who could dismiss it, either with a quip like George Bernard Shaw . . . or with studied indifference like John Calvin, have been few. Many who have hated the book have been unable to escape it. D. H. Lawrence, for instance, felt compelled to write his own form of commentary to try to exorcise it . . . The insistence of many commentators . . . that they alone have found the real key to this unveiling of mysteries of the end has served only to compound the enigma . . . St. Jerome showed more wisdom than most, not only in merely revising someone else's commentary . . . but also in remarking that "Revelation has as many mysteries as it does words." (523)

For detailed discussion of the part played by millennialism in the Revolution, its politics, and religious formations, see Jon Butler (194-224) and Ruth Bloch (53-118). James Davidson's analysis of millennial thought, with its emphasis on the continuities in millennial logic rather than more than one logic, furnishes an in-depth study into Revelation (3-36), the chronological development of millennialism's logic (37-80), what is involved in its judgment (81-121), and the implications for conversion (122-75); the second part of his book applies the logic to sociological and political issues (179-297).

<sup>9</sup>See C. C. Goen (151-65) and Stephen Stein (166-76) for comprehensive treatments of Edwards on the millenium.

<sup>10</sup>The other side of American intellectual thought and political ideology coming from Deism and Enlightenment is beyond the purview of this dissertation. For a discussion of public religion coming from those influences, see Martin Marty's Pilgrims in Their Own Land (137-66) and Lewis Perry (95-259). Donald Davie recounts the contribution of dissenting among the dissenters for shaping ideology during the worldwide rise of revivalism and evangelicalism (37-72). See Lynn Ross-Bryant (333-55) for the comparable feeling about the land in other religious expressions as well as Puritan.

<sup>11</sup>The yearnings for millennialism's golden age appear concretized more pragmatically in the idealizations which

surround home and town. Implicit in the connections between religion, politics, and the home is the position of the more intimate social group associated with the town. See Kenneth Lockridge's work on the New England town for its mythology and reality: "The New England town is one of the myths out of which Americans' conception of their history has been constructed;" with the Liberty Bell, George Washington, and The Frontier, the concept of the town convinces that "the nation has always enjoyed universal democracy, honesty, and opportunity" (xi). Its characteristics are a utopian commune with the policies of perfection coming from the church and patterns of communal politics and society. With change and disintegration of the village community, social diversity and political dissent evolved to prepare the way for the gospel of individual rights. Perry Westbrook discusses the influence of towns from which came motivations for national character, culture, and history. Donald Harington's contemporary work in the lost towns in Arkansas whose founders put "City" in their names records this continuing fascination with the town. Katharine Knowles and Thea Wheelwright recapture, in text and photographs, the journeys of Timothy Dwight (grandson of Jonathan Edwards and Yale President and colleague of Lyman Beecher) in his turn of the nineteenth-century travels about New England towns.

Floyd Watkins suggests that the rapid change which has always characterized American culture in part, at least, explains the continuing affinity for small towns and the use which fiction writers make of them: "Americans have shown by migration and change that they do not wish to live in a way that will provide a novelist with a traditional culture to write about." In the continuing cultural struggle with time and place, "not only can you not go home again, you also cannot stay at home even in the same place" (4).

<sup>12</sup>Stowe's long publishing history on house and home together with her collaboration on The American Woman's Home with her sister, Catherine, show the same religious fervor and moral earnestness about specifically domestic matters as she does about national issues in Uncle Tom's Cabin. In both textual styles, she reveals her faith in the serious nature of millennial logic. That which one does in caring for fruit or housekeeping, for example, has importance because it affects the family in the home which is the place to prepare good citizens for the millenium which is to come. Lisa Watt MacFarlane's dissertation, forthcoming in publication, investigates Stowe's major novels to explore major social obstacles to America's destiny to show a "paradox of millennial expectations scaled to domestic spaces" as a "mild apocalypse" (9).

<sup>13</sup>For a history of Puritan utopias in the seventeenth-century, see James Holstun's A Rational Millenium,

especially (3-18). Check Jon Butler's overview of the expansive "antebellum spiritual hothouse" with its review of religious syncretism, high emotion, and style of expression (165-93, 224-56) for conditions which led to the preoccupation with utopian communities. James Fowler treats faith as utopia in the sense of its being the "ultimate environment" as an "ideal environment." As "utopia," it is "what we wish and hope our lives and the lives of others to be" (29).

Utopian communities enjoyed a separate existence in the nineteenth century, but the same affective state and urge for domesticity arranged the utopian desire about the home. Sex roles adjusted to accomodate the effort to realize the utopian dream. Home and Utopia seemed to blend in the popular idiom, however idealized the reality might have been. From the various social strata, the particular agenda of other groups seemed to focus on home and woman as key to the success of their goals.

Specific groups had the same tendencies to bring their professional concerns to the dominant social theories of the context and meld them in high sentimental style. For example, medicine played to the biases inherent in Victorian sexual hierarchies, one aspect being the cult of invalidism for upper class women. Dr. W. W. Bliss wrote the following florid overwrought paean to the power of the ovaries:

Accepting, then these views of the gigantic power and influence of the ovaries over the whole animal economy of woman,--that they are the most powerful agents in all the commotions of her system; that on them rest her intellectual standing in society, her physical perfection, and all that lends beauty to those fine and delicate contours which are constant objects of admiration, all that is great, noble and beautiful, all that is voluptuous, tender, and endearing; that her fidelity, her devotedness, her perpetual vigilance, forcast, and all those qualities of mind and dispositon which inspire respect and love and fit her as the safest counsellor and friend of man, spring from the ovaries.--what must be their influence and power over the great vocation of woman and the august purposes of her existence when these organs have become compromised through disease! Can the record of woman's mission on earth be otherwise than filled with tales of sorrow, sufferings, and manifold infirmities, all through the influence of these important organs? (Ehrenreich and English 29)

See Margaret Honan for an overview of the cultural mythology about male activity and female passivity in reproduction from religion and medicine (154-57).

This fantasy, that the child originates in and belongs to the father and that the mother provides

merely the environment in which the child grows, persisted throughout the nineteenth century in . . . assumptions about maternity, as the evidence of guidance books for mothers suggests (155).

The contribution of science to social inequities between men and women in the era is explored in depth by Cynthia Eagle Russett in Sexual Science: The Victorian Construction of Womanhood. She deals with claims made by nineteenth-century scientists which reinforce female inferiority: men's blood was thicker and redder; their bodies were more healthy; distinctions between brains identified the sex of the person. Stowe alludes to this cultural assumption, whether she believed it or not, in a letter late in life to Oliver Wendell Holmes, her dear friend of many years. She thanks him for his photograph which she "looks at daily." She is sending him one in return and wishes she could see him but can't unless he comes to Hartford, adding ". . . there is a long eternity after this life & there I hope to see you" (2 April 1890, Katharine S. Day Collection, SDF).

I make no mental effort of any sort; my brain is tired out. It was a woman's brain and not a man's, and finally from sheer fatigue and exhaustion in the march and strife of life it gave out before the end was reached . . . (also reported in Forrest Wilson 636).

Shainess, a feminist psychology psychiatrist, deals with latent feminine masochism as contemporary pathological vestiges of mid-nineteenth-century cultural norms. Of special interest for this study is the chapter on the long-suffering wife and mother (115-24), the key player in making the mid-nineteenth-century home a utopia for all its members. Home appeared as a current of understanding as the best hope for a millennial experience of utopia.

<sup>14</sup>For male gender ideals and their formation for this era, check Anthony Rotundo (35-51), David Pugh (3-43, 93-127), and Mark Carnes (67-150). For the reciprocal effects on men and women in their social roles and their expectations for themselves and from others, see Karen Halttunen (Confidence 1-123).

John Demos claims role is much easier to study than power because of access to documents which exemplify behavior. In a general sense, through the "pre-modern world family-members produced for their common good, in visibly direct and meaningful ways" with each seeing, feeling, and appreciating the "underlying framework of reciprocity." In crisis periods, like the harvest, all worked side-by-side until the task was finished. Private family and public community "ran together at so many points" that "their structure, their guiding values, their inner purposes, were essentially the same" that was "first and foremost, a community of work" (Past 28). With urbanization, modern

commerce, and industrial development, "this framework broke apart;" men became "providers" and "breadwinners," and women took on the role of "homemaker" in an exclusive sense (10). By the early decades of the nineteenth-century, families "were launched on a new course" with an "image" in the "sense of becoming something thought about in highly self-conscious ways" (30).

