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Trouble in paradise: rupture of the pastoral plantation myth in American literature, 1832-1921

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TROUBLE IN PARADISE: RUPTURE OF THE PASTORAL PLANTATION MYTH IN AMERICAN LITERATURE, 1832-1921

by

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

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PH.D. THESIS

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INTRODUCTION

Do You See What I See? Competing Perspectives of the Antebellum Plantation in John Pendleton Kennedy's *Swallow Barn*

In "A Negro Mother" (ch. XIX), a significant episode towards the end of John Pendleton Kennedy's *Swallow Barn, or A Sojourn in the Old Dominion* (1832), Frank Meriwether concludes the tour of his plantation with Mark Littleton, a relative from New York. They stop at the "remote" cottage of Lucy, an old and favored slave. Her cabin, which "seemed to sleep in the shade of a wood," is noted by the narrator, Mark Littleton, for its unusual presentation of "flowers [that] were planted in order along the line of the enclosure, and shot up with a gay luxuriance" (461).[1] The inside of the dwelling also "corresponded with the appearance of its inmate," which was "tidy and convenient" (461). A large cat perched upon the windowsill looked demurely upon the "tawdry and garish bevy of sunflowers" outside (461). As Meriwether repeatedly tries to engage her in conversation, Lucy sits near her hearth and clutches an old and tattered handkerchief oblivious to her visitors. She finally acknowledges their presence towards the end of their visit asking, "How many years, honey, do you think a ship may keep going steady on without stopping?---It is a right long time,---isn't it, honey?" (463). Lucy's "confusing behavior" in her beautiful cottage reflects a prominent break in Kennedy's presentation of the plantation space as a paradise for the planter, his family, and his slaves. (464).

While Kennedy's chapter, by its very title, frames the portrait of a slave mother, the focus of the narrative is on Lucy's son Abraham. "A Negro Mother" chronicles Abe's heroism at sea and Lucy's grief over his death. Noted for his intelligence, manual

aptitude, and an "expression of courage in his eye," Abe is sent to work at sea in order to spare him from being jailed, sold, or physically punished for the trouble he and other blacks were causing at Swallow Barn and neighboring plantations (468). At the heart of Abe and Lucy's story is how fictive representations of the plantation explore the regulatory power of antebellum social relations through white patriarchy. Kennedy's juxtaposition of Meriwether's "great castle" and the "gay luxuriance" of Lucy's remote cottage in *Swallow Barn* spatially reflect the fixed and paradoxical relationship between master and slave (23 and 461). On one hand, the cabin given to Lucy and her family reflects Meriwether's attempt to reward their service based on the feudal model. On the other hand, the cottage upholds Meriwether's right, as Casey Inge notes in his discussion on the trope of family, to "exercise his patriarchal prerogatives" when that hierarchy is challenged in any way ("Family Functions" 227). In the previous chapter, Littleton has the opportunity to visit the slave quarters before he sees Lucy. During their stop, Meriwether narrates an extended lecture explaining the benefits of slavery in which he suggests that the institution should be infused with aspects of feudalism. He proposes that the most deserving Negroes over the age of forty-five should be given tracts of land they pay for in the form of service or money. Meriwether believes this would alleviate the care of slave masters for their chattel and provide incentive for the slaves to behave.

Lucy's cottage is a prime example of Meriwether's theory. Luke's years of dedication and service to Swallow Barn was rewarded with a humble cottage in full view of the James River, food, board, and the opportunity of freedom for his family.[2] However, the intimate tie between Meriwether and his black servants is compromised when Abe is banished for his unruly behavior. Meriwether's interest in maintaining his

lofty socioeconomic status is revealed through his attempts to attribute Lucy's gut-wrenching grief to "driveling dotage." Therefore, Lucy's condition exposes the plantation myth's fallacy that the white South could educate and prepare blacks for their eventual assimilation into society.

On a pastoral plantation, complete with a hill and rolling fields yet picturesquely centered on the columned mansion, the courtly master, and his contented black slaves, everyone has a specific social role which manifests itself in a corresponding space.[3] To keep this space intact, those who fail to fulfill their position must be expelled. Lucy and Abe are problematic characters for a variety of reasons, one of which is that they dispel through their actions and (dis)locations the image of contented and subservient slaves who long for stasis and fear change.[4] Lucy, who exhibits "a mother's instinctive grief for her offspring" is narratively reduced to lunacy and left to waste away in her remote cottage. Her condition mimics Abe's wandering at sea, alternating "between the idleness of the calm" waves when she sits muttering at the hearth and "the strenuous and exciting" bustle of the stormy billows when she rouses other slaves one cold evening to attend a feast for her deceased son (478). Lucy's tempestuous grief affects everyone at Swallow Barn including Meriwether and his family, who are unable to console her.

Furthermore, Kennedy's depiction of the plantation suggests that there was more than one way of ordering, seeing, and traveling on the land. Using art historian Dell Upton's "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia" and geographer Rebecca Ginsburg's "Freedom and the Slave Landscape," this discussion only begins with the master's dominant perspective. This project also acknowledges the northern cosmopolitan point of view through the critical lens of Mark Littleton, which gives the

plantation space its contemplative edge. Next, the viewpoint of landless whites is shown through Hafen Blok, a man who tinkers with the spaces on the edge of the plantation through his lively storytelling. Finally, the physical and ideological underpinnings of the big house are countered by the actions of resistant and wayfaring slaves like Abe. Descriptions of the plantation space were not only fraught with conflict and decay, but were augmented by other views that are not visible from the big house windows. Therefore, the destabilizing presence of Mark Littleton as urban "other" upsets Meriwether's baronial authority, thereby exposing alternative perspectives of this space.

"Trouble in Paradise" argues that nineteenth century writers utilized plantation spaces to explore socio-economic and political issues, including African-American slavery and citizenship in the United States. Concerning the construction of space as an infrastructure that upholds inequalities of power, Michel Laguerre asserts in *Minoritized Space* that space is a social construction created and sustained in order to keep the powerful group of people (majority) in power over the powerless (minority). Laguerre's notion of minoritization examines how race is used as a means to ascribe a lower status to different groups of people.[5] The multifaceted nature of this space locks the powerless in specific spatial positions by making it difficult to uncover the many ways in which the majority maintains control (95). Therefore, it is important, Laguerre writes, to "map out minoritized space in its multiple shapes and forms, to explore the relationships between the majority space and the minority space, and to trace the itinerary of minoritized subjects in American society" (95). Kennedy's depiction of life at Swallow Barn reveals the plantation's array of spatial consequences, of spatial realities, and of spatial possibilities found therein.

Also imbedded in this discussion of the nineteenth century literary plantation are specific ideas about the nature of space. Taking a cue from Henri Lefebvre's seminal text *The Production of Space*, this project advocates for a dialectical view. Composed of three parts—the perceived, the conceived, and the lived—Lefebvre argues that space is the product of social relations at a particular time in history and within a specific social structure. The first part, perceived space (spatial practice) refers to the daily activities and actions of social life. It "embraces the systems of production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation" (33). An example of spatial practice might thus be defined as a day in the life of Frank Meriwether in *Swallow Barn*. In the novel, Littleton records the master's interactions with his family in the big house, the stable where he keeps his prized horses, and his visit to the slave quarters where he checks up on the welfare of his chattel (32).

Next in Lefebvre's scheme, conceived space (representations of space) refers to orders, codes, or signs imposed by daily spatial practices. This includes maps and plans, systems of transportation and communication, and any other information conveyed by signs and images. This aspect of space is likened to the orientation of society. Conceived space reveals the scope and limitations of Meriwether's power. Although he retains ownership of Abe, his decision is dictated by the possible sanctions he would incur from members of his community. Conceived space is important because it often regulates the master's perspective, authority, and control. Third, lived space (representational space) unlike Lefebvre's perceived or conceived space need not obey rules of consistency or cohesiveness. Pregnant with imagery and symbolism, as a "representational space[it] is alive: it speaks" (42). Lived space has the capacity to reveal stories that are otherwise

hidden, lost, and/or forgotten. Lefebvre's tripartite view of space takes in not only the genesis of spaces, but also, "their interconnections, distortions, displacements, mutual interactions, and their links with the spatial practice of the particular society or mode of production under consideration" (42). Because "Trouble in Paradise" is mindful of the plantation's spatial complexity, overlooked spaces such as Kennedy's cottage, Stowe's cotton gin-house shed, Chesnutt's swamp, and a number of spaces in between come alive because they are qualitative, dynamic, and fluid.

Therefore, I will use Plantation Geography, a spatially-driven model that seeks to reveal the sociopolitical costs of slavery through an analysis of themed spaces. Positive images of plantation life contribute to sustaining the myth of slavery as a benevolent institution. Patricia Yeager observes in *The Geography of Identity* that themed space is "precolonized and prefabricated around an idea or point of view" by slaveholders for their benefit to persuade themselves, their slaves, and their critics of the institution's viability (18). Furthermore, a themed space, for Yeager guarantees "coherence and readability" and tries to be convincing, hence my interest in the significance of Littleton (18). However, the danger of a themed space is that its persuasive capacity requires encryption—and insists that the violence and brutality endured be hidden. For example, the depiction of Lucy's cottage in *Swallow Barn* is paints a harmonious picture of slavery. Yet what is gradually revealed through Littleton's willingness to pause is a heart-wrenching story of a mother's grief for her son. This leaves a striking ambivalence regarding the "benefits" of the peculiar institution.

The use of Plantation Geography also exposes slavery's potential to influence sociopolitical relations in a wide range of spaces through the use of scale. Scale is a

comprehensive way of comparing different types of spaces such as the body, the home, the community, or the state. In this model, the big house acts as a hub that may regulate the widening spaces—forest, coffeehouse, boarding house—which were nonetheless imagined to radiate from it. Feeling the normative pull of the big house, these far-flung places increasingly critique, challenge, and transform social relations between characters in different ways. Kennedy's Mark Littleton reveals how that gravitational field could work in *Swallow Barn*. As a relative of Southern gentry, he can see what's more safely pictured within the boundaries of the plantation, including the big house, the stable, and the old barn. However, as a Northerner he is capable of imagining distant places, including Richmond, Washington D.C., and New York.[6] Therefore, Littleton's travels among both sets of places highlights how plantation geography can be used, according to Laguerre, as a spatial analytical model to "remap the terrain, identify hegemonic and subaltern sites of relationships and, in the process, develop a new and critical cartography of social practices (5). His activities also provide an opportunity for Kennedy to explore the lived experience of the plantation in relation to its history, its tradition, and its burden.

While the use of scale creates opportunities for reflection, it can also foster rebellion. According to anthropologist Neil Smith, although the "double-edged" nature of scale through the implementation of boundaries has the power to constrain, exclude, and impose identity, it also has the capability to expand, include, and enlarge identity (78). When Abe is expelled from Swallow Barn, he abrogates several scales through his newfound control over his body, the expansion of his identity, and his range of movement which creates a model for future characters to follow. The plantation environment, touted as a benevolent space, bountiful and secluded, ejects the adventurous, intelligent

and dexterous Abe because he could not adhere to its code. However, this same daring and courageous temperament allows him to flourish in the sea environment: "He [Abe] had found, in other habits, a vent for inclinations which, when constrained by his former monotonous avocations, had so often broken out into mischievous adventures" (Kennedy 249). Therefore, Abe successfully dispenses with the minoritization that comes along with the plantation space because he does not revert to its model once he's at sea. By focusing on a variety of plantation spaces—cabins, kitchens, sheds, and stables—and the routes between them, "Trouble in Paradise" reveals the ways in which social relations represent themselves in the nineteenth century's pastoral plantation space within and around its architectural concerns.

A Middle Temperament: The Tidewater Past and The Northern Industrialized Future

By 1830, Maryland had become by in Robert J. Brugger's estimation a state "suspended between memory and hope" (*A Middle Temperament* 186). Brugger contends that no other state portrayed as vividly "the contrast between slavery and steam power, past and future, convention and change" (187). Divided roughly along a northeast to southwest line through Baltimore, the northern and western counties and upper Eastern Shore looked confidently towards the future; with good markets, reasonable tariffs, and reliable currency. Those areas were poised to prosper in commercial farming, trading, and manufacturing. However, in the older counties of the Western shore, and to a lesser extent, the Middle Eastern Shore, slave owners who relied on tobacco generally resisted change. The heterogeneous nature of Maryland undoubtedly influenced Kennedy and left his loyalties as divided as the state. Through two marriages—one to the daughter of a

wealthy local shipping merchant, and the other to the daughter of a successful cotton mill owner—Kennedy looked North rather than South for direction regarding the nation's growth and saw political problems in essentially economic terms. After two failed attempts to represent his pecuniary interests in the Maryland House of Delegates and the House of Representatives, he continued to practice law and became a spokesman for local business leaders.[7]

In spite of his northern urban ties, Kennedy's Virginia relatives and their plantations kept a strong hold on his sympathies and imagination. Kennedy's intimate familiarity with his southern heritage resulted from the long summers he spent visiting his extended Dandridge family, whose plantations were spread throughout the Shenandoah Valley-Berkeley County region of what is now West Virginia. In *The Life of John Pendleton Kennedy*, Henry T. Tuckerman notes that Kennedy's later thoughts on the time he spent in the region reflects how those experiences continued to captivate his mind's eye: "I have always had such a vivid relish for country scenery, such a keen perception of the beauty of landscape, that my delight in these journeys was of the highest artistic character, and for years afterwards I could sketch pretty well, from memory alone, the scenes I had witnessed" (49-50). Specifically, Kennedy describes the Bower, the premiere family plantation as "a gay, lively establishment" where his parents resided from 1825 until his father's death on February 17, 1826 (30). A later biographer Joseph Ridgely adds that Kennedy's visits consisted of a "brisk course of rides, hunts, dances, and even storytelling sessions (21). It was a secure and enclosed society that he portrayed through Littleton as tourist in *Swallow Barn*.

However, in her introduction to the 1986 reissue of *Swallow Barn*, Lucinda H. Mackethan observed that there is more to this saccharine portrayal of the Old Dominion.[8] Specifically, Mackethan sees Kennedy's text as "the most important fictional portrayal of plantation society by one intimately involved in that place and time" (xii).[9] Son of a merchant from Baltimore, and a mother from the Virginia Tidewater region, Kennedy could never quite free himself, as Joseph Ridgely points out, from "the opposing pulls implicit in his heritage" (*John Pendleton Kennedy* 20). Those pulls manifest themselves in *Swallow Barn* through Littleton's longing for the old world of Virginia characterized by family ties, inherited property, and intimate relations between slave and master. However, Littleton also provides a witty criticism of that world for its provincial vanity, its intolerance of outsider views, and its troubled stance regarding slavery. Therefore, Kennedy's depiction of Tidewater culture both romanticizes and satirizes, presenting this society in William R. Taylor's view as "tragically flawed, or at least seriously threatened by disruptive forces in its very midst" (*Cavalier and Yankee* 151). Moreover, Ridgely adds that *Swallow Barn* novel is "*both* myth and counter-myth" contributing to "an understanding of the tension of the mind of a man who could be drawn both to the Southern past and the national future" (47, 54). Thus, the activities at Swallow Barn, culminating with the story of Abe and Lucy, illustrate the nation's complex identity resulting from its unprecedented antebellum growth.

An architectural description of the author's family estate from governmental sources illustrates how integral his background is to this work. According to historian Michael J. Pauley, The Bower (Fig. 1), still "sits majestically atop a hill overlooking Warm Springs Road and Opequon Creek, commanding a scenic view of unspoiled rural

beauty, in the western end of Jefferson County, West Virginia" (1). "The Bower," as its name suggests, is set among a large grove of oak trees "which gives the setting a serene, wooded appearance." He observes that it is a two-and-a-half story Federal Style building of Flemish brick, which was constructed by slave labor (1805-1806) with Gothic elements added in 1881. The house was built on land deeded to Adam Stephen Dandridge I by his grandfather General Adam Stephen, who secured a land grant from the Lord Proprietor of the Northern Neck, Lord Fairfax (*Magazine of the Jefferson County Historical Society* v. VII 9). The bountiful landscape surrounding this estate provided a playground full of natural treasures that Kennedy describes in *Swallow Barn*. Pauley further notes that although a disastrous fire gutted the Bower's interior in March of 1892, the exterior brick walls and a few late Victorian details survived. The house was carefully restored immediately afterward, using the same floor plan, room designs, and exterior features as existed prior to the fire. The home is still owned by the descendants of Adam Stephen Dandridge I and continues to be the gathering place of the Dandridge family (*Historic Homes* 103).[10]

In John Pendleton Kennedy's *Swallow Barn*, the Bower operates rhetorically as a prototype of the antebellum plantation. Specifically, plantation houses like The Bower become in Guy Cardwell's estimation, the "dramatic center" which brings "everything to a focus" (5). In Kennedy's vision, The Bower represents what he believes are America's core values: property as a basis for order in a democracy, and the opportunity for personal success. Inspired by fond recollections of country life at The Bower, John Pendleton Kennedy was intent on constructing a useful vision of America's past as a foundation upon which to build the nation's future.

Figure 1. The Bower. Michael J. Pauley, *National Register of Historic Places Nomination*: The Bower. National Park Service, November 1, 1981. 11.

Kennedy had also hoped that his description of antebellum life would help ease growing tensions between the industrial commercialism of the North and the slave-based economy of the South. Henry Carey, son of Matthew Carey, who owned a Philadelphia publishing house, praised Kennedy's piecemeal novel stating:

> If it should produce such a feeling as you desire you will have rendered a great service to the nation—Each portion of the Union looks with a feeling of dislike towards the other, when it requires only to know them better to see admirable qualities in every portion—The Yankee dislikes the Virginian & the Virginian despises the Yankee, when a stranger would now find good reason to admire both— . (qtd in Ridgely 40)

Laden with references to specific political matters such as increasing sectionalism and slavery, *Swallow Barn* provides, especially through visitor Mark Littleton's perspective, a sympathetic yet critical view of plantation life in response to the United States' identity crisis during the 1830s.

The Paradoxical Plantation in Print

Between the first and second editions of John Pendleton Kennedy's plantation novel (1832 and 1851), there was an unprecedented growth in the number of newspapers, magazines, and other print media which generated, in William E. Huntzicker's opinion "a diverse marketplace of ideas" in response to America's changing political landscape (*The Popular Press* 69). Ranging from professional magazines to ethnic newspapers, these periodicals were interested in voicing ideas, furthering goals, and fostering a sense of community. The growing press tackled myriad issues including religion, temperance, women's rights, health, and education reform. However, the abolitionists, more than most groups, systematically utilized the press as a tool in the fight to end slavery.[11] Abolitionists highlighted slavery's injustice as a violation of the Founder's Declaration of Independence and forever changed the Northerner's view of the South in print.[12]

David Walker, William Lloyd Garrison, and Nat Turner helped revolutionize the socio-political power of abolitionist print in the North beginning in the 1830s. David Walker, an African American pamphleteer, published his *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* in Boston in 1829. Walker blasted whites for their bigotry and free blacks for their disdain towards the enslaved. His appeal ultimately called for slaves to violently rise up against their oppressors. Two years later in Boston on January 1, 1831, William Lloyd Garrison began publishing the *Liberator*, a radical newspaper dedicated to immediate abolition and equality for all African Americans. In *Our South*, Jennifer Rae Greeson observes that Garrison established an intimate connection between urban industrialization and southern slavery through the ills of modern life: violence, vice, and particularly prostitution. Specifically, he helped readers identify with the atrocities

happening in the South by asserting that northern bawds and procurers were no better than slaveholders who abused slave women. Garrison connected northern concerns over freedom and individual rights within a rapidly evolving republic through a modern vision of the slave South. In other words, "As Garrison described the operations of southern slavery for his readers in terms of their very own nightmare visions of their industrializing cities," Greeson notes, "he inaugurated a truly immediate abolitionist discourse for readers at the center of U.S. print production" (129). With the *Liberator* leading the northern cry, the South was no longer a pastoral idyll; rather, a modern day hell where "a system of production based upon labor exploitation and profit motive" robbed slaves of their person and marred the bucolic plantation landscape (131). Therefore, newspapers like the *Liberator* created a new and compelling understanding of slavery and the South.

Furthermore, while Garrison took issue with Walker's forceful tactics stating in the January 8, 1831 issue that "*We* do not preach rebellion," he also noted that "If any people were ever justified in throwing off the yoke of their tyrants, the slaves are that people" (6). Garrison's words were prophetic because on August 21 in Southampton County, Virginia, Nat Turner and a band of approximately seventy slaves staged an insurrection in which about sixty whites—including men, women, and children—were killed. In *The Confessions of Nat Turner* by Thomas R. Gray, Turner recalls in a calm and deliberate manner that during their quest to "satisfy our thirst for blood" (108), "I sometimes got in sight in time to see the work of death completed, viewed the mangled bodies as they lay, in silent satisfaction" (108). Published in Baltimore, Gray's text also illustrates how the

rupture of the Southern pastoral plantation generated urgency, dismay, and doubt in a Northern audience.

John Pendleton Kennedy's "somewhat critical revisal" of *Swallow Barn* during the simmering decade that led to the Civil War attempts to exhibit a "picture of country life in Virginia, as it existed in the first quarter of the nineteenth century" (7-8). Bemoaning the fact that the culture of the United States was becoming homogenous, which was "visibly effacing all local differences," Kennedy now saw his aging sketches as "a relic of the past" that would soon "sink into the chapter of antiquities" (9-10). While Kennedy was initially interested in painting an accurate portrayal of antebellum culture, he was now interested in *preserving* it.

Moreover, Kennedy changed the location for his fictional portrayal of his southern family's home from what is now West Virginia to the south shore of the James River, much closer to Richmond, Virginia (xxi). He favored the unspoiled beauty (or steady decline) of traditional southern plantation society in the Tidewater region on the James River over the Dandridge family's Martinsburg, where commercialization was intruding. In the 1986 introduction of Kennedy's reissued novel, Mackethan suggests that Kennedy probably wanted to make his accurate depictions of The Bower less recognizable to his audience. She asserts that while Kennedy shifted his locale, he "did not materially alter the vision of plantation life that the Bower afforded" (xxi). Therefore, his agenda shifted from Littleton looking with critical eyes at the incongruities of the Old Dominion to a nostalgic interest in creating a harmonious antebellum world void of any imperfections. In the earlier edition, The Bower has an air of decay, of awkwardness, and pretension. In his 1851 edition, he softened his description, leaving out, for example,

an extended description of a frail old horse "peering through the dark window of the stable, with a spectral melancholy; his glassy eye moving silently across the gloom" (1832 1:23). A tradition began in 1832 as a studied critique of the Old Dominion and Tidewater social order in 1832 gave way to its elegiac preservation in 1851, and anticipates its evolution into the plantation myth of later years.

Swallow Barn's republication also had important ramifications for fiction's emerging plantation tradition. First of all, the revised edition was mostly hailed by southern critics and received an extensive review by noted antebellum novelist and historian William Gilmore Simms in the influential *Southern Quarterly Review*. In it he writes:

> All who appreciate the past of Virginia, and the peculiar elements which rendered her so attractive in social life, and so great in arms and politics, will feel obliged to Mr. Kennedy for the portrait he has given of the mother of states and of men. His pleasant work, so full of delightful mirth, will provoke many a sigh from those who cling fondly to the past, and, passing away themselves, mourn over style of character, customs and manners, which are fading rapidly to extinction among us. The good old days—the heartier, stronger, more genial men who are gone! (Simms 75-76)

Like Kennedy, Simms intended to evoke nostalgic feelings for the Virginia in his readers. Describing Virginia as the "mother of states and of men" he identified stability, civilization, and a dignified culture as emblematic of the plantation South.

With these preoccupations in mind, the 1851 edition underwent a series of critical changes including the elimination of archaic language and the extensive history of Captain John Smith. He also added a longer discussion on the proper education of women. Finally, Kennedy made two further changes signaling an evolution of the plantation tradition. Mindful of the controversy caused by the Compromise of 1850, he first reviewed the passages concerning slavery in the hope that his book might help calm

sectional tensions. This resulted in an extended proslavery lecture by Meriwether in "The Quarter." Responding to his brother Philip's objection to the addition as intrusive and irrelevant, the author wrote in a letter dated, February, 6, 1852: "I agree that this passage is a departure from dramatic character, but it struck me in writing that chapter that it furnished a good occasion for some grave opinions on slavery which might be useful North and South" (qtd. in Ridgely 126). In spite of Kennedy's conciliatory gesture, he believed the Northern Abolition Movement would bring economic ruin to the entire South. Although he also saw it as a moral evil, he advocated for its gradual demise when increased competition from free workers made it financially unsound (Ridgely 125-27).

The second important revision was the addition of twenty illustrations by his cousin David Hunter Strother. [13] Best known as "Porte Crayon" (Pencil-Carrier), and soon a frequent contributor of illustrated stories to mid-nineteenth century America's most popular periodical, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Strother enjoyed a diverse career not only within the field of art but also as a writer, a Union soldier, and a diplomat. Trained initially as a painter, he gradually abandoned painting to concentrate upon illustrating his own lively tales of adventure and travel throughout the United States. Contrary to other artists who generally placed their original drawings at the disposal of draftsmen, curator John A. Cuthbert and professor emeritus Jessie Poesch observe that Strother retained possession of most of his sketches by creating his own wood engraved drawings. Therefore, he was also able to achieve a degree of accuracy and faithfulness in the final product that was often lacking in mid-nineteenth century wood engraving (David Hunter Strother 8 and 26).[14]

It is also worth noting that Strother grew up in the company of slaves and accepted their role in Southern society with little question. Like Kennedy, he doubted whether blacks could ever achieve a position of equality with whites and questioned the viability of a slave-based economy in the United States, (Cuthbert and Poesch 33). Furthermore, Strother's familiarity with the peculiar institution greatly influenced his creative endeavors, especially in rendering Virginia's anachronisms. In late October 1849, he made a tour into the Tidewater area which he recorded in his journal. In his book-length study of Strother, Ceil D. Eby, Jr. observes that Strother realized that he "was both a Virginian and an outsider" (*"Porte Crayon"* 61). Although he took pride in his native state, Strother's travels across the country made him realize that the industrial and commercial potentiality of the North and West would eventually shift the balance of power away from the South. Additionally, while Strother detested belligerent abolitionism, he abhorred fanatical secessionist talk even more, and he was convinced as late as John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry (1859) that the North and South would be reconciled after tempers on both sides had cooled. Because Strother was highly valued for his writing and his literary connections, southern leaders like Virginia Governor Henry A. Wise, Virginia Senator James Murray Mason, and "fire-eater" Edmund Ruffin actively sought him as a powerful propagandist tool in their maturing secessionist plans (109).[15]

Arguably, Strother's illustrations also challenged stereotypes through a human rendering of the novel's African-American characters, including Abe and Lucy. Although Lucinda Mackethan asserts that they depict slaves behaving in a minstrel fashion, John A. Cuthbert and Jessie Poesch suggest that "his honest portrayal of the

African-American was especially remarkable for his age" (58). Although these drawings depict African Americans the way white southerners wished, which Cuthbert and Poesch describe as "good-natured, sometimes heroic in strength and dedication," and "for the most part simpleminded creatures who are entirely contented in their servile role," I suggest that it is hard not to see their consciousness peeking from within the dark ebbs of their eyes (33). Furthermore, while slaves generally play bit parts in Kennedy's text, Strother's nostalgic illustrations grant them starring roles. He portrays slaves in a variety of activities and settings, from riding horses ("Mill-Boys Racing"), to laboring on the plantation ("Negroes at Mill"), to getting ready for an adventure ("Hunting the Opossum"), or simply enjoying a smoke ("Negro with Pipe").

"Mammy Lucy" (Fig. 2) is a wood engraved image based on Strother's original illustration. His drawing features Abe's mother sitting in a chair by the window in her cottage, where Meriwether and Littleton find her when they visit. Lucy is centered in the foreground and covered from head to toe in a bonnet, shawl, and dress, with a purse lying at her feet. She holds Abe's handkerchief in her right hand and a lit pipe in her left. Rudimentary furniture and other items surround her: a cup placed on a stool to the left; a cat perched on the windowsill in the background; low hanging overhead beams from the ceiling; and the edge of a well-made bed fading into the background on the right.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this illustration. First, as part and parcel of Kennedy's response to respond to abolitionist exposé, Strother's drawing depicts slavery as a benevolent institution. As a well-fed and well-dressed slave, Lucy resembles a respected servant who has been faithful to the family for many years. Second, Strother's choice of background, props, and clothing makes Mammy Lucy seem

approachable, docile, and safe. She is nothing like the addled woman whose mind wanders unpredictably to the past. Therefore, it is easy for readers to identify with Lucy because they could possibly imagine her as a member of the plantation's interracial family. Third, the absence of any physical markers of a plantation encourages readers to see an old woman sitting in a familiar domestic space. Still, Abe's story rescues this illustration from full encryption; although Littleton describes her expressions as "seemingly unmeaning effusions of a mind in the last stages of senility," Mammy Lucy's knitted brows, wrinkled forehead, and frown lines portray a woman in deep thought (Kennedy 463). The handkerchief, like Lucy, speaks for Abe in his absence. Her flexor muscles strained from clasping it in mid-air emphasizes her struggle to come to terms with his death. Finally, Strother's decision to illustrate Lucy over Mark Littleton does not lessen his importance. Rather, he stresses Littleton's keen observational ability as an outsider in order to focus on the plantation spaces that insiders would easily overlook. Through Littleton, "A Negro Mother" reveals narrative as an important aspect of plantation geography, because it combats encryption by confronting in Yeager's estimation, "the dilemma of geographic enigmas head on, including the enigma of what gets forgotten, or hidden, or lost in the comforts of ordinary space" (4).

Figure 2. "Mammy Lucy." Illustration by David Hunter Strother for *Swallow Barn* by John Pendleton Kennedy. Engraved by A. Bobbett and Edmonds (New York: George P. Putnam, 1851)

Strother's illustrations also decentralize the big house as the plantation's symbol of power and stability and locate alternative pathways and their accompanying activities as primary locales of plantation life. Featured prominently in the middleground of the frontispiece is the old and decrepit barn (Fig. 3). Described as "the most time-worn and

venerable appendage to the establishment," the barn's thatched roof composed of "sun-burnt" straw, which almost hangs to the ground, gives the structure, "an air of drowsy decrepitude" (29). The "four or five gaunt oxen" keep up an "imperturbable companionship with a sicklylooking wagon" in an enclosure "strewed knee-deep with litter" (23). A scene of disarray is depicted in the foreground—a hodgepodge mixture of slave children chase farm animals around a group of gentlemen who conduct business on horses and barrels in a makeshift circle. Although there is a structure in the background on the left horizon, and even the trace of a path, it is not clear if that tree-bounded facade is the big house.

Strother's image suggests that the estate's source of power emanates from economic activities, which at a glance, are on a steady decline. The activity surrounding the barn illustrates the dishevelment and disorderliness of the plantation—from the littered yard and the battered wagon, to the wild horses that are habitually chased off by the excited admonitions of blacks, which Littleton describes as the horses' "natural enemy" (24). Therefore, narrative changes and the accompanying illustrations of Kennedy's 1851 *Swallow Barn* focus on the socioeconomic implications of slavery while anticipating that mid-century writers like Harriet Beecher Stowe and Frederick Douglass will explore the humanity of African Americans versus the inhumanity of slavery. While Kennedy intended to preserve the whimsical charm of country life in the Old Dominion, he more publicly remapped the plantation landscape as national attitudes shifted.

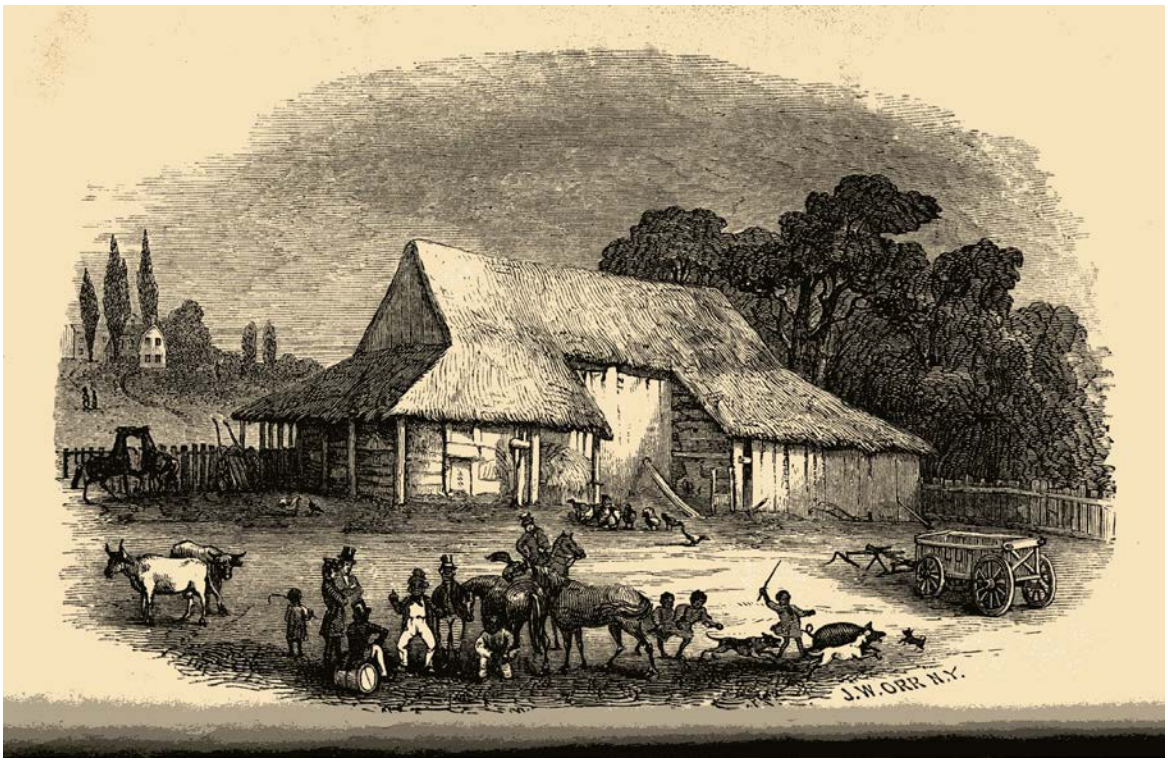


Figure 3. "Sketch of the Old Barn." Frontispiece Illustration by David Hunter Strother for *Swallow Barn* by John Pendleton Kennedy. Engraved by J.W. Orr. (New York: George P. Putnam, 1851)

Swallow Barn: A Spatial Analysis

In Chapter seven, "Traces of a Feudal System," Kennedy's narrator Mark Littleton describes the plantation landscape from the gentleman planter's perspective when he notes that "The gentlemen of Virginia live apart from each other. They are surrounded by their bondsmen and by their dependants. They are scattered about like the chiefs of separate clans, and propagate opinions in seclusion, that have the tincture of baronial independence" (1832, 71). Although the men discuss current events and other topics during their frequent visits, they often cast aside "the business of life" for "the enjoyment of its pleasures" (71). Littleton's observation of the plantation's large halls, ample boards, and a blazing family hearth "casting a broad and merry glare over the congregated household and the numerous retainers" reveal a "tolerable picture of feudal

munificence" (71). Coming to the fore in this description are the gentleman planter and his big house, the central locale on the estate. Art historian Dell Upton concurs with Littleton's description of this perspective when he notes that the plantation house served as the symbolic center of country life in Virginia and set the stage for a variety of events to occur (64). Geographer Rebecca Ginsburg observes that the master's landscape consists of a series of linked spaces that imply connection and movement; the barn, the quarters all take their position in reference to coordinates and points that lie outside of it. From this point, people inside of the big house have a panoramic view where they see the world from an elevated perspective, as the Dandridges did from The Bower on its hill. The big house's elevated site as a locale of power aptly describes the gentlemen planter's perspective, which Kennedy captures in his text.

One of the important events Mark Littleton describes is the after-dinner activities shared by the inhabitants of Swallow Barn and friends from the Brakes, a neighboring plantation. While the men "lay scattered about upon the benches, or seated on the door-sill" of the "venerable mass" of the big house after a leisurely late night stroll, an old and infirm "minstrel of some repute" named Carey is called to serenade the ladies under their window (Kennedy, 1:100-101). As the men watch his performance among the rose bushes, and the idle dogs lie scattered on the ground, this vision creates for Littleton a "picturesque" landscape that gives a "rich impression" to his "feelings" regarding country life (101). The impact of this scene is emphasized when Littleton and his comrades "hear the negroes dancing jigs to Carey's banjoe in the court-yard" as they retire to their rooms and fall asleep (103). All of these features present a vision of the plantation as an Eden complete with rolling fields and hills, the columned mansion, the courtly master and his

family taking their ease on the verandah while their contented black servants fill the air with song. From the oaks with magnificent branches to the ample courtyard and the massive columns of wood, to the ostentatious iron-gate, Swallow Barn is a plantation that conveys a sense of legacy and history.

While the gentleman planter's landscape is inaugurated in *Swallow Barn*, it is not the only perspective Kennedy represents. In his opening chapter, Kennedy illustrates the incongruities of Southern life through Littleton's description of the great house as "an aristocratical old edifice that squats, like a brooding hen, on the southern bank of the James River" (19). Over the years the family added two "vassal outbuildings" (19), the latest of which "seems to be ill at ease in this antiquated society" (20). This architectural addition has the distinct honor of "awkwardly" overlooking the ancestral edifice, "with the air of a grenadier recruit posted behind a testy little corporal" (20). The "three masses" (20) of buildings that comprise the main residence of Swallow Barn thus "compose an irregular pile" (20) in which the last two buildings "are obsequiously stationed in the rear like serving-men by the chair of a gouty old gentleman, supporting the squat and frowning little mansion which, but for the family pride, would have been long since given over to the accommodation of the guardian birds of the place" (21). Littleton's impression of Swallow Barn suggests that while the big house is revered for its age and years of service, it seems to be outliving its usefulness in the wake of new additions. Still, it is the pride of former years that keeps it in use.

In *Swallow Barn*, Littleton's tour around the estate with Hazard takes him farther away from the big house to explore the swamp on the outskirts of Meriwether's property. The swamp, more than the big house, becomes a space in which the antebellum

plantation landscapes, the planter, the poor white, and the slave converge. First, it connects the official story of the mill, the tale of Mike Brown, and Abe's expulsion from the plantation. The swamp is also the point of contention between the Hazards and Meriwethers, who are trying to settle a long-standing boundary dispute. This conflict is also echoed in the love story of Ned Hazard and Bell Tracy, Isaac's daughter, whose affection Ned tries to win. While the boundary dispute provides an official history of the swamp, Hafen Blok's story at the midway point of the novel, William Cowan observes, "fleshes out that region's folk history" through Kennedy's sketch of Mike Brown (78). Hafen Blok, a poor white man, is a self-reliant character who uses what he finds in the swamp as his principal means of support. This folk history Anthony Wilson observes in *Shadow and Shelter* acts as "a locus of alternative memory, independent of the white patriarchal master narrative (xv-xvi). *Swallow Barn*'s "Goblin Swamp" undermines the significance of the master's house and becomes "a home for the desperate and disenfranchised" through the power of story (xviii).

In *Swallow Barn's* chapter 28, "The Goblin Swamp," Mark Littleton and his cousin Ned Hazard get lost on their way home from the Brakes, Isaac Tracy's neighboring plantation. Hazard wanted to show Littleton the swamp known by local whites and Negroes in connection with a neighborhood drunkard Mike Brown, "who had strange doings with the devil" (Kennedy 1:298). In their journey through the murky marsh they become "encompassed by steep pools of stagnant water" as Ned struggles to remember the trail leading out (298-99). As he calls for assistance in the approaching night, Hafen Blok, a "grotesque figure" in the "murky outline of something resembling a

man," comes to their aid and leads them out of the swamp and back to Swallow Barn safely (299).

Hafen's interaction with Ned Hazard and Mark Littleton suggests that he does not have a patriarchal view of the plantation landscape. Instead, Hafen claims that "[th]e swamp is a very good mother to me, although I am a simple body, and can pick up a penny where rich folks would never think of looking for it" (306). Littleton's physical description of the wanderer Hafen Blok shows how he is a product of the swamp and a safe repository for all its possibilites: "a short, thick-set, bandy-legged personage, bearing all the marks of an old man, with a strangely weather-beaten face, that was intersected by as many drains as the rugged slope of a sand-hill" (300). Although lame in one leg, his "uncommonly vigorous" frame is capable of leading Hazard and Littleton to safety (300). On his arm is "a coat of some homely material . . . ; and his trowsers and shoes were covered with *the mud of the swamp*" (emphasis mine 301). He also carries a hempen cloth bag with "two or three implements for trapping" (301). Overall, Littleton observes that "[t]here was a saucy waggishness in his gestures, of which the effect was heightened by the fox-like expression of his countenance, and the superlatively vagabond freedom of his manners" (301). The combination of Hafen's good humor, jack-of-all-trades skills, and entertaining manner endears him to plantations in the area and enables him to follow Hazard and Littleton home, where he regales the household with the tale of Mike Brown.

In "Story-Telling," the chapter following "Goblin Swamp," Littleton records Blok's humorous rendition of Mike Brown, a tale about a blacksmith who is duped twice by the Devil because of his ignorance about this murky terrain. First, the Devil convinces Mike Brown that there is gold at the bottom of the pond, which after jumping in, he

realizes is false. In order to reclaim his honor, Mike Brown challenges the Devil to a duel. As Mike Brown sinks into the mud, the Devil refuses to help him out of the muck. Blok's fantastic tale of Old Nick represents in Anthony Wilson's estimation a "reclamation of swamp terrors by language," that is, "filtered through the traditional structure of the deal-with-the-devil tale" from the comfort and safety of the big house porch (54). Littleton names the tale "Chronicle of the Last of the Virginia Devils" to indicate the story's improbability and growing obscurity. Meriwether and other members of the Swallow Barn household provide a stage for Hafen Block to "act the scene he was describing" (Kennedy 264). Therefore, the laughter and disbelief expressed from Blok's audience Wilson observes, "converts the swamp's danger into language that can be controlled" (54). Kennedy establishes the swamp as a manageable foil to the economic and mythic aspects of the southern plantation through several storylines in this piecemeal story.

But easygoing Hafen Blok is not a headstrong Abe. Abe's activities in the swamp pose questions to the plantation's authority and capacity to contain the slave. Kennedy's Goblin Swamp, proclaimed as the playground for the Devil and his minions becomes a haven for Abe and other slaves seeking relief. Affectionately called "Old Nick," the Devil is personified through Abe as someone who molests the peace and tranquility of the Swallow Barn area because he refuses to remain in his place. Abe takes to the swamps with other "out-lying negroes," and only then does Meriwether take drastic measures to censure his activities. Abe's landscape, as Ginsburg and Upton would say, consists of a network of places that includes Swallow Barn, adjoining plantations, and swamp lands in the area, sites where he and other slaves pilfer goods and resources for their own use.

Strother's illustration depicts Abe's and his friends' conflicting ways. "Abe with Out-Lyers" (Fig. 4) foregrounds four men situated in various poses in a small clearing in the low-country swamps. Their close proximity to each other within the cozy backdrop suggests a level intimacy the men have with each other and the landscape. Two men are seated smiling at each other while one man, standing over the rest, holds a fowl in each hand. The man in left foreground is fast asleep, presumably from drinking because there is a jug beside him along with a knife and cards. The pictured scene indicates that the men are intent on celebrating their finds with a lively afternoon of conversation, drinking, and card games. An 1851 audience might have interpreted illustration as a minstrel like representation of blacks. Their relaxed stance, toothy grins, and possession of stolen goods from slave owners could suggest that blacks are lazy, criminalist nuisances that need the guiding hands of whites which slavery affords.

From a different perspective, perhaps the slave point of view, this illustration also shows how the woods and the swamp provided a refuge beyond the restricted world of the plantation. In *Ride Out the Wilderness*, Marvin Dixon argues that African Americans "have used language to create alternative landscapes where black culture and identity can flourish apart from any marginal, prescribed "place"" (2). Strother's illustration of Abe suggests that slaves took an active role in defining and claiming their territory, and they employed a variety of means that Rhys Issac has collectively labeled "slave opportunism" (53). According to Isaac, in addition to forging alternative pathways and trails, slaves also appropriated resources to supplement their meager rations. As Michael Vlach observes in *Back of the Big House*, slave opportunism offers "an important insight into the understory of plantation architecture" suggesting that the dominant view is not the

only one available (xi). Therefore, it is important to follow Kennedy and Strother in thinking more shrewdly about the plantation setting.

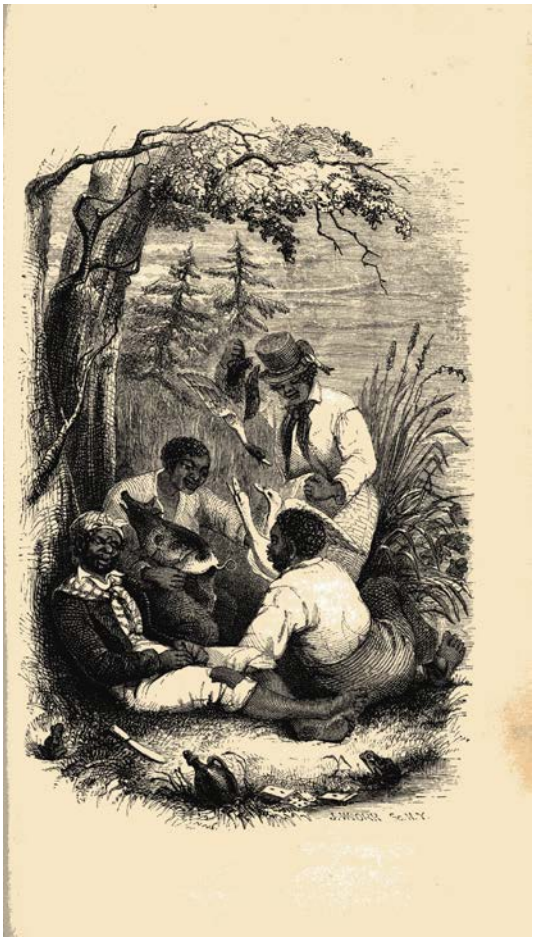


Figure 4. "Abe With Out-Lyers." Illustration by David Hunter Strother for *Swallow Barn* by John Pendleton Kennedy. Engraved by J.W. Orr. (New York: George P. Putnam, 1851)

John Pendleton Kennedy's *Swallow Barn* codifies the antebellum plantation and its spatialized social relations that other writers of the nineteenth century would reassert or challenge. Through detailed physical descriptions of the great house and the activities surrounding it, Kennedy establishes the symbolic center of a feudal world that Cowan observes "evokes a sense of a lost Eden" (84). Key to this prelapsarian space is the

interracial tie of family as represented through Meriwether's paternalistic relationships with Lucy and Abe, which correspond with their spatial assignment to the remote cottage. Kennedy's attempt to fashion and preserve a master narrative of balance between chattel as property and family responds to his desire to create a national literature for the country's changing political landscape in the decade before the Civil War. Instead of maintaining the official story's continuity, Kennedy's visiting narrator, says Cowan, "may actually serve to highlight the discord it is trying to mask" (13).

There were always challenges to this arrangement, however, through Abe's disturbances and the forty-year boundary dispute over the Goblin Swamp. Although Abe's devilish presence is cast out, his otherworldly characteristics live on through Lucy's haunting cries and Mammy Diana's prophecy, "That the landmarks shall never be stable until Swallow Barn shall wed the Brakes" (1:101). In *Swallow Barn*, the dispute is indeed settled with a happy marriage between Ned Hazard and Bel Tracy which consolidates the properties and changes the layout of both plantations. What once divided the families and their estates now functions as the spatially centralized link that brings them together. Through this union Kennedy ushers in the image of a happy marriage that also contains the dark threat to their paradise. Still, the Goblin Swamp is inadvertently made central to an expansive plantation, and it is only a matter of time before this murky site of planter misstep, slave escape, and poor white claim would erupt once again in the literature for decades to come.

For that reason, each chapter of this dissertation will focus on a comparative discussion of white and African American texts. The biracial/bitextual rationale of this dissertation is significant in two ways. The first aim of this project, specifically in white-

authored texts, is to uncover the black presence as a crucial force in American Literature. As Toni Morrison has put it, "The contemplation of this black presence is central to any understanding of our national literature and should not be permitted to hover at the margins of the literary imagination" (*Playing in the Dark* 5). My use of plantation geography reveals the existence of enslaved African Americans, even in the celebration of the big house. As Kennedy's *Swallow Barn* reveals, however, every black did not have a place in the plantation order, but neither did some whites. Therefore, these works are also mined for less familiar white views as a means of interrogating the consequences of investing in the planter's perspective. Beginning with George's vow in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and Mr. Listwell's solemn proclamation in *The Heroic Slave*, this project traces the effects of what Morrison calls racial ideology as reified in the far-flung spaces that center on the big house and master.

The second part of my task is to promote an interdisciplinary approach to the production of space that comes out of the lived experiences of the invisible or forgotten. In *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*, Katherine McKittrick and Clyde Woods take a "bottoms up" methodology that seeks to incorporate the role of "subaltern subjects" in the political, social and economic implications of space and place making (5). My project aims to reconstruct the master narrative by including the stories and alternate pathways of the disadvantaged which were part of the plantation tradition from its inception with *Swallow Barn*. Challenging the hegemonic spatial practices of "singling out the body, the culture of poverty, or the material "lack" implied by spatial metaphors," McKittrick and Woods insist "on reimagining the subject and place of black geographies by suggesting that there are always many ways of producing and perceiving

space" (7). Stories like Abe's make visible the activism, resistance, and everyday histories of spaces that have been often "subjugated, perpetually ghettoized," or rendered "ungeographic" (7). My project is specifically preoccupied with revealing how race and social relations influence place making and the built environment.

Towards this end, "Trouble in Paradise" is divided into three chapters. Chapter One, "A House Divided: The Abolitionist Deployment of Plantation Landscape, 1850-1862," investigates how Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom and Frederick Douglass's Madison Washington transform their relation to the big house by their activities outside of it. As *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) concludes, Tom's bravery in the cotton gin-house shed effectively expands the reach of domestic ideology to work where it is needed most: in the midst of the brutal carnage of cotton production through slave labor and its cast-offs. While making her point about the damaging nature of slavery, particularly its destruction of families, Stowe shows how the home and market are inextricably tied through her deployment of such plantation outbuildings. Therefore, Tom's activities in the cotton gin-house shed model a viable moral corrective for Stowe's readers.

In Frederick Douglass's *The Heroic Slave* (1853), the forest, the open sea, the tavern, and the marine coffee house enable black challenge to the hierarchical order of the plantation's built environment. Furthermore, by utilizing these spaces outside of the plantation as significant locales of protest, Douglass effectively shifts the audience's attention away from a sentimental and corporeal exchange with Madison Washington as plantation property, like Stowe's Uncle Tom, by providing a critically self-reflexive engagement between Washington and other white characters, most notably, Mr. Listwell

and Tom Grant. Finally, Washington's story rewrites the American historical record to include the testimony of troublesome slaves.

Chapter Two, "Paradise Lost: The State of the Myth During the Civil War and Reconstruction," explores the southern legacy in Joseph Addison Turner's *The Old Plantation: A Poem* (1862) and Frances E.W. Harper's novella *Minnie's Sacrifice* (1869). Published respectively in a southern plantation journal and a northern African American newspaper sponsored by the African Methodist Episcopal Church, these texts provide distinctive visions of the South through the struggle of their protagonists over the demise of their seeming paradise during the Civil War and its aftermath. *The Old Plantation* presents a new perspective from the son of a slaveholder who reminisces about his childhood there. The use of plantation geography reveals its vulnerability as a space intended to assert the hierarchical relationship between masters and their slaves. In this instance, the planter's vision as master of his Edenic estate is juxtaposed against the spatial reality of his slaves fortifying distant spaces against northern aggression. The detritus of slavery that Harriet Beecher Stowe exposes in the gin house has now spread to the entire estate in *The Old Plantation*, affecting not only the slave but the slaveholder and his son.

In *Minnie's Sacrifice*, Harper counters Turner's lament by chronicling the journey of a young man who discovers his African-American ancestry on the eve of his enlistment in the Confederate army. Louis's abrupt transformation from southern gentlemen to African American Union soldier is represented by his northward journey as a deserter through the dangerous war-time spaces of the South, closely mimicking Madison Washington's flight in Douglass's *The Heroic Slave*. While Turner's text

reveals the crippling power of the pastoral plantation myth in the hearts and minds of white southerners, Harper's novella suggests that a radical restructuring of social spaces is vital to the South's rebirth. Reconstruction includes the African-American right to vote, control of working conditions, and most importantly, land ownership.

Chapter Three, "The 'Good Ole Days': Reconciliationist Literature and its Discontents" argues that Joel Chandler Harris's *Uncle Remus: His Songs and Sayings* (1880) and Charles Chesnutt's *The Conjure Woman* (1899) present complex visions of the Post-Reconstruction pastoral plantation that sharply contrast with their antebellum counterparts. On the one hand, Harris's first Uncle Remus collection reveals the tension of coupling Atlanta and Turnwold, urban mobility and plantation stasis. Harris's later tales respond to Joseph Addison Turner's warnings of the dark threat of black emancipation by returning African Americans to their minoritized social and physical place on the plantation. On the other hand, in Chesnutt's *The Conjure Woman*, Uncle Julius performs an alternative code of ethics that is replicated on John's plantation. Although John's ownership disrupts Julius's lucrative wine-making business, Julius takes possession of several other spaces on the plantation, including the schoolhouse, through his gift of storytelling. His ultimate theft, however, is the pilfering of Annie's sympathy and the exposure of her husband's cultural and racial blindness. Undergoing a transformation similar to Mr. Listwell's, Annie shares the plantation with Julius which counters Harris's tales.

Beginning with John Pendleton Kennedy's *Swallow Barn*, this project argues that the neglected corners of the pastoral plantation myth provides a significant spatial model for understanding the debate over slavery and citizenship for African Americans in the

United States throughout the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century, writers like Paul Laurence Dunbar continued to explore the inconsistencies that Kennedy introduced. In the final scene of *The Sport of the Gods* (1902), a cottage much like Lucy's is resurrected and misery once more intrudes upon Eden. In a dark rebuttal, Dunbar challenges Harris's positive conclusion via reparations and a biracial reunion. Seventy years after Kennedy put pen to paper, Dunbar reveals that everyone eventually bears the costs of the plantation.

Mark Littleton concludes Lucy's story as it began: she is seated at the hearth, muttering, and clutching the old and tattered handkerchief. The image of an old slave mother pining away for her son lost at sea leaves an unsettling conclusion to Kennedy's sentimental depiction of antebellum life in Tidewater Virginia. Littleton recalls the tour of the quarters where "The air of contentment and good humor and kind family attachment, which was apparent throughout this little community, and the familiar relations existing between them and the proprietor" struck him "very pleasantly" (452). However, Lucy's tale shatters his former illusions. As he prepares to leave Swallow Barn and return home to New York, her story, like the weather, clings to him. When Littleton looks out of his bedroom window, he observes, "Far as my eye could reach, the firmament was clad in one broad, heavy, gray robe" (492). Lucy's cries betray her domestic surroundings and reveal the limits of the planter's perspective. In Chapter One, Cassy and Madison Washington's view of the plantation exposes slavery's hypocrisy and perilous pecuniary practices.

CHAPTER I

A HOUSE DIVIDED: THE ABOLITIONIST DEPLOYMENT OF THE PLANTATION LANDSCAPE, 1850-1861

When New York publisher George P. Putnam printed a revised edition of John Pendleton Kennedy's *Swallow Barn* in 1851, abolitionist writers were using the ultraist exposé mode to reimagine the South for northern readers. Abolitionist writers like Theodore Weld, Angelina E. Grimké, and Lydia Maria Child were describing the South in Greeson's estimation as "the ancient Babylon: tropical, decadent, vice-ridden, and always doomed to decline (141). While this description is strikingly similar to the nostalgic setting of Tidewater Virginia which Kennedy portrays in his piecemeal novel, the abolitionists' depiction painted a South which Greeson observes to be a "source of tropical contagion" jeopardizing "both the interpretation of industrial capitalism as a system of "free labor," and the conceptualization of U.S. expansionism as a program of establishing "free soil" across the continent and beyond" (207). These opposing images reveal the conflict over the plantation's potential: while southerners contemplated a future in which slavery was inextricably linked to their security and prosperity, northerners insisted that new lands in the American West should exclude the slave system southerners considered so vital. Despite their differences regarding slavery, both sides saw the new territories as creating innovative opportunities for white men and their families to flourish economically in an increasingly industrialized and urbanized America. Unfortunately, neither northern nor southern whites—except for a few abolitionists—ever believed that people of color could fully participate as free people in an expanding and evolving America.

John Pendleton Kennedy's critical portrayal of the plantation made way for writers like Harriet Beecher Stowe and Frederick Douglass to expose the inhumanity and injustice of slavery by exploring sites increasingly distant from the big house. The sites depicted in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), and *The Heroic Slave* (1853), disrupt the bucolic plantation spaces of John Pendleton Kennedy's *Swallow Barn* (1832, 1851). Presentations of Stowe's cotton gin-house shed and Douglass's slave emphasized the contradictory nature of the plantation. While pro-slavery advocates usually presented this space as separate, closed, and feudalistic, the characters of Uncle Tom and Madison Washington's reveal its extensive power and scale throughout their peregrinations. In an angry response to the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in October 1850, Frederick Douglass proclaimed, "The only way to make the Fugitive Slave Law a dead letter is to make half a dozen or more dead kidnappers" (qtd. in Risley 130). His comment was indicative of a violent turn in the national debate over slavery's expansion. No longer strictly a southern problem, this new legislation required marshals, deputies, and even the general public to help recapture suspected runaways in the North. Those who refused to help seize fugitives faced fines and imprisonment. The repercussions of this law threatened Americans civil liberties including the freedom of speech and the press.[16]

Chapter one explores how black and white perspectives of the plantation function in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *The Heroic Slave* as spaces of abolitionist protest. Through the use of plantation geography, antebellum life focused on the big house and the benevolent master is replaced with the lowly slave and his important activities in other spaces. As *Uncle Tom's Cabin* concludes, Tom's activities in the cotton gin-house shed effectively expand the reach of domestic ideology to work where it is needed most: in the

midst of the brutal carnage of cotton production through slave labor and its cast-offs. While making her point about the damaging nature of slavery, particularly its destruction of families, Stowe shows how the home and the market are inextricably tied through her employment of marginal plantation outbuildings.

Conversely, Madison Washington in Frederick Douglass's novella *The Heroic Slave* (1853), echoes Abe's "expression of courage" upon the *Creole*, a sailing vessel transporting slaves from Richmond, VA to New Orleans, LA.[17] Washington tells the white sailors aboard the once ill-fated *Creole*, "My men have won their liberty, with no other weapons but their own BROKEN FETTERS" (emphasis Douglass 43); the forest, the sea, the tavern, and the marine coffee house challenge the big house's objectivity of blacks through Madison Washington's fiery speeches and bravery, and acknowledge the interiority of the slave. However, like Nat Turner, Madison Washington's retreat to the woods is always subject to invasion or destruction. Furthermore, similar to Mark Littleton's critical description of *Swallow Barn*, Douglass's depiction of the slave tavern reveals how slavery had corroded the nation's democratic ideals, which the marine coffeehouse aims to correct. Finally, Washington's mutiny aboard the *Creole* and his successful escape to the Bahamas reveals the big house's limits, and suggests that just as ships sailing on the free billows of the sea cannot last forever without starving those seeking liberty, so too the plantation landscape cannot control others striving to do the same.

This chapter's task explores how *Uncle Tom's Cabin* inherits Kennedy's normative tropes established in *Swallow Barn* and the ways in which *The Heroic Slave* counters their use. However, Stowe's George Shelby and Douglass's Listwell expand the

scale of Mark Littleton's roaming eye as foregrounding advocacy by interpolating white men who listen. In *Martin Delany, Frederick Douglass, and the Politics of Representative Identity*, Robert Levine observes that both writers utilized sympathy as a key concept in their texts. Douglass specifically supported Stowe because she had the ability to generate compassion in white readers for the plight of the slave, which Levine notes for Douglass, "was central to a text's potential to bring about social change" (74). Therefore, distant places in both novels have a proclivity to either promise or peril; while the cotton gin-house shed, tavern, Quaker home, and ship are potential sites where a slave's minority status could be reaffirmed, their distance from the plantation proper decreases the big house's power and pull. However, as much as these spaces presented real opportunities for change, their transitory nature constantly challenged the assurance of a former slave's subjectivity. As promising as these spaces are, the real challenge was to renegotiate the United States as a nation that would eventually support the incorporation of African Americans into its body politic as American citizens.

"Cotton Threads Hold the Union Together?" Plantation Geography Exposes the Detritus of Slavery Through the Cotton Gin-House Shed in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

In "The Quadroon's Story" (ch. 34), a significant yet neglected episode towards the end of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Tom lies groaning and bleeding alone in the cotton gin-house shed on Simon Legree's plantation. The air is heavy, damp, and swarming with mosquitoes that have gnawed on Tom's flesh and "increased the restless torture of his wounds" (356). Beaten down, Tom lies amongst "pieces of broken

machinery," along with "piles of damaged cotton" and other "rubbish" cast aside and accumulated over the years (356). In this desolate, broken place which eerily reflects the status of its occupants, Cassy, Legree's former mistress and the character for which this chapter was entitled, brings water and tends to Tom's wounds.

The cotton gin-house on Legree's plantation is the shed where items used for ginning and storing cotton are contained. The Oxford English Dictionary reports that fundamentally, any shed operates as a shelter, a storeroom or a workspace. It may be attached to a permanent building either as a lean-to or may be a separate entity on the owner's property. However, the shed in Stowe's bestseller serves as more than a generic site of shelter, storage, or work. Stowe provides a cautionary tale that exposes the nation's complicity regarding the peculiar institution in the cotton gin-house shed. On the one hand, Tom's death in the "old shed" manages to reinforce ideas of power, authority, and control of slave masters over their human chattel. Therefore, America's sense of right and wrong is occluded by the refuse of slavery represented by the items in the shed, and prevents its citizens from acting justly. However, through the use of narrative, Stowe's "waste-room" ruptures the power dynamic between Legree and his slaves to suggest that the abolition of slavery must begin with a change in the heart.

In recent years, several scholars have considered Harriet Beecher Stowe's depiction of domesticity's tropes—specifically the notion of home and mother—as galvanizing forces of abolitionist protest, but few have addressed the abolitionist underpinnings of Simon Legree's shed. Discussing the importance of Stowe's insistence on home and mother as the model for remodeling antebellum society, Elizabeth Ammons describes Simon's Legree plantation as "hell" because it is built on "the antifeminine,

antimaternal, antifamily principles" of supermasculinity, and the ruthless violence of cotton production in the institution of slavery (175). Gillian Brown makes similar claims in *Domestic Individualism*, which discusses the significance of "Getting in the kitchen with Dinah" in order to rescue domesticity from the disorderly "hurryscurryation" and shiftless aspects of slavery (16). According to Brown, "[t]he landscape of Simon Legree's plantation, the last Southern residence Stowe describes, seems more foreign and fantastic than heaven because it is completely nondomestic, unkempt, and ungoverned" (34). It is no wonder few commentators have looked at the plantation's outbuildings as possible sites of dissent.

While critics view Legree's plantation as a vision of domesticity gone awry, none of them address how the shed exposes the contradictory nature of slavery through characters that temporarily inhabit the space. When the shed is compared to domestic spaces in the novel, what is revealed suggests that domestic notions of home and motherhood are important tools in the abolitionist fight against slavery, yet they are ultimately insufficient when the kitchen, the hearth, or the dinner table serves as one of the most important locations for that change. For example, in "An Evening in Uncle Tom's Cabin" (ch. 4), Stowe introduces Tom sitting at a table "in front of the fire" with cups, saucers and other signs of "an approaching meal" (21). The bulk of the chapter describes the night's activities, including a dinner of cakes and sausages, and a "church meeting" of slaves from neighboring plantations, among whom Tom is known as "a sort of patriarch," or "minister," for the "child-like earnestness of his prayer" (29). However, while there is a bustle of spiritual activity occurring in Uncle Tom's cabin, there is a sinister hum of pecuniary activity occurring in Master Shelby's home. That other scene

is the sale of Uncle Tom and Eliza's son Harry to Haley the trader, which takes place in the dining-parlor of the Shelby household. While Shelby conducts the transaction like "a man that hurries over some disagreeable business," he retrieves important paperwork from Haley with "a gesture of suppressed eagerness," comforted that his home has been saved (29). The evening in Uncle Tom's cabin hides and temporarily leaves unchallenged this critical transaction between Shelby and the slave trader.

As Ammons suggests, Stowe juxtaposes these scenes to demonstrate that while there are many worthwhile attributes inherent in this household, the realm of feminine domesticity has limited influence if it cannot prevent the sale of human beings for economic gain (165). Although Mrs. Shelby and the plantation's slaves could not stop the sale of Uncle Tom and Harry from occurring, they were successful, through their kitchen delay tactics, in enabling Eliza's escape with her son. Ultimately, however, domesticity has its limits in the traditional setting because it fails to readjust the power dynamics so that a similar situation could not reoccur. Stowe illustrates her point through Tom's eventual descent to the shed. Contrary to his "lofty" beginnings in the cabin on Shelby's plantation, the shed exposes the complicity and capitalistic consequences of *any* form of slavery. Therefore, revelation makes change possible via Tom's Christian actions. Through Tom, domesticity's ideals have merged with the market economy of slavery implying that "home and mother must not figure as sanctuaries from the world but as imperative models for its reconstitution" (Ammons 174). There is limited success with the kitchen and other domesticated places because complicity is hidden and change is not far-reaching. However, through Tom's Christ-like deeds the shed is not a space dependent upon the harsh dictates of a brutally unstable market economy. Instead

Legree's shed is a site where the acknowledgement of wrong and penitence for ill deeds followed by principled acts aimed at changing relationships with others is not only possible, but encouraged.

Uncle Tom's Cabin: Sources and Serialization

Stowe wrote her novel including Uncle Tom's death scene with the help of a variety of sources. Joan Hedrick has noted that Stowe had only been South once during a visit to a Kentucky plantation in 1834, but she had never been as far as New Orleans, which was Tom's first stop after being sold away from the Shelby plantation (Hedrick *Harriet Beecher Stowe* 222). Instead, she relied on family members, including her brother Charles whose experience of meeting an overseer in New Orleans who had boasted of his fist, strong from "knocking down niggers," provided the inspiration for Simon Legree (Stowe *Key* 337). As Hedrick points out, Stowe also relied on her own home's black workers, "whose stories passed from woman to woman in an oral tradition" with the potential to "free white women as well as male and female slaves" by subjecting relations between master and slaves to public scrutiny (Hedrick 219). Finally, Stowe relied heavily on Theodore Weld's *American Slavery as It Is* (1839), and other documents from slaveholders that illuminated and corroborated many of the sketches Stowe drew in her novel.[18]

The sketch of particular importance is her creation of Simon Legree and the workings of his cotton plantation in Louisiana. In her *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Stowe presents several anecdotes that highlight the mid nineteenth-century nature of cotton production in the Deep South. Through conversations with a Louisiana sugar refinery

owner, Stowe learned that overworking slaves resulted from the planter's inability to "afford a sufficient number of slaves to do the extra work at the time… as [they] could not profitably employ them the rest of the year" (72). Due to the fluctuating prices of the market and the high costs of caring for slaves during the off season, both cotton and sugar planters often overworked their slaves day and night during the high season in order to accomplish what was necessary with an inadequate number of hands. Through this practice, they could afford to sacrifice a set of hands once every seven years. Legree makes similar remarks when asked by a stranger about his operations:

> Stout fellers last six or seven years; trashy ones gets worked up in two or three. I used to when I fust begun, have considerable trouble fussin' with 'em and trying to make 'em hold out,--doctorin' on 'em up when they's sick, and givin' on 'em clothes and blankets, and what not, tryin' to keep 'em all sort o' decent and comfortable. Law, 'twasn't no sort o' use; I lost money on 'em, 'twas heaps o' trouble. Now, you see, I just put 'em straight through, sick or well. When one nigger's dead, I buy another; and I find it comes cheaper and easier, every way. (Stowe, *UTC* 338)

Legree has a market-driven relationship with slaves characterized by harsh treatment, exploitation, and disposal. In order to make a profit, he keeps costs down by making each perform double the amount of work. Constant overburdening inevitably resulted in death and replacement with more slaves to be overtaxed in the same manner. This pecuniary relationship is one of the many problems that the shed symbolically embodies and seeks to correct.