<sup>15</sup>Representative critics dealing with sentimental fiction in a variety of journal articles are the following: John T. Frederick (231-40); Ann Douglas ("Literature" 3-45); Alexander Cowie (416-24); Carl Van Doren (117-22); Henry Nash Smith (47-70); Barbara Welter ("Cult" 151-74); Ann Douglas Wood (3-24); Jane P. Tompkins ("Sentimental" 81-104); Mary Kelley (23-40); Cathy Davidson (17-39); Richard M. Gardner (232-48). Books presenting conservative views of the contribution made by sentimental fiction are by Frederick Lewis Pattee, Ann Douglas, and Herbert Ross Brown; those giving positive commentary are by Helen Waite Papashvily, Mary Kelley, Cathy N. Davidson, and Nina Baym. The criticism usually centers on obviously conservative or subversive elements in sentimental fiction. Those who see the genre as conservation and restrictive are John Frederick, Frederick Pattee, Carl Van Doren, Alexander Cowie, Herbert Brown, and Henry Nash Smith; Helen Waite Papashvily views the fiction as an attack upon male dominance, veiled as it had to present itself, but obvious, nevertheless. The position of Ann Douglas coincides with Helen Papashvily in Douglas's earlier work, but conforms to the views of the conservative theory in later work. Tompkins's Sensational Designs and David Schuyler's "Inventing a Feminine Past" effectively address and correct Ann Douglas. Schuyler says she "fails as a historian" (293), her "allegedly astonishing thesis is anything but novel" (294), her characterization of women's "roles is both presentist and misleading" (298). Tompkins finds her work beneficial, however, because of the illumination brought from subsequent debate and exchange of opinion. For an alternate perspective to that of Douglas on women and local color with implications for sentimentality, see Donovan (1-24, 50-67). Welter views fiction by and about women as an affirmation of the traditional roles, but her study is not restricted to sentimentalists. Paul John Eakin's The New England Girl illustrates the fictional models in print for women; see his chapter on Stowe and Hawthorne (3-48). Frances Cogan extends the ideals to "the all-American girl" in her book; the introduction supplies a good summary of cultural attitudes toward female ideals in mid-nineteenth-century America (3-26). Kelley shows the subtle shadings and meanings missed by Douglas, Welter, and Papashvily in casting male-female oppositions in contrasts which are too stark and supplies a detailed contrast between critical views until the time of her essay in 1978 ("At War"

37-38). The quantity of documents to substantiate opinions buttress the conclusions of Cathy Davidson (Revolution 182-92) and Baym (Woman's 11-21). Kelley's comprehensive work, Private Woman, Public Stage, focuses on the era's literary production also, but does so from the cultural perspective of the women writers. Nancy Cott's investigation provides the subject-specific publications and attitudes during the decade she considers most formative, the 1830s. See the following: treatment of women's work (19-62); domesticity (63-100); education (101-25); religion (126-59); and sisterhood (160-96). With Jane Tompkins, critics like Cathy Davidson, Nina Baym, Nancy Cott, and Mary Kelley provide a sophisticated, reasoned critical affirmation for the place of sentimental fiction and the understanding of women's place in American literature.

Alfred Habegger's positions in Gender, Fantasy, and Realism support the views considering sentimentality important: "the novel became a day-dream book representing female hopes and fears by means of narrative that looked 'domestic' in the eyes of contemporary readers but was really symbolic in a way not understood until the rebirth of feminism a decade ago" (viii). The novel provided fantasy with a "local habitation and a name and thus blurred the line between reality and desire" (11). The fact that "perfect mating" provided so much of the fictional subject matter demonstrated that people had not achieved the ideal in their own lives (21). Richard Gardner agrees on the importance of sentimentality in fiction, believes its impact continues to be present, and applies the precepts to modern bestsellers.

A comparable work of confronting cultural standards within accepted boundaries is that done by the sensation novels which Winifred Hughes examines (3-37, 166-91). The "sensation novelists insinuated elements of crime and mystery into the lives of ordinary, and respectable people" but in the confrontation between good and evil, they replace "the original moral certainty with moral ambiguity" (ix-x). The sensation novels push the boundaries further than sentimental novels.

<sup>16</sup>Although feminist criticism is not central in this study except as it impacts specific points of my arguments, research into its theories was necessary in the preparation of my work because of the dominant role feminist criticism has played in the revival of Stowe scholarship. I am indebted to many thinkers. Kate Millett's Sexual Politics defines feminist issues pertinent for my purposes in the section entitled, "The Literary Reflection" (333-505). Raman Selden supplies a comprehensive overview of feminist criticism (128-48). Cheri Register's essay presents a bibliographic introduction (1-28). Jonathan Culler's "Reading as a Woman" (43-64) is a cogent presentation of women's problems as women reading male texts, and gives a

sense of logic to the revisionist demands on the existing canon. Annette Kolodny's essay provides a definitive statement on behalf of pluralism (144-67). Elaine Showalter's introduction lists the opponents to Kolodny's pluralism (13), and her essay, "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness," (243-70) strikes a counterbalance with six critical theories, or groups of consensus. My method has been to utilize principles which she outlines in the last group: women's writing and women's culture. That theoretical consensus states that disciplines such as biology, linguistics, and psychoanalysis, as they are linked to culture, language, class, race, nationality, and history, form determinants which can be as profound as gender within a social context. Showalter groups qualities of women's culture around the concept of a muted culture upon which a dominant one is superimposed. Rather than being a part of two separate cultures, a woman is present in both at the same time, living in her female culture which is within, but not extinguished by, the male one. In addition, I acknowledge the influence of the Annales school of French origins, which seeks cultural and social information from a broad range of documents. Scholars such as Cathy Davidson, John Demos, and Charles Joyner have that approach in their works which I have studied in my research. Consequently, I have balanced the work of historians with feminist scholarship, often to my advantage. For example, Glenna Matthews's even handling of the mid-nineteenth century's context about domesticity serves as a corrective for such theorists as Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar who make somewhat reckless claims at times about Stowe's characters and intentions that seem more based on twentieth-century feminism than the nineteenth-century context (481-83).

<sup>17</sup>Glenna Matthews demonstrates the political nature of the home after the Revolution through the use of cookbooks. The first American one appeared in 1796 in Hartford. Amelia's Simmons's American Cookery shows the divergence of American cuisine from England because it utilized so many indigenous ingredients and a new interest in vegetables. Indian meal appears in several recipes. Directions for Indian pudding, johnnycake, slapjacks, pumpkin pie, and cranberry sauce are given in American vernacular. A second edition in 1800 contained recipes for Election Cake, Independence Cake, and Federal Pan Cake. The first decade of the nation's independence reflects in a cookbook from an American kitchen not only a more varied diet, but also the impulse of patriotism in the names given to dishes and ingredients (8). See the first two chapters of Matthews's book for an overview of the kinds of books and periodicals related to domesticity in mid-century and who were the authors (3-65).

<sup>18</sup>Francis H. Underwood, a young Bostonian, had urged the founding of a high literary quality anti-slavery magazine, such as Harper's or Putnam's which did not publish anything on slavery. He observed that many of the leading literary figures of the North were at least abolitionist in sympathy, but no one of means would support the venture. In 1857, with the phenomenal financial success of Uncle Tom's Cabin, M. D. Phillips, the head of Phillips, Sampson, and Company, agreed to publish The Atlantic Monthly along with the contributions of Henry W. Longfellow, John G. Whittier, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, and James Russell Lowell as editor, if they could get Stowe to become a contributor. She began a long association, lasting until 1878, with the magazine which published her essays and serialized some of her novels. As a founding member, she enjoyed a very long, and pleasant friendship with her contemporary literary colleagues and was honored with them at its seventieth-birthday celebrations for each of them (Forrest Wilson 660-61). Ellen Moers credits Stowe with having more influence with her contemporaries and a greater influence on American literature than later critics have acknowledged which offers

. . . an incomplete account of the American Renaissance, and by extension of the American literary ethos, as essentially alienated from social concerns, self-absorbed, devoted to symbolic rather than surface realities, ill at ease with novelistic plot and character, and uncertain of a reading public. None of this applies to Uncle Tom's Cabin. (4)

Moers even thinks Twain's Huckleberry Finn finds its source in Uncle Tom's Cabin and his admiration for Stowe. She cites opinions by Turgenev, Victor Hugo, George Eliot, Heine, George Sand, Tolstoi, Macauley, and the continuing literary opinion in Europe of Uncle Tom's Cabin as a world classic and compares this country's treatment of it as an "embarrassment" instead of "resource to professors of literature" because it does not fit "most 'received' truths about American literature" (1).

<sup>19</sup>Chard Powers Smith dissects Puritan architecture to discuss the analogies made between the house parts, faith, and human capacities. For example, the cornerposts presented an equation for original sin, atonement, grace, and salvation to remind the New Englander of his doctrinal creed (82). The chimney ran through the center of the house.

In the great chimney the flue is Reason, Natural Reason, and the fuel of the fire is Emotion . . . As the guide of each Puritan's life was the hope of Grace and Faith, so the central and sustaining expression of the Holy Ratio between Reason and Emotion was not in doctrine but in personal religious experience. In a mysterious mixture of



these irreconcilable elements, the true fire of Puritan Faith burned. (123)

One of Stowe's major metaphors was the chimney, and from it, the kitchen, which became symbolic of domestic nurture and power, with additional spiritual investment from Puritan analogies. Other New England artists, such as Melville and Hawthorne, also used the chimney with more than descriptive intentions in their writing.

<sup>20</sup>This seems ironic in light of Hawthorne's celebrated outburst to his publisher. In January of 1855, he wrote to his publisher and friend, William D. Ticknor, from England that he would spend another year on the Continent before he decided to return to Wayside or stay abroad to write.

But I had rather hold this office two years longer; for I have not seen half enough of England, and there is the germ of a new romance in my mind, which will be all the better for ripening slowly. Besides, America is now wholly given over to a d\_\_\_d mob of scribbling women, and I should have no chance of success while the public taste is occupied with their trash--and should be ashamed of myself if I did succeed. What is the mystery of these innumerable editions of the "Lamp-lighter," and other books neither better nor worse? --worse they could not be, and better they need not be, when they sell by the 100,000 . . . (Ticknor 141)

The Lamplighter was the first book of another Salem citizen, Maria Susanna Cummins, and sold steadily and widely for a century. The next month he writes in a softened mood. After thanking Ticknor for a gift of apples and a positive account of his financial affairs he adds

In my last, I recollect, I bestowed some vituperation on female authors. I have since been reading "Ruth Hall"; and I must say I enjoyed it a good deal. The woman writes as if the Devil was in her; and that is the only condition under which a woman ever writes anything worth reading. Generally women write like emasculated men, and are only to be distinguished from male authors by greater feebleness and folly; but when they throw off the restraints of decency, and come before the public stark naked, as it were,--then their books are sure to possess character and value. Can you tell me anything about this Fanny Fern? If you meet her, I wish you would let her know how much I admire her . . . (142-43)

James Wallace utilizes the comment and the incidents surrounding it to examine the complicated ambiguity not only in Hawthorne's attitude toward contemporary women writers, but also toward his own productivity as a creative artist (201-22). See Frederick's account of best selling authors of the

1850s for publishing details of the women writers ("Hawthorne's" 231-40). Apparently Hawthorne's bias did not extend to Stowe. Hawthorne and Longfellow were a class behind Calvin Stowe at Bowdoin College. The Stowes and Hawthornes became family friends later in life (Forrest Wilson 126). Harriet met them on board the Europa on the way home from her second trip to Europe in 1860. James T. Fields, the junior partner of Ticknor and Fields, and his wife were also on board. Diffident at first, Hawthorne "concluded to join the party." Harriet was entertaining, Sophia Hawthorne full of New England lore and legend, Annie Fields beautiful and witty, and Fields, himself, was full of whimsicalities. Hawthorne said one evening, "Oh, I wish we might never get there" (458).