Along with overworking slaves to avoid financial loss, plantation owners regularly competed with each other over the amount of cotton picked by their hands. Southern newspapers often participated in the frenzy, publishing the results of the "cotton brag" (Stowe *Key* 76). Stowe provides an example of this sort of competition among slaveholders in her novel when Cassy reasons against Legree's further abuse of Tom

stating, “If your crop comes shorter into the market than any of theirs, you won’t lose your bet, I suppose? Tompkins [another slaveholder] won’t lord it over you, I suppose,--and you’ll pay down your money like a lady, won’t you?” (*Uncle Tom’s Cabin* 376). Legree gives in to reason because he, “like many other planters, had but one form of ambition,--to have in the heaviest crop of the season,--and he had several bets on this very present season pending in the next town” (376). Stowe highlights the overuse of slaves and deadly competition among slaveholders in order to reveal how the economic pressures of slavery also made the press complicit in the consequences of human bondage.

Harriet Beecher Stowe’s particular interest in pointing out journalism’s role regarding slavery reflects her own political commentary in the form of the novel’s serialization. *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* was originally serialized from June 5, 1851 to April 1, 1852 in the *National Era*, a weekly anti-slavery newspaper whose underlying purpose was to promote abolition. Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the *National Era*, preferred a moderate approach to the slavery question that worked to reach a wider audience, particularly southerners.[19] Susan Belasco Smith observes that the *National Era* often worked to this end by invoking domestic imagery, specifically casting the “union as a house and the American citizens as a family” (78). By publishing her text in the *National Era* at the height of the furor over the Fugitive Slave Law, Stowe successfully reached a wider audience through the story of an unlikely hero.

Therefore, the *National Era* is the medium through which Stowe participated in a larger debate against slavery by publishing her serialized novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin.*[20] Weekly editions of *The Era* not only contained installments of Stowe’s novel, but also

articles, reviews, essays, poems and other continuing stories that created a polyphonic abolitionist response. On this larger, national level, the shed scenes can be viewed as having influenced a reading public by removing the fourth wall to exhibit the effects of slavery, particularly through her damning descriptions of the South. Specifically, Tom's activities in the shed for Belasco Smith "serves as an analogy for the ways in which both the text of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Era* operate as interventions into the proslavery discourse espoused by Southern slaveholders" (82). Lying in the shed among the damaged remnants of cotton production, Tom is a somber reminder of this process.

Refusing to participate in this system by helping another slave meet the daily quota and not punishing her when she still falls short, Tom merges the domestic ideals of motherly love and self-sacrifice with the cruel machinations of slavery. In doing so, he offered an alternative mode of conduct that countered America's deadly course of proliferating profit through slave labor. As Stephen Yafa notes in *Big Cotton*, the United States had established itself by 1860 as a strong force in the international trade by providing 80 percent of the cotton manufactured in Britain, all of the cotton used in New England's mills, and two-thirds of the world's total supply (130).[21] More importantly, the shed exposes twin paths of accumulated riches and untold suffering in the United States through the use of slave labor for cotton production. As South Carolina Senator John Calhoun wrote in a letter to Massachusetts manufacturer Abbott Lawrence, "cotton thread is the Union" (Yafa 123). Northern mill owners and southern slaveholders had too much to lose if their source of low-cost cotton produced by slave labor was eliminated. What Stowe revealed in the shed is that while the economic and political cost of

disrupting the system threatened to tear the fabric of the nation apart, the human cost of chattel slavery was even greater.

Plantation Geography: the Cotton Gin-House Shed Transforms "A Man That Was a Thing"

Through the use of plantation geography, Stowe's novel exposes the ruthless nature of slavery as a commodity model that obscures complicity between all who tolerate it, even those far from slave sales. The future of the Shelby plantation rested on the sale of Tom. When Eliza comes to tell Tom of his sale and her escape, he refuses Aunt Chloe's pleas to run away saying, "If I must be sold, or all the people on the place, and everything go to rack, why, let me be sold" (Stowe *Uncle Tom's Cabin* 37). Likewise, the settlement of Cassy's father's debts rested on her sale along with other items in his estate. Stowe seeks to counteract this encryption by exposing the hidden, lost or forgotten particulars of their situations through Cassy's narration in the shed.[22] This narrative creates opportunities for Cassy and Tom by confronting the prevailing pastoral plantation myth through their activities in the shed. Cassy's story ultimately participates in transforming the relationship between masters and slaves. As long as Tom and Cassy were classified as property in a system that operates on debt and credit rather than mercy and justice, the people they represent were always in danger of sale and separation from their families.

Conversely, the Quaker kitchen unwittingly engenders encryption of another sort. Within Stowe's vision of a cheery kitchen in the midst of "Paradise," there lurks a danger

of recapture and punishment. In the "Quaker Settlement," Simeon Halliday has an exchange with his son over their abolitionist activities:

> "Father, what if thee should get found out again?"
> "I should pay my fine,"
> "But what if they put thee in prison?" (139)

The welcoming vision of a "large, roomy, neatly-painted kitchen" with chairs that "breathed hospital invitation[s]" is a necessary transitional site for weary, fugitive slaves (131). The Quakers cannot openly advertise themselves as fugitive sympathizers and must take all precautions to appear counter to their actions. The Quaker kitchen must remain encrypted because an economic system based upon living commodities and their circulation necessitates not only debt and sale, but fines and imprisonment. The human consequences in this instance are not only recaptured slaves, but the prosecution of the Quakers which would inhibit their further attempts to assist others. Therefore, the Halliday kitchen can only be a temporary space because of its constant subjection to outside scrutiny and exposure.

Legree's shed is important because it demonstrates the bitter realization of Tom's and Cassy's position as slaves. The shed illustrates for Stowe's readers that they are replaceable things. When George Shelby comes to take Tom home, Tom refuses to return because he knows that Kentucky is not his home. Home is not a place where you are subject to sale. Tom and Cassy's reflections on their former status revealed that they had no home at all; they were merely trapped in a system that turned them into things. The shed underscores their oppression not as humans but as items in a working system that could be replaced. Tom was bought, arguably, to replace Sambo and Quimbo; Lucy was purchased to restore a "wife" to Sambo, and Emmeline was acquired to substitute for

Cassy. In the shed they fight against their replacement: Tom dies, Sambo and Quimbo become Christians, and Cassy and Emmeline escape.

Through Tom's interactions with several characters in the shed, Stowe offers a political model of recourse that involves the processes of confession and repentance. However, Tom alone does not transform the shed, nor is he the only character vital to the significance of this place. The shed creates a safe space in which Cassy expresses hardships endured and confesses unconscionable acts she committed against the child she loved. When Cassy *sheds* the traumatic toll of slavery she redeems herself through a ghostly escape with Emmeline.[23] Sambo and Quimbo's repentance in the shed similarly allows them to witness and take responsibility for the wrongs they have done, as they realize that the strength of Tom's character lies in his sense of mercy and forgiveness. Also, when George Shelby finds Tom in the shed with the intention of repurchasing him, George's agenda is quickly changed as Tom dies from the brutal attack ordered by Legree. Tom's death makes George Shelby see his erroneous intent and he compensates for this by later freeing all the slaves he owned. This instructive transformation highlights the shed's final function as a place that changes the human heart to act justly, as George does with his vow. Through sharing rather than beating, and stories rather than whips, the shed transcends its economic function as each character is confronted with their misdeeds.

Therefore, the physical site of the shed is also a small-scale manifestation of the relationship between Tom, Cassy, and other plantation slaves and their master. Like the objects in the shed, Tom is property to be contained, stored, and used for his labor by Simon Legree. On plantations, where owners liked to set up definite lines of demarcation

among the big house, its work spaces, and slave quarters, contact between groups in some of these spaces could not be avoided; however, the hierarchical nature of their relations were maintained, as a site like Legree's plantation reveals. Legree asserts control over his slaves by promoting a climate of hatred and disloyalty amongst the slaves themselves: "Sambo and Quimbo cordially hated each other; the plantation hands, one and all, cordially hated them; and by playing them off one against another, he was pretty sure, through one or other of the three parties, to get informed of whatever was on foot in the place" (Stowe *Uncle Tom's Cabin* 344). Even though such measures were taken by Legree, their economically violent and dysfunctional relationship created opportunities for the master-slave dynamic to be disrupted. Tom is initially received warily by other slaves on the plantation (Cassy originally chastises Tom in the field for helping Lucy pick cotton), but his selfless acts of kindness quickly win their confidence. In effect, Tom's genius is to turn the shed into a transitional site of freedom and agency that not only offers a new model of action for the characters, but also suggests a courageous undertaking for Stowe's readers.

The use of plantation geography to expose myth of benevolent slavery is further explicated in a conversation between two men, a slaveholding gentleman and an abolitionist visitor concerning slaveholders in "The Middle Passage" (ch. 31). The conversation arises when they witness Simon Legree's harsh treatment of his new slaves on the boat up the Red River. Apologizing to his guest, the slaveholding gentleman hopes he understands that Legree is not a typical representation of southern slaveholders. Rather, he is a horrible aberration from the norm. The southern planter reiterates his

point saying, “there are also many considerate and humane men among planters” (Stowe 338). The young guest disagrees stating:

> it is you considerate, humane men, that are responsible for all the brutality and outrage wrought by these wretches: because, if it were not for your sanction and influence, the whole system could not keep foothold for an hour. If there were no planters except such as that one [Legree], the whole thing would go down like a millstone. It is your respectability and humanity that licenses and protects his brutality. (338-339)

While the southern planter and other characters such as Mr. Shelby would like to distinguish themselves as humane slaveholders, Stowe makes it clear that their illusions of respectability merely serve to encrypt the brutality of their counterparts. As the earlier scene of Mr. Shelby’s sale of Tom and Harry in his dining room illustrates, he is scarcely removed from the ruthlessly capitalistic and violently inhumane actions of the likes of Haley the slave trader and Simon Legree. Consequently, both slaveholders are implicated because they both turn slaves into products of the market. Through the invocation of plantation geography, Shelby’s employment of labor in themed space works in tandem with Legree’s cast-off shed full of damaged things. Therefore, Cassy’s story and Tom’s literal and metaphorical descent to the South expose the brutality of slavery. Since the humanity and respectability of benevolent slaveholders serve to protect the more brutal and corrupt slaveholders like Legree, Stowe aims to undercut both by exposing their deeds through the activities in the shed.

Stowe paints a dreary picture of the Legree plantation, laying bare the relationship between masters and slaves as Tom and other new slaves arrive in “Dark Places” (ch. 32). Once owned by “a gentleman of opulence and taste,” the Red River plantation fell into the hands of Legree, “who used it, as he did everything else, merely as an implement for money-making” (342). Starting from the lawn, which “was now covered with frowsy

tangled grass," to a garden "grown over with weeds," Tom, Legree and other newly purchased slaves walk up to a house with "windows stopped up with boards," "shattered panes and shutters hanging by a single hinge" (343). The slaves are greeted by "ferocious-looking dogs" held back by Legree's two slave hands, Sambo and Quimbo, whom he'd "trained in savageness and brutality as systematically as he had his bull-dogs" (344). The slave quarters, which are located far off from the house, are "rude shells, destitute of any species of furniture, except a heap of straw, foul with dirt, spread confusedly over the floor, which was merely the bare ground, trodden hard by the tramping of innumerable feet" (345). Stowe uses words like "vile," "dirty," "unwholesome" and "decay" to depict Legree's plantation as a place that has a "ragged, forlorn appearance" which exposes the economic underpinnings of earlier orderly, Christian homes such as Shelby's plantation house and Uncle Tom's cabin. Legree's plantation also calls attention to the vulnerable and transient nature of the Quaker kitchen. Stowe's use of literary imagery as a form of abolitionist protest took on social, political and cultural significance when published with illustrations after its successful serialization.

Illustrative Possibilities of the Shed: Three Cases

Stowe recognized the intertextuality of the written word and visual images in a letter detailing her plans for the novel to Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the *National Era*. She wrote, "there is no arguing with pictures, and everybody is impressed with them" (qtd. in Hedrick 208). Simply calling herself a "painter," Stowe saw her purpose as providing a series of verbal "sketches" of slavery "in the most lifelike and graphic manner possible"

in the fight for freedom and humanity (208). While it is not known whether Stowe participated in the creation or selection of illustrations, they are important because they were an integral part of the novel and her audience's reading experience.[24] *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is unique in that the illustrations participated in catapulting the novel's importance from the page to the parlors of nineteenth-century American society.

Although Stowe's novel attracted considerable attention as a serial, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* became a phenomenon as a book starting with its first edition published March 20, 1852 by John P. Jewett & Co. a Boston firm, which was an established publisher of many religious works representing the evangelical wing of Congregationalism. Michael Winship believes that its success stemmed in part from Jewett's promotional efforts ("*UTC*: A History of the Book"). However, Jo-Ann Morgan argues that Hammat Billings' illustrations were among the most seen images of the early 1850's and "set in motion a visual discourse quickly engaged in by others" ("Illustrating Uncle Tom's Cabin"). For a novel that contained illustrations as a special feature, especially for a first time novelist, the successful publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* inspired the creation of prints, pottery, games, puzzles, and dolls, as well as numerous adaptations. One of those was John Greenleaf Whittier's "Little Eva: Uncle Tom's Guardian Angel," a publication of sheet music commissioned by Jewett himself.

Therefore, another way of understanding the spatial possibilities and implications of Stowe's shed is to examine the wood engravings by Hammat Billings for the 1853 Boston edition, by John P. Jewett & Co., which is significant for its popularity and impact.[25] In *Blind Memory,* Marcus Wood deems Billings' illustrations noteworthy because not only were they featured in the original American version; they were also

valuable for the artist's "refusal to incorporate caricature into his depiction of blacks" (183). Concerning the manner and style of Billings's illustrations, Jo-Ann Morgan thinks Billings' role as designer of the masthead for William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*, a fiery abolitionist newspaper of the nineteenth century, influenced his work on Stowe's novel; he incorporated existing anti-slavery iconography and established conventions of fine art paintings in his drawings from European paintings during the Renaissance ("Illustrating *Uncle Tom's Cabin*"). The most popular and plagiarized depiction of Billings' illustrations is Little Eva Reading the Bible to Uncle Tom in the Arbor (Fig. 5) for its emphasis on shared humanity and equality between man and child in this intimate moment.[26]

Therefore, Billings's sensitivity to Stowe's novel is significant for its sincere attempts to let readers see slavery.[27] Additionally, James O'Gorman believes that Billings's illustrations closely captured the essence of Stowe's novel because "they are quiet but effective reinforcements for her impassioned attack on slavery and consequent plea for social change (62). Stowe's and Billings' visions as writer and illustrator come together in Billings's headpiece, where the detritus of cotton production Stowe describes—"pieces of broken machinery," and "other rubbish"—materialize into a gin wheel, boards, an axe and a whip, creating "an old forsaken room of the gin-house" (Stowe *Uncle Tom's Cabin* 356) of Legree's plantation (Fig. 6). This illustration focuses on Cassy's relieving Tom after his beating. As she kneels down to offer Tom a cool drink, he looks up at Cassy in a haze of pain and confusion. A beam of light shines directly down on him.

Figure 5. Chapter 22: "Eva and Tom Reading the Bible." Headpiece illustration by Hammat Billings for *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly*, by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Illustrated Edition. Original Designs by Billings; Engraved by Baker and Smith. (Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1853). **Clifton Waller Barrett Collection, University of Virginia.**

While Tom lies on the pallaise "stiff with wounds and bruises," Cassy offers an account that is full of bitter anger and hatred. It is a story that is particular to the female slave experience and full of the moral corruption she and others have suffered. "I could make any one's hair rise, and their teeth chatter, if I should only tell what I've seen and been knowing" she proclaims (358). As she bears witness to the memory of atrocities suffered by others during her stay on Legree's plantation, her narration intermeshes with her surroundings, becoming barely distinguishable as broken items carelessly cast aside. Ultimately Cassy's narrative creates a haunting presence in the shed. Damaged bolls of cotton and machinery trigger horrid memories: forced concubinage with Butler, her owner, for the sake of her children; the children taken away from Cassy by Butler in spite of her forcibly becoming a kept woman; confession that she deliberately poisoned her last child. The gnawing mosquitoes suggest the torturous nature of her memories: "When I was a girl, I thought I was religious; I used to love God and prayer. Now, I'm a lost soul

pursued by devils that torment me day and night" (365). The dampness of the air reflects her heavy and unstable mood swings. Her "wild and doleful laugh, that rung with a strange, supernatural sound" acts in concert with the atmosphere of the shed to present a haunting encounter as well as a narrative for those who cannot speak for themselves (358).

Figure 6. Chapter 34: "Cassy Nursing Tom." Headpiece Illustration by Hammat Billings for *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly*, by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Illustrated Edition. Original Designs by Billings; Engraved by Baker and Smith. (Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1853). **Clifton Waller Barrett Collection, University of Virginia**

Cassy's narration in the shed strips away the paternally domestic aspects of slavery by exposing the byproduct of cotton production: broken wheels and broken bodies, split boards and split families, damaged cotton and dead babies. Cassy's statement to Tom—"If you were scalded, cut into inch-pieces, set-up for the dogs to

tear"—calls up the unmitigated overuse and abuse of slaves for cotton production (358). Cassy's observations of Emmeline—"[H]e's got a new one,--a young thing, only fifteen. Her good mistress taught her to read the Bible"—reflect Emmeline's recent separation from her family, and the future sexual and moral violation she will suffer for Legree's own pleasure (358). Finally, Cassy's declaration, "I would never again let a child live to grow up!" comments upon her difficult decision to murder her child (364). Cassy's tale usurps the economic purpose of the shed, which suddenly functions as a storehouse of memories.

Although the shed is a space for Cassy's memories to reverberate, it also becomes a transitional space of repentance, which gives her the agency to readjust her relationships with Tom and Simon Legree. Although Tom is physically weak, he is spiritually strong. He offers Cassy hope through the example of the sufferings of Christ, stating, "If we suffer with him we shall also reign with him" (360). Tom's solution to slavery's evil is spiritual fortitude: if he obeys God's law to the point of death, then he will receive a higher reward in heaven. By contrast, Cassy is spiritually weak, but physically capable of nursing and providing comfort to Tom in his time of need through her knowledge of medicinal herbs and cooling applications she spreads on his wounds. Cassy's experiences in slavery have hardened her heart and created a strong disbelief in God, which she makes known to Tom when she states, "It's no use, my poor fellow! You are in the devil's hands; and you must give up" (357). Cassy's remedy for their situation is to fight back and make someone, specifically Simon Legree pay, for the crimes committed against her. As she says, "I'll send him where he belongs, --a short way too—one of these nights, if they burn me alive for it" (365). While Tom places his faith in the

spiritual solution the Bible offers, Cassy puts her trust in finding a material answer to her impossible dilemma.

Both of these ideas come together when Cassy kneels on the ground in front of Tom. While Cassy provides physical relief for his injuries, signaled by her sympathetic pose, Tom also offers Cassy spiritual reprieve for her tortured soul as supplicant. Discussions of Cassy have noted the ways in which Stowe characterized her as a degraded woman, tied often with Biblical connections to Mary Magdalene and other women who cared for Christ at different times in the Gospels.[28] Cassy cares for Tom and realizes her subordinate status to him as she reproaches him for calling her Missis saying, "I'm a miserable slave, like yourself,--a lower one than you can ever be!" (357). While the other slaves on the plantation realize the higher position she occupies and treat her accordingly, Cassy's low opinion of herself reverses Legree's hierarchy on his plantation.

However, Tom "beguiled even from the pain of his wounds," sees her as someone who is lost and offers her salvation through Christ from her downtrodden state. Cassy's kneeling pose, while initially suggesting sympathy towards Tom, also suggests that Cassy is a supplicant seeking forgiveness and understanding for the murder of her child. Therefore, their exchange in the shed effectively challenges the slaveholding hierarchy through Christian generosity by substituting familial relations for economic relations based on mercy, sacrifice, and acts of kindness. At first Cassy chastises Tom for acting sympathetically towards the other slaves—"there's no use in your suffering to keep from hurting them" (366). In the shed, she considers him a friend to whom she offers help—

"Can I do anything for you my poor fellow?"—and affectionately calls him "Father Tom" until his demise (396).

Drawn to his kind nature, Cassy entrusts her story to Tom in the shed. Through this exchange, the shed also becomes an intimate space in which Cassy later surrenders to Christ's teachings through Tom's example. Billings's light shining in the midst of the darkness suggests Tom's spiritual potency, which affects Cassy and anticipates the shed's transformation upon the arrival of George Shelby. Cassy learns about Tom's sacrifice for her and Emmeline in "The Young Master" (ch. 41), where she visits him for the last time in the shed before his death. When she realizes the sacrifice he made for her, she is transformed: "the long winter of despair, the ice of years, had given way," in Cassy's soul as she "wept and prayed" for forgiveness (415). Tom's faith gives her the ability to not only see herself in a new light, but to use this experience to rescue herself and Emmeline from their degraded position. The shed now becomes a space of repentance for the sins committed by and against her. As a result, Cassy leaves behind all of her ghastly memories in the shed in order to start a new life. In the following chapter, Cassy and Emmeline haunt Legree and escape, stopping short of her former plans of murder.

Billings's decision to focus on the opening scene of the chapter highlights the caring nature of Cassy in spite of her past actions. Even though she murders her child, the transformation she undergoes in the shed recompenses the harsh choices she was previously forced to make. Cassy's acknowledgment and penitence for ill deeds followed by her goal to escape with Emmeline prevent her from ultimately remaining like one of the broken items in the shed. What makes the shed a unique space that differs from Tom's cabin and Halliday's kitchen is that this is a transitional space for the Elizas that

were unable to escape slavery's harsh consequences. In Tom's cabin, Eliza with the "haggard face and dark, wild eyes of [a] fugitive," informs them of Little Harry and Tom's sale and her plans to escape (36). Stowe's description of Eliza in this scene anticipates a future like Cassy's had she not been able to flee. In the Quaker kitchen, she dreams of a house where she sees her son playing, "a free and happy child," as she suddenly "hears her husband's footsteps" (137). Eliza immediately wakes up and realizes that her dreams came true because she is instantly reunited with her husband as her child lies calmly sleeping by her side. On the other hand, like her namesake (Cassandra), Cassy tells a cautionary tale of slavery's consequences that Stowe prevents from going unheeded through her narrative in the shed.

The shed is also an important space for Sambo and Quimbo. "Tom Saving Sambo and Quimbo" (Fig. 7), illustrates Tom lying in the shed after suffering a final beating by Legree and his two principal hands. This scene is a stark contrast to Stowe's introduction of Tom in the humble cabin with his family, an early scene which depicts the domestic relationships that were soon disrupted by the economic costs of slavery. The scene in the Quaker kitchen differs from Tom's final moments in the shed, a contrast that sums up the opposing journeys of Tom and the Harris's: Eliza and her family eventually relocate to Canada together while Tom dies in the "old shed" far from family and the place he once called "home."

Tom embodies the 'refuse cotton' of the shed because he 'refuses' to tell Legree of Cassy and Emmeline's location. Legree's slave drivers, Sambo and Quimbo, are positioned on bended knees in front of Tom. Similar in posture to Cassy, they are seriously contrite for the atrocious acts they have committed against Tom in their mutual

hatred for him. The positioning of the characters in this scene is reminiscent of the Biblical story of the two criminals on the cross at Christ's crucifixion, one of whom not only recognizes Christ's innocence, but seeks and receives forgiveness. For his wickedness Quimbo says, "we's been awful wicked to ye!" and Sambo states, "Lord Jesus have mercy on us!" Tom replies, like Christ, "I forgive ye, with all my heart…give me these two more souls, I pray!" (Stowe 412). Initially described as "barbarous, guttural, half-brute" individuals trained in "savageness and brutality," Sambo and Quimbo emotionally and physically break down at the sight of their destruction in the shed, which their posture represents (344). Supplication in the form of weeping and penitence signals a change in the relationship among these three characters from cruelty and viciousness to compassion and mercy.

There is a contrast between their posture and status in the illustration. Once despised and looked down on, Tom's status is represented by his lower position on the floor. However, this same position, once a reflection of "torture, degradation and shame," is now a position of "glory, honor and immortal life" after he successfully suffers the last temptation to sin when he refuses to tell Legree the location of Cassy and Emmeline (411). By contrast, Sambo and Quimbo have enjoyed their favored status as special hands and "instruments of torture" on Legree's plantation which is represented by their elevated status in the illustration. However, their ill deeds bring them spiritually low and they are only able to rise from the rubbish of their surroundings when they repent and change their ways.

Figure 7. Chapter 40: "Tom Saving Sambo and Quimbo." Tailpiece Illustration by Hammat Billings for *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly*, by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Illustrated Edition. Original Designs by Billings; Engraved by Baker and Smith. (Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1853). **Clifton Waller Barrett Collection, University of Virginia.**

The invocation of Biblical images and stories is important in these scenes because Stowe appropriates them in order to override the economic function of the shed. Through them she argues that the true work needed to be done must spring from a kinder, gentler, and ultimately more powerful source. Cotton production results in the break-up of families, in sexual and moral violation, and in Sambo's and Quimbo's attack on and destruction of a fellow slave. The 'product' created by the teachings of Christ in Stowe's estimation is confession, repentance, and righteous agency which seek to amend such wrongs. The 'byproduct' of Stowe's idea is a newfound sense of agency to do right from now on, starting with Sambo and Quimbo's attempts to comfort Tom with brandy taken from Simon Legree. Like Cassy, Sambo and Quimbo experience a changed relationship

with Tom, which is signaled by their verbal expressions of contrition and acts of sharing and caring, not power, domination, or physical abuse.

"George Shelby Finds Uncle Tom dying" (Fig. 8), is composed of George Shelby kneeling over and clasping the hand of Uncle Tom in the foreground, while Simon Legree, looking on "with a dogged air of affected carelessness," stands in the background (416). Legree's peripheral position in this illustration suggests that while Legree is welcome to join in the conversion from his wicked ways, he refuses to do so, determined as he is to resist anything that would undermine his central importance and preeminent status. His upright wide-legged stance, covered head, the hands in his pockets, and the hard set of his face figure him as the majority whose surveillance reveals the problems with slavery and the likelihood that he will not lift a finger or lower himself in the humble position of supplicant to do anything about it. Legree stands in for resistant readers who resume their normal ways after the conclusion of the novel. Stowe summarizes their likely response through Tom's affect on Simon Legree: "Legree had had the slumbering moral element in him roused by his encounters with Tom,--roused, only to be resisted by the determinate force of evil" (398). Stowe attempts to overcome the defiant readers' objections through the conversion of George, son of Tom's former master, Arthur Shelby.

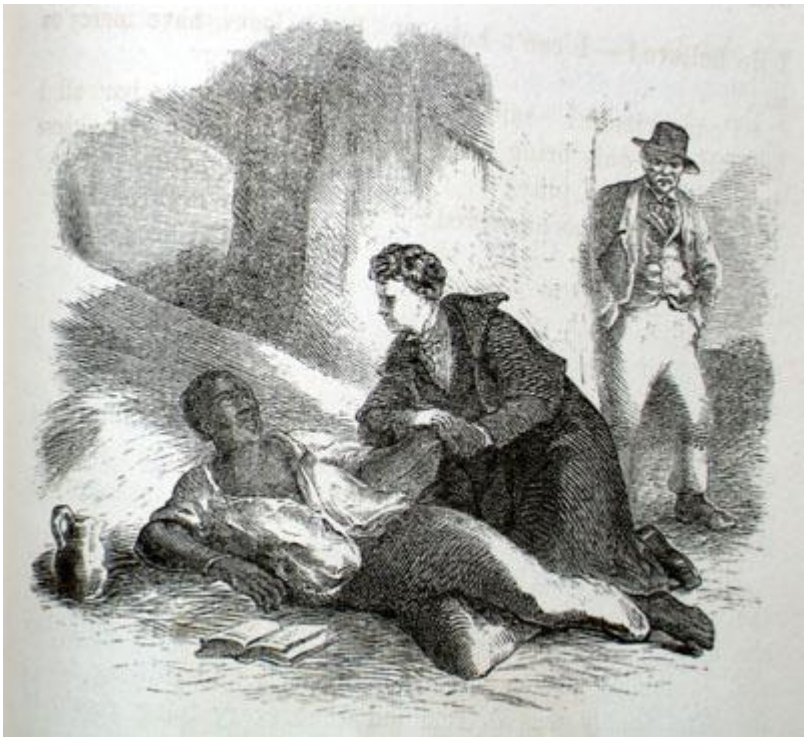


Figure 8. Chapter 41: "Shelby Finds Uncle Tom Dying." Headpiece Illustration by Hammat Billings for *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly*, by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Illustrated Edition. Original Designs by Billings; Engraved by Baker and Smith. (Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1853). **Clifton Waller Barrett Collection, University of Virginia.**

In this scene, all the elements of the text quietly materialize to foreground Stowe's message: the task of abolishing slavery must begin in the heart. In concluding remarks she writes, "There is one thing that every individual can do,--they can see to it that they feel right" (442). This scene distinctly contrasts with the introduction of Tom in his cabin because Stowe initially situates him in a space where the encryptic powers of domestic authority prevent his true status from being recognized and changed. Tom's initial sale could have been stopped if a system where human beings could be bought and sold had not existed. Further, the Harrises could have settled down in the comparative paradise of the Quaker settlement had they not been subject to the majority 'surveillance' of slave catchers under the Fugitive Slave Law. Unlike the cabin, the shed reveals slavery's

effects that are converted with the actions of one lowly slave, suggesting that change must begin at its basest, most lowly locale. The gin-house shed is a site where sympathy, mercy, and forgiveness form the basis of relationships amongst individuals, not race, gender, or other power-based forms of identity or standing. Therefore, the shed is an ideal site because of the fruitful byproducts this sort of effort creates. The transformation of social relations is a labor of love that Tom teaches to Cassy, Sambo, Quimbo and George Shelby, but something that Simon Legree adamantly refuses to learn. The use of plantation geography to analyze places including the cabin, the kitchen, and the shed suggests that Tom's cabin is where Stowe's work of exposure begins; the shed is where her work of changing individuals ends.

Tom's exchange with George Shelby also reveals readjustment in his standing as the slaveholder pays homage to the slave. When readers are initially introduced to Tom in his cabin, George is in the position of power as he corrects the slave during their writing lesson saying, "Not that way, Uncle Tom,--not that way…that makes a *q*, you see." (21). Conversely, in the death scene, Uncle Tom chides George for wishing Simon to hell stating, "Hush, Mas'r George!...Don't feel so! He an't done me no real harm" (417). The illustration captures the essence of this moment with the kneeling figure of George, head uncovered, holding Tom's hand. While George seeks to comfort Tom with glad tidings of returning home, Tom makes him realize the mortal consequences of slavery with his death. Tom becomes one with the items in the shed: broken wheels unite with his broken body; split boards represent Tom's earthly separation from his family.

While the "ruined old shed," acts as the site of Tom's death—a departure from his former life of suffering and toil—it also represents his move to an eternal life of peace

and happiness, transforming the power of the shed as a waste room of enforced labor. Awed by the faith and forgiveness Tom exhibits in the last moments, George Shelby thinks that the wrecked old shed is now "holy" (417). The light that surrounded Uncle Tom in the first illustration has left its mark on Cassy, Sambo, Quimbo, and now George. George's opinion of the shed places importance not only on Tom's death, but on the transformative effect his death has on this space and its occupants. The shed now serves as a representation of slavery's mortal consequences, and the solution that Tom embodies, which is available to all. Notwithstanding, the shed's impotency is revealed through its limited reach. Although it changes compassionate masters like George Shelby, it fails to reach cruel slaveholders represented by Simon Legree. The gentleman's earlier proclamation that slavery would not last if benevolent masters rise up is not realized by the novel's close. Simon Legree dies, but what happens to his property, his slaves, and his cotton gin-house shed? Stowe's decision to end the novel briefly after Legree's death suggests that the refuse continues to accumulate in the shed and the cotton gin simply grinds on. Ultimately, it is up to her audience, men and women, mothers and Christians, to write an ending in honor of the events in the shed.[29]

While James Baldwin once argued that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* greatest tragedy is Tom's death, the novel's true triumph is that the social relations among several characters are changed and many slaves are set free.[30] At the novel's conclusion, George Shelby, son of a benevolent slaveholder in the border state of Kentucky, frees his slaves after his inspiring final encounter with Tom. Cassy, offspring of a New Orleans planter relocates with Emmeline to Canada where she is reunited with her family, the Harris's. Eventually, they relocate permanently to Africa. It is not a perfect vision: the black

characters that have agency leave the country for Canada, Europe, and ultimately, Africa. Their final "status" questions the role of freed blacks in the nation and the anxiety over incorporating "fugitives" and "freedom fighters" into the new republic.

Moreover, Stowe's ending is problematic for its apparent advocacy of black emigration and colonization, particularly through George Harris's denunciation of America in favor of an African nationality. [31] Boldly proclaiming in a letter to one of his friends "I have no wish to pass for an American, or to identify with them," former slave George Harris declares that "The desire and yearning of my soul is for an African *nation*" (emphasis Stowe 430). Harris's renunciation of his claims to American citizenry suggests a dichotomy that aligns whiteness with America and blackness with Africa. In doing so, Stowe reverses the role of emancipated and escaped slaves from oppressed to oppressor, and erases the intermingled history of African Americans and whites spanning in between and both continents. This sort of paradigm George Handley observes "simply ignore the devastation suffered at the hands of European settlers and ignore the oblivion, erasure, and fragmentation of New World resettlement" (34). The oblivion, erasure, and fragmentation of the African American subject are integral components of New World spaces such as the United States, Canada, and the Bahamas that are taken to task in Frederick Douglass's novella *The Heroic Slave*.