<sup>21</sup>The kitchen in Harriet's home in Hartford, Connecticut, provided the model for many of the drawings in The American Woman's Home. Joanne Woodward's television broadcast from the kitchen on Earth Day, 1990, is described in pamphlets prepared by the Foundation ("Earth Day 1990").

<sup>22</sup>See Kathryn Kish Sklar's biography of Catherine Beecher for details on Beecher's educational theories and publishing history. See McLoughlin on Henry Ward for his philosophy on love from Norwood (84-97) in which he makes parallels between romantic love and spiritual regeneration. See Boydston, Kelley, and Margolis for the interaction between Catharine and Harriet on the power of womanhood (114-1147, 155-221). For a feminist and mythic reading of motherhood as perspective, see Kathryn Rabuzzi (63-139).

<sup>23</sup>Boydston, Kelley, and Margolis describe the events surrounding Catherine's publication of Truth Stranger than Fiction, her spirited defense of a former student, Delia Bacon, who was humiliated in a public ecclesiastical trial because of her claim a New Haven minister had proposed and withdrawn an offer of marriage. The clerical court cleared MacWhorter, the minister, and Bacon decided not to press the case, but not Catherine, who wrote her 300 page attack on MacWhorter, Yale University, and the Congregational clergy in general. It has the tone and style of Harriet's later Defense of Lady Byron. In it, Catherine made clear her fight was equally against the sexual double standard that taught women marriage was the "summit of all earthly felicity" and punished them for pursuing that goal. In Letters to the People on Health and Happiness, she extended her attack on male clergy to male doctors whom she characterized as being amoral and making assaults on female patients and urged women to claim health care as their right (230-31).

Ehrenreich's and English's investigations into the cult of invalidism give substance to Catharine's accusations. Affluent women were seen as inherently sick, too weak and

delicate for anything but the mildest pastimes. Working class women were believed to be inherently heathly and robust, but congenitally dirty and possibly contagious. They note, "Beneath all this ran two ancient strands of sexist ideology: contempt for women as weak and defective, and fear of women as dangerous and polluting" (14). Women were believed to be completely governed by their reproductive organs but repelled by the sex act. Some of their contemporary standard practices of treatment of gynecological problems test credibility (32-37). Female sexuality could only be pathological and doctors denounced it as vigorously as other men of the day, but they, being men of science, were always on the lookout for it, deeming it only natural to test for it by stroking the breasts and other body parts. There was always the fear and fascination with woman's "insatiable lust" that might not be controllable, once aroused. A 25-year-old British physician, Robert Brudenell Carter observed in his work, On the Pathology and Treatment of Hysteria:

. . . no one who has realized the amount of moral evil wrought in girls . . . whose prurient desires have been increased by Indian hemp and partially gratified by medical manipulations, can deny that remedy is worse than disease. I have . . . seen young unmarried women, of the middle class of society, reduced by the constant use of the speculum to the mental and moral condition of prostitutes; seeking to give themselves the same indulgence by the practice of the solitary vice; and asking every medical practitioner . . . to institute an examination of the sexual organs. (31-32)

See also Nancy Cott, "Passionlessness" for the sexual ideology (219-36) and Pugh for the cultural parallels between women's actual sexual treatment and the conquest of the Jacksonian frontier (45-91).

<sup>24</sup>Her letters reflect the difficulties she faced in her attempts to maintain a writing schedule in the midst of household duties and childcare. Near the end of 1838, she wrote to her friend Mary Dutton:

I have realized enough by writing, one way and another, to enable me to add to my establishment a stout German girl . . . I have about three hours per day in writing; and if you see my name coming out everywhere, you may be sure of one thing--that I do it for the pay. I have determined not to be a mere domestic slave, without even the leisure to excel in my duties. (Forrest Wilson 204)

When she went east in 1842 to arrange the publication of The Mayflower, she and Calvin corresponded about her new status. After giving him the financial details of several magazine

commitments in addition to the news about the book, she added, "On the whole, my dear, if I choose to be a literary lady, I have, I think, as good a chance of making profit by it as any one I know of." Calvin replied:

My dear, you must be a literary woman. It is so written in the book of fate. Make all your calculations accordingly. Get a good stock of health and brush up your mind. Drop the E [Elizabeth] out of your name. It only encumbers it and interferes with the flow of euphony. Write yourself fully and always Harriet Beecher Stowe, which is a name euphonious, flowing, and full of meaning.

Warming to the affection and advice, she wrote in return, anticipating Virginia Woolf's famous phrase:

There is one thing I must suggest. If I am to write, I must have a room to myself, which shall be my room . . . I can put a stove in it. I have bought a cheap carpet for it . . . I only beg in addition that you will let me change the glass door from the nursery into that room and keep my plants there . . . (213)

When they returned to Brunswick, she chose a house that would afford room for her writing as well as the large Stowe family. Harriet, who later met Queen Victoria and was second only to her in world fame, was evicted from a train station on the trip to New England because of her appearance of poverty. She and three of the children went ahead while Calvin finished his duties in Cincinnati. A station-agent in Pennsylvania thought they were an immigrant family and made Harriet, Hattie, 14, Freddie, 10, and Georgiana May, 7, leave. She often told the story in high humor. Forrest Wilson says "few famous women has the sense of inferiority been less complex. Harriet was genuinely humble" (237). Charles Edward Stowe was born July 8 and Stowe's sister, Catherine, moved in to run the house. Harriet did not recuperate quickly. A governess replaced the nurse on July 22, but letters reveal she still felt sick on the 25th. A letter to her sister-in-law, Sarah, relates her ill health after Charley's birth (22 December 1850, Folder 94, BSC). But when recovery started, it came quickly. She and Catherine started a private school and kept the governess as a teacher. Harriet had obviously been writing because of her magazine publications which appeared during the time. In spite of the room of her own, when she was at work on Uncle Tom's Cabin, neighbors saw her working on the back steps with her writing portfolio on her knees. Her father had come to stay the summer in Brunswick and took over the writing space in the house (Forrest Wilson 264). Her biographers treat at length the difficulties she faced in trying to write because of the demands on her time. After tracing a series of interruptions and problems she faced in her writing discipline, Wagenknecht adds:

Actually, however, Harriet could write anywhere, under any conditions, and at any time; as a badly-harassed and, at the beginning, poverty-stricken, wife and mother, without so much as a room of her own, how could she ever have produced anything otherwise? (167)

<sup>25</sup>See David Leverenz, "Breasts of God, Whores of the Heart" 138-161) regarding breast imagery in Puritan sermon applications; Henry Ward on domesticity and prostitution reform in Halttunen ("Gothic" 112-17); and J. Giles Milhaven for gender-based attitudes toward theology which stem from the rational mode of knowing and the bodily, or the sensual, mode (341-72). Margaret Masson explains how the Puritans could not believe that anything in the "innate personalities of each sex prevented them . . . from adopting the behavior of the other" because election was the goal for both men and women (305). However, the female as a typology for regenerate preaching gained in favor. Roles in marriage became metaphors for the regeneration process: the church, as the bride of Christ, was to behave as the ideal wife; courtship by Christ represented the conversion experience; and the regenerate image had a much more personal, even sensual, image in Puritan preaching (308-10).

<sup>26</sup>In spite of Lyman Beecher's anti-Catholicism, his children remained intrigued by the Virgin Mary. Stowe wrote the introduction to The Virgin and Her Son by her brother, Charles Beecher, and says that "no one ever hears of the Virgin Mary without forming some kind of an image or conception of her" (v). After telling the reasons why Charles is competent to give such an account, she adds that the incidents may be "conjectural, yet these are more like truth than a blank" because "some incident" did "occur over and above what is scripturally recorded" but the writer renders it authentic as is possible (vi). Part of their fascination comes from the mid-century cult of the mother, but maternity with its divine significance was also a Puritan concern. Valerie Lagorio comments:

The motherhood of God is a far-ranging metaphor, rooted in the Old Testament prophets, especially Isaiah, where God speaks of himself as a mother, conceiving the Israelites in his womb, bearing them in his bosom, comforting, carrying, and cherishing them [49:1, 15; 66:11-13] (15).

Latin and vernacular English works from the 12th through the 15th century give evidence of the similitude of Christ as Mother. Supplemented by Middle English translations of Continental mystical works written mostly during the late 14th and 15th, the medieval writings use the image allegorically, affectively, intellectually, and theologically. Lagorio's survey discusses three factors which advanced the

complete development and productive employment of the Motherhood of God similitude: multiple family relationships which link Christ and humankind and emphasize the accessibility of God; the motherhood of the Virgin Mary and the nurturing qualities of the Church; and accent on Wisdom as mother. The biblical origin of the attention to family relationships comes from Mark 3:35: "Whoso does the will of God, he is my brother, my sister, and my mother." Mary's importance increased through the centuries; with her prominence, the church as the symbolic bride of Christ in the "New Jerusalem" of Revelation took on maternal as well as feminine qualities. Christ and Wisdom are linked in the New Testament (1 Cor. 1:30) and Wisdom is presented as feminine in the Old Testament (Prov. 9:1). In addition to the biblical bases, mystical and theological attention added layers of understandings to their beginning impulses.

Stowe's sensitivities to the misogynist cast of theology and the difficulty women had in assimilating it caused her to write in Oldtown Folks that "woman's nature was never consulted in theology" which considered her "only in her animal nature as a temptation and a snare" (1305). She would have understood and agreed with the conclusions of Henry Adams in his fiction on the Virgin in Mont Saint Michel and Chartres; in his consideration of the Virgin as an inspirational force, leading back to Eve, she "is only the last and greatest deity in man's worship of the 'eternal woman'" (523); as a vitality, she had been "imposed, by necessity and public unanimity on a creed which was meant to be complete without her" (583); and, supplying what the Trinity could not, she brought "protection, pardon, and love" (584) which refused to be dominated by masculine reason. Nancy Comley's analysis of Adams's attitudes toward Virgin presents another side which Stowe also would have recognized: the Virgin's quiet masculine strength pleases him most, but he adores her because she is the most womanly; her masculine strength implies power and calm, but the masculine also signifies physical strength and rationality which enables one to understand economics which is the basis to power; and "like her nineteenth-century sisters, the Virgin comes to exist outside the discourse of power" (14).

Sojourner Truth claimed the power of woman without man in divine matters in her celebrated feminist, anti-slavery address:

Then that little man in black there, he says women can't have as much rights as men, because Christ wasn't a woman! Where did your Christ come from? Where did your Christ come from? From God and a woman! Man had nothing to do with him. If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn the world upside down all alone, these women ought to be able to turn it back, and get it right

side up again! And now they is asking to do it,  
the men better let them. (Yellin 81)

Theological feminism continues to study this particular aspect of Christology. See Nancy Klenk Hill, "The Savior as Woman," Cross Currents 39 (1989): 1-9, which begins, "Jesus Christ died in childbirth" (1). Rosemary Radford Reuther examines sexism and gender language in theology (Sexism and God-Talk). For the renewed emphasis on the goddess in theological investigations, consult Larry Hurtado and Jean Shinoda Bolen.

<sup>27</sup>Say--when upon the shielding breast

The savior of his country hung,

When soft lip to thine was prest

Wooring accents from thy tongue. (Ryan 57)

Ryan says Sigourney provides one more extravagant symbol of Washington in a homily to boys entitled "Filial Virtues of Washington" to demonstrate how the knot between him and his mother survived weaning. "From childhood, he repaid her care with the deepest affection and yielded his will to hers without a murmur" (58). For a survey and individual treatment of writers engaged in writing for this particular aspect of the maternal market, see Ryan (45-70).

<sup>28</sup>Stowe enjoyed a prolonged and cordial correspondence with a number of British luminaries, one of whom was George Eliot. Of all her British friends, Eliot was the one Calvin also wrote. Signed M A Lewes, one letter from Eliot addresses her own difficulties in writing. Referring to a letter from Stowe, she says:

It made me almost wish that you could have a momentary vision of the discouragement, nay, paralyzing despondency in which many days of my writing life have been past, in order that you might fully understand the good I find in such sympathy as yours--in such an assurance as you give me that my work has been worth doing . . . The best joy your words give me is the sense of that sweet generous feeling in you which dictated them . . . (8 May 1869, Folder 252, BSC)

Women writers found a commonality in the obstacles which they faced in dedicating themselves to their craft.

<sup>29</sup>Critical comments indicate that Eva is an idealized portrait of Stowe's first Charley, the "summer child" who died in the cholera epidemic of 1949. Kirkham suggests, in addition, Eva may have two other identities: Stowe as she would like to have been, or a slightly satiric picture of Catherine, her sister, who in their father's eyes could do no wrong (118). Her essays, "Our Charlie," about the second one, present an example of child-centered stories for adults which were popular in periodical publications (Trensky 390).

Eva does set the type for the saintly child as one "sent not to live for self" but "to bring" the "erring parents to Christ" (Harris 102). Patricia Meyer Spacks proposes that every period of history focuses on a particular division of life as its privileged age. Adulthood assumed the greatest importance for the eighteenth century; childhood possessed the greatest impact for the nineteenth century; and in the twentieth century, adolescence appropriates the spotlight ("Stages" 7-9).

<sup>30</sup>Stowe's private experience of marriage, family, and home did not correspond with her artistic vision. The family letters in the Beecher-Stowe Collection at Radcliffe reveal how she and Henry Ward, as the two with substantial incomes, supported their father in his waning years. She was always generous with her brothers, often subsidizing their inadequate incomes from poorly paying pastorates. Her children were beneficiaries of her ambitious writing schedule to support all of them, since Calvin never earned very much. But, having the financial responsibility for the clan was the least of her heartache. Only three of her children survived her: the twins who never married, and Charles, her youngest. She had at least two miscarriages. Her first Charles died as a baby. Henry, her oldest son and the one with the most promise, drowned in the Connecticut River the spring of his first year at Dartmouth. The next son, Fred, was wounded in the Civil War, became an alcoholic, and eventually disappeared, after Stowe's many attempts to help him establish himself. Her daughter, Georgiana, became addicted to laudanum after difficulties in childbirth, and died as a recluse in her youth.

Equally as difficult was her relationship with Calvin. Although they settled eventually into a warm companionship, their life together was filled with conflict and stress. Calvin was a melancholic scholar, afflicted with bouts of depression, and dependent on her vivacious ambition and positive attitude. Although she eventually provided all of the financial support for the family, she always gave first priority to her role as wife and mother rather than to her writing. Calvin's sexual and emotional needs often overwhelmed her and conflicted with her need to protect her own health and control her reproduction. His first wife, Harriet's best friend in Cincinnati, died after a year of marriage. Before he married Harriet, he wrote to her, "I will react upon all you have given me thus far, I will keep asking for more as long as I live (the fountain of that which I want is in you inexhaustible)" (24 May [1835], Acquisitions, SDF). He wrote to his mother of his marriage to Harriet:

I have even found me a wife again and taken her to my home . . . I begin to feel happy again . . . Not that I . . . ever shall forget the sweet angel



that was every thing to me while she lived . . . Harriet is as well adapted to my present condition and character, as Eliza was to my former self. Her intellectual strength, her fruitful imagination and ready wit, the real kindness of her heart, the absorbing and self-devoting ardor of her affections, and her intelligent and deeply tried piety, are just what I need to sustain and encourage and hold me up. (25 January 1836, Acquisitions, SDF).

One of Stowe's most poignant letters, written during one of their separations, reveals their ongoing inability to meet each other's needs.

I could be anything or do anything for & by love, but without how desolate & waste & cheerless. You will love me very much when you come home, & then it will be as before all forced off into months of cold indifference. I do not know as this can be helped, but it seems to me as if my mind was like one of those plants which can very well bear a long steady winter but is killed by occasional warm spells forcing out all the little blossom buds to be nipped by succeeding frosts. It is thoughts like these that often sadden my anticipation of your return which tho I desire I sometimes also dread. . . (September 1844, Folder 70, BSC)

But at other times, she could laugh at Calvin's hypochondriasis and depression. During one of their separations, she wrote:

My dear soul, I received your most melancholy effusion, and I am sorry to find it's just so. I entirely agree and sympathize. Why didn't you engage the two tombstones--one for you and one for me? (January 1847, Folder 72, BSC).

The letters illustrate the problems faced concerning idealized family and roles for nineteenth-century expectations. Calvin shows no inhibitions in expressing his sexual needs. He wrote, ". . . my arms and bosom are hungry, hungry even to starvation" and he remembered the nights when he had "lain on the same pillow with you, your face pressed to mine, and our bare bosoms together" as he bemoaned his celibacy dictated by her absence. He longed to "step into your bedroom . . . and take that place in your arms to which I alone of all men in the world ever had a right or ever received admission" (7 August and 20 June, 1836, SDF). For an in-depth study, see Mary Kelley's essay ("At War" 23-46).

<sup>31</sup>Moral and religious philosophy are beyond the purview of this study except for these brief touchstones with the audience of Stowe. For the history of classical moral reform from the ancient writers through the Patristic Fath-

ers, see Morrison, especially (1-54, 150-72). For the progression of thought from the assumptions that intellect has authority over all human feelings to the validation of human rights and what supplements them, see Annette Baier's Postures of the Mind: Essays on Mind and Morals. Keekok Lee's A New Basis for Moral Philosophy carries the logic of human rights to the entire human family. All of Fries's book is instructive for the rhythm and style of the Platonic dialogue, characteristic of the day, as well as the insights into the century's phrasing of thought on moral and religious positions. For a general overview, see Colin Brown on empiricism, deism, enlightenment, scepticism, idealism, atheism, and agnosticism (60-166) and Woodfin on self-validation (97-114). Daniel Maguire addresses contemporary moral issues which appear frightening, but are only new statements of the old ones; of special interest for the purposes of this study is his chapter, "The Knowing Heart and the Intellectualistic Fallacy" (254-70). Ronald Marstin's Beyond Our Tribal Gods casts political suggestions for moral reform from a Catholic perspective on the liberation morality which is unnamed but present in tone.

<sup>32</sup>Gilbert and Gubar write that Stowe's books "insist that maternal sensations and feminine powerlessness alone can save a world otherwise damned by masculine aggression." They say that Uncle Tom has been identified as "a stereotypical Victorian heroine: pious, domestic, self-sacrificing, emotionally uninhibited in response to people and ethical questions," and cite Ammons as the identifier. In the first place, Stowe's books do not "insist" on what they claim, and her women characters do not bear out the charge. The women show a full range of characteristics, aggressive qualities, and abilities to relate realistically and competently with the men in their lives to effect social change. That which Ammons really says, after seven pages of very carefully structured arguments to draw the religious and typological analogues of Rachel, Tom, and Eva is this:

The three juxtaposed characters--the earthly mother, the gentle black man, and the ethereal girl-child--embody in different yet complementary ways the redemptive feminine-Christ principle that informs Uncle Tom's Cabin.