"I Am Not Ashamed to Call Them Brethren": Political Abolitionism Maps New Ground in Frederick Douglass's *The Heroic Slave*

In Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Caste and Christ," a slave asks, "Am I not, O man, thy brother?" (4). This poem describes a slave seeking refuge and assistance from whites based on their common humanity. In his plea to pedestrians he states:

> I, like thee, have joy, have sorrow,
> I, like thee, have love and fear,
> I, like thee, have hopes and longings
> Far beyond this earthly sphere. (4)

This "dark and weary stranger" concludes his entreaty adding, "In the name of our *one* Father/ Do not spurn me from your door" (Emphasis Stowe 4). Despite the slave's eloquent petition, he is "Spurned of men,--despised, rejected" as countless individuals pass him by (5). Suddenly, Christ appears to the shame of bystanders, and moved by the slave's speech he declares "Rise! For *I* have called thee *brother*, /I am not ashamed of thee" (Emphasis Stowe 5). Borrowing a phrase from Hebrews 2:11, "Christ and Caste" like the New Testament scripture suggests that all are one in spite of difference.[32] Furthermore, readers are encouraged to follow Christ as the supreme example; in spite of His divinity, He humbled himself and suffered as a human being. As a result, Christ is now qualified as Savior and brother to the downtrodden. Stowe's "Caste and Christ" is not only the inaugural piece in *Autographs for Freedom* (1853), but it also encapsulates her morally persuasive antislavery perspective that Frederick Douglass counters with his newly found politically abolitionist stance in *The Heroic Slave* (1853).

Edited by the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society Secretary Julia Griffiths, *Autographs for Freedom* is a collection of poems, letters, essays, and excerpts from anti-

slavery speeches. Contributors to the anthology included accomplished women such as Harriet Beecher Stowe, Antoinette Brown Blackwell, and Catherine Maria Sedgwick; African-American activists George Vashon, John Mercer Langston, and Charles Reason; finally, political abolitionists Joshua Giddings, William H. Seward, and Frederick Douglass.[33] Copies of the authors' signatures, added to their respective entries, gave the volume its title. Diverse in its abolitionist perspectives, *Autographs for Freedom* also features a frontispiece illustration entitled "He is Not Ashamed to Call Them Brethren" engraved by George H. Hayes (Fig. 9), which complements Stowe's poem.

"He is Not Ashamed to Call Them Brethren" depicts the moment when Christ appears to the downtrodden slave. In the foreground, Christ and the slave clasp hands as a beam of light shines down on their exchange. In contrast, a man and woman stand in the dark background outside of the illuminated circle. The woman's body, turned halfway suggests that she is walking away from the slave when Christ's appearance startles her to look over her left shoulder. The man uses his left arm to shield his face from the light, which represents the "veil" of shame he experiences at Christ's appearance. "He is Not Ashamed to Call Them Brethren" casts "Shelby Finds Uncle Tom Dying" (fig. 8), in a new light. Unlike Legree's rigid stance, the man and woman are somewhat affected by what is transpiring before them. Also, while Shelby's actions would have ultimately reestablished the hierarchical relationship between him and Uncle Tom, Christ's appearance obliterates any sense of hierarchy through his adoptive attitude. Furthermore, although Legree represents the resistant reader to Tom's kindness, the two eyewitnesses in "He is Not Ashamed to Call Them Brethren" symbolize disgraced and shunned individuals who do not help their darker brethren in need. Stowe emphasizes this point

towards the end of the poem when Christ states, “He who scorns his lowliest brother/ Never shall have hand of mine” (Stowe 6). The proud will be embarrassed and their majority status and connection to Christ is terminated, making their standing lower than the slave they once scorned. Christian-based abolitionism in Stowe’s “Caste and Christ” and Hayes’s “I am Not Ashamed to Call Them Brethren,” is immediately taken to task in the opening scene of Frederick Douglass’s novella *The Heroic Slave*.

Figure 9. “He is Not Ashamed to Call Them Brethren.” Frontispiece Illustration from *Autographs for Freedom*, edited by Julia Griffiths. (Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1853). Engraved by George H. Hayes.

Frederick Douglass’s *The Heroic Slave* illustrates his development of a politically active discourse based on friendship as an alternative to Stowe’s emphasis on moral

reform based on sympathy. By drawing upon an array of existing historical models including Nat Turner, David Walker, reports from the *Creole* insurrection, and his own 1845 *Narrative*, Douglass's novella cultivates an intertextual conversation that remaps the plantation landscape.[34] While Douglass, like Stowe, focuses on aspects of plantation life that are neglected in other texts, he does not provide elaborate descriptions of activities within or surrounding the big house. Instead, close attention is paid to spaces that acknowledge and encourage the interiority of the black slave. Those spaces include the forest, tavern, coffee house, the ship, and the sea. By shifting locales, he changes the minoritized status of Madison Washington and his relation to whites, most notably, Mr. Listwell and Tom Grant. During Washington's encounter with Mr. Listwell in the forest and Tom Grant on the ship, Douglass alters the escaped slave's relation to whites from object to subject through Washington's impassioned speeches and gallant heroics. As a result, Listwell and Grant's response to Washington provides a realistic conversion model for his readers. By writing a history of Madison Washington's participation in the *Creole* insurrection, Douglass creates a moment for readers to examine the connection between enslavement and erasure from national history. Furthermore, his novella attempts to reverse this process by presenting Washington's actions on a larger scale as a battle in an ongoing American revolution.

In the first section of *The Heroic Slave*, Frederick Douglass sets up an important paradigm that Madison Washington challenges. The model he contests is the prestige of Virginia, long known for her "multitudinous array of her statesmen and heroes" (3), with "glimpses" of the text's hero Madison Washington (4). In addition to its status as the first colony of the United States, the "Old Dominion" had been reverenced as the

birthplace for some of the nation's heroes whose names live on in the official historical record as the forefathers of liberty. On the contrary, Madison Washington, "a man who loved liberty as well as did Patrick Henry,--who deserved it as much as Thomas Jefferson . . . lives now only in the chattel records of his native State" (3). Douglass contests the exclusiveness of the Old Dominion's history by illuminating some of the "few transient incidents" involving Madison Washington (4). As William L. Andrews observes, Douglass juxtaposed the wealth of information about the sons of liberty in Virginia against a dearth of information about Washington. This served as the vantage point of his text in order to "liberate his slave hero from all the records that chattelize him and then to make him a part of history so that his real significance as a son of Virginia can be recognized" (Novelization 29).[35] This vantage point in turn creates a "special marginal position between authenticable history on the one hand and unverifiable fiction on the other," which Madison Washington inhabits (26). The marginal position Washington occupies has a physical counterpart in the spaces of the text that simultaneously strengthen and challenge the paradigm of Madison Washington as chattel tied to the plantation proper. Therefore, Washington's position allows him in Suzette Spencer's estimation to "critique the Old and New Worlds and share his distinct vision" with others (128).

The first marginal place Madison Washington inhabits is the forest. The woods are a significant space in African American literature. Against the restrictive space of the plantation which discouraged personal growth, writers like Frederick Douglass established the wilderness as an alternative place of refuge, regeneration, and performance that would encourage deliverance from bondage. Melvin Dixon discusses

the duality of nature in *Ride out the Wilderness* as being both obstacle *and* aid to the fugitive slave (emphasis mine). Specifically, "the same natural force, such as a wide river, deep valley, soggy swamp, treacherous storm, or impassable mountain" could both help and/or thwart the fugitive slave's desire to be free (26). Therefore, it "was the fugitive's skillful behavior, action, courage to confront the wilderness that turned potentially hazardous situations into conquests" (26). The wilderness thus became an important training ground for the slave's faith in himself, his God, and his desire for freedom and a new identity.

Madison Washington uses the forest as a space to meditate on his condition. Amongst the trees and other living creatures in the forest, he gives vent to his impossible position as a slave in the novella's opening scene:

> Those birds, perched on yon swinging boughs, in friendly conclave, sounding forth their merry notes in seeming worship of the rising sun, though liable to the sports-man's fowling-piece, are still my superiors. They *live free*, though they may die slaves .
>
> I am a *slave*,--born a slave, an abject slave,--even before I made part of this breathing world, the scourge was platted for my back; the fetters were forged for my limbs . . . I am no coward. *Liberty* I will have, or die in the attempt to gain it . . . My resolution is fixed. *I shall be free*. (Emphasis Douglass 4-5)

In this soliloquy Washington is cognizant of the natural order of things. Realizing that the wilderness is a place where birds and other creatures roam uninhibited, he believes he should be able to do the same. Douglass correlates the natural world with freedom as an innate right and the unnatural world of the plantation with bondage. Washington is also consciously creating a new identity for himself in a space which counters the plantation's artifice. Similar to the bird, he desires emancipation even though it means he may die in the process as a fugitive slave. In spite of the challenges he will face, Washington resolves to be free.

The forest also becomes a space where Mr. Listwell is confronted with his own ambivalence towards slavery. After hearing Washington's speech, Mr. Listwell realizes:

> He [Listwell] had long desired to sound the mysterious depths of the thoughts and feelings of a slave. [. . .] He resolved to hear more; so he listened for those mellow and mournful accents which, he says, made such an impression upon him as can never be erased. [. . .] There came another gush from the same full fountain; now bitter, and now sweet. (Douglass 6-7)

Comparing Washington to the natural force of a fountain, Listwell recognizes the words that pour from his soul as both bitter and sweet. Mr. Listwell's powerful description of Washington reveals his growing awareness of the slave's interiority as being separate from and opposite of their minoritized status on the plantation. In the process, Listwell becomes the model for Stowe and Douglass's readers because unlike Simon Legree's "air of affected carelessness" over the last moments between George Shelby and Uncle Tom in the cotton gin-shed house (Stowe 416), Listwell is impacted by the force and veracity of Washington's speech in the forest, serving as an example those who held an uncertain stance on slavery. When Washington leaves the forest after his eloquent soliloquy, Mr. Listwell "remain[s] in motionless silence meditating on the extraordinary revelations to which he had listened" (7). The speech of Washington kept Listwell, "fastened to the spot," and "rung through the chambers of his soul, and vibrated through his entire frame" (7). Formerly indecisive about slavery, Mr. Listwell takes a cue from the speech he overhears; as Washington boldly declares *I shall be free* (emphasis Douglass 5), Mr. Listwell solemnly proclaims, "I am an abolitionist" (8).

More importantly, Mr. Listwell represents what Marianne Noble observes as Douglass's "post-Garrison, post-sentimental, post-visual" model of a sympathetic listener that convincingly rewrites Harriet Beecher Stowe's hill scene towards the end of *Uncle*

Tom's Cabin ("Sympathetic Listening").[36] In Billings's attempt to make the space a clearing for Shelby's antislavery oath, he erases black interiority and interracial engagement in favor of a sentimental abolitionism grounded in visual signs of physical suffering. After Tom's death, George, with the help of Sambo, Quimbo, and another unnamed slave, stop at a "dry sandy knoll" which lays specifically, "beyond the boundaries of the plantation," where they bury Tom (Stowe 418). In Billings's picture "George's Vow at Tom's Grave" (Fig. 10), George Shelby kneels on the grave of Uncle Tom proclaiming "oh, witness, that, from this hour, I will do *what one man can* to drive out this curse of slavery from my land!" (Emphasis Stowe 419). Stowe's novel and this illustration converge on Uncle Tom's unmarked grave. While the narrator states that it is unnecessary to place a headstone over Tom's interred body because "His Lord knows where he lies," his resting place suggests sentimental suffering on the corporeal level (419). With the absence of a monument, readers identify with Tom as an object, a disembodied being rather than a complex human subject with feelings and thoughts comparable to Shelby's.

Uncle Tom is not the only person lacking subjectivity in the illustration. As Shelby prays on the grave of Tom in the foreground, one slave looks on in the middle ground, and two other slaves (Sambo and Quimbo) with digging tools in tow walk back towards Legree's plantation. Two of the slaves implore George to purchase them stating "If young Mas'r would please buy us--," "We'd serve him so faithful!" and "Do Mas'r, buy us, please!" George responds by declaring "I can't!—I can't . . . it's impossible!" as he pays them for their work and motions them away (418). Shelby has no further interaction with the slaves beyond their silent interment of Tom. Additionally, the slave

standing in the middle ground and looking at Shelby has indistinguishable facial features. In Billings's final image, George Shelby fails to realize the possibilities of the sandy knoll as a natural space because he cannot see the connection between his vow over Tom's grave and the urgency of Legree's slaves standing before him. Since Shelby refuses to act on their pleas, they remain silenced fringes in the background; it is very possible that they will remain slaves.

Figure 10. Chapter 41: "George's Vow at Tom's Grave." Tailpiece illustration by Hammat Billings for Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly, by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Illustrated Edition. Original Designs by Billings; Engraved by Baker and Smith. (Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1853). George Shelby, Sambo, Quimbo. **Clifton Waller Barrett Collection, University of Virginia**

In contrast to the grave episode in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the forest scene between Madison Washington and Mr. Listwell in *The Heroic Slave* suggests that true sympathy is not white identification with blacks at the corporeal level; rather, it is a deeper effort to know and understand the full range of another's being through listening and speaking. In other words, a battered and bruised black body is not necessary for repentance and change of action. Instead, aural forms of knowledge provides in Noble's estimation, "a more nuanced, sensitive, and generous relationship to the other and a greater likelihood of political and psychic transformation" (Noble). While at first glance both Shelby and Mr. Listwell are transformed by their close encounters with Tom and Madison Washington, Shelby's interactions between Simon Legree and other slaves after Tom's death reveals Shelby's insistent stake in what Noble calls "cultural training," which prevents a complete transformation from occurring.[37] Therefore, that scene becomes more about Shelby and what he intends to do and less about Tom and what sort of effect he had on him.

Furthermore, unlike the hill scene at the end of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Mr. Listwell's description of Madison Washington characterizes him as a person with agency, interiority, and manhood. While Stowe's novel describes the faceless men in Billings's illustration as "negroes," and "poor fellows" (*UTC* 418), Douglass's novella describes Washington as having "a smile of satisfaction rippled upon his countenance, like that which plays upon the face of one who has but just solved a difficult problem, or vanquished a malignant foe" (*THS* 6). More importantly, as Mr. Listwell *listens* to Madison's eloquent lament in the forest, he confronts his ambivalence regarding slavery, which prompts him to action. This episode reveals that what is most important is not a

spontaneous surface-level sentimentalism based upon black corporeality; rather, it is a painstaking-staking complicated *process* of internal conversion grounded in interracial listening. Unhappy with the current state of his life, Washington refuses to become a sacrificial, suffering witness to the effects of slavery while looking up towards heaven for salvation; through speech and action Washington finds and takes his reprieve declaring "This working that others may live in idleness! This cringing submission to insolence and curses! This living under the constant dread and apprehension of being sold and transferred, like a mere brute, is *too* much for me. I will stand it no longer" (emphasis Douglass 5). The forest challenges the social dictates of interracial relations in plantation life established by the big house because the slave master's power is decrypted, thus raising questions in Elizabeth Russ's opinion "about the relationship between the powerful and the powerless" (*The Plantation* 174). The forest becomes a battleground where Washington fights for deliverance from slavery and Mr. Listwell begins the life-long process of sympathetic listening.

The duality of the forest comes to the forefront when Madison Washington recounts the trials he endured on the road to freedom to Mr. and Mrs. Listwell at their fireside in Ohio five years later. As Rebecca Ginsburg notes in "Freedom and the Slave Landscape," while slaves may have had an intimate knowledge of the plantation landscape and its immediate surroundings, once they ventured outside of familiar terrain their limited geographical skills left them at a disadvantage when trying to navigate the larger world (38-41). Madison Washington experiences both of Ginsburg's observations during his quest for freedom. Four weeks after his soliloquy in the forest, Washington starts out on his journey to the north. During this initial escape, he recalls:

> after being out a whole week, strange to say, I still found myself on my master's grounds; the third night after being out, a season of clouds and rain set in, wholly preventing me from seeing the North Star, which I had trusted as my guide, not dreaming that clouds might intervene between us. This circumstance was fatal to my project, for in losing my star, I lost my way; so when I supposed I was far towards the North, and had almost gained my freedom, I discovered myself at the very point from which I had started. (Douglass 13-14)

Knowledge of the North Star is the only ordinal reference Washington had at the time. His poor geographical skills thus led to his wandering around his master's property for a week. Part of a deliberate strategy on the part of slaveholders, cultivating a poor sense of direction in their slaves sought to impress upon their chattel the boundlessness of slavery and the slave master's illimitable power. Wet, cold, tired and hungry, lame and destitute, Washington temporarily gave up his plans to flee north. Once a place of refuge, the forest is now a site of repression, for Washington could not willfully escape. Therefore, he is still defined and enslaved by the master and his big house.

Although Madison Washington lacked geographical knowledge outside of the plantation landscape, his familiarity of the woods close to his master's property aided in keeping him safe and on the run for quite some time. This knowledge while limited emboldened him to realize that the master and his big house were not omniscient and omnipotent. After his unsuccessful escape, Washington and his wife Susan both decide that he should remain in the vicinity of the plantation. As he tells Mr. and Mrs. Listwell, "In the dismal swamps I lived, sir, five long years,--a cave for my home during the day. I wandered about at night with the wolf and bear,--sustained by the promise that my good Susan would meet me in the pine woods at least once a week," Washington reveals the sustaining power of might (15). It also shows that his lengthy sojourn in the area was not self-sustaining; it was aided in large part by his wife's discrete periodic visits. Ginsburg

agrees suggesting that, “by participating in a shared, hidden landscape” of the wilderness, Madison Washington and Susan “formed bonds of support, trust, and resistance” to white control of the plantation space (Ginsburg 41).

Madison’s sojourn in the forest was not without its dangers from nature and man. The forest, a haven for Washington and other escaped slaves was suddenly engulfed in flames. Similar to Abe’s expulsion from the swamp in John Pendleton Kennedy’s S*wallow Barn*, Washington’s stay in the forest surrounding the plantation is only a transitional space that is emblematic of his marginalized status and constant subjection to other forces. Washington describes for Mr. And Mrs. Listwell the “dismal cries” of “the long-winged buzzard,” bats, owls, and the “croaking raven” as they perished in the “fiery storm” (16). “Many a poor and wandering fugitive, who, like myself, had sought among wild beasts the mercy denied by our fellow men, saw, in helpless consternation, his dwelling-place and city of refuge reduced to ashes forever. It was this grand conflagration that drove me hither; I ran alike from fire and from slavery” (16). As a runaway slave, Washington could not travel on the main roads or stop and ask for directions and nightly shelter from the elements. Therefore, he had to forge alternative routes of travel on the way to freedom. He employs many of the tactics listed by Ginsburg and John Hope Franklin which runaway slaves used such as steering clear of open roads in order to avoid capture, traveling along animal traces, old Indian trails, and cutting his own path through the woods (Ginsburg 40 and Franklin 97-123).

Additionally, when stopping to rest, runaway slaves had to hide out quietly in bushes, caves, and trees in order to avoid detection. They also distrusted everyone black and white, and saw them all as their mortal enemy. In *The Heroic Slave* Madison

Washington describes his feelings upon hearing the voices of black men chopping down trees close to the one in which he was perched: "Upon my word, sir, I dreaded more these human voices than I should have done of those wild beasts. I was at a loss to know what to do. If I descended, I should probably be discovered by the men; and if they had dogs I should, doubtless, be *'treed.'*" (Emphasis Douglass 17-18). Suspicious of everyone because of his fugitive slave status, the beasts and foliage of the forest serves as Washington's only safety net during his escape to freedom.

It is only after sunset, when the men quit work for the day and one of them stops to pray at the very tree in which Washington is concealed that he reveals himself. Washington is encouraged to disclose his presence through the earnest sincerity of the old man's prayer which is similar to his own previous supplications in the forest:

> I had given but little attention to religion, and had but little faith in it; yet, as the old man prayed, I felt almost like coming down and kneeling by his side, and mingle my broken complaint with his.
>
> He had already gained my confidence; as how could it be otherwise? I knew enough of religion to know that the man who prays in secret is far more likely to be sincere than he who loves to pray standing in the street, or in the great congregation. (19)

In this episode, Douglass critiques American Christianity for its hypocrisy in sanctioning slavery and remaining hospitable to slaveholders leading up to the Civil War.[38] As a result of his early experiences at the hands of his former slaveholder Thomas Auld who, in his estimation, "made the greatest pretensions to piety," Frederick Douglass conveys through Madison Washington his preference for the secretly sincere prayers of the afflicted in various places instead of the empty exhortations of the oppressor before the congregation (*Narrative* 69). Madison not only acts as sympathetic listener, according to

Noble he asserts the slave's, "roles as thinkers, actors, and interpreters—not merely as suffering witnesses" ("Sympathetic Suffering").

Douglass illustrates the limits of Stowe's version of Christianity in Washington's encounter with the old man praying in the woods. When the old man returns from attempting to purchase provisions with Washington's money, fourteen men are on his heels looking for Washington. Refusing to disclose Washington's whereabouts, the old man, like Stowe's Tom, is beaten and tortured. As Washington looks on, his "own flesh crept at every blow," and he seems to "hear the old man's piteous cries even now," five years later (Douglass *THS* 20). As the old man is punished upon the suspicion of stealing the money, Washington remains hidden. While the old man's prayer initially encourages Washington to divulge his secret location, the old man's distress forces him to remain out of sight, suggesting that suffering has the awful power to paralyze, but not propel into action.

As a fugitive slave, Madison Washington had to constantly be on guard. Dixon observes that the wilderness led to a struggle for survival; it required a code of situational ethics and sanctioned behavior which included "stealing food, helping others, or committing murder" (25). Washington did not go so far as to commit murder in the forest; however, he was close to doing so during his sojourn to Ohio. As the group of white men who attacked the old man searched for Washington in the woods he recalls, "Two or three times they came within six feet of where I lay. I tell you I held my stick with a firmer grasp than I did in coming up to your house to-night. I expected to level one of them at least. Fortunately, however, I eluded their pursuit, and they left me alone in the woods" (Douglass *THS* 21). Determined to protect his freedom and well-being at

all costs, Washington shows courage and more importantly restraint, which is illustrated vividly at the end of the novella when Tom Grant tells of his encounter with Washington aboard the *Creole.*

However, Madison Washington does engage in situational ethics at the lower end of the spectrum by stealing. As he explains to Mr. and Mrs. Listwell in their Ohio home:

> I have suffered for little want of food; but I need not tell you how I got it. Your moral code may differ from mine, as your customs and usages are different. The fact is, sir, during my flight, I felt myself robbed by society of all my just rights; that I was in an enemy's land, who sought both my life and my liberty. They had transformed me into a brute; made merchandise of my body, and, for all the purposes of my flight, turned day into night,--and guided by my own necessities, and in contempt of their conventionalities, I did not scruple to take bread where I could get it. (17)

By comparing his moral code to theirs, Madison Washington is sensitive and critical of the "customs" and "conventionalities" regarding theft that guide Mr. and Mrs. Listwell and his former slave master. In her discussion on the racialization of theft, Lovalerie King cites similar instances in the narratives of Douglass and Jacobs to argue that "the truth about who is or who is not a thief is neither fixed nor absolute; rather, it is produced in discourse and contingent upon the social and political conditions surrounding that discourse" (61). Madison illustrates his alternative code of ethics that is replicated in the corresponding space of the wilderness. While the plantation space demands that Washington remain a brute devoid of liberty through attempts to steal his manhood, the ambiguous forest creates the opportunity for him to become a live speaking subject that is created through word, deed, and specifically the act of "taking" food and other items when needed. By escaping from the space that renders him a thief, Washington effectively challenges the discourse that seeks to label him as one.

Harriet Beecher Stowe makes similar claims about the racialization of theft during Cassy and Emmeline's escape in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. While Legree and others are looking for them after their escape, Cassy uses a key from Legree's jacket to take money from his desk. This action prompts an exchange between the two women which highlights the reactive nature of her action:

> "O, don't let's do that!" said Emmeline.
> "Don't! why not? Would you have us starve in the swamps, or have that that will pay our way to the free states?"
> "It would be stealing."
> "Stealing! They who steal body and soul needn't talk to us. Every one of these bills is stolen, --stolen from poor, starving, sweating creatures, who must go to the devil at last, for his profit. Let *him* talk about stealing!" (Emphasis Stowe *UTC* 404)

In a similar vein to Washington, Cassy's response to Emmeline is significant because she takes control of herself by pocketing money from Legree to prevent further theft of her body and the future pilfering of Emmeline's. Additionally, Cassy's justification reveals in King's estimation how slavery "functioned as a system of entitlement and deprivation" by comparing Legree's monetary wealth to the suffering and "disproportionate lack of resources allocated to enslaved persons," thereby realigning the power of moral right on her side (62). Cassy demonstrates self-control by aborting her plans to kill Simon Legree when confronted by Uncle Tom and resorts to stealing and hiding in the garret with Emmeline. Cassy and Washington's engagement of situational ethics indicts plantation slavery by revealing that the real thieves are Simon Legree who robbed Uncle Tom of his life and the men who mugged an old defenseless slave in the forest. In contrast, Madison Washington and Cassy can never recoup what was taken from them, nor do they try. They are merely interested in taking what they need to survive and nothing more. In the process they gain what they wanted all along: life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Douglass expands the forest allegory to a larger scale to signify Washington's escape from the United States into Canada. Mr. And Mrs. Listwell receive a letter from Madison Washington days after he makes safe passage to Canada, a note that reads, "Madison is out of the woods at last; I nestle in the mane of the British Lion, protected by his mighty paw from the talons and the beak of the American eagle. I AM FREE, and breathe an atmosphere too pure for *slaves*, slave-hunters, or slave-holders" (emphasis Douglass *THS* 23). Douglass uses Washington's flight out of the wilderness to signal his transformation from slavery to freedom. Washington's speech reflects the positive outcome of his arduous journey through the wilderness. As Ivy G. Wilson observes, the first two sentences of the letter represent Washington's transformation "from object to subject, from property to freeman, with the shift from the third person to the first and his insistence on the recently liberated "I"" (457). He has now come out on the other side, no longer in bondage, victorious and free.

Although Washington makes it successfully out of the woods in the United States to arrive safely in Canada, his journey was not without its dangers as evidenced by his perilous escape from the forest fire and a close encounter with the white men in another. Therefore, Douglass extends the wilderness trope in Wilson's estimation to couch "his critique of the United States through the metaphor of a struggle between animals of nature" (457). In Washington's letter to Mr. and Mrs. Listwell, he casts the battle over his person between the "talons and the beak of the American eagle" representing the United States, and the "mane of the British Lion," signifying Canada. (Douglass *THS* 23). The eagle, the national symbol of freedom of the United States, is portrayed as a bird of prey swooping down and feasting on the body of the defenseless slave. The lion, which

appears on the Canadian coat of arms, is the king of the jungle representing valor, bravery, and honor to suggest in Wilson's opinion that the "political and natural are properly aligned" (458). Britain and its Provinces, particularly Canada, are praised for helping and protecting the natural birth rights of African Americans with "political mechanisms" of the law and government (458). Through Madison Washington's letter, Douglass suggests the United States cannot consider itself to be the place of freedom until it seeks to do the same.

Unfortunately, Madison Washington's stay in Canada is temporary for he cannot rest while his family remains enslaved. He returns to Virginia and after a valiant attempt to free his wife during which she dies, Washington is recaptured and destined for the slave market in Richmond, where Mr. Listwell sees him in the bowling alley attached to the tavern in part three of *The Heroic Slave*. Paul Christian Jones observes that the type of description usually reserved for the big house as the symbolic center of plantation life is instead bestowed upon the tavern, powerfully rewriting the Virginia tradition (89). Douglass presents a stark contrast between Virginia's glorious past and odious present through its description. Introduced as "a somewhat ancient and famous public tavern," it has "like everything else peculiar to Virginia, lost much of its ancient consequence and splendor" (Douglass *THS* 24). Although the "fine old portico looks well at a distance, and gives the building an air of grandeur," upon closer inspection, "its planks are loose, and in some places entirely gone, leaving effective man-traps in their stead for nocturnal ramblers" (24-25).

Similar to the description of the barn in Kennedy's text, the stable in Douglass's novella is depicted in its corroding state. Once "a fine old structure in its day," known

for giving "comfortable shelter to hundreds of the noblest steeds of the 'Old Dominion,'" it has now "blown down" years ago and "has never been, and probably never will be, rebuilt" (25). The side of the "great building" is discolored in many places by "slops poured from the upper windows" rendering it "unsightly" and "offensive" (25). Although many of the sentinels standing out front could recite "all the great names of Virginia they know by heart," they are merely "loafers," "*hangers on*," "rum-ripe" individuals who make their living pestering travelers who still frequent the tavern (emphasis Douglass 25). Overall, "the gloomy mantle" of the stable "and its remains," reminds visitors of "a human skull, after the flesh has mingled with the earth" (24). In haunting detail, Douglass's description of the tavern asserts that slavery has eaten away Virginia's vitality leaving only the shell, in the form of a skeleton, of what it once was.

Douglass's description of the tavern like Stowe's depiction of Legree's cotton gin-house shed stages an abolitionist argument against slavery. In Stowe's novel, the use of plantation geography presents a trajectory of spaces showing slavery's increasing decay of the moral fabric of the nation through its merciless destruction of slave families while Douglass's novella portrays how Virginia (and furthermore the United States) has failed to live up to traditional boasts of "liberty, independence, and high civilization" in favor of a society where "humanity is converted into merchandise . . . all to fill the pockets of men too lazy to work for an honest living" (30). Douglass presents another view of Virginia in this section to suggest that the Old dominion is not only a wilderness, but it is also as Robert Stepto claims a "hell . . . full of drunkards, knaves, and traders of human flesh" (363). Finding himself in an impossible position, Mr. Listwell takes a cue

from Madison Washington and also engages in situational ethics to avoid detection of his abolitionist status.[39]

Upon arriving at the tavern, Wilkes, one of the loafers, informs Mr. Listwell that "there's to be the greatest sale of niggers at Richmond to-morrow that has taken place in a long time" (26). Wilkes reasons that slave-trading is "a money making business" because "almost all other business in Virginia is dropped to engage in this" (27). In this scene, Douglass, like Stowe in "The Warehouse" (*UTC* ch. 30), exposes the callousness of the slave trade when human beings are stripped of their natural rights and reduced to property. Armed with this information, Mr. Listwell retires to his room for the night where he easily overhears all sorts of frightful commotions consisting of "a loud and confused clamor, cursing and cracking of whips, and the noise of chains," resulting in him only taking "snatches of sleep" throughout the night (Douglass *THS* 29). Although Mr. Listwell believes it is "the immediate duty of every man to cry out" against slavery "without compromise and without concealment," he realizes it is best that the tavern folk think he was a slave trader because "bodily fear, not conscientious scruples, prevailed" (29-30).

Like Mark Littleton in John Pendleton Kennedy's *Swallow Barn*, Mr. Listwell is a northern non-slaveholding narrator who gains an unusual view of slave life. However, Mr. Listwell's portrait is far from the nostalgic, tongue-in-cheek sleepy portrayal of a southern slave-holding society as seen in *Swallow Barn*; rather, *The Heroic Slave* is a daring exposé chronicling one man's fight for freedom as Maggie Sale puts it, "combined with the material and social resources of white abolitionists" (Sale "Politics" 50). Furthermore, Mr. Listwell, unlike Mark Littleton, does not merely *listen* and relate to the

reader Lucy's debilitating grief over her son's demise at sea. He acts as co-agent with Washington by giving him ten dollars and slipping three files into his pocket. Where Kennedy stops short of having Abe perish heroically in the stormy sea, Douglass explores the possibilities of Washington's future once he boards the slave brig the *Creole*, bound for New Orleans.

The "Marine Coffee-house" in part four of *The Heroic Slave* is the penultimate space where Washington's future is revealed through a heated debate between two men, Jack Williams, "a regular old salt" and Tom Grant one of the surviving sailors of the *Creole* mutiny (Douglass *THS* 38). Robert Stepto observes that the placement of sailors in the coffee house "is possibly both an awkward and a revealing touch" suggesting that "one cannot help but feel that a tavern would be a more "natural" setting" ("Storytelling" 364).[40] However, I argue that the coffee house is an appropriate locale because it serves as an informal public space for the free exchange of ideas.[41] Sociologist Ray Oldenburg asserts in *The Great Good Place* that spaces such as the coffee house are the heart of a community's social life and forms the basis of a democratic society (66-72). It is the only site in the novella where subterfuge is not the rule of engagement; instead it offers "the opportunity to question, protest, sound out, supplement, and form opinion locally and collectively" (70). Unlike the tavern, open disagreement without consequence is encouraged (xxv).

Douglass underscores the importance of the coffee house as an informal public space conducive to civic engagement when Tom Grant declares "I dare say *here* what man may *feel*, but *dare not speak*, that this whole slave-trading business is a disgrace and scandal to Old Virginia" (Emphasis Douglass *THS* 40). Contrary to Jack Williams's

disdain for black rebellion and theories of managing slaves, Tom Grant asserts their determination to be free and is confident in his unsuccessful attempts to quell the insurrection. Equally important in this exchange are other patrons, whom Oldenburg would call the "regulars" that chime in periodically in a multitude of voices from both sides (*Great Good Place* 33-36). Williams is mindful of this during his debate with Grant for he occasionally casts an "imploring glance at the company for applause for his wit, and sympathy for his contempt of negro courage" (Douglass *THS* 40). Their exchange has the effect of making "quite a sensation" resulting in "tumultuous exclamations," for it is the regulars who give the coffee house its character and set the tone of boisterous camaraderie (Emphasis Douglass 38-39). The heated debate in the coffee house between two white Virginian sailors amongst a convivial group of individuals creates a political model advocating that the United States fulfill its notions of democracy.

Through Tom Grant's heated responses to Jack Williams, readers learn of Washington's fate in the final spaces in the novella —the ship and the sea. Described by Michel Foucault as "the heteropia *par* excellence" the boat "is a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and is at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea and. . . has been simultaneously the greatest reserve of the imagination" ("Of Other Places" 27).[42] Celeste-Marie Bernier agrees adding that Douglass through Washington imagines the ships and the sea representing the open-endedness of freedom ("Fugitive Slave" 208). In his 1845 narrative, Douglass recalls watching from the Chesapeake Bay "with saddened heart and tearful eye, the countless number of sails moving off to the mighty ocean" (74). In these moments he recalls pouring out his soul's complaint to the ships stating:

> You are loosed from your moorings, and are free; I am fast in my chains, and am a slave! You move merrily before the gentle gale, and I sadly before the bloody whip! You are freedom's swift-winged angels, that fly round the world; I am confined in bands of iron! O that I were free! O, that I were on one of your gallant decks, and under your protecting wing! Alas! betwixt me and you, the turbid waters roll. Go on, go on. O that I could also go! Could I but swim! If I could fly! O, why was I born a man, of whom to make a brute! The glad ship is gone; she hides in the dim distance. I am left in the hottest hell of unending slavery. O God, save me! God, deliver me! (74-75)

Instead of a site where Abe perishes in the "profound, dark abyss" (Kennedy *Swallow Barn* 258), the sea becomes what Paul Gilroy describes as "a means to conduct political dissent and possibly a distinct mode of cultural production" (*The Black Atlantic* 17). Douglass rewrites the figure of the ship and the sea for African Americans; transatlantic passages serve not as portals to a hell of excruciating bondage in the Deep South, or as a representation of the "abstract embodiments of the triangular trade" (17). Madison proclaims to Tom Grant, "'Mr. Mate, you cannot write the bloody laws of slavery on those restless billows. The ocean, if not the land, is free'" (*THS* Douglass 45). The ship and sea represent interminable freedom available upon the mighty gales of the Atlantic.