Then, a paragraph later, Ammons adds:

Stowe displays shrewd political strategy in choosing to characterize her hero as a stereotypical Victorian heroine: pious, domestic, self-sacrificing, emotionally uninhibited in response to people and ethical questions. Not only does the characterization make Tom unthreatening . . . [it] insinuates him into the nineteenth-century of idolatry of feminine virtue, sentimentalized in young girls and sacrosanct in Mother. (159)

The full context does not communicate what Gilbert and Gubar claim.

Gayle Kimball's work in the religious ideas of Stowe leans to a partisan feminist reading of Stowe's theology. For example, she writes:

Although impressed by Unitarian urbane intellectuality . . . that denomination did not hold to the belief in strict reward and punishment in the hereafter which she felt was necessary to insure human morality. She chose, instead, the Episcopal practice of accepting as church members those who were pious and faithful to church teachings. She also rejected the harsh theology of clergymen and looked instead to the loving nurture of motherly women. (76)

Kimball also has a penchant for summarizing complex Puritan issues and making neat applications to Stowe:

Idealization of the family was a major theme for Jonathan Edwards, who stated that every family ought to be a little church and that the family was a prime source of grace. It was to this Puritan emphasis on marriage and children that HBS was to turn for salvation. (48)

Again, this kind of summary holds validity only if the commentator specifies that Stowe maintains a principle model in Christ for the authority of the mother. Stowe never maintained that salvation came through the mother, but rather from Christ, whose earthly model could be most readily visualized in the role of the mother.

On the other hand, Eleanor Miller's study presents a more balanced treatment as she investigates Stowe's Christian philosophy in evangelical main characters who possess divine wisdom. Each one exhibits a persistent trust in the essential good in life and in God as the creator of that good; each is Christlike in compassion for others, in faithful steadfastness, and in love of God.

Pelikan's book of eighteen chapters, each of which takes a way of perceiving Christ through his place in the history of culture, illustrates the expansion of Christological approaches. For this study, the most pertinent chapters consider first, the divine and human model of Christ, coming from the affective enterprise of Francis of Assisi which resulted in the Franciscan project of injecting Mary into Catholic theology for a softening influence (133-44) and second, the liberator as the model which is most sympathetic to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of reform with opposition to economic and social injustice ((206-19). The results of the increasing emphasis on Christology have proliferated entire disciplines on the nature of Christ.

<sup>33</sup>MacFarlane says that Stowe's "internal contradictions of her social vision domesticate even her own latent radicalism" (9) and notes of Tom and George that "neither politics nor religion can sustain a consistent or efficacious response to the sweeping and related problems of racism and capitalism that threaten both the family and the nation" (69).

<sup>34</sup>See Hildreth (112-38).

<sup>35</sup>The range of social possibilities available to women in the era opened like a folding fan unfolding almost in the same manner in which studies about them proliferate today. The following sources give a representative selection for study in women's social activity by mid-century. For involvements from the religious motivation, see: Rosemary Skinner Keller on women, civil religion, and the American Revolution (368-408); Rosemary Radford Reuther and Catherine Prelinger on women in sectarian and utopian groups (260-315); Anne Boylan on the teacher-volunteers in the Sunday School (101-32) and Sunday School as an institution for socialization and Christian nurture as well as conversion (133-65); and Jane Hunter's presentation of single women and the mission community and married women and missionary vocation (89-127).

For a close look at the work of benevolences and the politics of domesticity, see: Lori Ginzberg on the business of benevolence (36-66), women's reform in sexual issues (11-35), and women's initiation into political activity (67-97); Barbara Epstein on women's political action on behalf of the home (89-114) and gradual union of the temperance effort with feminism's more political agenda (115-46).

For the background to active feminism, see Blanche Hersch's connection of the new concept of womanhood with abolition (27-38); Karen Sanchez-Eppler on the intersecting rhetorics of feminism and abolition (28-59); Turning the World Upsidedown, a reprint of the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women in 1837; Margaret Forster's presentation of feminism through the brief biographies of eight activist women, the most pertinent for this study being those in education, sexual morality, and politics (131-238); and Jean Fagin Yellin's work in the antislavery feminists in American culture, especially Angelina Grimke, L. Maria Child, Sojourner Truth, and Harriet Jacobs (3-96). For Stowe's interest in and relationship with Sojourner Truth, see Jean Lebedun's essay (359-63).

Margaret Wyman calls My Wife and I Stowe's "topical novel on woman suffrage" (383). She started as a advocate of suffrage and women's rights, but changed in her attitude when Victoria Woodhull entered the middle of the feminist movement, and divided the activists between those who rejected her bold immorality and those who admired her beauty

and legal astuteness. Personal animosity added to the problem as far as Stowe was concerned when Woodhull and a central core of feminists, together with Stowe's sister, Isabella, initiated the public scandal about Henry Ward Beecher (386-87). Josephine Donovan says Woodhull's agitation caused a change in her attitude toward suffragettes, but argues that her feminist feelings are underestimated ("Harriet" 143). In the novel, Stowe parodies the feminists although in previous writings she advocated suffrage. In a Chimney Corner column in the Atlantic in the mid-sixties, she leaves no doubt about her position:

. . . the Woman's Rights movement, with its conventions, its speech-makings, its crudities and eccentricities, is nevertheless a part of a healthful and necessary part of the human race towards progress. This question of Woman and her Sphere is now, perhaps, the greatest of the age . . . if women hold property and are taxed, it follows that women should be represented in the State by their votes, or there is an illogical working of our government. (Wyman 385)

Stowe does not waver from her support of suffrage. She adds to its responsibility in My Wife and I.

The state is nothing more nor less than a collection of families, and what would be good or bad for the individual family, would be good or bad for the state . . . it needs an influence like what I remember our mother's to have been, in our great, vigorous, growing family,--an influence quiet, calm, warming, purifying, uniting--it needs a womanly economy and thrift in husbanding and applying its material resources--it needs a divining power, by which different sections and different races can be interpreted to each other, and blended together in love--it needs educating power, by which its immature children may be trained in virtue--it needs a loving and redeeming power, by which its erring and criminal children may be borne with, purified, and led back to virtue . . . I am persuaded that it is not till this class of women feel as vital and personal responsibility for the good of the State, as they have hitherto felt for that of the family, that we shall gain the final elements of a perfect society. (37-39)

Her expression may seem naive, but her position demands the acknowledgment of woman's public obligation and the absolute right in suffrage.

Stowe often addressed the woman question in her magazine essays, since the subject was of popular interest. In a letter to Emerson, she wrote she had been requested by the proprietors of Hearth and Home to seek articles from "the

very best minds of our century" on the woman question, specifically suffrage. After detailing an article which might be submitted by Emerson, she says she read his "letter to the Suffrage Convention in Boston" and adds:

I am struck with some of the sentiments of it . . . You might with perhaps less offence and with more profit than anyone give a little well-timed advice to the . . . leaders of this movement to avoid shocking the public taste by a too prominent ranging of extreme views . . . by ungraceful and ungracious . . . presenting the truth. (1869, Copies, SDF)

The same year, in a letter in which she says she is "just as scared as I can be for what I have done" [in revealing the Byron scandal], she adds, "Yes I do believe in Female Suffrage--The more I think of it the more absurd this whole government of men over women looks" (Letter to Sarah Parton, 25 July [1869], Copies, SDF).

<sup>36</sup>Overt and subtle differences appear in relationships between women in the period. The dichotomies can be seen in Catherine Beecher's print arguments with Angelina Grimke over the public role of women. The two opposing views could agree on anti-slavery positions, but not upon the active role of women's public positions. Catherine felt strongly that women should mold the public through private influence and not speak out publicly, although she was one of the most public of the Beechers through the printed word until Harriet burst into celebrity status. The Grimkes, active and highly mobile, believed in direct participation. Catherine may have been protecting the authority for her far-ranging views on reconstruction of the society based on "household economy" which demanded the domestic mentality. Stowe's agreements and disagreements can be traced from her House and Home papers. She agreed on most matters in principle, and disagreed when positions proved threatening to domestic ideology, as she felt the "free love" advocacy of radical suffragettes did. Harriet was never publicly opposed to the more visible public women until the Claflins, Stanton, her sister Isabella, and others precipitated Henry's public scandal. My Wife and I is a response to the manners and morals of the "new woman." The estrangement may not have been as great as accounts about it make it seem. At any rate, in the Stowe-Day collections, there is a dictated letter to Sarah Grimke from Harriet with the last three lines, closing, and signature in her handwriting. In it she offers to purchase a set of Cutter's physiological charts and models of the female organs for a proposed series of spring lectures. The end of the letter has a note written by Angelina Emily Grimke Weld to her sister Sarah Moore Grimke (7 February 1854, Acquisitions, SDF). Angelina married Theodore Weld, the abolitionist firebrand at Lane

Seminary who had insisted on a greater abolitionist identity for the school and cost Lyman his wealthy financiers when he took all the student body except one student with him to found Oberlin.

Joan Hedrick writes about cross-class bonding and of the subtle difference in tone of the friendships of Stowe with her maid Anna, George Eliot, and Lady Byron in a women's hierarchy of relationships (312-13, 331). Overall, there is still the warmth, genuineness, and affection in each case, but Anna, the domestic assistant, is more effusive and adoring with Stowe than Stowe is in return while with Eliot, the professional peer, she is more egalitarian, and with Lady Byron, the social superior, Stowe assumes more of the characteristics of Anna toward her.

<sup>37</sup>See Penelope Bullock (1-63) for historical and bibliographical treatment of the periodicals, their publishers, and supporters and friends. For example, Lydia Maria Child was a patron and ally of David Ruggles and so was William Wells Brown who was also a friend of William Whipper, editor of the Reformer.