While Douglass pined away for its boundlessness in his autobiography and Washington proclaimed its sovereignty to Grant upon the *Creole*, the ocean's liminality as Wilson and others have noted "are far from neutral territories" (464). Douglass explores the politically contested nature of ships and the sea as the scenes of commerce in the opening paragraph of part four of *The Heroic Slave* when he writes:

> WHAT WORLD of inconsistency, as well as of wickedness, is suggested by the smooth and gliding phrase, AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE; and how strange and perverse is that moral sentiment which loathes, execrates, and brands as piracy and as deserving of death the carrying away into captivity men, women, and children from the *African coast*; but which is neither shocked nor disturbed by a similar traffic, carried on with the same motives and purposes, and characterized by even *more* odious peculiarities on the coast of our MODEL REPUBLIC. . . The inconsistency is so flagrant and glaring, that it would seem to

> cast a doubt on the doctrine of the innate moral sense of mankind. (Emphasis Douglass 37)

The opening paragraph in part four explores the differences between natural law and man-made law.[43] Specifically, *The Heroic Slave* suggests as Wilson sees it, that "the inalienable rights of people are not self-evident but dependent on acknowledgement of those rights from other governing structures" (Wilson 458). While human rights are absolute, they must be politically supported by a nation state. In *Race, Citizenship, and Law in American Literature*, Gregg Crane agrees adding that Douglass "came to view human law as on-going attempt to put moral inspiration into practice through political dialogue and public consensus" (87). Douglass's analytical treatment of slavery was based on his changed view of the Constitution, which broke from the Garrisonians who asserted that it should be condemned as a pro-slavery document. In "What to the Slave is the Fourth of July," Douglass states "In *that* instrument [Constitution] I hold there is neither warrant, license, nor sanction of the hateful thing [slavery]; but, interpreted as it *ought* to be interpreted, the Constitution is a GLORIOUS LIBERTY DOCUMENT" (qtd. in Blassingame, *The Frederick Douglass Papers* 385). Douglass's conversion presents a model for his readers on the power of individual and national transformation.

Douglass specifically criticizes the United States via the coastal slave trade for its blatant hypocrisy and flagrant disrespect of natural law. Douglass, like Stowe realizes the ship's importance as a mediating space that could be used to send African Americans upon the high seas as cargo further south to harsher bondage, or to transport them as passengers north and to other transatlantic spaces as free wo(men). However, Douglass's vision is not tainted with the stigma of colonization, for in response to the ending of Stowe's novel he declares "we are *here*, and we are likely to remain. Individuals

emigrate—nations never" (qtd. in Levine "*UTC* in Frederick Douglass' Paper" (82). Douglass emphasizes the futility of trying to expel a group of people who in his estimation "grew up with this republic" (Levine 82). Instead, he argues for the intermingled destiny of whites and African Americans in the United States forged through slavery, which cannot be untangled through emigration and colonization.

The forest and the sea are also important because they serve as sites of reckoning for Mr. Listwell and Tom Grant. Maggie Sale observes that Mr. Listwell and Tom Grant's transformations "span a range of appropriate processes of development by Euroamerican men" (Politics of Solidarity 51). [44] In the forest Mr. Listwell acknowledges his ambivalence; upon the *Creole*, Tom Grant is violently confronted with his culpability in the slave trade as a sailor upon a slave vessel. Tom Grant's encounter with Washington sets the framework for his later debate with Williams in the coffee house where according to Sale, he "questions his received notions of masculine white supremacy" (50).[45] Grant recalls that "I forgot his blackness in the dignity of his manner, and the eloquence of his speech. I confess, gentlemen, I felt myself in the presence of a superior man; one who, had he been a white man, I would have followed willingly and gladly in any honorable enterprise" (Douglass 45). Listwell and Grant's transformations in alternative spaces suggest that the plantation proper is as ill-suited for different classes of whites as it is for African Americans. While the recognition of white supremacy by Tom Grant and Mr. Listwell is inconsistent in its outlook, a new resolve, however minute, is welcomed change.

Furthermore, like Mr. Listwell, Tom Grant realizes how situational ethics play a role in the slaves' timely display of bravery, a display that is distinctly tied to space. In a

rebuttal of Williams' claims of Negro cowardice, Grant states "It is one thing to manage a company of slaves on a Virginia plantation, and quite another thing to quell an insurrection on the lonely billows of the Atlantic, where every breeze speaks of courage and liberty. For the negro to act cowardly on shore, may be to act wisely" (Douglass 39). Grant is aware of the subversive potentialities of the ship and the sea realizing that heroism, intelligence, and courage are not racially specific; they all depend on the situation and particularly the space and opportunity in which something like this could happen. Newly, but begrudgingly made aware of the interiority of the black slave, he announces to the sailors gathered at the coffee house that "I have resolved never to set my foot on the deck of a slave ship, either as officer, or common sailor again; I have got enough of it [. . .] I'm resolved to never endanger my life again in a cause which my conscience does not approve" (Douglass 40).

The forest, the ship, and the sea frustrate the social dynamics of the plantation as an independently operated and isolated socioeconomic unit revealing that it is also according to Edgar Thompson "highly dependent upon the larger economic community in which it has found its market" (*Plantation Societies* 89). In other words, Douglass's story reveals the plantation's spatiality as operating at the heart of a larger, extensively complex, international socioeconomic system. Douglass makes some important observations regarding the transnationality of the plantation in his famous "What to the Slave is the Fourth of July," which is quoted at length below:

> Nations do not now stand in the same relation to each other that they did ages ago. No nation can now shut itself up from the surrounding world, and trot round in the same old path of its fathers without interference. The time *was w*hen such could be done. .. But a change has now come over the affairs of mankind. Walled cities and empires have become unfashionable. The arm of commerce has borne away the gates of the strong city. Intelligence is penetrating the darkest

> corners of the globe. It makes its pathway over and under the sea, as well as on the earth. Wind, steam, and lightning are its chartered agents. Oceans no longer divide, but link nations together. From Boston to London is now a holiday excursion. Space is comparatively annihilated. Thoughts are expressed on one side of the Atlantic are distinctly heard on the other. (Emphasis Douglass 387)

Douglass is acutely aware of the politics of slavery as a complex international business. Through his extensive travels abroad to Britain, Scotland, and Ireland in the late 1840's, Douglass became according to Paul Giles "increasingly aware of the complex, interlocking nature of social and economic power, the ways in which slavery could not always be reduced simply to a question of what Garrison liked to call "moral suasion"" (135). Douglass complicates the conversation between two slaveholding gentlemen upon a ship to New Orleans in Stowe's novel by extending her concerns through the power of scale. For Douglass, breakthroughs in technology and travel have made the global local by suggesting that as nations expand, the distance between them decrease. Not only do kind masters indirectly support brutal masters, so too nations and their laws legitimate slavery. As a former slave who escaped north and fled to Britain upon the popularity of his 1845 *Narrative*, Douglass is keenly aware of the sociopolitical implications of space because for him, it was a matter of freedom or bondage.

Subsequently, Madison Washington's successful arrival on the Bahamian shores serves in Suzette A. Spencer's opinion "to critique global modes of industrialization and colonial expansion rooted in the subjugation of Africans through enslavement and institutions like law, religion, and world capitalism" ("Henry Box Brown" 118). Unlike Stowe's George Harris, Washington's expatriation occurs not at the cost of renouncing his claims to American citizenry, but rather as America's denial of it. The reassessment of the plantation's boundaries, Elizabeth Russ contends, "alters the predictable contours

of the plantation landscape, remembers its tragedies even as it reevaluates their meaning, and ponders the possibility of a final exit from its grounds" (*The Plantation* 174). Douglass's appropriation of Britain for rhetorical purposes presents a paradox: by returning the United States to colonial status, enslaved blacks, like Americans of the Revolutionary Era can fight for their independence (Giles 138 and Wilson 458). Therefore, Douglass's preoccupation with Britain is simultaneously embraced and rejected.

It is important to remember how Stowe and Douglass deploy the plantation landscape as a form of abolitionist protest from differing perspectives. Their visions offset the big house's eminence through an emphasis on plantation outbuildings, and local and international locales including Canada, Europe, the Caribbean, and Africa. What is revealed is that although the plantation touts itself as an Edenic paradise immune to controversy, politics, decay, law, and the effects of time, it quickly becomes a battleground for the nation's future. In chapter two, Joseph Addison Turner's *The Countryman* is an important thermometer of the southern man's defense during the Civil War through its attempts to boost morale by reflecting the plantation's virtues in the face of its imminent demise. France E. W. Harper's *Minnie's Sacrifice* chronicles the passing from the old order to the new through her protagonist's journey northward. Together, these two authors reveal the sociopolitical implications of the plantation once the institution is thankfully, in part due to Stowe and Douglass's efforts, abolished.

CHAPTER II

PARADISE LOST: THE STATE OF THE MYTH DURING THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

The use of plantation geography in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and Frederick Douglass's *The Heroic Slave* reveal national concerns over southern labor practices in the years leading up to the Civil War. While Stowe juxtaposed plantation spaces to illustrate the socioeconomic consequences of slavery, Douglass's exploration of distant sites showed how bondage has corroded the nation's ideals. Stowe utilized moral suasion whereas Douglass's novella called upon higher law, which articulated the inalienable rights of slaves. As nation-building inspectors, Stowe and Douglass found fault with America's leaders for their deliberate disregard of the Constitution as the nation's blueprint. Consequently both writers observed that official actions seriously compromised the country's foundation, specifically over the status of African Americans. In an evolving nation, can Laguerre's notion of minoritization site be addressed, or will it continue to expand and transform the country? Abraham Lincoln answers this question in his famous "House Divided" speech.

Abraham Lincoln delivered a "House Divided" on June 17, 1858, in Springfield, Illinois, after winning the Republican nomination for state senator. Although Lincoln eventually lost the campaign against Democrat Stephen A. Douglas, a "House Divided" became one of his most popular speeches. Using architectural language, Abraham Lincoln argued that the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 and the 1857 Supreme Court *Dred Scott v. Sanford* decision was a part of a larger Democratic

conspiracy to expand slavery throughout the United States. Making specific references to Douglas, Franklin Pierce, Roger B. Taney, and James Buchanan, Lincoln described how they deliberately constructed a divided nation:

> We cannot absolutely know that all these exact adaptations are the result of preconcert. But when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been gotten out at different times and places and by different workmen—Stephen, Franklin, Roger, and James, for instance (Douglas, Pierce, Taney, Buchanan),—and when we see these timbers joined together and see they exactly make the frame of a house or a mill, all the tenons and mortises exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places, and not a piece too many or too few, not omitting even scaffolding, or, if a single piece be lacking, we see the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared yet to bring such piece in,—in such a case, we find it impossible not to believe that Stephen and Franklin and Roger and James all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common plan or draft drawn up before the first blow was struck. (Lincoln 80)

In this passage, Abraham Lincoln drew a vivid picture of the United States that was increasingly defining itself as a corporation of plantation spaces. For Lincoln, the big house was threatening the unity of the executive mansion as both vied to define an expanding nation. All of the men listed in the speech were a crew of workers who intended to build America as a slave nation one brick at a time. The Fugitive Slave Law, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the Dred Scott decision represented the timbers that were joined by the tenons, mortises, and cornices of bureaucratic (mis)conduct. While Lincoln asserted that he did not "expect the Union to be dissolved" or to "fall," he realized that slavery agitation "will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed" (72). With the nation's "house" near collapse in 1861, President Abraham Lincoln stepped in as a master builder determined to save and fortify the nation's Republic throughout the Civil War.

This chapter, "Paradise Lost: The State of the Myth During the Civil War and Reconstruction," explores two distinct literary visions of the South as the protagonists struggle to reconcile themselves to the demise of their plantation landscapes during and after the Civil War. Joseph Addison Turner's *The Old Plantation: A Poem* (1862) reveals a new perspective through the reminiscing son of a slaveholder, who tinges southern nostalgia with melancholy, pathos, loss, and decay. Like *The Countryman*, Turner's long poem reproduces occupied spaces of the antebellum South—the plantation, the country store, the school and the church, as well as rural figures such as the miller, the doctor, the blacksmith, and the faithful slave—which Turner's title suggests. However, the poem reveals the limits of the Wanderer's vision because the plantation cannot be replicated and maintained on a national scale. As the poem ends with the Wanderer leaving the ruins, so too does Turner's career as publisher of his plantation publication, *The Countryman*. Although Turner's Reconstruction writings reveal an angry and bitter southerner who criminalizes African American movement and pathways, his works also reveal the hope of a new South as a Phoenix, primed to rise from the plantation ashes.

By contrast, Frances E. W. Harper's *Minnie's Sacrifice* (1869) revises the Biblical story of Moses by substituting the big house for a humble southern cabin in which Miriam grieves over the death of her daughter Agnes and faces the task of raising her newly orphaned grandson Louis Lecroix. First published in Philadelphia's *The Christian Recorder*, the official organ of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Harper's novella counters Turner's lament by chronicling Louis's transformation from southern gentlemen to Union soldier serving in a black regiment. Harper presents another view of antebellum plantation life and the Reconstruction South with illustrations of the increasingly

systemic violence endured by the South's African American population. Harper holds the big house and the White House accountable to the slave cabins of the South through the revelation of Louis and Minnie's heritage. This in effect reveals the conflict between the crippling power of the pastoral plantation in the hearts and minds of white southerners and the courageous endeavors of the emerging African American community as they participated in the reorganization of southern spaces.

Of Thee I Write: The Civil War in Popular Print

Newspapers, magazines, and other print media defined cultural politics of the War in the North and the South. In *The Imagined Civil War* Alice Fahs observes that popular literature not only addressed issues of gender but also "explored and articulated attitudes toward race, and ultimately, portrayed and helped to shape new modes of imagining the individuals' relationship to the nation" (1-2). The literary plantation provided an important space for people to evaluate their status within the country during the Civil War. As escaped slaves flocked to Union lines and white women and children confronted the domestic realities of war, newspapers, magazines, and other types of print revealed the diversity of war time experiences. These events were also affected by what Fahs calls "the practices of commercial literary culture" (16). While northerners were dismayed over the inextricable link between patriotism and profit, southerners discovered the difficulty of achieving a literary nationalism without a thriving literary marketplace (60). Cities like Boston and New York served as publishing powerhouses in the North and continued to dominate during the war. Although several southern cities continued as vital magazine centers, their success was short-lived and prey to shortages (Mott, I: 380-

384, II: 107).[46] However, Georgia was a model of southern journalism during this period because of its high number of publications.[47]

The viability of Georgia's literary periodicals mirrored the overall status of her southern counterparts—there was spirited sectional pride, but small circulation (Mott I: 380).[48] In *Early Georgia Magazines*, Bertram Holland Flanders observes that the sectional identity of the South grew after the 1830s in response to the country's slavery controversy, and handicapped all literary production except that which occurred in the political realm. Specifically he writes, "Slavery came to be defended as a God-given institution for the uplift of the under-privileged race; and the plantation as the stronghold of slavery was so idealized in the South, perhaps most of all in Virginia and in South Carolina, that eventually much of southern Literature was colored by its glamor [sic]" (24). Most southern publications were not founded upon any real demand on the part of their local reading public. They were begun by individuals who felt that the South needed venues for southern writing as a means of refuting northern attacks against their way of life. Therefore, the men and women who founded most southern antebellum magazines were amateurs who did not anticipate the problems involved in getting contributors and subscribers. As a result, they failed to garner a reading audience to compete with those of northern publications that were, in Jay Hubbell's estimation, run by "experienced editors often backed by capital, equipment, and skill of a publishing house which knew how to market its wares" (*South in American Literature* 366). Despite these shortcomings, Georgia's historical importance stems from its depiction of local life during this era (Flanders 206). One such writer, Joseph Addison Turner, heeded the patriotic call and established *The Countryman* (1862-1866), Georgia's war-time

magazine that boasted of a large southern circulation despite northern invasion and widespread destruction of the South.[49]

The Countryman: Sources and Serialization

Joseph Addison Turner worked tirelessly in the years preceding and during the Civil War to establish a southern—and particularly, a Georgian—literary tradition. As early as 1846, Turner was obsessed with writing and publishing.[50] "My aim, from the beginning," he declared "has been to contribute my mite to the creation of a separate and distinct Southern Literature. From my youth up, I have hated yankees [sic], and yankee [sic] literature" (qtd in Flanders 151). While the call for an independent southern literature and an end to dependence on northern print had become a familiar part of antebellum southern literary culture, the Civil War produced a rebellious edge. As Drew Gilpin Faust notes in *Confederation Nationalism*, the push for a southern literature reflected the South's "efforts to represent southern culture to the world at large, to history, and perhaps most revealingly, to its own people" (6-7). A chief aspect of confederate nationalism was the written word, which helped southerners in Faust's opinion "to share a sense of cultural community through its common experience of newspapers and popular literature" (16). Therefore, Turner's desire for a purely southern literature and his disdain for northern hegemony illustrate how reading could become a part of a larger, public, patriotic culture. With what Alice Fahs calls a "a strongly ideological cast," patriotic reading "involved not only what one did read but also what one did not; it demanded not just the embrace of Southern literature but also the repudiation of Northern literature—the two were intimately intertwined" (*The Imagined*

Civil War 25). At the onset of war, southerners like Turner saw the opportunity to stress connections between literacy and political nationhood, arguing in Fahs's estimation that "nation building was a vital cultural as well as political project" (23). Found in the volumes of Turner's wartime publication are countless examples of his desire to instill a cultural pride in southerners that is decidedly political.

For most southerners, an integral part of this new literary nationalism involved the defense of slavery. In the December 22, 1862, issue of the *Countryman*, Turner writes, "With regard to literature, I do emphatically wish to have a Southern Literature. And prominent in our books I wish the negro [sic] to be placed. The literature of any country should be a true reflex, in letters, of the manners, customs, institutions, and local scenery of that country" (qtd in Flanders 170). Fahs observes that southerners like Turner made "explicit linkages between Southern literary nationalism and slavery that in effect racialized and politicized the very definition of Southern literature" (Fahs 27). Thus, Turner's wartime publishing efforts served as a critical component in nation building and also defended the "southern way of life," by which most meant the institution of chattel slavery. For Turner the cultivation of "cotton, corn, and literature" culminated in the establishment of *The Countryman* at Turnwold, his family's plantation, on March 4, 1862.

An architectural description of Turner's home from governmental sources illustrates how integral his background was to this work. According to architectural historian Richard Cloues and historian Kenneth H. Thoams, the property associated with Turnwold (Fig. 11), meaning "Turner's field," is still located on Old Phoenix Road in Putnam County, now 56 miles south of Atlanta and 9 miles northeast of Eatonton. The

Alexander-Turner house, which was built in the early 1800s, is a variant of the Plantation Plain type.[51] Purchased by Turner in late 1851, the Alexander-Turner House adjoins his brother's property and originally contained about a thousand acres. At first Turner called his plantation Merry Dale, but since he liked the name William chose for his own property so much, Turner embraced his own plantation under the name Turnwold, which came to signify both estates separately and collectively.

Figure 11. David J. Kaminsky, Turnwold (Alexander-Turner House), south and east facades, facing northeast (February 1977). National Register of Historic Places, Inventory—Nomination Form (March 10, 1980).

Turnwold is significant because it physically manifested Southern life during the Civil War. In *The Georgia Catalog,* John Linley notes that because the style, "evolved from considerations of use, climate, available material, and methods of construction," which "were common to Georgia," the plantation plain house is, "considered indigenous to the state" (23). Thus, Turnwold made tangible Turner's desire for a culture rooted in

the Southern tradition. Turner's Putnam County estate was the base of operations for his successful newspaper and other commercial interests. While Turner's plantation landscape included the big house, his property contained a series of productive agricultural and industrial outbuildings, a school house, and slave cabins. As Lawrence Huff observes, from the latter part of 1862 until the end of the war Turner's plantation was at the height of its development (254). In addition to publishing *The Countryman,* Turner became the proprietor of a hat factory and advertised his wares in his newspaper. It remained in operation until the end with his hats having been sold all over Georgia. He also ran a distillery, tannery and post-office. Like John Pendleton Kennedy's Frank Meriwether, Joseph Addison Turner built his estate based upon the feudal model. "The Southern planter," he wrote in *The Plantation,* his previous publication, "in many respects bears a considerable resemblance to the ancient English baron, surrounded by his liege of subjects, all dependent on him for whatever they have of happiness or unhappiness" (March 1860 150). It was a modestly built home that was part of a highly self-sufficient country estate where he had according to Paul M. Cousins, "the leisure to indulge in his literary interests, to engage in gentlemanly field sports, and to view with satisfaction his fields of corn and cotton" (*Joel Chandler Harris* 41).

Turnwold is also significant as the location where Joel Chandler Harris, creator of "Uncle Remus" and other stories depicting southern plantation life, received inspiration for his writing. Harris's four-year stay at Turnwold marked the beginning of his literary career. Answering an advertisement in the inaugural issue of *The Countryman*, ("An active, intelligent white boy, 14 or 15 year of age, is [sic] wanted at this office, to learn the printing business"), Harris began working for Turner in 1862 as a printer's devil (4).

Later on as a compositor, Joel Chandler Harris contributed book reviews, essays, and poems to the *Countryman,* totaling thirty three in all. Just like Kennedy's Mark Littleton who favored a plantation visitor's amused point of view, Harris reveals in his tales a perspective that was not visible from the big house's windows.

The Countryman was printed weekly from March 4, 1862, to May 6, 1866, the only break occurring between June 27, 1865 and January 30, 1866.[52] Initially modeled after famous England periodicals of the eighteenth century, the *Countryman* proposed to be "a pleasant companion for the leisure hour, and to relieve the minds of our people somewhat from the engrossing topic of war news" (28). Making it clear that the *Countryman* "is not a newspaper," Turner declared it "a miscellaneous journal of choice things. . .The *Countryman* is an Essayist: that is all" (qtd in Flanders 167). In addition to essays and choice reprinted fare, the *Countryman* featured poems, sketches and agricultural articles.[53] At first, "Brevity is the soul of wit" was the paper's motto, but it was changed September 22, 1863 to "Independent in Everything, Neutral in Nothing" to reflect the more politically engaged viewpoint of Turner.[54] Almost two months after Lee's surrender to Grant in April 1865, Turner again changed his motto to "Independent in Nothing, Neutral in Everything," a motto that also reflected his arrest by northern authorities for his oppositional comments made in the paper. Finally on January 30, 1866, *The Countryman's* motto became "Devoted to the Editor's Opinions" until the paper's demise a few months later.

By the time *The Old Plantation* appeared in 1862, Joseph Addison Turner's *The Countryman* had achieved remarkable success. Learning from previous disappointments in the publishing business, he instituted a variety of stabilizing measures. First, he

required cash for subscriptions and recycled old numbers of the paper to sell for a dollar a volume. He also solved the supply shortage by planting a field of cotton for paper and collecting rags at the rate of ten cents a pound in payment for subscriptions. Second, while other papers were hard pressed for staff to keep their enterprise afloat, Turner was permitted to hold onto his workers by submitting a report that described most of them as physically disabled.[55] Third, Turner's high standards for submissions resulted in few but highly qualified contributors.[56] Therefore, Turner's publishing preferences represented his aim to educate a new generation of southerners. As a learned man of letters, Turner sought to cultivate in his audience a sophisticated reading palate by making high brow literature more accessible through the selections he published. Despite the drastic wartime conditions in the South, Turner's newspaper continued to thrive.

The Old Plantation: A Poem

Originally appearing in eight installments from October 27 to December 15, 1862, *The Old Plantation* is a 1346-line poem in rhyming heroic couplets.[57] Completed July 17, 1859, after eighteen months spent on its composition, the poem was refused by New York's *Harper's Monthly* in the fall of that same year.[58] Patricia Meyer Spacks observes in *Eighteenth-Century Poetry* that poems like Turner's, which was written in iambic pentameter and thus a sequence of unstressed followed by stressed syllables, creates a regularity that allows for the creative expression of ideas through rhythm and logic (5). Similar to Thomas Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard" (1751), and Oliver Goldsmith's much shorter "Deserted Village" (1770), *The Old Plantation* utilizes the pastoral mode to explore the universal desire for home. According to Turner in his

introductory note, “The idea of home has peculiar attractions for all. And a home deserted, and in ruins, with the idea of a wanderer pining for old familiar scenes, possesses a melancholy, but pleasant interest to everyone” (8). “But,” he asserts, “the peculiar type of home enshrined in my heart is that which is to be found in the old plantation” (36). The role of memory and a frustrated longing to return to an Eden lost are two key features of Gray’s and Goldsmith’s poetry that Turner incorporates into his ode to the South.

Turner’s choice of genre also crystallizes the Wanderer’s stigmatized view of the plantation through irony. In *English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century*, David Fairer observes that the pastoral’s “ironic potential as a mode” is “defined by what it excludes” (84). Specifically he notes that “All the things pastoral holds at bay—heroism, politics, money, war, time, and death—are there to haunt it from an echo’s distance” (84). While in one section the Wanderer urges northerners to “turn your thoughts to negro slaves no more,” he also blames the demise of his home on the “sons of mammon” who with “scowling brow, and desolation’s mien . . . robbed the humble sons of toil” in another (Turner 32 and 45). At these precise moments in T*he Old Plantation*, the conflicted nature of confederate nationalism is revealed. The Wanderer participates in nation building through his praise song of the South although it could potentially collapse all around him. Therefore, hovering on the edge of the Wanderer’s view of the dairy, the big house, and the slave quarters is a world of disintegration, spoil, and decay fermented by change.

Although readers may argue that Turner’s poem foretells the South’s demise at the end of the War, everything in his life suggests otherwise. In a preface to *The Old*

Plantation, Henry Prentice Miller observes that "Turner was greatly disturbed by an increase in industrialism and the rise of several cities—both of which he considered concomitants to materialism and a dangerous threat to the culture and idyllic life on the old plantations of the South—but as indicated in his *Autobiography*, he was confident down to the last that the North and the South would benefit thereby" (6). During the southern senate debates over secession in 1860, Turner recalls "I am not a man for war, nor strife, but emphatically a peace man. I wrote an article for the Federal Union, urging the appointment of Northern and Southern commissioners, to arrange for a peaceable dissolution of the Union" (15). Like John Pendleton Kennedy's revised *Swallow Barn*, Turner's *The Old Plantation* reveals the writer's concerns over northern abolition and commercialism's erosion of the southern way of life. However, while Kennedy seemed in favor of eventual freedom, Turner was adamantly against emancipation. In the November 17, 1862 edition of *The Countryman*, he emphatically states, "Our whole system of slavery is founded upon the idea that the Negro is incapable of enjoying freedom: and upon the truth of this proposition depends the propriety of slavery. I hold that the Negro is incapable of enjoying freedom—that God did not intend him to enjoy it, and hence I am pro-slavery in my views and feelings" (57). Therefore, while Turner believed slavery was sacredly embedded in southern culture, Kennedy was not so naïve as to believe that African Americans would remain slaves forever.

In addition, while the poem is to a large extent autobiographical, there are some differences between Turner and his Wanderer. Turner was only thirty at the time he composed this poem, while the Wanderer is quite an older man. Furthermore, although the man sadly recalls the demise of his ancestral home, Turner was still living on his

plantation, as he would continue to do so throughout the Civil War. Notwithstanding, it is quite ironic that his best piece of work is about the son of a former slaveholder contemplating the demise of his ancestral plantation because that loss hauntingly coincides with events in Turner's own life.

Because *The Old Plantation* portrays, with "considerable fidelity," the "manners, customs, and institutions of ante-bellum middle Georgia," as Huff puts it (294), the Wanderer's discussion of slavery seems uppermost, together with his description of his father's home.[59] *The Old Plantation* presents a new perspective from the Wanderer, the son of a former slaveholder, who reminisces about his plantation childhood. Turner's poem chronicles the Wanderer's afternoon visit to his dilapidated childhood home. Upon discovering the remains of his former home, the Wanderer, as his name suggests, "seek for childhood's home but find it not, / Save here and there some remnant trace forlorn . . . And so amid these ruins will I roam/ To read the scanty epitaphs of home" (Turner 12). Overwhelmed with grief because of his family's demise, the Wanderer feels "Houseless and homeless . . ./With neither friend, nor even acquaintance near" (46). Since bits and pieces are all that remain, the Wanderer's recollections act as the space in which the image of the plantation resides: "To boyhood's scenes, fond mem'ry, turn thy gaze, /And paint the pleasures of my childish days" (13). The Wanderer encourages his audience to focus on the ruins of specific spaces, for this is where his memory thrives on the plantation's debris including the graves of the dead.

Within the remains of his childhood home, the Wanderer's fond memories support Joseph Addison Turner's proslavery argument for racial hierarchy as an integral part of southern life. In the midst of his lyric however, the Wanderer fails to understand

the plantation's demise. Unlike Kennedy's border-state narrator, the Wanderer does not acknowledge the possibility that all was not well in Eden. Looking at the role of slavery in the creation of nonfederate nationalism during the Civil War, Drew Gilpin Faust asserts that "slaveowners needed to regard slavery as a benevolent institution, appreciated by blacks as well as whites, in order to preserve and propagate their self-image as paternalistic masters and to continue their own struggle for a nation-state committed to human bondage" (71). They were so committed to their "illusions of the peculiar institution" that their "confederate discourse" failed to acknowledge the "disintegration of human bondage" (71). The Wanderer's inability to see his family's culpability makes it even harder for him to grasp the meaning of his former life's demise as he moves to examine the spoilage in the now defunct dairy house.

Although the dairy "stands no more where it once stood," it is one of the first built spaces that conjure the Wanderer's memory (15). In *Kitchens, Smokehouses, and Privies*, Michael Olmert observes that from the mid 18th century until the Civil War, southern dairies were usually small buildings with brick or stone floors.[60] As part of the planter's property, butter and milk resulting from dairying was often used for family consumption and sale. Cleanliness and coolness were chief characteristics of dairies for health and profitability (93 Fig 12). Therefore, ceilings and interior walls were plastered and whitewashed as a safeguard against dirt although no one understood what bacteria were. "Instead of windows," Olmert observes, "dairies have long horizontal openings high up on their walls, beneath very wide eaves" to block out the sun's hot rays (95). Another cooling feature of this structure was the sunken floor, built 2 to 3 feet below grade which is colder than at ground level. Finally, since milk could absorb the unpleasant smells of

smokehouses, laundries, farming, and other agricultural work, dairies were built closer to the big house which suggests that its workers had more prestige than others.

Because of the cleanliness and orderliness required to run a dairy, Aunt Tabby takes a strong stance regarding the outbuilding's activities. Described as "striving, stately as a queen," Aunt Tabby is a slave who works hard in the dairy to "keep her milk-pans burnished bright and clean" (Turner *The Old Plantation* 41). "Her sable bosom heaving high with pride,/Where stood the churn and dasher by her side" (Turner 41), Aunt Tabby makes the dairy her dominion, where she holds court over the slave children as subjects. If they should "dare" to "visit" or "invade her kingdom," a "shout and slap announced her queenly frown," thereby exhibiting her command of the space (41). In spite of Aunt Tabby's careful attention to the dairy, she is "kind" and loving to the slaves and serves them a "homely fare" consisting of freshly churned milk and ashcakes beneath a nearby tree (Turner 41).

Figure 12. The Archibald Blair House Dairy, now Grissell Hay Dairy. Courtesy of Michael Olmert

The Wanderer's memory of the dairy illuminates Turner's portrait of antebellum life by focusing on the dairy according to Olmert as "the most elaborate of outbuildings, and the cleanest" (93). Therefore, the Wanderer's pure white dairy substitutes Legree's dark and dank cotton-gin house shed. While Stowe's shed depicts African Americans as the victims of slavery, Turner utilizes cultural associations of the dairy with women in order to convey the image of fecundity, as Aunt Tabby's robust body and smiling face can attest.[61] Derived from the Middle English word *deye*, a female servant, the dairy was a place where primarily the wives, daughters of planters and farmers worked. However, black women also participated in dairying. In *Loosening the Bonds*, Joan M. Jensen argues that despite the increasing industrialization and defeminization of dairying in the North and Midwest, women remained an integral part of the transition through their work in the household, the commercial sphere, and their public activities in religion, education and reform. She briefly describes several instances where black dairy maids assisted and ran the dairies when their mistresses were absent as a testament to their skill.[62] Therefore, the Wanderer's description of the dairy and the historical status of dairymaids challenge Turner's idea of African American inferiority, suggesting rather that they were independent, self-sufficient, reliable, and did not need the constant surveillance of their masters.

Turner also explores the dairy's connection with nature to glorify the rustic simplicity of antebellum life. In this set-up, the young slaves were not the only ones who partook of Aunt Tabby's simple meal for "The master's children daintier meals forsook . . . To feast where mirth and frolic waited by;/ To eat ashcake which she kindly gave/ The little master with the little slave" (16). In spite of the dairy's sanctity, the nearby oak tree

is where social conventions can be forgotten. Turner utilizes the pastoral mode's preoccupation with nature to further glorify antebellum life. The shepherd's love-song to his maiden is replaced with black and white children frolicking under the tree. In *Swallow Barn*, Ned Hazard's heroic mission to rescue Bel Tracy's marsh hawk is replaced by memories of the Wanderer's childhood dog. It is where "All gaily happy, in their boisterous glee," the children can eat and play "As equals 'neath the old familiar tree" (16). The tree is where they can literally break bread in friendship. More importantly, it is a place where the master's children do not have to behave as children of inheritance, power and propriety, and where the slave children do not have to behave as children of the ignorant, the oppressed, and the enslaved. Therefore, nature becomes the equalizer for slave and free children, and Aunt Tabby is the provider of sustenance in this space.

However, Joseph Addison Turner quickly reinserts the power dynamic between black and white, slave and master by placing the slave in his proper social and physical place by the distinction he makes between their respective dwellings. The Wanderer, like Mark Littleton, also pauses to reflect upon the big house and the slave quarters. In *The Old Plantation*, he describes how his father and other settlers came to the New World, exchanging "their fetters for a forest home" (24).[63] The Wanderer calls his father's first home on the new land a cot to denote his father's humble beginnings. According to the Oxford English Dictionary a cot is "a small house, a little cottage; now chiefly poetical, and connoting smallness and humbleness, rather than the meanness and rudeness expressed by hut" (accessed 6/23/10). The Wanderer fondly recalls his "forest home" the "worm-fence yard," "the roof of boards, the wooden-hinged door, / The smoky rafters,

and the rugged floor" (23). During the difficult first years after his arrival, the Wanderer's father encountered "the Indians yell," "The wolf's cry" and "The panther's scream, intoned with notes of hell" (23). In spite of this, the Wanderer muses that through "busy labor" by his father and other settlers, the "snowy cotton," "golden wheat," and the "luxuriant corn" soon "triumphed o'er the thorn" as evidence of their prosperity and superiority (24). As a result, they "Built costlier homes, and barns with plenty stored" that replaced their earlier, more humble abodes (24). The father's hard work and thriftiness is rewarded with a finer house and thus a grander view from the big house windows.

The Wanderer's description of his father's cot comes upon the heels of his commentary on the nature of free and enslaved men. Like Frank Meriwether in Kennedy's *Swallow Barn*, he makes a distinction between those who have been predestined to be free and those enslaved (22). He argues that if "the man by Heaven when freedom designed" is enslaved, his desire for freedom should comfort him although he is oppressed (22). On the other hand, if the man "Designed by Heaven to wear a master's chain" having "stolid hearts," and therefore "to every feeling dull" he should remain enslaved. In his estimation, since slaves fall in the latter category, they need "a guardian's fostering hand, / To give them homes, and answer want's demand" (22). While Meriwether at least grants slaves the possibility of working towards freedom, the Wanderer asserts that their condition was sealed by providence as distinct from his. Therefore, the free man and slave living in humble conditions are not equal because the cot merely reflects the free man's current status and is not indicative of his future potential. On the contrary, an enslaved person's home mirrors his minoritized status

because he was born that way. The Wanderer uses the word cot and others interchangeably when referring to slave and freed living spaces.

While he also describes the slave quarters as a "cheerful cot" and "humble hovels," the Wanderer depicts the quarters as a place where slaves are "free from chains which freemen often bind" (41). Recalling a series of "peaceful joys unnumbered round their door," the Wanderer remembers with fondness the slaves "boisterous laughter" and the "rustic corn-song's loud and plaintive wail" (31). He remembers them "tripping in the dance" and playing "hide-the-switch" as they sought to "Prolong the pleasures of the festive day" (31). As "a boyish listener" of their tales of "midnight scenes in darkly haunted vales," the Wanderer asserts that "more bliss" was "dispensed within their huts" than "splendid gold in many a palace shuts" (30). He focuses specifically on their activities as an indication of their nature: "A grown-up race to childish thought confined" which in his mind justifies their enslavement: "And Prove its sons a fostering care demand/ And need a guardian's kind and protecting hand" (31). Through his description of the slave quarters, the Wanderer's memories are strikingly similar to the commentary Meriwether offers and Mark Littleton tacitly challenges.

As the sun sets, the Wanderer bids the "dear sacred spot adieu" (53). In his last moments of reminiscing, the Wanderer remains committed to an ideal which is physically dead but alive mentally and emotionally for him. While the Wanderer finally declares "Where'er I turn my heart true to you," Joseph Addison Turner continued to publish his newspaper in which he set forth his tenets for reconstruction. In the midst of the war and destruction that lay in the aftermath of Major General William T. Sherman's 1864 march from Atlanta, Turner's home remained remarkably unscathed.[64] With the loss of slaves

flocking to the Union army and mounting debt, however, Turner lost his plantation and relocated to Eatonton with his family to practice law in late 1866 or early 1867. Even though it was clear that the Confederacy was defeated, Turner, like other southerners, held out hope and continued to publish.[65]

Compared to the Wanderer in *The Old Plantation*, Turner's portrayal of the white man as a life-choked bird in *The Nigger: A Satire* (1866) shows how war-time spaces ravaged the beauty of the plantation landscape. [66] Turner's grand oaks, cool dairies, and babbling brooks are replaced with prisons, hospitals, and battle fields as Confederates fought valiantly to defend their land and their way of life. In this thirty-one page poem in heroic couplets, he castigated several groups of people, whom he calls "Nigger- lovers," for the South's demise (27). They included Union Major General William T. Sherman; Northern preachers like Lyman Beecher; Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose Uncle Tom "maddened all the country O'er" (27); southerners who courted the favor of Federal authorities; and a number of abolitionists including Horace Greeley, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Gerritt Smith. In their mission to free the Negro, Turner argued that the abolitionists, northerners, and the like trampled states' rights, the freedom of speech, religion, and the press, which in turn jeopardized the white man's liberty.

Specifically, Turner equated black freedom with southern white bondage. He disparaged the war's outcome by arguing that, contrary to northern ideals, freedom for the Negro meant he was:

> Free to be idle, free to work no more,
> Free to behold his happier moments o'er;
> Free to possess no shelter for his head,
> Free to know want of even the coarsest bread;
> Free to be hungry, free to feel the cold,
> Free to be naked, and no more behold

> The comforts that surrounded him ere he
> Had thrust on him the curse of being 'free;' (5)

Turner claimed that freedom had turned Negroes into lazy criminalist nuisances since they had eluded white containment and control via the plantation space. Just as Kennedy banished Abe, Turner's verse revealed the southern fear of self-determined black mobility. He observed with disgust that "They prowl the country, thieving as they go/Nor for their bread will deign to strike a blow/Abandoned in their walks to crime/ They prove a curse to all the southern clime" (7). As a defeated southern confederate, Turner aimed his fury at northerners and other supporters of the Negro, asking "And all for what? To make the Nigger 'free'/(So-called) and crush the white man's liberty;" (*The Nigger: A Satire* 4). Turner's bilious verse operates rhetorically like Stowe's sentimental appeals and Douglass's mode of subjective sympathetic listening as a means of weighing in on the status of African Americans. While Turner's Wanderer rails against the rise of industrialism which destroys the plantation, his weary fowl in *The Satire* witnesses the eviction of blacks from Eden while white men muddle in "a seas of flowing gore" in several war-time spaces (5).

The bird in *The Old Plantation* is described as one who returns against hope:

> With droopy plumes he sees his downy home
> Felled to the earth, and turns once more to roam;
> Yet sadly lingers near the fallen spray,
> Whence rosy morn first caught his earliest lay,
> Delaying yet, with fond regret, to fly,
> And still belaying near his native sky. (11-12)

While the bird which constantly hovers above the Wanderer's home fell to the ground in *The Old Plantation*, the bird in *The Nigger: A Satire* struggles to survive the new South after the War. In the opening lines of *The Nigger*, he begs "Rest for our weary pinions

pray you give" as they struggle in "ceaseless flight" over the "bleeding land" and inhale the "mephitic" air of black freedom (1). The picture of an exhausted bird attempting to outpace the black plague, what Turner calls "the Egyptian night," symbolizes his belief that the end of slavery and the demise of plantation life will choke the life out of the South's true men. With the image of their "drooping plumes" before the speaker's eye, he begs to "Let this eternal Nigger odor cease" (1). Moreover, his use of the word "pinion" has several connotations to emphasize his point. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, a pinion is defined as any of the flight feathers of a bird's wing (accessed 2/13/11). The word could also connote a manacle or fetter used to detain someone. Turner's use of this word implies that the southerner's unsuccessful endeavor to soar above the powerful stench of black freedom via northern aggression has turned the south into a "bleeding land/With gaping wounds" while long held ideas like Habeas Corpus, Free Speech, Freedom of the Press are left laying lifeless in the dust. Therefore, the battlefield, the prisons, and the hospitals are places of no return where soldiers either lose their minds or their lives. However, both of the narrators in Turner's writings suffer from the loss of physical and social place the plantation offered as they wander from site to site, the distance between them ever widening, and the hope of them ever landing securely on both feet becoming more unlikely.

Since Turner argues that white southerners have been stripped of all of their rights, they are now subject to northern regulations. Therefore, wartime prisons, battlefield, and hospitals represent their minoritzed status as enemies of the nation-State. As the Wanderer grieves over his dilapidated home "Where tangled vines once walled the settlers round" (*The Old Plantation* 24), the narrator in *The Satire* rages furiously:

> Oh! Glorious war! Go see the prison pens,
> Behold the dungeons where once sturdy men's
> Brave, manly hearts now like a woman's break,
> And maddened brains with direful phantoms quake;
> The giddy head, in frenzy reels around,
> Grows wild, seeks rest within the mouldering ground. (4)

Managing a large number of prisoners during the Civil war was a challenge with many consequences for the North and South. As many as one in seven soldiers, Charles W. Sanders observes in *While in the Hands of the Enemy*, became prisoners of war with the same ratio—one in seven—perishing at the hand of their captors. By analyzing personal and official correspondence of military and civilian leaders he asserts that they increasingly regarded prisoners not as men "but as mere pawns to be used and then callously discarded in pursuit of national objectives" (2). Like Uncle Tom, prisoners of war became a part of a new institution—the war machine—that ground its victims as mercilessly as slavery did. Deliberate mistreatment of prisoners in the wartime South, much like slavery, came to be judged as "a most national horrible sin" (316). While Stowe criticized benevolent southern planters for looking the other way when it came to brutal slaveholders like Simon Legree, Turner condemned the war-prison system for incarcerating southern whites in order to free African Americans.

Therefore, by 1865, the mid-war termination of general exchanges, the reduction of rations, inadequate housing and healthcare caused prisoners to die at an alarming rate.[67] Dysentery, scurvy, pneumonia, smallpox and starvation placed prisoners in a real-life purgatory similar to the temporary stay both Uncle Tom and Madison Washington endured at slave warehouses in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *The Heroic Slave*. War time prisoners lived a precarious existence which depended on the actions of their jailers. As Larry M. Logue observes in *To Appomattox and Beyond* "Trapped between the continual

presence of death and the hope of a prisoner exchange that never came," many prisoners on both sides had a sense of hopelessness. A North Carolina soldier remarked "'Oh, God, how dreadful are these bitter feelings of hope deferred. I sink almost in madness and despair'" (71). Turner's apt description of a man driven to insanity from the stress of prison life recalls Lucy's heartrending cries for her son in her homely cottage. The prisoner's anguish echoes Lucy's grief as both captives pine away for loved ones in minoritized spaces. While the nature of Lucy's cottage encrypts her minority status, the war prisons do not encrypt the white man's status. Although Confederates rebelled against the United States, they were still white men. Once the war was over and the South reconciled with the North, their majoritized status as American citizens, although defeated, was restored.

The narrator in Turner's *A Satire* pauses like the Wanderer and urges readers to:

> Go to the battle-field when war is done,
> Hushed all the clangor, and the thundering gun:
> See ghastly corpses bloated lie around,
> That rot unburied on the fattening ground;
> See mangled limbs lie scattered here and there,
> While agonizing wailings rend the air.
> The festering corpses taint the rising gale,
> That bears along the dying soldier's wail;
> The vulture preys upon the throbbing breast,
> The wolf comes out to have his midnight feast;
> And, ere the wounded, mangled soldier dies,
> The worm to feast upon his vital hies. (Turner, *The Nigger: A Satire*, 4)

In this example, deadly conflict between the men in Blue and Gray jars the Wanderer's antebellum memory of children's play during recess. The soldier's desperate cries reveal a hellish battle scene reeking of rotting flesh and gore, which strikingly contrasts with the

scent of freshly made country fare and the sounds of boisterous laughter. Therefore, the destruction depicted in *A Satire* makes way for the returning appeal of the plantation tradition in the 1880s.

The trauma soldiers suffered in battle was just the beginning of their war-time experience. As Turner, Logue, and others have noted, wounded officers often laid in the fields for hours, even days before relief arrived. In *Gangrene and Glory*, Frank R. Freemon observes that some of the injured were initially carried or helped to wagons and carts while others made their way to tents, barns, farmhouses, or other buildings that served as a field hospital close to battle (47-48). Soldiers who required further treatment were transported by rail or riverboats to Civil War hospitals. In The *Nigger: A Satire,* Turner urges his audience to:

> Go to the hospital—what odors rise,
> What scenes heart-rending greet your sickening eyes!
> On filthy bunks the mangled soldiers lay,
> Beg you take their remnant life away;
> Racked so with pain, their only wish to die,
> Hoping for naught beneath, nor in the sky,
> Since dark Despair has palled the dying heart,
> And in its centre sheathed its blackest dart.

Hospitals were even more threatening than the plantation fields because of unsanitary conditions, disease and certain mortality from wounds (Freemon 41-50; Logue 44-46 and 67-70). Shortage of supplies, limited space, ill-equipped and overworked medical personnel resulted in patients being left to continually suffer and most often die in their own filth. Therefore, hospitals, like prisons, were more often the site of death for Union and Confederate soldiers than the battlefield (Logue 45). As the broken boards from the

cotton gin-house shed represent Tom's minoritized status, so too do the mangled beds from war-time hospitals symbolize the Confederate soldier's subordinate position.

Remnants of the social relations in the plantation tradition are also seen by the reprieve soldiers received from volunteer and paid female nurses in hospitals. In *Women at the Front*, Jane Schultz observes that as much as 20,000 women served as cooks, nurses, laundresses, matrons, seamstresses and other roles during the Civil War (2). Schultz's examination of governmental records, private manuscripts and published hospital narratives reveal how "their presence created a front where gender, race, class, and racial identities became themselves sites of conflict" (3). Nurses who were widows, former slaves, plantation mistresses, teachers, and freed African Americans comprised an assorted group of women who were faced with a social order disrupted by war. Within "the world of convalescing soldiers," Schultz observes that "gender roles were reversed: men were powerless and effeminized, while the women who served them found strength as their advocates, even at the expense of fighting one another (3). Like Legree's grimy antebellum plantation, war-time hospitals were spaces where clashes between individuals resulted from the shifting social positions caused by combat. Furthermore, as the gin-house cotton-gin house highlighted the economic consequences of slavery, war time hospitals were extensions of the battle field as soldiers continued to fight for their life.

Moreover, like the cotton gin-house shed, wartime hospitals were also places where nurses were often viewed as angels of mercy providing respite to injured soldiers. Temperance Periwinkle is reminded of her importance in Louis May Alcott's *Hospital Sketches* (1863) as she nurses John, a Virginia blacksmith: "I had forgotten that the strong man might long for the gentler tendance of a woman's hands, the sympathetic

magnetism of a woman's presence, as well as the feebler souls about him" (57). Like Cassy, Temperance Periwinkle provides simple but important comforts as he lay there dying, like smoothing his pillow, wiping his brow, and holding his hand as his bandages are changed. Therefore, minoritized spaces like the hospital became sites of ameliorating woe as plantations burned and more whites experienced the clawing agony once confined to spaces like the cotton gin-house shed.

Joseph Addison Turner's *The Nigger: A Satire* unveils the displacement of the plantation through the Civil War. While *The Old Plantation*'s use of heroic couplets envisions a lost Eden, *A Satire* illustrates, in haunting array the consequences of the plantation's demise. Specifically, Aunt Tabby's golden ashcakes and sparkling white dairy are replaced with the soot and grime, the blood and gore of wartime prisons, battlefields, and hospitals. Moreover, the bird in *The Old Plantation* mourns the destruction of its nest upon the stars while that same bird struggles to survive a harsh new environment in *A Satire*. Representing the defeated Confederate nation as a life-choked bird also creates a favorable explanation for the war and the South's defeat. As families black and white struggled to reunite, repair, and rebuild, Confederates, according to Gallagher in *The Confederate War* replaced "wartime national purpose with postwar determination to keep alive the memory of their struggle" (171). "Unfit for freedom," Turner's estimates that former slaves like Aunt Tabby will "Flock to the city and infest the town" (Turner *A Satire* 7). Turner accomplishes the same goal in *The Old Plantation* through his clever use of the pastoral to eliminate pathways not found on the main roads of the plantation. In fact, African Americans are either portrayed as happy working in the dairy like Aunt Tabby, or having fun in their quarters. African Americans are absent in

other plantation spaces like the church, the mill, the country store, and the school. Compared to Kennedy, Stowe, and Douglass, Turner not only limits the pathways of African Americans, but he also strengthens convenient African American stereotypes that are specifically tied to the plantation. Furthermore, the "bird's eye view" of the plantation master easily transfers from one text to the next. Described as a pestilence that will further undermine the beauty and power of the plantation landscape in war's aftermath, France E. Harper's *Minnie's Sacrifice* renders these same spaces prosaic.

"Let My People Go": From Patriarchy to Matriarchy in Frances E.W. Harper's *Minnie's Sacrifice*

In the opening scene of Frances E.W. Harper's novella *Minnie's Sacrifice* (1869), a slave mother named Miriam, grieves over the recent death of her daughter Agnes, who dies during childbirth. As fellow slaves view Agnes's corpse and offer their condolences, the master's daughter Camilla rushes into the lowly cabin to comfort Miriam. Upon the discovery of Agnes's baby, Camilla hatches a plan to convince her father, Bernard Le Croix, to raise the child as white. [68] As in the Old Testament story of Moses, an unknowing Louis Lecroix is taken North from a rural plantation near New Orleans and educated at a New England school. At the same time, a young woman named Minnie, the title character and a mulatta, is sent to Pennsylvania from a country plantation near New Orleans by her father, a white planter named St. Pierre Le Grange. Le Grange secretly sends Minnie to be educated by Quakers to satisfy his wife who is furious over Minnie's clear resemblance to him. Like John Pendleton Kennedy's Abe, Minnie and Louis are both expelled from Southern plantation spaces because of their viable threat to

the institution's stability. Unlike Abe however, they return upon discovering their mixed-race heritage and a mother's grief like Miriam's is assuaged. Moreover, instead of aimlessly roaming about the remains of his family's plantation, as the Wanderer's name suggests, Minnie and Louis take the high road when they claim their African American ancestry and relocate South to help other blacks after the War. Harper's use of a Biblical story critiques a Reconstruction-era America. Specifically, as Lauren Berlant observes Harper's novel "seizes the scene of citizenship from white America and rebuilds it, in the classic sense, imagining a liberal public sphere located within the black community" (110). As a married couple, Louis and Minnie dedicate themselves during the Civil War's aftermath to the political, social, and economic progress of freed African Americans.

Louis's tragic birth in Miriam's cabin overshadows the childish play and boisterous laughter of the Wanderer's slaves in front of their humble hovels. As Miriam sits in her lowly cabin "painfully rocking her body to and fro," the narrator reveals the events leading up to her daughter's death (3). Agnes's curse of being a "fair, young and beautiful" slave left her "with no power to protect herself from the highest insults that brutality could offer to innocence" (3). Since she was "Bound hand and foot by that system" of slavery, Agnes "had fallen a victim to the wiles and power of her master" resulting in, "the introduction of a child of shame into a world of sin and suffering" (3). In this opening scene, Harper describes "the old story" of slave women suffering sexual violence at the hand of their masters (3). Agnes's story intrudes upon the Wanderer's memory of providing "a guardian's kind protecting hand" to slaves (Turner *The Old Plantation* 31), and instead invokes the punishment leveled by such masters: "Cursed be

the hand that shall the power abuse (Turner 31). Therefore, the slave cabin is as much a representative of a slave's humble status as it is a site of trauma.

Frances E.W. Harper was a frequent contributor to the *Christian Recorder* and one of the best known women of her day. An abolitionist, activist, suffragist, poet, lecturer, and novelist, Harper published essays, short stories, and serial novels such as *Minnie's Sacrifice* in the widely circulated newspaper. As Harper biographer Melba Joyce Boyd notes in *Discarded Legacy*, Harper's decision to publish in an African American newspaper demonstrates that her primary purpose was not to appeal to a white reading audience, but rather to help organize black readers into a politically active public. Like Harriet Beecher Stowe, Frances E.W. Harper makes a direct plea to her audience at the novella's conclusion:

> The lesson of Minnie's sacrifice is this, that it is braver to suffer with one's own branch of the human race,--to feel, that the weaker and the more despised they are, the closer we will cling to them, for the sake of helping them, than to attempt to creep out of all identity with them in their feebleness, for the sake of mere personal advantages, and to do this at the expense of self-respect, and a true manhood, and a truly dignified womanhood, that with whatever gifts, we possess, whether they be genius, culture, wealth, or social position, we can best serve the interests of our race by a generous and loving diffusion, than by a narrow and selfish isolation… (Harper *Minnie's Sacrifice* 91-92)

Harper's serial novel engages the issues that consumed the nation during Reconstruction by offering a commentary on urgent debates regarding African American citizenship. In her conclusion, she stresses the importance of unity between citizens who were separated by class, education, and social standing. Harper's Reconstruction tale explores the importance of sacrifice through Louis and Minnie, two mulattoes raised until early adulthood to believe they are white, and who choose to cast their lot with the newly freed slaves of the South upon discovering their African American heritage. The marriage of

these two educated, middle-class, fair-skinned African Americans ensures their leadership role in the task of guiding an emerging black population of emancipated slaves as well as an educated, propertied, mixed-race middle class, and all of those in between.

Harper tackles the sociospatial implications of the African American program for uplift which Melba Boyd describes as "Literacy, Land, and Liberation" through Louis Le Croix and Minnie by outlining the responsibilities and dangers African Americans faced once slavery was abolished and they were emancipated (Griffin *Minnie's Sacrifice* 312). In addition to the franchise, Farah Jasmine Griffin suggests Harper insisted that newly freed blacks "(1) be granted access to quality education; (2) benefit from the redistribution of land; and (3) be granted protection from racial violence" (*Minnie's Sacrifice* 311). Living for years under the plantation system where they were robbed of the fruits of their labor, emancipated African Americans realized that taking control of their working conditions and acquiring property were crucial.[69] Harper's *Minnie's Sacrifice* suggests that as members of a newly reconstructed and multifaceted community, African Americans must use their strengths, talents, and abilities towards these goals.[70] Therefore, the Black press, the school, and the home became key spaces for her as she saw freedmen reconstructing their lives from the ruins of Turner's old plantation amid the ravaged post-War southern landscape.

Efforts like hers and others were often circulated through the early Black Press, which first materialized in 1827. *Freedom's Journal*, edited by Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm in New York City, was the first black newspaper published in America. In its inaugural March 16, 1827 issue, *Freedom's Journal* declared itself created out of a self-determined need for African Americans to express themselves in the wake of

ambivalence or outright racism, specifically in the white press during the antebellum era. Strong advocates of full equality, several black-owned papers like the *Journal* protested against prejudice and supported abolitionism. In his book-length study on The *Christian Recorder*, a publication of the AME Church, Gilbert Anthony Williams observes that the early black press sought specifically to create a "black consciousness" that would unite blacks throughout the nation (*The Christian Recorder* 14). Elizabeth McHenry concurs, suggesting that this "black consciousness" was an attempt to create what she calls a "literary character" (*Forgotten Readers* 86). In other words, the black press was interested in creating and cultivating the image of African Americans practicing industry, temperance, economy, morality, and literacy as a means of assuming an intellectual identity and civic engagement (McHenry 86). *Freedom's Journal* aimed to fill this need by providing an audience of African Americans with easy-to-obtain common reading materials that could be shared with those of different literacy levels. Although the paper's final issue was March 28, 1829, the *Freedom Journal's* brief success provided a blueprint for other African American periodicals to follow.

One later weekly was The *Christian Recorder*, which began publishing in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania July 1852. Although it was the official newspaper of the African Methodist Episcopalian Church, the *Recorder* was more than just a religious periodical. Positioned firmly in the tradition established earlier by *Freedom's Journal*, The *Christian Recorder* was interested in fostering a national community and participating in the fight for social justice. By publishing secular and religious items, Gilbert Anthony Williams observes, the *Recorder* "communicated a need for a national consciousness and the necessity to unify blacks separated by circumstance and distance"

(*The Christian Recorder* 12). One of the significant ways the newspaper lent a hand during the Civil War was through its effort to reunite black families.[71] The "Information Wanted" section of *The Christian Recorder* was created in 1863 as a way to help individuals find missing loved ones among the millions dislocated by slavery, the Civil War, economic hardship, discrimination, and other vagaries of life. As the North and South worked to recover and reunify after the War, so too did black families seek to do the same. Although the frequency and quantity of the listings varied, in every issue the *Christian Recorder* provided this service well into the twentieth century. Harper's novella about familial and national reunion convincingly represents the newspaper's goals.

The following "Information Wanted" ads published in the *Christian Recorder* reflects the section's diverse purpose. In the December 26, 1863 issue Mrs. Mary Dowden of Baltimore inquired for the whereabouts of Miss Rebecca Dowden, of Philadelphia, whose presence was needed to settle the estate of deceased relatives. In the October 2, 1869, issue, Mrs. Mary Ranson of Frederick City, Maryland, inquired about the status of her daughter Rose Jackson who "moved from Harper's Ferry to Chambersburg in 1863, in the family of Edward Whiten and left it for Philadelphia about four years ago." In another example, the January 29, 1874 issue featured a posting from Mary Long of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, who was looking for her mother, several siblings and other extended family who had been slaves in Jackson, Mississippi. Thanks to such advertisements, the *Christian Recorder*'s provided a public service for connecting African Americans throughout the country. Harper's text provides a framework for those who encountered the complexities of searching for lost family members. Specifically,

Minnie and Louis's story of family restoration attempts to close the distance and relieve the displacement African Americans experienced during slavery and the war.

Finally, as late as the July 4, 1901 issue of *The Christian Recorder*, Rev. M.B. Sheppard of Winston Salem, North Carolina, placed an advertisement searching for his brother. A former preacher in Kinston, North Carolina, James Sheppard disappeared on the way to an A.M.E. Church conference in Warrenton, North Carolina. Of particular importance is that he vanished November 1898, "the same month of the riot" and had not been heard from since. The advertisement made specific reference to events of the November 1898 Wilmington race riot which shattered a biracial coalition of black Republicans and white Populists following a campaign of political violence by white Democrats.[72] Although Sheppard lived approximately seventy miles north of Wilmington, this advertisement suggests that he could have been a casualty of a terroristic outgrowth of the riot. This sort of conclusion could not be ruled out because as Timothy B. Tyson and David S. Celceski suggest, "Few communities escaped racial terrorism—if only one city became an enduring reminder of the dangers of democratic politics and interracial cooperation" (*Democracy Betrayed* 5). Therefore, the "Information Wanted" section of the *Christian Recorder* transformed the destruction of African American families via slavery and other instances of racial terrorism into historical acts of recovery. In *Critical Memory*, Houston A. Baker stresses how "public-sphere institutions" like the *Christian Recorder* are necessary rebuttals of Kennedy and Turner's pastoral visions of the plantation (19). African American newspapers were necessary because "despite the observable corruption," Baker notes "America would like always to be perceived as a land of righteous whiteness, a world of achieved innocence"

(5). Black periodicals gave voice and lent credibility to the dangers Madison Washington and Louis LeCroix faced in the swamps on their way to freedom.

Harper explores the complexities of plantation slavery on the Caribbean rim prior to the Civil War. The image of a happy biracial "family" in *Swallow Barn* and *The Old Plantation* is based on the master's relationship to his chattel, his children, and his wife within the defined boundaries of his estate and the clearly useful view from his windows. In *Minnie's Sacrifice*, however, the master/female slave relationship allows us to explore what Leslie Lewis calls "Harper's critique of white supremacist society as a patriarchal institution that might yet be transformed" ("Biracial Promise" 755). Minnie and Louis's decision to align themselves with the race of their mothers reveals their adoption of a matrifocal view of plantation landscape that counters patriarchal surveillance and makes the big house accountable to the quarters. From this perspective, Harper's characters effectively critique fellow citizens for their failure to live up to the democratic principles established during the Revolutionary era, principles the Civil War and Reconstruction sought to extend.

Harper also provides a gendered critique of the plantation through Camilla, the slave master's daughter. Since she was raised by servants, Camilla "unconsciously imbibed their [slaves] view of the matter. . . What she had seen of slavery in the South had awakened her sympathy and compassion" (Harper 15). Camilla's endearing relationship with her father as his only child and closest living relative affords her the voice of authority as she intermediates between the slaves and her father on his estate. Therefore, she would often "interfere in their behalf, and tell the story of their wrongs to her father" (10). When Miriam questions the veracity of Camilla's plans, she replies "I

know if I set my heart upon it, he won't refuse me, because he always said he hates to see me fret" (5). Camilla's position as her father's royal little darling is confirmed when she approaches him later, for he greets her by asking, "What is your wish, my princess? Tell me, if it is the half of my kingdom" (6). Harper uses the stereotypical role of a young southern belle living in her father's big house to answer the needs of the slave cabins. This relationship has far-reaching effects as exemplified by Camilla and Louis's response to the impending war.

Minnie's discovery of her slave heritage answers Turner's wrath-filled commentary about the spatial implications of black emancipation in *The Satire*. Contrary to the narrator's charge that African Americans will "flock to the city," and "infest the town," Minnie's predicament suggests the opposite. Although Minnie's adoptive parents instilled anti-slavery principles in her through their Quaker teachings and Underground Railroad activities, Minnie emphatically declares after hearing one black woman's story that "Oh, how I should hate to be colored!" (*Minnie's Sacrifice* Harper 46-48). In her opinion, being colored means "to be forced to ride in smoking cars; to be insulted in different thoroughfares of travel; to be denied access to public resorts in some places—such as lectures, theatres, concerts, and even have a particular seat assigned in churches" (46). Minnie's observation underscores the precarious African American command of space even in the "free" North. Although the Civil War and Reconstruction enabled African Americans to "jump scales" as Neil Smith would say, defeated white southerners would not accept the changing landscape of their region and would take violent measures to expand their scale of control. Once Minnie discovers her slave past through a chance meeting with her mother on a Pennsylvania street, her worst fears are realized: she is

expelled from school and many of her friends stop speaking to her. Shunned by her former contemporaries, Minnie eventually finds comfort in the love of her newly rediscovered mother in the safety of her adoptive parents' home. Furthermore, Minnie, along with her mother Annie mimic the path of escaped slaves like Stowe's George Harris and Douglass's Madison Washington when her adoptive father takes her abroad to Europe, in hopes that "the voyage and change of scene would be beneficial to his little girl" (56). Therefore, Minnie's story is an all too familiar rebuttal of Turner's charge against black freedom in that although emancipation implied mobility, it did not mean African Americans were allowed to establish themselves or put down roots in America for long.

Before Louis learns of his status, he is a southern sympathizer in spite of his New England education. Although he feels honored to defend the South in the War and calls those men ingrates who will not stand by her in danger, he is not fanatical in his support of slavery. Like Turner's Wanderer, Louis believes that enslaved blacks are doing well and that the abolitionists should let matters be. Unable to allow him to fight for the South against the Union, Camilla tells Louis of his slave heritage which his grandmother Miriam confirms. Just as Madison Washington journeyed through the wilderness to freedom, Louis, now a Confederate deserter must travel stealthily northward through the back roads and swamps of the South for fear of capture. Heeding his grandmother's sage advice, he is told to never trust white people. Since he looks like a white man, he must tell the black people he encounters that he is for Lincoln's soldiers so that they will trust him. He walks at night guided by a compass Camilla gives him and avoids public roads

during the day. He must quickly learn the African American social codes and alternate routes that will guide him to safety and spare his life.

During this arduous trek, he also comes to terms with the revelation of his birth. When he meets an old woman and asks for provisions, she initially tells him she has none. When he whispers Miriam's advice in her ear, her whole countenance changes and she employs her husband to help. The woman's husband finds out that Union soldiers are more than a hundred miles away near Natchez while the Confederate soldiers are at Baton Rouge. This helpful piece of information helps Louis gauge his position in relation to both armies. Finally, another slave endures a severe beating for refusing to reveal Louis's whereabouts. Hungry, thirsty, tired, and barely escaping bloodhounds on one occasion, Louis experiences firsthand what it means to be black and gets an inside glimpse into their perspective. He realizes their fidelity and his ignorance regarding their desire for freedom: "Here were men and women too who had been trampled on for ages ready to break to him their bread, aye share with him their scanty store" (Harper 64). For Louis, his journey northward is a trial by fire where he transitions from being a white southern deserter to a black man made newly aware of his slave heritage. When Louis makes it safely through Confederate lines and stands on "free soil," he appreciates "that section as he had never done before" (65). With a newfound purpose, Louis resolves to join the Union army which gave him "an opportunity to become acquainted with the brave men to do, brave to dare, and brave to die" (67). Harper, like Turner, depicts the Civil War battlefield as a site where white Southerners and African Americans present conflicting ideas of patriotism.

Harper's depiction of the Civil War, albeit brief, also contrasts with Turner's wrathful rant against the North in *A Satire* where he castigates the North via wartime spaces such as the battlefield, hospital, and prison. In particular, Harper utilizes Louis's enlistment in a Union army to show how military service became a way for African American men to assert their patriotism and manhood, as well as dispel notions of racial inferiority.[73] Harper makes an honorable mention of the courage exhibited by the African American Massachusetts 54th, led by Colonel Robert Gould Shaw at Fort Wagner in July 18, 1863.[74] She also tells the story of how a black man ultimately sacrificed his life by shoving a boat load of Union soldiers into the water while under Confederate fire. Comprehending the danger of the situation, he says "Some one must die to get us out of this, and it mout's well be me as anybody; you are soldiers, and you can fight. If they kill me it is nothing" (Harper *Minnie's Sacrifice* 67). Furthermore, while the narrator in *A Satire* sees rights such as "Habeus Corpus trailing in the dust" (1), Louis asserts "I think the time will come when some of the Anglo Saxon race will blush to remember that when they were trailing the banner of freedom in the dust black men were grasping it with earnest hands, bearing it aloft amid persecution, pain, and death" (*Minnie's Sacrifice* 78). In a matter of a few years, the prospect of living life only on the plantation was transformed through the opportunity of enlistment, which widened their mental and geographical point of view. Therefore, Louis's journey through the wilderness not only parallels the status of African American men during the War, it also critiques Turner's southern white confederate nationalism and presents a model for white readers to follow. Louis's experience made him realize that a country should recognize all of its inhabitants as citizens, and that citizenship must be exercised responsibly.