<sup>38</sup>The only woman's slave narrative in print before Uncle Tom's Cabin is Mary Prince's The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave in 1831 in Edinburgh. I can find no record of its American reception. See Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (Figures 59-163) for the literature of the slave, including Phillis Wheatley and detailed criticism of Douglass. See William L. Andrews's critical study, To Tell a Free Story: The First Century of Afro-American Autobiography, 1760-1865 for the ways in which black storytelling diverges from literary conventions and, at the same time, imitates distinctive American genres such as spiritual autobiography and jeremiad.

<sup>39</sup>In A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin, when Stowe was hard at work attempting to justify her fiction for the charges that it presented lies, she gave lengthy "proofs" from a variety of sources, primarily court cases and real episodes from Theodore Weld's anonymous American Slavery as It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses. She later told Angelina Grimke she slept with it under her pillow as she wrote her novel. In response to inquiries about character sources, she enumerates examples to illustrate "extraordinary piety among negroes" (Key 25). At the end, she says that the "last instance parallel with that of Uncle Tom is to be found in the published memoirs of the venerable Josiah Henson, now a clergyman in Canada" (26). Both Henson and Lewis Clarke, who passed himself off as George Harris, made careers of being her character sources. Poor scholarship on the part of some critics have added to the legends and misconceptions. For a complete rehearsing of all of the

circumstances, confusion, and deliberate exploitations, see Kirkham's objective and factual reporting (78-99).

<sup>40</sup>For distinctive characteristics in black theology, conversion, and ethics among antebellum slaves in the South, see Joyner (141-71). Nathan Hatch's The Democratization of American Christianity discusses Blacks at camp meetings (49-66), Black preachers (102-12), and the Black audience, not only for sermons, but also for tracts and music (125-89). See Walter Pitts (137-49) for the influence of African poetics on black preaching style. See Bruce Rosenberg's Can These Bones Live? and Gerald Davis's I Got the Word in Me and I Can Sing It, You Know for the art and style of the African-American sermon. Charles Joyner meticulously analyzes from an array of documents the varying degrees in which slaves converted to Christianity, synthesized its ritual with their indigenous ones, or sought subversive ways to reject it (141-95).

<sup>41</sup>The most comprehensive representation of slave life is Joyner's reconstruction of life in one slave community, All Saints Parish, Georgetown District, in South Carolina lowcountry, Down By the Riverside. Using the Annales method, he sifts many kinds of records and carefully puts together the life, work, faith, and culture of every aspect of slave experience. For a different perspective, see Allen Kaufman's Capitalism, Slavery, and Republican Values: American Political Economists, 1819-1848 which dissects the debate around which the desirability of slavery in this country revolved between Northern protectionists and Southern free trade economists. Still another perspective is Eugene Genovese's critique and guide to Ulrich Phillips's American Negro Slavery, considered a brilliant history at the turn of the century. Genovese considers parts of the work to be outdated racism, but he says the chapters on the tobacco colonies, the rice coast, and the Northern colonies (46-114) are peerless accounts, so they constitute instruction into the realities of the South. Genovese's The World the Slaveholders Made is his own reconstruction of the slave's world and treats the philosophical attitudes that produced the realities of slave existence. Mary Locke's 1901 history of antislavery in America, a Radcliffe monograph republished in 1965, provides an extensive background covering the years, 1619-1808: see especially the religious and moral movement, 1637-1808 (9-45); abolitionists and abolition societies, 1783-1808 (88-110); and antislavery literature after the Revolution, 1783-1808 (166-96).

Moses Roper's slave narrative was published in 1838 and Solomon Northup's came out in 1853. A comparison of the two reveal differences in style and content. Roper's is more sparse with details and has a pilgrimage-of-the-soul tone, in spite of its graphic descriptions of escapes, punish-



ments, and efforts at education. Northrop's tone is more conversational, intimate, and detailed. Edited by James Mellon, Bullwhip Days draws from the archives of the Federal Writers' Project to collect the narratives of living former slaves and The Slave's Narrative, edited by Charles T. Davis and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., collects the response to black slave's narrative from 1750 until the present. Minrose Gwinn analyzes the particular problems between white women and slave women from the narratives of Harriet Jacobs and Elizabeth Keckley.

Two white narrators who lived in the South for extended periods provide insights into slavery: Frederick Law Olmsted's Travels and the narrator of Sunny South. In the latter book, edited by Ingraham, "Kate" holds the reader in fascination with her writing and subject matter while she betrays herself as the Northern governess hired South and seduced by the system. She is Miss Ophelia, wooed, wed, and self-deceived. Seduction comes quickly. She receives a personal maid:

She was given to my charge as my waiting-woman, on the first evening of my arrival here; and by night she sleeps on a rug at the door of my chamber. At first, I was shocked and alarmed to have a negress sleep in the chamber with me; but now, I am so accustomed to her presence, and she is so willing, so watchful, so attentive, so useful, that I am quite reconciled to having her. (34)

"Kate" mesmerizes a reader with accounts of life on a slave plantation in Tennessee, but underneath the narrative runs the violence and decadence with which she eventually identifies and casts her lot.

On the other hand, Victor Kramer's comparison of Stowe's imaginative treatment of the South and Olmsted's journals of his travels reinforce each other (109-20). Olmsted's experience of shocking sights still carries immediacy by his objective reporting without comment. For example, he quietly tells an after-dinner conversation overheard on the gallery of his hotel when a Negro trader opened the conversation:

"I hear you were unlucky with that girl you bought of me, last year?" Some exchanges follow, and finally, the slave owner admits: "Yes, I was foolish, I suppose, to risk so much on the life of a single woman; but I've got a good start again now, for all that. I've got two right likely girls; one of them's got a fine boy, four months old, and the other's with child--and old Pine Knot's as hearty as ever."

Olmsted voices no moral on the conversation. But the actual conversation evokes images of mad Cassy, deranged by her treatment from white men.

From another source, Mary Chestnut's diary adds its indictment:

I hate slavery . . . You say there are no more fallen women on a plantation than in London, in proportion to numbers. What do you say to this? A magnate who runs a hideous black harem and its consequences under the same roof with his lovely white wife and his beautiful and accomplished daughters? He holds his head as high and poses as the model of all human virtues to these poor women whom God and the laws have given him. From the height of his awful majesty he scolds and thunders at them, as if he never did wrong in his life.

Fancy such a man finding his daughter reading Don Juan. "You with that unmoral book!" And he orders her out of his sight.

You see, Mrs. Stowe did not hit the sorest spot. She makes Legree a bachelor. Remember George II and his like.

Oh, I knew half a Legree, a man said to be as cruel as Legree--but the other half of him did not correspond. He was a man of polished manners. And the best husband and father and member of the church in the world. (168)

Northern "Kate" and Mary Chestnut provide conflicting perspectives. For a Southern view of life in the North, see John Hope Franklin's collection of letters, diaries, and comments of Southerners who traveled there and left their impressions.

<sup>42</sup>For a comprehensive summary of the critical reception to Uncle Tom's Cabin, see Gossett: reception in the North and South (164-211); anti-Uncle Tom literature (212-38); reception abroad (239-59); and critical reception from 1941 to the present (388-408).

## CONCLUSION

## STOWE AND AMERICA

Stowe's strategies with Puritan genres, voice, and audience in Uncle Tom's Cabin propose a methodology for social change, demonstrating the power of sermon and narrative in tension in American literary history; further, they serve as a model to assess critically her other books<sup>1</sup>; and, finally, they anticipate narrative theology, a contemporary interdisciplinary theory concerning the dynamics of cultural and ethical change.<sup>2</sup> The sermon, as symbol of rules and standards, and the story, as carrier of character and event (through the same voice using the different styles of both), work in tandem to influence each other and produce an agenda compatible for both. The tension created by the interaction allows the audience to identify the consequences of individual stories pitted against the culture's big story of its rules. By understanding how characters resolve their particular situations which result from their experiences in conflict with the law, the audience identifies with ways to challenge rules while retaining their own stability for group identity.

Years after writing it, she said, "God wrote it."

Wagenknecht provides the best summary response to the critical reaction to that statement.

Her failure to give a consistent account of even the origin of Uncle Tom's Cabin has been much ridiculed, and her final conviction that "God wrote it!" has been taken as proving that she suffered from a Messianic complex. I find this an uncomprehending judgment. Artistic creativity is as much a mystery to the uninitiated as mystical awareness; it cannot be described except in terms of parable. And Harriet's background being what it was, it was inevitable that her parable should take a conventionally religious form. (162)

She did write it, of course, from her rich heritage and personal genius. There is the Puritan self in the statement, coming from the biblical base of writers moving in response to divine inspiration. Her public persona of diffidence in saying such a thing further underscores her identity with her time, her so-called careless style further emphasizing the nineteenth-century view of print culture versus a late twentieth-century view of it. In order to write it, she had to possess powerful intelligence, creative ability, and a strong sense of the past, the present, and the future. Uncle Tom's Cabin stands, not only as Tom's monument, but also as Stowe's. Professor and contemporary church historian, Leon McBeth, expresses dismay that the modern student generation has "no understanding of the importance of Uncle Tom's Cabin in the history of this country and few have read it" (Letter, 20 April 1991).

But that unawareness neither negates her profound impact on America nor nullifies her merging of self and national interests.

Stowe composes the celebration of America in a fourth of July observation from her childhood in Pogonuc People:

It was this solemn undertone, this mysterious, throbbing sub-bass of repressed emotion, which gave the power and effect to the Puritan music. After the singing came Dr. Cushing's prayer--which was a recounting of God's mercies to New England from the beginning, and of his deliverances from her enemies, and of petitions for the glorious future of the United States of America--that they might be chosen vessels, commissioned to bear the light of liberty and religion through all the earth and to bring in the great millennial day, when wars should cease and the whole world, released from the thralldom of evil, should rejoice in the light of the Lord.