Unlike Turner's writings which vacillate between grief and anger over the plantation's demise, Harper's novella depicts through Minnie and Louis's return to Louisiana the African American's desire to "help build up a new South on the basis of a higher and better civilization" (68) **.** Minnie and Louis do not mourn the loss of their privileged status but soberly take on their new identity in the present. During a conversation about interracial marriage, Louis says,

> that a cruel wrong was done to Minnie and myself when life was given to us under conditions that doomed us to hopeless slavery, and from which we were rescued only by good fortune. I have heard some colored persons boasting of the white blood, but I always feel like blushing for mine. Much as my father did for me he could never atone for giving me life under the conditions he did" (80).

Louis sees how the narrowed perspective of a southern white plantation owner does not allow for the black alternative of peripheral mobility. Like Harriet Beecher Stowe, Frances E.W. Harper juxtaposes moments in the cabin with scenes in the big house. Specifically, Camilla's conversation with her father in his library following Agnes's funereal mourning reveals how the big house and the slave cabin were too close rather than too far apart. Therefore, it was always important that the big house encrypt the cabin to preserve the master's view from his windows. *Minnie's Sacrifice* is then about how far Louis travels from that slave cabin, and the socioeconomic changes he endures, while the Wanderer is a ghost stuck in the antebellum past. It is only when Louis is forced to confront his slave heritage that readers see the unraveling of the big house's power. Therefore, when he returns, he cannot remain trapped in the past; rather, the past must be used to build anew.

Upon their arrival as a married couple in the South, Harper situates Louis and Minnie near a black settlement consisting of multiple cabins and a school. Specifically,

Louis uses the plantation wealth he inherited to open a school and assist freedmen in obtaining houses of their own. He also attends political meetings as a mediator who wants the male colored vote "not to express the old hates and animosities of the plantation, but the new community of interests arising from freedom" (74). Authorized black male suffrage gave blacks the opportunity to responsibly exercise their citizenship, just as Louis transforms the plantation into a site of instruction. Therefore, the plantation as a site of black activism and empowerment becomes one of Harper's major themes in this novel. Carla Peterson argues in *Doers of the Word* that the humble cabins were no longer "the sentimental site" of those victimized by the slave system. Rather, they were a "political locus in which the socially active and empowered worked collectively to implement Black political Reconstruction" (212). Harper delineates Minnie's role as one who will visit former slaves in their cabins at the settlement in order to "teach them how to make their homes bright and happy" (74). An important aspect of racial progress according to Minnie is the practice of "womanly arts" which "must plant the roots of progress under the hearthstone" (74). Therefore, *The Old Plantation* is not a place where its members are secretly adopted and the links to their heritage concealed; rather the South, while "a very sad place" according to Louis Le Croix, must be a site according to Minnie where "another army should take the field, and that must be an army of civilizers;" where "the army of the pen, and not the sword" rules (Harper 68). It must be a place where citizens are "Not the destroyers of towns and cities, but the builders of machines and factories; the organizers of peaceful industry and honorable labor" (68). Minnie's ideas in effect outline the duties of a newly emancipated people preparing to

rebuild the plantation into a southern site reflecting hard work that, far from what the Wanderer recalls, is not subject to dependencies of gender or race.

During Minnie's visits to the cabins, the narrator describes the tidy, humble abodes of former slaves. One cabin which "had no window-lights, only an aperture that supplied them with light, but also admitted the cold" belonged to a hardworking couple who took in two orphan children (Harper 83). Another cabin, although "very neat, though it bore evidences of poverty," belonged to a woman whose child was taken away from her when he was two years old (84). Throughout her visits, Minnie listens to stories similar to these. Contrary to Turner's description of the slave cots as representative of their minoritized status, Harper's depiction of African American life in the cabins reflects their charity, fidelity, and faith in the face of tragedy. Minnie is so inspired by their faith and trust that the role of teacher and student is reversed as she tells herself, "I must learn from them" (84). The gay and carefree laughter of the Wanderer's slave cottages is replaced by the solemn determination of the freedmen's modest cabins. Throughout her exchanges, Minnie is the one asking questions while the inhabitants supply the answers.

Harper also draws powerful connections between the home and grog shops as evidence for the need of a matrifocal society. Specifically, she presents temperance as a cause that would benefit from female enfranchisement. When Louis objects to Minnie going to the polls on the basis of threat to her person, she disagrees stating, "When I see intemperance send its flood of ruin and shame to the homes of men, and pass by the grog-shops that are constantly grinding out their fearful grist of poverty, ruin and death, I long for the hour when woman's vote will be levelled against these charnel houses; and have, I hope, the power to close them throughout the length and breadth of the land" (78-79).

Harper juxtaposes the family oriented slave cabins against the alcohol drenched "Southern Honor" of the master and his cronies on the other side of the big house windows. Harper's description of the grog-house suggests that the drunkenness and debauchery resulting from a man's visit to this site threatens a woman's safety in her own home. Harper's concern also suggests, as Carla Peterson sees it, that the United States has become an intemperate nation, "a nation whose intemperance has brought about the social evils that beset it" ("Frances Harper" 46). Therefore, it is important to Minnie "that woman should have some power to defend herself from oppression, and equal laws as if she were a man" (78). Minnie's comments suggest that in general, the reconstructed home as Smith sees it must "become the geographical basis for political struggle and mobilization" ("Contours of a Spatilalized Politics" 68), especially if it extends "the power and pride experienced in the home to higher geographical scales" (69). Minnie envisions a newly reconstructed, sober, and more humane government which echoes her desire to protect later generations of women from experiencing the trauma of slavery endured by her own mother.

During Louis and Minnie's conversation with Camilla in her stately New Orleans home, Camilla makes an observation which encapsulates the sharp contrast between *The Old Plantation: a Poem* and *Minnie's Sacrifice* when she states, "Slavery, as an institution, has been destroyed" (Harper 73). Both Turner and Harper reveal the plantation's spatial resonance and imaginative importance as the North and South recovered from the war. All of the players involved—Unionists, Confederates, abolitionists, newly freed slaves, and free blacks—would face the task of living in a transformed space. For the Wanderer it meant having only an imperious and self-serving

nostalgic recollection of the plantation. No longer slave laborers or chattel property, African Americans lived in tightly knit families and were establishing hundreds of schools, churches, and benevolent societies by 1876. More importantly, the Constitution endowed them with freedom, citizenship, and male suffrage. Some even had the opportunity to acquire land as Turner's 'boisterous' slaves and 'idle' niggers on the 'prowl' never could.

However, Camilla's assertion that "Slavery as an idea, still lives" reveals the terror and violence that occurred in response to the African American's attempt to reconstruct his life outside of the master's point of view (73). She describes the trials Union supporters like herself faced at the old plantation on the Red River. She laments "We have been ostracized and abused," and often her friends' husbands "have been brutally murdered, in a number of instances when they were faithful to the old flag" (Harper *Minnie's Sacrifice* 71). Many blacks and their white supporters were beaten, raped, and murdered simply because they dared to remain loyal to their government and opposed the institution of slavery. Those brave souls who according to Camilla, "would wend their way under the darkness and cover of night to aid our suffering soldiers" in Southern prisons expressed what Smith observes is "the central realization that political liberation requires spatial access" (60). Harper understood that the ability to create and navigate alternate pathways were necessary components of citizenship for African Americans.

In *Minnie's Sacrifice*, Harper describes several other instances of violence during Reconstruction. One of the tactics former slave owners and other whites used in an attempt to sway the black vote was by evoking the image of the old plantation as a

nostalgic reminder of their intimate yet hierarchical relations. Louis observes that whites usually proclaim "'We are the best friends of the colored people.' Appeals were made to the memories of the past; how they hunted and played together, and searched for birds' nests in the rotten peach trees" (76). However, "when the colored people were no to be caught by such chaff, some were trying to force them into submission by intimidation and starvation" (76). For example, Mr. Jackson, a visitor described for Louis and Minnie how his shoe-mending business dried-up after he joined the radical Republicans. Many blacks avoided political involvement because it led to devastating loss and white alienation as in the case of Mr. Jackson. On a more sinister lever, Louis received a threatening letter stating "you are a doomed man. We are determined to tolerate no scalawags, nor carpetbaggers among us. Beware, the sacred serpent has hissed" (81). Therefore, any means—fair or foul—were justified by the opposition. In the wake of such destruction, Louis charged men in his community to "Defend your firesides if they are invaded, live as peaceably as you can, spare no pains to educate your children, be saving and industrious, try to get land under your feet and homes over your heads" (86). Louis's advice summarizes the responsibilities of African Americans postbellum to build and defend their homes in spite of the backlash they faced from the big house.

Finally, Harper, like Turner explores the symbolism of birds upon the funereal mourning for Minnie through Aunt Susan, a former slave. Although the installment in the *Christian Recorder* which narrates the circumstances of Minnie's death has not been recovered, it is assumed that her death is a violent response to the Reconstruction work in which she and her husband engaged. Susan recalls the time when Minnie read a story in the Bible about the birds and the nest.[75] Susan states that Minnie read:

> about de eagle stirring up her nest, and den she said when de old eagle wanted her young to fly she broked up de nest, and de little eagles didn't know what was de matter, but some how dey didn't feel so cumfertable, 'cause de little twigs and sticks stuck in 'em, and den dey would works dere wings, and dat was de way she said we must do; de ole nest of slavery was broke up, but she said we mus'n't get discouraged, but we must plume ourselves for higher flying. (Harper *Minnie's Sacrifice* 88)

In this example, Harper compares the Egyptian bondage of the Jews to African American slavery. She imagines the institution of slavery, particularly in the plantation space, as a nest where blacks were taken care of benevolently by their slave masters and mistresses. During the 1860s and 1870s, this nest of bondage was broken up and life was made even more challenging for blacks, as Harper imagines them in Louisiana, because of the new challenges they faced with little to no assistance from the government. Therefore, like the birds in *Minnie's Sacrifice*, blacks needed to stretch their new wings and learn how to fly on their own. Harper and Turner's bird in *The Nigger: A Satire* struggle to live in the reconstructed plantation space. While Turner's wartime Confederacy is an Eden invaded by northerners and his postwar South a demonic wasteland, Harper's South is a place where Reconstruction allows African Americans an opportunity to build a new nest for themselves. Although the southern landscape is harsh for both writers, Harper's vision suggests that postwar ruins will prove generative. Writers like Joel Chandler Harris and Charles Chesnutt take up the task of remapping the South as they explore the lingering spaces of the plantation from post-Reconstruction to the end of the nineteenth-century after Reconstruction promises failed.

CHAPTER III

THE 'GOOD OLE DAYS': RECONCILIATIONIST LITERATURE AND ITS DISCONTENTS

Joel Chandler Harris's captured the essence of antebellum days on October 14, 1877, when he published his Uncle Remus sketch, "Uncle Remus as a Rebel: How He Saved His Young Master's Life, The Story as Told by Himself" in the *Atlanta Constitution*. In this story, Uncle Remus recounts for a group of *Constitution* writer-editors how he saved a Putnam County plantation from Yankee invasion during the Civil War. Uncle Remus mortally wounds a Union officer hiding in a tree when he attempts to shoot Mars Jeems. The story concludes as Uncle Remus and Mars Jeems cut down that tree in order to properly bury the corpse, an act which apparently solidifies a long-lasting relationship for Remus and Jeems. But in the later version "A Story of the War," published specifically for a northern reading audience in *Uncle Remus: His Songs and Sayings* (1880), Uncle Remus wounds the Yankee who falls out of the tree, is taken to the big house, and is nursed back to health. Although the Union soldier named John Huntingdon loses an arm, he gains the affection of Miss Sally, Mars Jeems's sister. As a result, Sally and John marry after the War and produce the little boy to whom Uncle Remus narrates the Brer Rabbit folktales.[76] This later version of the story is ostensibly told to Miss Theodosia Huntingdon, John's sister, who visits from Vermont. The setting is the piazza of the Huntingdon's home in Atlanta, where Remus now lives.

In recent years, several scholars have observed that a striking difference between these two accounts is that in "A Story of the War," Joel Chandler Harris created the classic tale of reconciliation. Uncle Remus saves both the Confederate family and the

Union soldier he injured. David Blight observes that Uncle Remus "was the ultimate Civil War veteran—he fought on both sides, he saved the Union" and encouraged a North-South reunion as represented by the marriage between John Huntingdon and Miss Sally (228). Commenting specifically on the story's interracial implications, Eric L. Sundquist notes in *To Wake the Nations* that "A Story of the War" "portrays the white South, in the immediate aftermath of Reconstruction, as restored to a loving, benevolent relationship with 'the Negro'" (326). Moreover, John M. Grammer adds in "Plantation Fiction" that "Harris's plantation world is the setting where all is forgiven and where ideological breaches . . . are painlessly healed" (70). Reminiscent of Ned Hazard's marriage to Bel Tracy at the conclusion *Swallow Barn*, the marriage trope serves in both instances to incorporate fractious sides via the idyllic plantation space. John and Sally's marriage suggests that John as Northerner, husband, and head of the new family, will lead them into a reconstructed future. As head of the new Southern family, the Northern husband instantly acquires both the master's view through plantation windows and the right to survey his property. While rebellious slaves like Abe are cast out and Mammy Lucy wastes away mournfully in her remote cottage, Uncle Remus moves from the Putnam County plantation to urban Atlanta and back.

However, the lines between master and slave are blurred in both stories when readers are presented a vision from the big house windows through Uncle Remus. His social standing changes from a field hand who visits the big house on Sundays to listen to Ole Miss read newspaper stories about her brave son Mars Jeems to "Daddy," aka caretaker of the plantation in Mars Jeems's absence. When the plantation is invaded by Union soldiers, Uncle Remus takes his place behind Ole Miss and Miss Sally in the

sitting room. When the Yankee soldier notices a gleaming ax in Uncle Remus's hands he asks:

> " 'W'at dat on yo' axe?'
> " 'Dat's de fier shinin' on it,' sez I.
> " 'Hit look like blood,' sezee, en den he laft.
> 'But, bless yo' soul, dat man wouldn't never laft dat day ef he'd know'd de wukkins er Remus's mine" (183).

The image of an old male slave holding a weapon in the presence of two white women within their sitting room redefines the concept of citizenship during the Civil War. In *Confederate Reckoning*, Stephanie McCurry argues of white women and slaves that although "the architects of the Confederacy had been able to effect succession and declare war without their consent," the War had also "expanded the terms of consent and legitimacy, created new political identities, expanded the concept of the body politic, widened the conception of citizenship, rerouted the paths of power and patronage, and engendered new political subjects and constituencies" (214). As the War progressed, the Confederate States of America found themselves in a quandary where they had to rely on the same people whose support they never solicited. Harris's story provides some insight into how the War changed social relations on the plantation when John Huntingdon jokingly says, "I want you to tell Sister here how you went to war and fought for the Union.—Remus was a famous warrior,…he volunteered for one day, and an army of one" (Harris 179-180). In "A Story of the War," Uncle Remus's role expands from slave to overseer and Confederate soldier in defense of his southern home.

Joel Chandler Harris's classic tale of reunion comes however, at a price. When Theodosia asks Uncle Remus why he shot a Union soldier, he says "w'en I see dat man take aim, en Mars Jeems gwine home ter Ole Miss en Miss Sally, I des disremembered all 'bout freedom en lamed aloose (Harris *Songs and Sayings* 185). Uncle Remus and Miss

Theodosia'a exchange represents a national conversation about the Civil War. Specifically, Uncle Remus's moment of "disremembering" encourages a nostalgic recovery of the antebellum hierarchies and foments a national case of amnesia about Reconstruction. Kathleen Diffley observes in *Where My Heart is Turning Ever* that the story's message of "National romance and reconciliation" through Uncle Remus's actions "replaced the violent postwar challenge of Southern intransigence" (182). Additionally, Robert Hemenway argues in his introduction to Harris's bestselling collection of folktales that Uncle Remus allays southerners' fears by suggesting "free black people will love, not demand retribution" (20). Miss Theodosia is astounded by the bond between Uncle Remus and his postbellum family. When she exclaims "But you cost him an arm," in reference to her brother John, Uncle Remus counters "I gin 'im dem," pointing to Mrs. Huntingdon, and "en I gin 'em deze" holding up his own arms. Joel Chandler Harris introduces and explores for his post-Reconstruction audience a Negro that always longs for the plantation despite emancipation. Therefore, whereas Madison Washington was intent on getting as far away from the plantation and all that it represented, Uncle Remus is a Madison Washington who is drawn back in, a revolutionary who just goes home. Within the confines of Mars Jeems's Putnam County plantation, Brer Rabbit assumes the mobility Uncle Remus surrenders as he recites folktales of the hare's doings to the little boy in his antebellum cabin.

This chapter argues that Joel Chandler Harris's *Uncle Remus: His Songs and Sayings* (1880) and Charles Chesnutt's *The Conjure Woman* (1899) present complex postbellum visions of the pastoral plantation that sharply contrast with their antebellum

counterparts. Having written during the post-Reconstruction period in which reconciliationist literature was increasingly popular in the North as well as the South, Harris is often portrayed as instrumental in the nostalgic recovery of the Old South, which Chesnutt challenged.[77] While the harmonious spaces of the plantation and Uncle Remus's cabin serve as a framework for the predatory world of the animals in the folktales, these spaces also foster amnesia about the brutality of black bondage and the Civil War by focusing on the good ole days of slavery. Episodes of hostility, violence, toil, and sacrifice by blacks are encrypted exclusively as a series of tales told by Uncle Remus to the little white boy within the confines of his old slave cabin. In returning African Americans to their minoritized social and physical place on the plantation, Harris's folktales responded to the implied threat of black emancipation of which Joseph Addison Turner warned.

However, Charles Chesnutt's *The Conjure Woman* presents a vision of the antebellum plantation as a site of business created to extract wealth from slave labor and the land. As Sundquist writes in *To Wake the Nations*, "Like the slave tricksters of the animal tales and the conjure tales, Julius's narrative work unravels the web of language that supports the racial order, revealing it to be not a natural arrangement but a construct of political artifice (360). Published in *The Atlantic Monthly* as early as 1887, these stories reveal local and national connections to the postbellum plantation through John and Annie's relocation to North Carolina from northern Ohio.[78] At the heart of these stories are Julius's unpleasant memories of an Old South rife with thievery, conjuring, and murder as he seeks to renegotiate his claim to the McAdoo plantation with John and

Annie. Both writers reveal a complicated recollection of the pastoral plantation that the earlier Kennedy could not imagine.

This chapter begins with an exploration of Joel Chandler Harris's youthful days at Turnwold as the foundation and fodder for Harris's literary career. His body of work reflects according to Lucinda Mackethan an interest in "other Souths besides the old plantation" and was particularly sensitive to the "plain folk" of his youth ("The War and After" 215). Therefore, Harris's work shows how the planter's view is not always the most important. Furthermore, taking a cue from Thomas English's observation that there are two Uncle Remuses Harris never bothered to reconcile, I argue that *Uncle Remus His Songs and Sayings* reveals the tension in coupling Atlanta and Turnwold, urban mobility and plantation stasis ("The Twice-Told Tale" 452). While the urban Uncle Remus represents the role of black labor as Atlanta's "engine" moving the city forward, the plantation Uncle Remus continues to depict the social relations between blacks and whites as the plantation windows helped reconstruct them. Harris recasts the city as a place of broken dreams for African Americans while the plantation is morphed into a safe house for different masters and a retirement home for "Uncles" that emancipation and the markets have abandoned. Therefore, the examination of both Uncle Remus's reveals how the cityscape and the plantation spaces in Harris's works are connected through their attempts to frustrate African American postwar mobility as well as reform social antebellum relations.

On the other hand, in Chesnutt's *The Conjure Woman*, Uncle Julius performs an alternative code of ethics that is similar to Cassy's activities near the conclusion of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. While Cassie steals the money from Simon

Legree as a pitiful compensation for the theft of her virtue, her labor, and her children, Uncle Julius's tales enact a different form of appropriation when John purchases the plantation. Although John's ownership of the estate disrupts Julius's lucrative wine-making business, he takes possession of several spaces on the plantation—such as the old schoolhouse—through his gift of storytelling. His ultimate coup, however, is the cultivation of Annie's sympathy and the exposure of John's paternalism. John and Annie undergo transformations similar to Tom Grant's and Mr. Listwell's in *The Heroic Slave*, transformations that allow them to share the plantation with Julius and answer Harris's tales as a renegotiation of the post-Reconstruction plantation space.

Turnwold

To understand Harris's Uncle Remus tales and his urban sketches, it is important to examine his four-year stay at Turnwold, where he learned far more than the printer's trade. Under his mentor's tutelage, Harris was exposed to Joseph Addison Turner's partisan and sectional viewpoints, his individualism regarding religion and politics, and his sense of humor. As a man of letters, Turner encouraged Harris to take advantage of his library of nearly 2,000 books, which the fourteen-year-old read avidly by candlelight.[79] As editor of the *Countryman*, Turner taught Harris the art of writing starting with his rejection of Harris's first submission for publication. In an open letter, "To A Young Correspondent" published October 27, 1862, Turner urged Harris to "study simplicity and artlessness of style" while avoiding flowery language (Brasch 11). Turner believed that Harris had "a talent for writing" and encouraged him to "cultivate it" before concluding, "There is a glorious field ahead of you for Southern writers" (12). However,

it was through Harris's observations of Turner as plantation master and his own contacts with plantation life that he acquired his knowledge of antebellum mores.

Like John Pendleton Kennedy's *Swallow Barn*, Joel Chandler's Harris's tales of Uncle Remus incorporate another perspective of the plantation landscape for decades to come. While the frame of Uncle Remus's story-telling presents a romantic depiction of antebellum life, Harris also chose to describe AWOL Confederates, free blacks, fugitive slaves, and the ruins of abandoned cabins in the woods. Specifically, in *On The Plantation: A Story of a Georgia Boy's Adventures During the War* (1892), Harris presents a fictionalized account of his stay at Turnwold through the protagonist Joe Maxwell. Like Harris, Joe Maxwell is a local white boy of illegitimate birth who takes a job working on "the editor's" plantation as a printer's apprentice. While Maxwell is professionally aligned with the master's perspective as the printer's devil, he also sympathizes with the slaves and other whites whose plantation position does not allow them privileged views from the big house windows. John Grammer observes that Maxwell's social standing gives him "an unusual vantage point on plantation life… neither planter, slave, nor poor white but *sui generis*" (70). Therefore, he becomes not only a printer's apprentice, but also a student of different cultures.

Harris describes several characters on the plantation including John Pruitt and Jim Wimberly, two Confederate deserters, and Harbert, an Uncle Remus-type figure who entertains Joe Maxwell with animal tales. Along with Maxwell, they represent an unlikely group of individuals operating on the fringes of several institutions. One of the more interesting characters is Mink, a runaway slave. In the second chapter of *On The Plantation*, when Joe Maxwell checks a disturbance in the hen house, he discovers Mink,

a fugitive slave from Tom Gaither's plantation. When Maxwell asks him why he ran away, the tone of his simple answer "Dey don't treat me right, suh" was, according to Maxwell, "more convincing than any argument could have been" (Harris 29). Mink believes that "ef the marster would des make dat overseer lemme 'lone I'd do some mighty good work, an' I'd a heap druther do it dan ter be hidin' out in de swamp dis away like some wil' varmint" (31). While Cassy and Emmeline's ghost trick hides their retreat into the attic, likewise the disturbance in the hen house cloaks Mink's escape in plain sight. Furthermore, reminiscent of Abe in *Swallow Barn* and Madison Washington in *The Heroic Slave*, Mink uses his extensive knowledge of areas surrounding the plantation to find a safe haven from further abuse.

When Mr. Snelson investigates the disturbance stating "I doubt but it was a mink," Maxwell responds with a double-entendre stating "It must have been a Mink, and I'm going to set a bait for him" (30). Maxwell's quick wit reveals his visceral understanding of the runaway's mistreatment and decision to stay at large. Like Kennedy's Littleton, readers are given a glimpse into the social landscape of the plantation revealing a lower class of whites, including Mr. Snelson and the nameless overseer. While Turner's *The Old Plantation* is invested in solidifying the planter's control, Joe Maxwell in Harris's *On The Plantation* is more interested in upsetting the planter's social hierarchy. Although Mr. Snelson is kind to Maxwell and the slaves on the editor's plantation, Maxwell does not divulge Mink's whereabouts. This in turn endears Maxwell to the slaves and he is treated as well as the master. From this episode, Maxwell contrives his own standing in the social order of the plantation, which the narrator describes: "as humble as these Negroes were, they had it in their power to

smooth many a rough place in Joe Maxwell's life" (33). Although Harris's years at Turnwold ended with the conclusion of the Civil War and the discontinuation of *The Countryman*, the memory of his time there lived on. As Walter Brasch notes, Harris's experience became the "base of his most remembered writing," as evidenced by the Uncle Remus tales and his urban sketches (19).

The Old South Made "New": Atlanta and the *Atlanta Constitution*

Although Atlanta was left in a pile of rubble and ashes by General William T. Sherman and his troops in 1864, this historical moment created the basis from which the city would become the shining example of a New South. Atlanta's entrepreneurial achievements during the antebellum era were aided in large part by the railroads which laid the foundation for the urban industrial Southern city after the War.[80] In *New Cities, New Men, New South*, Don H. Doyle notes, "The expanding rail system pumped commercial blood" through Atlanta and stimulated "a diversified local economy and rapid population growth" (50). The demand for railroads in Atlanta developed out of a growing need to import foodstuffs (wheat, corn, whiskey, bacon, lard and butter) and to ship cotton harvested in the interior to the coastal markets. The closest body of water, the Chattahoochee River, was seven miles away and not navigable above Columbus. Contrary to southern coastal cities like Charleston and Mobile, which were falling into what James Michael Russell describes as "genteel decay" (*Atlanta, 1847-1890* 140), Atlanta would become a major transportation hub and manufacturing center of the South.[81]

Atlanta also underwent a major population boom after the War.[82] Populated mostly by white yeoman farmers and middle-class young men from Georgia and neighboring states before the War, Atlanta was a city for young upstarts on the rise. This upwardly mobile group was a class of urban businessmen consisting of merchants, financiers, industrialists and white men from farming backgrounds who climbed to positions of wealth and power in their own lifetime. They owed little to the privileges of birth and everything to their own hard-won achievements.[83] Although they were staunchly Democratic, they realized how important it was that the city reinvents itself. Their views of the reconstructed city hearken back to John Pendleton Kennedy's antebellum concerns. Like Kennedy, these men also used the power of print, in the form of the *Atlanta Constitution*, as a viable platform for the rehabilitation of the South.

One of the most important mediums responsible for the success of Uncle Remus was the *Atlanta Constitution*, where Joel Chandler Harris served as associate editor from 1876 until 1900. The *Constitution*, founded in 1868—the same year Atlanta became the state capital—was by the time Harris came on board Georgia's leading newspaper and a major force in the region. This was due in large part to its reorganized staff—Evan P. Howell as editor-in-chief and Henry W. Grady, along with Joel Chandler Harris, as associate editors. In *Joel Chandler Harris*, Paul M. Cousins observes that all three men were well qualified because of their breeding and familiarity with the state. Specifically, Cousins notes, as Georgia natives they had a "thorough knowledge of its people's political, social, and cultural mores and of their economic status" (92). Each man also represented different components of the "self- made man" persona and together were well suited to the task. Evan P. Howell, son of Atlanta pioneer Clark Howell Sr., was an

early telegraph operator and briefly practiced law before the Civil War. After enlisting in Georgia's first regiment, Howell rose quickly through the ranks and was captain of artillery for the Confederacy by the end of the war. Upon returning to practice law and becoming active in local and state politics, Howell purchased a controlling interest in the *Constitution* in 1876 and became its editor-in chief. Evan P. Howell's close ties to the business and political circles in the southern city helped him to become a member in the circle of self-made men in Atlanta.

Grady was a spirited journalist and former editor of the *Herald*, the *Constitution's* rival newspaper from 1872-76. He became an outspoken advocate of "the South Creed" an idea which pushed for a reconstructed South through economic and political cooperation with the North. In a series of editorials, speeches, and essays during the 1880s, he argued for southern-built factories to process southern resources and to reduce the South's dependence on staple-crop agriculture.[84] To this end, Grady and his associates attracted northern investors through expositions that showcased Atlanta's developments in agriculture, mining, transportation, manufacturing, and technology. These displays included the 1881 International Cotton Exposition, the 1887 Piedmont Exposition, and the 1895 Cotton State and International Exposition, where Booker T. Washington would deliver his famous Atlanta Address endorsing the major tenets of the New South Creed. However, while Grady was encouraging the South to exploit, according to C. Vann Woodward, its "mountains stored with exhaustless treasures," Joel Chandler Harris was telling the region to tap into its unexplored literary wealth of original cultural materials (*Origins of the New South* 166).

More than Evan P. Howell or Henry W. Grady, Joel Chandler Harris embodied the spirit of the self-made man. Coming from a humble background in Eatonton, Harris spent fourteen years writing for weekly and daily newspapers, including a regular column in the *Savannah Morning News* that helped to establish his reputation as Georgia's leading humorist. However, Harris's creation of the Uncle Remus tales is a distinct departure from Joseph Addison Turner's one-man crusade for a Southern Literature, one that retained its sectional overtones in terms of subject matter and point of view. In "Literature in the South" an editorial printed in the *Atlanta Constitution* November 30, 1879, Harris, like Joseph Addison Turner in *The Countryman*, outlined his vision in geographical terms and asserted:

> Literary thought must move and adjust its creations upon a plane as high as the skies and as broad as the world….literature in America must be American in its broadest sense. It may come from the North or the South; it may be subjected to such modifications as result from social or climatic differences in the sections, and it may take tone and color from these, so much the better. The result must still be American, otherwise, it will not survive. (qtd. Cousins 109)

Harris argued that any work of literary merit should have nationwide appeal despite location. Furthermore, as he saw it, no work of a southern writer should be hailed simply because it was written by one. While Harris retained Turner's ideal of Southern Literature in which the Negro is central, he nonetheless called for writers to divorce themselves from partisan politics and sectional prejudices. Harris shrewdly equated the term "Southern" with divisiveness, partiality, and sectionalism. He cited another term, "localism," which he defined as "The very spice and flavor of all literature—the very marrow and essence of all literary art" as a new way to think of southern literature (109). Similar to Kennedy's presentation of antebellum Virginia Tidewater culture in *Swallow Barn*, Joel Chandler Harris's literary representations of urban post-Reconstruction

Atlanta and the middle-Georgia plantation sought to reconcile sectional extremes. Specifically, Uncle Remus's perambulations around the southern urban space mimic Mark Littleton's movements around the plantation, intending to present an amicable picture of local southern life that is, in his estimation, ultimately American.

Uncle Remus's tours around urban Atlanta reveal white fears about black mobility during post-Reconstruction and offers suggestions on how to address them. Although whites should be afraid of Uncle Remus because of his belligerent nature, his antics are not taken seriously. The *Constitution's* audience saw Uncle Remus as a harmless former slave who despises black vagrancy and supports the convict labor system. "This means," according to Bryan Wagner in *Disturbing the Peace*, "that Remus can consistently overreach in his claims about life in the city without jeopardizing the reader's provisional identification with his perspective." Furthermore, he observes, "the point is not whether his claims are true or false; it is the pleasure in their projected delivery that matters" (157). Arguably, Harris's Atlanta sketches are vital because they reveal how the *Constitution* became a literary forum in support of black surveillance through Uncle Remus, who constantly disparages black mobility, agency, and entrepreneurship.

While patriarchy and the discretionary authority of the slave master with minimal government involvement may have been the mode of control during the antebellum era, supporters of the New South Creed argued that the personal violence of slavery presented an obstacle to the modern state. It was vital, as Wagner notes, that "the right to legitimate violence be surrendered to the state" (129). Either from "explicitly or implicitly discriminatory laws, unequal administration of justice, and elimination from participation

at all levels of the legal process," as Howard Rabinowitz notes, whites used the law to replace the patriarchal authority of slavery (*Race Relations in the Urban South* 31). Georgia began to enforce a series of vagrancy and misdemeanor statutes to entrap blacks flocking to southern cities after the War. Between Reconstruction and the Great Depression, Atlanta was the geographical midpoint connecting the state's iron, coal, brick, and timber industries to larger markets. The very symbols of the New South such as railroads, streetcars, and public schools became the sites that encouraged lawmakers to pass legislation to regulate race relations (261). Harris's Atlanta sketches therefore played an invaluable role in augmenting the *Constitution's* editorials, miscellanies, police court reports, and police point columns on black vagrancy.[85]

Several pieces that originally appeared in the *Atlanta Constitution* and were later published in *His Songs and Sayings* feature Uncle Remus ambling throughout the city. His regular stops include the railroad, several popular city streets, and the *Atlanta Constitution's* offices. At all three sites, Uncle Remus models different examples of proper behavior for African Americans. The railroad is an important backdrop for many of Uncle Remus's commentaries, particularly in sketches like "Jeems Rober'son's Last Illness" and "Emigrants." In both stories, Uncle Remus encounters people in transit, entering or leaving Atlanta. He chats with a black Jonesboro man waiting for his train in "Jeems Rober'son's Last Illness," where the man's urgency to learn of Jeems's fate is punctuated by Uncle Remus's insistence that the man be mindful of not missing his train. Uncle Remus's calm response is underscored by the fact that the man is merely passing through, so he does not see him as a threat to the orderly city.

He also happens to notice a "ragged and forlorn-looking" black family of four at the passenger depot one morning in "Emigrants." With no money or food, but a small trunk of clothes, Uncle Remus advises the family against relocating to Mississippi. He states, "Ef you ain't got no money fet ter walk back wid, you better des b'il' yo' nes' right here" (Harris 205). Uncle Remus is convinced that their current predicament will only result in the husband being sentenced to a chain-gang and the family left stranded far from home. He tells them a story about a group of folks returning almost naked from Arkansas to suggest that the same thing will happen to them. Uncle Remus goes so far as to suggest to the father, "you go an' rob somebody an' git on de chain-gang" right there in Atlanta, while the mother looks around for some domestic work (205). The story ends with the narrator observing that the family of four did not get on the train, which implies that the father followed Uncle Remus's advice. The sketches that take place at the railroad discourage black mobility for different reasons. Uncle Remus's discussion with the Jonesboro man implies that blacks should not stay in town while the "Emigrants" condemns migration. Furthermore, Uncle Remus's comments imply that African Americans should only look for prescribed jobs as domestics or workers on the chain gang. Ultimately, his comments proclaim that blacks should just stay put. Uncle Remus's appearance in these examples is synched perfectly with the arrival and departure of the trains.