The millenium was ever the star of hope in the eyes of the New England clergy: their faces were set eastward, towards the dawn of that day, and the cheerfulness of those anticipations illuminated the hard tenets of their theology with a rosy glow. They were children of the morning. (197-198)

Harriet Beecher Stowe always kept her face to the east, too, but her orientation was the Son, the person, rather than the sun, the theological symbol of God. Even when protesting the New England clergy's potential blindness from their insistence on staring into the theological sun, she stood in their progression to claim God's day of salvation for America in Puritan methodology.

To take one view over another as a way to read Stowe leaves too many questions unanswered: single issue feminists often do not deal with textual matters outside their agenda

which may cause one to question their conclusions; nor do the archetypal, mythic approaches with psychological underpinnings answer the emotional pull the text holds for a contemporary reader. By using the Puritan genres against the background of nineteenth-century America with literary and religious symbols as sentimental and political groundings, Stowe's powerful voice addressed THE world issue and created the swirling world of Tom. She could write idealistically and effectively from the world where she was to a world she visioned as superior. In Tom, all fell into place to get results.

The same approach in her other works did not produce the seamless unity of effect. For all of the novel's appearance as a huge sack of lively kittens, it is hard to pull out one cat without dealing with all of them. In Uncle Tom's Cabin, the cats stay in the bag with all of their lives. But the elements of those "cats" do not always fuse in other works. Whether she writes tracts, sermons, or domestic novels, the strategies outlined in this study of Uncle Tom's Cabin are always present in her work, but the tension differs in the balance between the two voices present. She always writes from the strategies of Puritan genres in storyteller and preacher voices to an audience she knows and loves. In Uncle Tom's Cabin, the world was her audience. By the time she wrote the New York novels and Pogonuc People her audience had other concerns. Ann Douglas

says she "closed her career as a show-off" (255), but it seems more likely she was simply holding on. Her strength did not abate, but the public issues suitable to her gifts and style are of less importance to an audience no longer unifiable about one single issue from their own sermons and stories. Her House and Home Papers and columns with the New York novels are more directly her domestic ideology dressed for the market and they provide a commentary on her personal struggle reflected in her papers and letters which show she really was what she preached (wife, mother, daughter). She tried to be what she told in stories and preached in sermons; but reality was an issue that refused to yield to her ordering pen. Like other "scribbling women," Stowe met great difficulty in making her ideals her family reality. But she never wavered from dedication to home and family. Had she done so, her great novel could not have shaken America.

She may have had one chance to escape domesticity after Uncle Tom's Cabin. Forrest Wilson writes about a tantalizing blank of three weeks in her biography during her third European visit when she was in Switzerland with her family and John Ruskin. For reasons unexplained, she cancelled her travel plans, returned to London, waited almost until the last minute to inform Ruskin of her abrupt departure and was two days at sea when he replied to her from Geneva:

. . . I've no heart to write about anything in Europe to you now. When are you coming back

again? . . . I really am very sorry you are going  
 . . . I could have stopped at Paris so easily for  
 you . . . (456)

After several conjectures, Wilson concludes that the episode indicates "that the flirtation, if flirtation there was, was entirely on Ruskin's part, and that Harriet ran away from it" (457).<sup>3</sup>

For all the family's need of her, she also needed them for her view of structure and meaning; between the lines that read like a legal brief in her excoriation of Byron in Lady Byron Vindicated, with her championing the wronged wife, one can only wonder what if? She always had her family with her, whether actual members or the "birthings" from her brain and pen (to use Anne Bradstreet's metaphor), like Hester Prynne always had Pearl, except for the time she sent her to play in the forest as she talked with Arthur Dimmesdale to plot their escape, and finally, when she returned to Salem without Pearl. Stowe's local pearl was the New England island, The Pearl of Orr's Island, and her European Pearl was Agnes, the New England heroine in her Italian novel, Agnes of Sorrento. What if Agnes-Harriet in Italy had acted like Hester in Salem or left all her family pearls in the village and gone into the forest with Ruskin? The point is, she did not. She returned to the American wilderness as Hester Prynne did where physical bondage can be ameliorated through the escapes of the mind using the



ordering devices of the restraints to serve as the road to freedom.

She did well with what had to be done. In today's idiom, she coped. To borrow a phrase from Barbara Welter, "She hath done what she could do" ("She" 624). But America continues to want what Stowe tried to give: a national messiah who is also domesticated. Writers and critics may chide or eulogize her for what she gave the culture, but they keep trying to provide what she tried to give and, moreover, they continue to use the genres she used.<sup>4</sup> Literary critics can adopt any number of responses, but back of the disappointment at her failure on one hand, and praise on the other for more than she accomplished, remains the same expectation which Americans have for all their artists. Going back to Cotton Mather's Magnalia, the culture wants an American Christ. The American audience expects artists to provide a way for the journey from God to gods to take individuals back to God in order to satisfy the idealized identity as soldiers in all the national wars, civil or otherwise.

Tom was Stowe's answer for America, but St. Clare was how she saw America. Baldwin's excoriating essay has become as hotly argued as Uncle Tom's Cabin. He missed some points and has been responded to. But he was right about the "theological terror" to which Hortense Spiller also alludes (35), but also misses. The theological terror was not

discharged upon the slave. It was for America because of all that Stowe saw at the brink. She beheld America full of ideals, but paralyzed by inertia; bursting with energy, but self-destroying with impulsive, non-productive half-action; yearning for national glory, but losing the American dream; and facing death, but comforted only by empty, idealized religion. Theological terror, indeed! Little wonder her jeremiad is so impassioned.

She fought the battles on the pages of Tom. Like her family, the critics expect her to have all the answers because she, like a good mother, assumed them. Somehow she cannot be forgiven for not providing all the contingencies for what she started. Each generation and every individual struggles with the tension that must be struck between personal ideals, public policy and the personal and public means of attaining them. Each group must do its individual and collective work, for in the tension, collectively, the group become the one.

Honan says contemporary women's writing, critical and theoretical, as well as literary, is still playing out the nineteenth century's contradictions and expresses the hope that "analysis of this contradiction might help us to stop repeating the disabling choice of one parent over the other" (xiii). Delbanco writes:

For most who came over in the Great Migration, America was not a place where one might nurture a regeneracy that was already manifest to the self in England. It was instead a place where one

could dare to hope that for the first time the spirit might make itself felt. The Puritan immigrant's question had not been merely, 'shall I find Christ in America,' but whether there could be in America a community of saints" (213).

Harriet Beecher Stowe, on the pages of Uncle Tom's Cabin, strives bravely to provide such a utopia as a preaching storyteller who reforms the nation by setting the captives free through the power of love in a mother's voice.

Using "feminine voice" as a way to describe women is one consideration of many, but it can be descriptive only and neither definitive nor proscriptive, simply giving one's orientation. Gillian Brown comes from the rank of critics brilliantly pioneering studies in feminine voice who are working from the context of nineteenth-century literary documents. But feminine voice, which sounds so appealing and promises so much power, is ultimately delusional because it cannot act against the structure which defines it. Judith Butler writes about a "cultural self" (130) created and interpreted by profound cultural standards that is identified but not restrained by its own power. The cultural subject, rather than male or female, poses a way between the intimidating pluralities, such as that which is illustrated by gender-based masculine and feminine voices. Lee Edwards points out the Jungian individuation as a goal set for all humanity. The "aspirations of consciousness are human attributes and that heroism . . . is a human necessity capable of being represented equally by figures who are

neither male or female" (39). As Patricia Meyer Spacks notes, "Visions of heroism are modes of dramaturgy." In the melodramatic enactment, "When one climbs upon a literary stage to perform the self, one chooses the costume, assumes the poses, that audience of one's own time--and oneself as audience--will recognize" ("Stages" 17). Stowe's mothers, fathers, children, and slaves are all cultural subjects, pointing the way by ethical involvement in the public arena that which is learned in the private one. Calling her characters as cultural subjects to join in the narration together to observe, analyze, and participate in the engagement with Uncle Tom's Cabin neither reduces the literariness of its plot to a women's concern nor a dated political problem without direction for sociological conclusions. The cultural subject is contained, allowed to adjust, but not restrained in the exercise between rules and experience. Joswick submits that the audience is encouraged to change moral perceptions by responding to feelings. Stowe does not provide readers with moral arguments, but rather attempts to equip a redemptive community of readers on the basis of a response to self-evident values (263). Her plan includes formation of an ideal community which grants equality to its members because of their principles as a caring group (271).

Stowe had these features in all her works, but no one issue that interested her was so critical in the world view as slavery was. Her world did not have cold wars, press

secretaries, or evening news anchors to indicate world issues. The world knew the most pressing moral problem of the day was slavery. Whatever forms of legal and illegal injustice continue, that particular one is gone. Today's audience can judge her in any number of ways; sixty years of writing and thirty-seven books provide the material. They may align themselves with those feminist critics like Jane Tompkins who have performed the Amazonian task of showing her again to an audience influenced by those who never bothered to investigate why she was so powerful. Or they can line up with Fiedler and Hovet and exponents of her stature as an epic maker or mythologizer. However, she is too complex to be categorized and systematized. She must be set free with all her typologies, symbols, sermons, and stories of the many struggles for freedom and meaning on the American landscape. For this daughter of the Puritans set her face toward the morning, and in stroke after stroke of her pen spilled character after character into the American literary tapestry to hang on the wall of our hall of culture and letters. Stowe tells us Uncle Tom's cabin stands empty as his monument. Her book, crammed full as Marie's closet, but ordered as Ophelia's New England house, remains as her memorial, giving its own witness in Lincoln's attribute to her power with an audience when he met her: "So this is the little woman who started the big war." She did it as a messenger with a message of forms and reform.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Dred is off balance because the tension between the storyteller and preacher voices is not adjusted and the sermons don't bond with the stories. The individual stories are compelling, but the plot is not. Where that binding force is off, other strengths in the book do shine, but do not show the prophetic and narrative slice of her thrusts. In The Pearl of Orr's Island, the strength of local color and dialect produce fascination and character familiarity, but the sermonizing becomes didactic and the plot movement breaks midway, perhaps because of several years hiatus between the two parts during the composition. Her forces of sermon, voice, story, and local color are most out of tension in Agnes of Sorrento. Agnes is Pearl in Italy. The Minister's Wooing provides the good sermons, gentle stories which blend, and near lyrical writing about the New England past, but the greater story (how New England girl sacrifices self and wins all) overshadows the defining sermon (how New England is religious and why) which is the most interesting part of the book. Stowe is back in stride with Oldtown Folks and gives Puritanism in life and feeling that was not repeated until Andrew Delbanco's book. Sam Lawson, her village storyteller, who takes on all the preachers, gets his own spin-off in Sam Lawson's Oldtown Fireside Stories, to become the New England storyteller. He was so well known, Twain used his name for a character description in "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" (360). Oldtown Folks and Pogonuc People have sermon and story in tension. The latter's story is more trivial, a nostalgic recollection of a way of life and a childhood lived in it. The former is the most architecturally perfect of all her works and affords fascinating insights into the feeling tone of New England towards its heritage which are unmatched until Delbanco's and Cohen's books, but its issues are not cataclysmic as those in Uncle Tom's Cabin.

<sup>2</sup>In the 1970s, a cross-disciplinary effort arose from postmodern moral philosophy which postulates a comprehension of narrative, or story, as essential to understanding the self, social groups, their histories, and moral theory. H. Richard Niebuhr initiated the discourse in 1941 with "The Story of Our Lives," but the concept lay dormant until it burst on the stage where critical thought enacts itself. Books and essays continue: narrative truth, narrative

practice, narrative and theology, narrative and morality, use of narrative in the Bible, narrative and culture, and on it goes, precipitating a lively dialogue. Enduring results seem probable because of the scholars which the subject has interested: Paul Ricoeur, Iris Murdoch, Hans Frei, George Lindbeck, Stanley Hauerwas, Sallie McFague, Wesley Kort, and Harvey Cox, to mention a few. The interchange takes into account such matters as freedom and relativism; characters project their intentions into the world and circumstances conspire to limit the possibility of carrying them out, producing a relativism between the little stories of each individual, the big ones of their particular group or culture, and the ethical process which they must find and enact. The operation relies on virtue, character, and resultant behavior from their interaction to produce the moral agent's own perspective on his or her actions (rather than that of an ideal observer) which stresses the distinctive features of an overall vision of life, calls attention to the particularity of moral life, and poses that it is better to shape one's own life than to be shaped. For an overview of basic issues, see Gary Comstock's "Two Types of Narrative Theology" (687-717). See also Stanley Hauerwas (Peaceable 17-34); Wesley Kort (Story 6-96); and Paul Nelson (Narrative 9-108). Benedict Guevin's essay investigates the power of parables and the ways in which the moral imagination can utilize the aim of Christian ethics "to transform the self-understanding of the agent" (66).

<sup>3</sup>Near the end of her second trip to Europe in 1857, she met John Ruskin in London and he took her to Camberwell to show her his gallery of Turners (Forrest Wilson 432). They corresponded later and he wrote her a warm praise of The Minister's Wooing in 1859. Ruskin, whose marriage had been annulled recently, was in Geneva when the Stowe party was, during the summer of 1859, and "in those twenty-one days formed for Harriet Beecher Stowe an attachment that was warm indeed. Ruskin said she had made herself 'cruelly pleasant' to him" (446-47). Calvin's letters reveal that travel plans included his return to England to sail home with younger daughter Georgiana, and Harriet to remain and travel more with the twins and a Beecher cousin. But Harriet abruptly left to go to England with Calvin and Georgiana, then returned for the three and spent the fall, winter, and spring months traveling through Italy and Europe back to London. From Paris, in May, 1860, she wrote Calvin unexpected news that "a great change has taken place in our plans" and they were booked to return June 16 from England. She ended the letter with a cryptic sentence; "We will make a very happy home, and our children will help us" (455). She waited almost until the last minute to inform Ruskin of her sudden departure, and was two days at sea when he replied to her from Geneva in a letter dated June 18, 1860. The senior

Ruskin forwarded the letter, but it did not reach her until she had been home some time. She kept it the rest of her life and gave it to her son for inclusion in her biography.

Dear Mrs. Stowe:

It takes a great deal, when I am at Geneva, to make me wish myself anywhere else, and, of all places else, in London; nevertheless I very heartily wish at this moment that I were looking out on the Norwood Hills, and were expecting you and the children to breakfast tomorrow.

I had very serious thoughts, when I received your note, of running home; but I expected that very day an American friend, Mr. S., who I thought would miss me more here than you would in London; so I stayed.

What a dreadful thing it is that people should have to go to America again, after coming to Europe! It seems to me an inversion of the order of nature. I think America is a sort of "United" States of Probation, out of which all wise people, being once delivered, and having obtained entrance into this better world, should never be expected to return (sentence irremediably ungrammatical), particularly when they have been making themselves cruelly pleasant to friends here.

I was waiting for S. at the railroad station on Thursday, and thinking of you, naturally enough--it seemed so short a while since we were there together. I managed to get hold of Georgie as she was crossing the rails, and packed her in opposite my mother and beside me, and was thinking myself so clever, when you sent that rascally courier for her! I never forgave him any of his behaviour after his imperativeness on that occasion.

And so she is getting nice and strong? Ask her, please, when you write, with my love, whether, she stands now behind the great stick, one can see much of her on each side?

So you have been seeing the Pope and all his Easter performances? I congratulate you, for I suppose it is something like "Positively the last appearance on any stage." What was the use of thinking about him? You should have your own thoughts about what was to come after him. I don't mean that Roman Catholicism will die out so quickly. It will last pretty nearly as long as Protestantism, which keeps it up; but I wonder what is to come next. That is the main question just now for everybody.



So you are coming round to Venice after all? We shall all have to come to it, depend upon it, some way or another. There never has been anything in any other part of the world like Venetian strength well developed.

I've no heart to write about anything in Europe to you now. When are you coming back again? Please send me a line as soon as you get safe over, to say you are all--wrong, but not lost in the Atlantic.

I don't know if you will ever get this letter, but I hope you will think it worth while to glance again at the Denmark Hill pictures; so I send this to my father, who, I hope, will be able to give it to you.

I really am very sorry you are going,--you and yours; and that is absolute fact, and I shall not enjoy my Swiss journey at all so much as I might. It was a shame of you not to give me warning before. I could have stopped at Paris so easily for you! All good be with you! Remember me devotedly to the young ladies, and believe me ever affectionately yours,

J. Ruskin (Forrest Wilson  
456; Charles Stowe 353-55)

Wilson says "in light of the usual reticences of the early Victorians, it was an extraordinary epistle" (Forrest Wilson 457).

For a researcher, just as extraordinary is the absence of Stowe's letters to Ruskin. Although his to her are available, her responses to him have not been found. This is the more notable in light of the extensive collections of Stowe letters which do exist. One can almost believe she kept copies of everything she wrote.

Late in life she wrote to Annie Fields:

. . . Let me thank you for sending me "Ida," made doubly precious by Ruskin's preface and notes. He traveled a week with me and my daughters in the Alps, and made a special pet of my Georgie. He is an original, but one of the most delightful of men, and a true Christian whom I hope to meet hereafter. I do wish he would visit America, but have no hope of it. (Fields 624)

Without doubt, Ruskin continued to hold special memories for her. A neighbor commented on her priceless library of Uncle Tom literature and included additional information:

There are relics also of a more private sort. For example, a smooth stone of two or three pounds' weight, and a sketch, or study, on it by Ruskin, made at a hotel on Lake Neufchatel where he and Mrs. Stowe chanced to meet; he having fetched it in from the lake shore one evening and

painted it in her presence to illustrate his meaning in something he had said. (629)  
 Ruskin also made a similar drawing in her Italian diary, housed at the Stowe-Day, made while on a walk during the time in Switzerland.

The enigma continues for one interested in this side of Stowe. At her Nook Farm home next door to the Stowe-Day Foundation, an interesting arrangement of portraits and other art hangs on the wall leading upstairs. First is an engraving of the George Richmond drawing of Ruskin. Next to it hangs a pencil sketch by him of Chateau Valangin near Neuchatel, Switzerland, dated Sept/Oct 1859, and inscribed in Stowe's hand, "rapid sketch taken by Mr. Ruskin/ in a walk with us near Neuchatel." Next to it hangs the George Richmond engraving of his sketch of Stowe, made in London during her first European trip. Josiah Henson's photograph comes next, and last, a large engraving of Henry Ward Beecher with vignettes of his life about him. Calvin's portrait, painted by the frontier traveling artists who had pre-painted bodies to which they added the heads of their subjects, hangs alone above Stowe's bed. When asked the provenance of the Ruskin portrait, the Stowe-Day Curator, Renee Williams, after consulting her records, could only identify it as belonging to Harriet Beecher Stowe, "inherited by Robinson through his parents, the Lyman Beecher Stowes, through Reverend Charles Stowe, Harriet Beecher Stowe's son" (Interview, 3 October 1990).

<sup>4</sup>See Wilson Jeremiah Moses's Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms: "The Concept of Messianism, Sacred and Secular," (1-16); "The Black Jeremiad and American Messianic Traditions" (30-48); "Booker T. Washington: A Black Moses and the Covenant Revealed to Him" (86-106); "Marcus Garvey: The Resurrection of the Negro, and the Redemption of Africa" (124-41); "Du Bois' Dark Princess and the Heroic Uncle Tom" (142-54); "Waiting for the Messiah: From Joe Louis to Martin Luther King, Jr." (155-82); and "Black Messianism and American Destiny" 226-34). See Taylor Branch on Martin Luther King, Jr.'s sermon oratory (75-81); Arnold Rampersad's "Slavery and the Literary Imagination: Du Bois's The Souls of Black Folk" (104-24); and James Olney's "The Founding Fathers--Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington" (1-24).

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