The railroad's importance is revealed as the chief postwar mode of transportation replacing antebellum water transit along coastal cities like Mobile and Charleston. Stowe's vision of Uncle Tom riding the steamboat on the Red River to Legree's desolate plantation is here supplanted by the images of poor black families riding the railroads to

some unknown future. African Americans sold "down the river" on large scale plantations to the deep South are echoed in the use of "the chain-gang" labor to build railroads and work in manufacturing. Just as Madison Washington takes his freedom aboard the *Creole* and declares to Tom Grant "Mr. mate, you cannot write the bloody laws of slavery on those restless billows" (Douglass *The Heroic Slave* 45), Joel Chandler Harris describes the locomotive bells ringing, the cries of the porters and baggage-men, "the smoke, and dust, and din" of the Atlanta train station. Like the earlier ships at sea, the railroad becomes a vital postbellum conduit of freedom or bondage for African Americans.

Uncle Remus also makes several visits to the *Atlanta Constitutional* offices in several of Harris's sketches: "Uncle Remus with the Toothache, "That Deceitful Jug," and "The Fourth of July." All three pieces follow a similar format. They begin with the newspaper's editors making fun of him. As the narrator puts it in "The Fourth of July," the old man "evidently expected an attack from all around, for he was unusually quiet, and fumbled in his pockets in an embarrassed manner. He was not mistaken. The agricultural editor was the first to open fire" (220). Next, Uncle Remus launches into a hyperbolic story about his experiences, whether it is about his toothache, the history of that "seetful jug," or his encounter with a man from Mobile. Finally, he declares his virility in spite of age through his ability to scrap with his perceived enemies like the Mobile man in "The Fourth of July." Operating initially within the framework of the *Atlanta Constitution*, these early sketches provide a contemporary commentary on race relations, and particularly, on black vagrancy as seen through the lens of Uncle Remus. Specifically, Wagner argues that by looking closely at the *Constitution* in which Remus

first appeared, one can see that journalistic conventions shaped his character and the local controversy over municipal improvement supplied the content for his sketches. Together, these literary tools served to make the cantankerous remarks of an old plantation Negro part of the newspaper's campaign for the police (126, 153-55). These urban sketches also accomplished Harris' goal of fulfilling Joseph Addison Turner's desire to hold Negroes at the center of Southern culture. As his other sketches and folktales reveal, the continual surveillance of and designation of African Americans are key to the evolution of Southern literature into what Harris calls "American" or "local" literature.

These stories also reveal a generational gap between Uncle Remus and younger blacks; not only have they forgotten their place in respect to elder African Americans, they have also lost their place in relation to whites. In "The Florida Watermelon," Uncle Remus scolds a black boy for throwing watermelon rinds at him. As he stops by the railroad crossing on Whitehall Street, he says "look yer, boy, I'll lay you flat ef you come flingin' yo' watermillion rimes under my foot—you watch ef I don't You k'n play yo' pranks on deze w'ite fokes, but w'en you come a cuttin' up yo' capers roun' me you'll lan' right in de middle uv er spell er sickness—now you mine w'at I tell you" (Harris *Uncle Remus* 212-213). In "As to Education," Uncle Remus gets into another argument with another black school boy on Whitehall Street, a prominent road in Atlanta.[86] Again he admonishes the boy's disrespectful behavior and asserts, "Youer flippin' yo' sass at de wrong color" (216). In this sketch, he also criticizes the education of Negroes. After his encounter with the young black boy who was "carrying a slate and a number of books" (215), Remus observes "Hits de ruination er dis country" (216). Citing his own daughter as an example, Uncle Remus argues "Put a spelllin'-book in a nigger's han's en right den

and dar' you loozes a plow-hand" (215). Antebellum arguments against the education of African Americans are revisited in Harris's post-Reconstruction sketches.

While white urban businessmen built wealth and hailed Atlanta as the vanguard city of the South, they continued to prevent a younger and more confident African American community from accumulating and building wealth. In *To Build Our Lives Together*, Allison Dorsey observes that postbellum southern whites remained committed to the belief that blacks existed to provide service to whites. "African Americans were free but thrown into a racially stratified workplace with no wealth and limited skills," she notes (37). Employed as personal servants, cooks, drivers, hotel or railroad porters, blacks continued to provide intimate and often menial service to whites. The inability to start their own businesses combined with the lack of stable or lucrative jobs in Atlanta created a situation in which most black migrants, the majority of whom came from the Georgia countryside, were slow to improve their economic status over time.[87] Even in instances where blacks were able to amass a fortune, their holdings paled in comparison to white wealth.[88] Harris's sketches highlight the city's institutionalized response to African Americans when they attempted to forge new economic pathways to citizenship. Remus believes that if they are worn down by the challenges of freedom through a "slap" on the wrist from the law "a time er two," a reminder of their debt to whites will create a "new-made nigger" who is thrifty, hardworking, and obedient (Harris *Uncle Remus* 200-201).

Furthermore, Uncle Remus also criticizes African American entrepreneurship. In "Turnip Salad as a Text" he warns a group of black men who "knock 'roun an' picks up a livin'" that it is only a matter of time before a number of them will be sentenced to the

chain-gang. He accuses them of getting fat off of someone else's labor through stealing. Remus believes "'Hit's agin de mor'l law fer niggers fer ter eat w'en dey don't wuk" (195). In "A Confession," he also complains about black street vendors selling cakes and pies. Evidently a few examples of frugality and toil will not change his mind about a race of shiftless and lazy blacks. In his opinion, they will never resist the temptation to eat their pies resulting in their sentencing on the chain gang for the lack of a job. Uncle Remus's commentaries suggest that the postwar city had become the new plantation site in need of policing. Specifically, the city center including the Atlanta railroad station and surrounding buildings like the *Atlanta Constitution's* offices are focal points within the master's perspective. Therefore, the smallest infraction—loitering, unlicensed street vending, failing to yield the sidewalk or to avert the eyes—were interpreted as definite signs that serious crimes were imminent (*Disturbing the Peace* 139-141). As Uncle Remus sees it, it is important to prevent these violent crimes by arresting blacks at the first sign of trouble. Wagner observes that during the time of Harris's initial publication of his city sketches in the *Atlanta Constitution*, the newspaper began to describe blacks in increasingly menacing terms as they made their way to the city from Georgia's plantations. Therefore, African Americans must be confined to the country, to jail, and to subservient jobs in the city. These measures secured black containment when Joel Chandler Harris returned Uncle Remus to the Putnam County plantation.

"Brer Rabbit and the Tar Baby": Stories of the Old Plantation

Scholars note that Joel Chandler's Harris's interest in folklore was piqued by the public's growing attention to Black folklore and language.[89] Reflecting on how other journalists influenced his decision to record African American folklore, he reflects in an

1886 *Lippincott's Magazine* article that their columns "gave me my cue, and the legends told by Uncle Remus are the result" (qtd. in Cousins 105). Up until the publication of his first tale, Harris had not considered the wealth of material available to him from his years of living at Turnwold. A combination of Harris's curiosity and imagination resulted in "The Story of Mr. Rabbit and Mr. Fox as Told by Uncle Remus," the first of many plantation fables published in the *Atlanta Constitution* on July 20, 1879. In this inaugural tale, Uncle Remus introduces a frame narration and a cast of characters which includes the six-year-old little boy, his mother Miss Sally, and his father Master John. Uncle Remus tells the little boy how the rabbit outwitted the fox on the piazza of Miss Sally's plantation home. The little boy "gazing with an expression of the most intense interest into the rough, weather-beaten face, that beamed so kindly upon him" illustrates Uncle Remus's new role as the plantation storyteller and the little boy as his captive audience (qtd. in Cousins 105-106). By the time the next folktale, "Brer Rabbit, Brer Fox, and the Tar-Baby," was published in the *Constitution* on November 16, 1879, Uncle Remus had not only made it back to the plantation, he also made it to his cabin where he tells subsequent tales to the little boy by the fire. Harris continued to publish weekly tales which appeared specifically in the Sunday edition of the *Constitution* until May 16, 1880.

Due to the wide appeal and reprinting of the Uncle Remus tales in northern newspapers, particularly the New York *Evening Post*, *Uncle Remus, His Songs and Sayings* was published by New York's D. Appleton and Company in November 1880.[90] This collection of materials, most of which had been published previously in the *Atlanta Constitution*, featured illustrations by two artists: James H. Moser, a painter who had spent extensive time living and drawing blacks in the South; and Frederick Stuart Church,

a comic animal illustrator whose works were featured in reputable magazines such as *Scribner's Monthly* and *Harper's Weekly*. Although Moser's familiarity with the people and places in Harris's stories and Church's rising fame as an illustrator seemed suited for the project, they did not share Harris's vision. The frontispiece, three full-page illustrations, and six other vignettes for the book by James Moser and twelve illustrations of the folktales by F.S. Church portrayed the animals as caricatures and Uncle Remus as a comical darky with a wrinkled face, white hair, and an exaggerated grin depicting hearty laughter.[91] While these illustrations contradicted Harris's serious intent, they did please the publishers who had advised Harris that his book would be catalogued as a humorous book. It was not until *Uncle Remus and His Friends* (1892) was published with illustrations by Arthur Burdett Frost did Harris found a sympathetic illustrator for Uncle Remus.

Moser's 1880 frontispiece illustration (fig. 13) captured a scene from the urban sketch "That Deceitful Jug" where Uncle Remus testifies about its mystical powers to the editors of the *Constitution* offices. The virile, middle-aged, and pious black hero of Stowe's antebellum era is changed into an old and desexualized former slave living in post-Reconstruction Atlanta, and is often the butt of jokes and hearty entertainment for the editors at the *Constitution*. Particularly, Uncle Remus is a variation of the Zip Coon stereotype.[92] Zip Coon is the urban counterpart to the plantation Jim Crow.[93] Instead of being dressed in tattered clothing and a crumpled hat, Zip Coon is a stylishly dressed urbanite. Uncle Remus stands in the foreground dressed in slacks, a vest, a shirt, and shoes. His hat is on the floor behind him. He holds a cane in his right hand, while he leans slightly forward on his left leg propped on the chair. The jug is also placed

conspicuously in front of the chair. There are two men in the background who engage in other activities related to running the newspaper. The papers littering the floor, desk and lamps in the background suggest that Uncle Remus is paying a visit to the *Constitution* offices.

Uncle Remus's war time heroics and clever personality is transformed into a postbellum minstrel show for northern readers. His comments are characteristic of the coon's constant mockery of blacks through a series of malapropos remarks and puns which undermine his attempts to appear wiser compared to younger African Americans. Uncle Remus's hilarity is underscored by the men in the background who, engrossed in their work, ignore him. Abe's heroics at sea, Madison Washington's revolutionary acts upon the *Creole* and Louis Le Croix's Civil War service to the Union seem distant. This illustration also underscores Uncle Remus's significance as the mouthpiece for the *Atlanta Constitution's* goal of touting Atlanta as a city of the New South. The depiction of Uncle Remus in the *actual* office suggest that roles for African Americans as servants and entertainers which hearken back to the antebellum era are their only viable occupations should they decide to stay in the city. Paradoxically, Uncle Remus is only important to the extent that he can entertain readers and be controlled by the newspaper's editors like Harris. Simon Legree's surveillance of Uncle Tom in Billings's illustrations has simply changed hands.

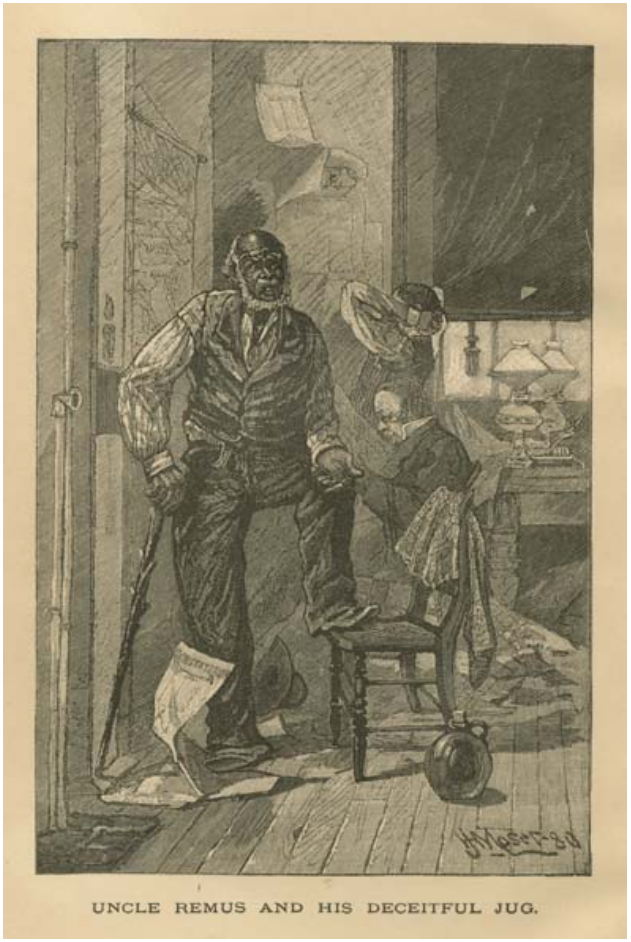


Figure 13. "Uncle Remus and His Deceitful Jug." Frontispiece illustration by James H. Moser for *Uncle Remus: His Songs and Sayings*. (New York: D. Appleton and Company 1880). ***Documenting the American South*. 1999. University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.**

Joel Chandler Harris's decision to stop publishing his Atlanta sketches and send Uncle Remus back to the plantation has several ramifications for the plantation tradition**.** Like John Pendleton Kennedy, Harris intended to record Southern culture in the face of change. In the introduction to his *Songs and Sayings*, he states: "my purpose has been to preserve the legends themselves in their original simplicity, and to wed them permanently to the quaint dialect—if, indeed, it can be called a dialect—through the medium of which they have become a part of the domestic history of every Southern family; and I have endeavored to give the whole a genuine flavor of the whole plantation" (39). Harris's

comments reveal his two-fold purpose of documenting the tale in the language in which it was told.

Unfortunately, Harris's endeavor to collect, record, and write African American speech had the opposite effect of further distancing blacks from whites.[94] In her examination of the social impact of Harris's stories in *The Romance of Reunion*, Nina Silber observes that although his knowledge of black dialect challenged northern misconceptions of African Americans, it also allowed northern whites to justify their ignorance and ambivalence regarding the status of African Americans in the South (138-41). While the critically sympathetic evocation of the plantation by writers such as John Pendleton Kennedy was a timely response to the bourgeoning new socio-political era of the 1830s, in Harris's late nineteenth century stories, the plantation was portrayed as an exotic site from the past. More simply, Silber observes that "as northern whites began to cast African Americans outside the boundaries of their Anglo-Saxon nation, they likewise became convinced that a certain mystery surrounded black people and everything about their race, something that was foreign and unknowable, except to a few southern whites" (140-41). Therefore, Harris's frame narration of a former old slave telling stories to a young white boy overshadowed the city sketches and firmly associated the Negro with the plantation as it once was. "By writing down the tales," Walter Brasch notes, "Harris locked into literary frame an oral folklore that was constantly changing" (*Brer Rabbit, Uncle Remus* 68). Through Harris's vision of the plantation myth, emancipated African Americans were literally trapped in an antebellum past that was almost impossible for them to escape. [95]

On closer inspection, Harris's folktales reveal the subtle complexities of the postbellum plantation which are informed by his unique antebellum work experience. Although black containment is achieved through Uncle Remus's return, white surveillance from the big house windows is also eliminated. Master John, the northerner shot by Uncle Remus and who marries Miss Sally, disappears from the narrative. However, Miss Sally becomes a new form of surveillance by eavesdropping often right outside of Uncle Remus's cabin. Uncle Remus therefore becomes a national fantasy reminding both Southerners and Northerners about the virtues of slavery in the face of interacting with suddenly mobile African Americans. With no one left to formally run the plantation, the plantation tradition naturalizes the coerced return of black workers via sharecropping.

As a result, there is an ongoing power struggle between Uncle Remus and the little boy. In "How Mr. Rabbit Saved His Meat," he scolds the little boy for attempting to correct him, which reduces the little boy to tears. The narrator notes "Uncle Remus had conquered him and he had conquered Uncle Remus pretty much in the same way before" (111). There are also several tales that open with the little boy bringing Uncle Remus a variety of things from the big house, mostly food, which he eats before telling the next story. The interplay between Uncle Remus and the little boy is a metaphorical dance where both characters have something the other wants: the little boy gets to hear more tales and Uncle Remus gets extra rations and similar oddities from the big house. With his sighs, singing, silence, and other audiovisual cues, Uncle Remus often communicates his mood to the little boy who responds with questions, entreaties, and promises

depending upon the occasion. The little boy is a postbellum Mr. Listwell who is poised to inherit the power that his mother vigilantly embodies.

Uncle Remus's relationship with the little boy is akin to Uncle Tom's relationship with young George Shelby in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Although Harris's setting for the tales is the cabin, Uncle Remus's influence, like that of the slaves in Stowe's text, extends beyond their homely doors, as he repeatedly demonstrates. In "The Fate of Mr. Jack Sparrow," Uncle Remus admonishes the little boy for tattle-telling and offers a cautionary tale about the sparrow as an example. Also, in "Why Mr. Possum Has No Hair on His Tail," Uncle Remus reprimands the little boy for playing with the Favers children, "de riff-raff er creashun" (130). Uncle Remus overhears the little boy's exchange with his mother in the former story and observes the little boy playing with the children in the latter. Therefore, Uncle Remus's ability to hide within plain sight makes him an invaluable asset to the Putnam County plantation through his ability to subvert the surveillance of other whites for Miss Sally and little boy.

At the end of "The Sad Fate of Mr. Fox," the last folktale in the collection, Uncle Remus decides to carry the little boy back to big house. He reasons, "I speck I ain't too old fer teer be yo' hoss fum yer ter de house. Many en many's de time dat I touted yo' Unk Jeems dat away, en Mars Jeems wuz heavier sot dan w'at you is" (155). Uncle Remus's position as a caretaker on the Putnam County plantation is reconfirmed. He also extends the plantation tradition by recalling for the little boy how he used to do the same thing to Mars Jeems before the War. Although it seems as if Uncle Remus will serve as a "hoss" to the next generation of plantation masters, his recollection of Mars Jeems grants him standing and thereby threatens a smooth transfer of postbellum power to the little

boy. The little boy is not a Meriwether whose paternalistic attitude blinds him to Lucy's sufferings in her cottage. He is also not a Legree whose brutal pecuniary practices result in Uncle Tom's death in the cotton gin-house shed. Nor is he a Wanderer who mourns over times past among the ruins of his boyhood plantation home. Harris's white little boy is a Littleton with northern heritage but southern upbringing by a former slave in his old cabin. Although he is poised to continue the plantation paternalism, he has no Meriwether, nor Wanderer, nor Legree to show him how to embody his postwar position. In the absence of his father, he relies instead on the stories of an old former slave. In Chesnutt's *The Conjure Woman*, readers would begin to see how the absence of the white master could more sharply affect the plantation tradition.

"'Lethe' We Forget": Memory and Place-Making in Charles Chesnutt's *The Conjure Woman*

In "The Goophered Grapevine," *The Conjure Woman*'s opening story, John the narrator and southern Ohio transplant tells the story of how he and his wife Annie relocated to Patesville, North Carolina. Since Ohio's "raw winds" and "violent changes of temperature" have aggravated her poor health, their family doctor strongly advised them to relocate to "a warmer and more equitable climate" (5). After considering a number of exotic locales such as "sunny France" and "sleepy Spain" for his current interest in the grape-culture business, John accepts an invitation from his cousin, who runs a successful turpentine business, to visit the central part of North Carolina. Describing the climate as "perfect for health," the soil as "ideal for grape-culture," cheap labor, and land that could be "bought for a mere song," John's cousin hosts their stay in

the “quaint old town” (5). Although John initially thinks “there brooded over it [Patesville] a calm that seemed almost sabbatical in its restfulness,” he soon learns that “underneath its somnolent exterior the deeper currents of life—love and hatred, joy and despair, ambition and avarice, faith and friendship—flowed not less steadily than in livelier latitudes” (6). John’s observations about life on the plantation seem to pick up where *Swallow Barn* has left off. John is a Mark Littleton who, after much urging from family, decides to relocate South.

Chesnutt’s McAdoo plantation is a neglected property that has fallen to ruin due to the ravages of the Civil War and prolonged estate litigation between its heirs. John and Annie’s entry through “a pair of decayed gateposts” reveals “ruined chimneys” and “brick pillars” as the only remnants of the great plantation house. While irresponsible cultivation “exhausted the soil,” the vines “grew in wild and unpruned luxuriance” supported in part by “decayed and broken-down trellises” (6). John and Annie meet Julius McAdoo, a former slave, sitting on a pine log lying under an elm tree, and after overcoming his “embarrassment,” they soon learn from Julius the tale of Master McAdoo’s comeuppance (8). Similar to Kennedy’s Littleton, Chesnutt’s John provides readers an external view of southern life. Mark Littleton and John both provide the frame narration for the tales as they move about the southern plantations. However, while Mark Littleton seems interested in revealing the inconsistencies of antebellum plantation life, John falls a little short. As Sundquist has observed “John the narrator is locked into the mode of foolish naiveté” (*To Wake the Nations* 361). Where Mark Littleton moves from sarcasm, to admiration and then discomfort during his Tidewater Virginia visit, John fails to formulate a complex understanding of Uncle Julius and the tales he narrate on the

Upper Cape Fear plantation. Therefore, Chesnutt uses John's viewpoint, as Sundquist observes, "to scrutinize both his moral pretensions and his cultural, racial blindness" (361). Ultimately, while Kennedy uses his familiarity with plantation life to criticize the South, Charles Chesnutt uses his southern childhood as a crafty critique of the North for its consumerist impulses and its simplistic categorization of the South.

John's warped point of view is influenced by the resurgent plantation fiction and the familiar stereotypes of the 1880s like Joel Chandler Harris's Uncle Remus, who acted as a lens through which whites like John thought they understood slavery and blacks like Uncle Julius. In "Reading, Race, and Charles Chesnutt's "Uncle Julius" Tales," Heather Tirado Gilligan observes that this knowledge created a situation where "blacks are unknowable in terms of lived interaction but imminently knowable when examined and reconstituted by an able translator" (208). John's perspective is also derived from his desire to own and use the McAdoo plantation for economic gain. Therefore, it is to John's financial benefit that he does not "see" Uncle Julius and relegate him to the role of a paid coachman.

However, Uncle Julius has a more aggressive agenda than Uncle Remus ever did because Chesnutt's Master John and Missy Sally are gone and his fidelity to the plantation goes beyond Harris's simplistic characterization of the Negro. Uncle Julius's last name and light complexion alludes to the possibility of his biological relation to the former owner.[96] While Harris's Uncle Remus returns to the plantation, Chesnutt's Julius never leaves, but he never fully surrenders his agency either. In Harris's tales, Uncle Remus's range of movement is limited between the cabin and the big house in a prescribed route tied to his history with Mars Jeems. However, Uncle Julius uses his

storytelling to physically locate and inscribe the brutality of antebellum life onto the plantation space. He uses his storytelling as a strategy in his legitimate claim against their takeover of his home. By effectively locating the place of trauma in each story, Chesnutt's McAdoo successfully uses a historical period—the antebellum—as a barometer of "the new economic order of the postbellum South." (201). Uncle Julius continues the tradition of disrupting the master's landscape by using conjure tales to help the new planter understand the fauna, the foliage, and streams from the former slave's perspective. Through a mixture of fact and fiction, physical place and social standing, Charles Chesnutt's *Conjure Woman* presents a new aspect of plantation fiction that legitimizes Chesnutt as much as it legitimizes the genre.[97]

Charles Waddell Chesnutt was born June 20, 1858 in Cleveland, Ohio, but his family roots are located in Fayetteville, North Carolina. In *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860*, John Hope Franklin notes that in the decades leading up to the Civil War, free African Americans in North Carolina, most of whom lived in urban areas, faced growing hostility (192-221). The status of free blacks in southern cities was akin to what Frances Richardson Keller calls in *American Crusade* "an earthly purgatory" (27). During the growing tension with the North over slavery, the status of free African Americans within the structure of a southern slave society was increasingly despised, questioned, and feared by whites. They could not be forcibly exploited for their labor like slaves, nor were they welcomed as equals with whites. Denied most rights that whites enjoyed and increased regulations on their activities through state and local measures forced many African Americans to leave the state. Chesnutt's mother and

father, Ann Maria Sampson and Andrew Jackson Chesnutt, were part of a large caravan of blacks that left the state for the North in 1856.[98] When the growing Chesnutt family returned a decade later in 1866, it was with a hope that the Civil War had brought significant change to their hometown.

1866 to 1883 marks Charles Chesnutt's early experiences of the shifting social climate in the postbellum South and the sets the foundation for the importance of place in his writing. Keller observes that Ann Maria had mixed feelings about moving back to Fayetteville based on her memories of her own childhood there. Specifically, as Keller remarks, "she never believed that the iron bars would melt, even though Sherman had marched from Savannah and stopped in Fayetteville, dismantling the physical walls. She thought her children would have a better chance in Cleveland. But she had to accept her husband's decision" (33-34). Although Ann Maria's fears were realized when North Carolina enacted a Black Code intended to control African Americans, a Republican U.S. Congress also instituted changes aimed at demolishing the socioeconomic institution of slavery. These measures included passing the establishment of the Freedman's Bureau in 1865 and the passages of the Reconstruction Act of 1867. Furthermore, during the state Republicans' brief rule in Fayetteville (1868-1870), Chesnutt's father became a Town Commissioner and a Justice of the Peace in Cumberland County, where he also played a vital role in establishing the first public school for Negroes. It became the Howard School, where Chesnutt would teach and perform duties as a principal in 1877 before leaving Fayetteville in 1883 for good.

Ann Maria's feelings about the immutability of race and caste prejudice passed to her son Charles. Chesnutt accomplished much during his early life in Fayetteville: he

married a wife from an upstanding family, and served in an honorable position as head of the normal school, while also teaching Latin and Greek and giving organ and singing lessons. Yet he felt his energies were wasted in the South (*An American Crusade* 82-85). His intellectual and social isolation, the bleak prospect of raising his own children there, coupled with his dream to be a writer, prompted Chesnutt to take several steps toward relocating with his family to the North. Reflecting on his current status and future possibilities in his journal, Chesnutt wrote:

> I occupy here a position similar to that of the Mahomet's coffin. I am neither fish [,] flesh, not fowl—neither "nigger", [sic] poor white, nor "buckrah." Too "stuck up" for the colored folks, and, of course, not recognized by the whites. Now these things I would imagine I would escape from, in some degree, if I lived in the North. The Colored people would be more intelligent, and the white people less prejudiced; so that if I did not reach terra firma, I would at least be in sight of land. (qtd in Wonham *Charles W. Chesnutt* 7)

Chesnutt succinctly describes his position as a mixed-race individual looked down upon by both blacks and whites for several reasons. Seen as an unnatural racial hybrid by whites and as "high yellow" by blacks, Chesnutt could nonetheless claim a heritage that provided him the unique vantage point from which he wrote. As William Andrews notes in *The Literary Career of Charles W. Chesnutt*, although Chesnutt was the product of a legal marriage, he still carried a burden and resentment as "heir to the social stigma of his father's illegitimacy" (5). As the grandson of a white slave master and a black slave mother, Chesnutt sought to rebut through writing the southern view that equated mixed blood with physical and moral degeneracy. He also struggled with fitting into an African American society that resented the preferential treatment of light-skinned blacks. Although not a child of mixed-race ancestry, Harris was born illegitimate and carried the stigma of his parentage plus a lifelong shame over his red hair. Harris's childhood

experiences of his plantation retreat from the town also provided material for his writing and legitimized his status as one of America's foremost writers.

Charles Chesnutt's early years are crucial because they provide a useful portal for exploring the importance of real and imagined place in his postbellum plantation fiction.[99] Reflecting on his time in the South in a journal entry for May 29, 1880, Chesnutt wrote "Fifteen years in the south, in one of the most eventful eras of its history, among a people whose life is rich in the elements of romance, under conditions calculated to stir one's soul to the very depths—I think there is a fund of experience, a supply of material which a skillful pen could work up with tremendous effect" (*Charles Waddell Chesnutt* 21). Called as a writer to fulfill what he describes as "a high, holy purpose," Chesnutt considered "the unjust spirit of caste which is so insidious as to pervade a whole nation, and so powerful as to subject a whole race and all connected with it to scorn and social ostracism" (21). Racism in his estimation presents "a barrier to the moral progress of the American people" (21). Revealed in these examples is Chesnutt's dual purpose for writing. As the first African American writer to have a book released as literary work by a mainstream press, Chesnutt embodied, according to Richard Brodhead "a historical renegotiation of the relation of members of his race *to* writing as a cultural activity" (178). Using the formulaic convention of an old black man from the antebellum era telling stories to his white audience made successful by white writers such as Joel Chandler Harris, Charles Chesnutt established his literary career.

Unlike Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and Frances E. W. Harper's *Minnie's Sacrifice*, *The Conjure Tales* as a collection is not a thinly veiled polemical

treatise or a call to Christian, social, political or fiscal responsibility via the plantation space. It is what Richard Brodhead calls in *The Cultures of Letters* "a medium of verbal invention" (178). Instead, Chesnutt's Uncle Julius, like Douglass's Madison Washington, becomes the conjure man intent on gradually transforming plantation spaces and white readers from within. In *Charles W. Chesnutt and the Fictions of Race*, Dean McWilliams reveals: "Chesnutt believed that if whites were to be brought around, it would not be by moral abstractions but by a practical demonstration of their own interest" (82). Although Douglass effectively used sympathetic listening in far-flung spaces like the tavern, the coffee-house and the ship, Chesnutt recognized that tactics similar to this, like Stowe's moral suasion in the cotton gin-house shed, would no longer work. From Stowe's antebellum perspective, African Americans die or flee the plantation. Furthermore, the majority of her black characters leave the United States and were thereby forced to give up not only any claims to land, but also American citizenship. Therefore, Chesnutt used what matters most to postbellum whites like John: economic self-gain as a means of renegotiating the plantation space. Uncle Julius is smart enough to know that if he wants to retain some control of his space and his person, he has to do so in a way that is safely recognizable to John. Therefore, Uncle Julius plays the role of a former slave from the good ole days and both men get what they want: John establishes a successful wine-making business, and Julius secures employment, housing, and other amenities for himself and members of his community. Charles Chesnutt accomplished his goal of mining whites' distorted view of African Americans by making them indispensable as griots, directors, and bridges between the past and future. In doing so,

Chesnutt critiques antebellum and postbellum America for its continued project of dehumanizing African Americans.

But Chesnutt wanted to accomplish his "high, holy purpose" of uplifting whites through the novel, not short fiction. In two separate journal entries in 1880, Chesnutt discussed his desire to write.[100] In both accounts he stressed his fifteen years of living in the South as the "hard facts" that provided the basis for his writing, not "stale negro minstrel jokes, or worn out newspaper squibs on the 'man and brother'" (qtd Wonham 86). However, it is these same literary conventions that he used as an "entering wedge," Andrews observes, into the literary marketplace of the 1880s.[101] Unable to capitalize on his previous success or publish on his own terms, Chesnutt sent Walter Hines Page, editor of the *Atlantic* and senior member of the Boston's Houghton Mifflin Firm, six new plantation stories, four of which were published in *The Conjure Woman*, upon Page's encouragement.[102] While it may seem as if the tales' complicated history could paint Chesnutt "a mere victim of omnipotent censors," as Andrews notes, a closer examination of his tales will reveal the importance of race, memory, and the built environment on the plantation.[103] Andrews's observations are relevant to Chesnutt's book cover, especially when it is compared to earlier illustrations of other Uncle characters like Uncle Remus.

The cover of Chesnutt's *The Conjure Woman* features an image of an elderly, bespectacled and grinning black man surrounded by rabbits (Fig. 14). Trying to capitalize on the success of Harris's Uncle Remus, Houghton Mifflin included the malevolent rabbits although Chesnutt's tales do not feature any.[104] There are similarities between Harris's Brer Rabbit and Chesnutt's Uncle Julius in that they are both trickster figures who make gains through unconventional strategies. Underlying this simple

comparison, however, is a discussion on how much the visualization of slavery influenced social relations after slavery's demise. In "Perpetual Return: New World Slavery and the Matter of the Visual," Huey Copeland and Krista Thompson make two important observations that are consequential to this conversation. By "shuttling between temporally estranged scenarios," Copeland and Thompson note that history is "posed as an open site that can be reconfigured both despite and because of the ongoing modes of violence that situate black subjects within modern regimes of power" (6). Although the authors are writing specifically about a collection of art which does not include Chesnutt, their conceptual framework of understanding one historical era within the context of another is especially useful. While the stereotypical portrayal of African Americans after 1880 operated to sustain a hegemonic display of power by whites, it also presented an opportunity for resistance. In other words, Chesnutt's stories subvert his book's cover and the publisher's intent through the transformative power of conjure.

In *Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance,* Houston Baker discusses how Uncle Julius disrupts John's master vision of rational control that would keep Uncle Julius in a subservient place. Specifically, in Chesnutt's hands, Harris's tale of Brer Rabbit's adventures in the briar patch become, through Uncle Julius's conjure stories, a way for him to renegotiate his position on the postbellum plantation through the tales of slavery. "Conjure's spirit work moves behind—within, and through—the mask of minstrelsy" Baker concludes, "to ensure survival, to operate changes, to acquire necessary resources for continuance, and to cure a sick world" (Baker 47). For Uncle Julius, his world is the McAdoo plantation.

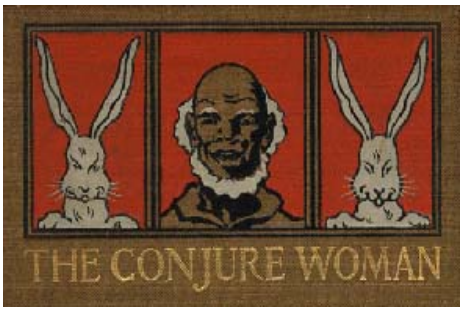


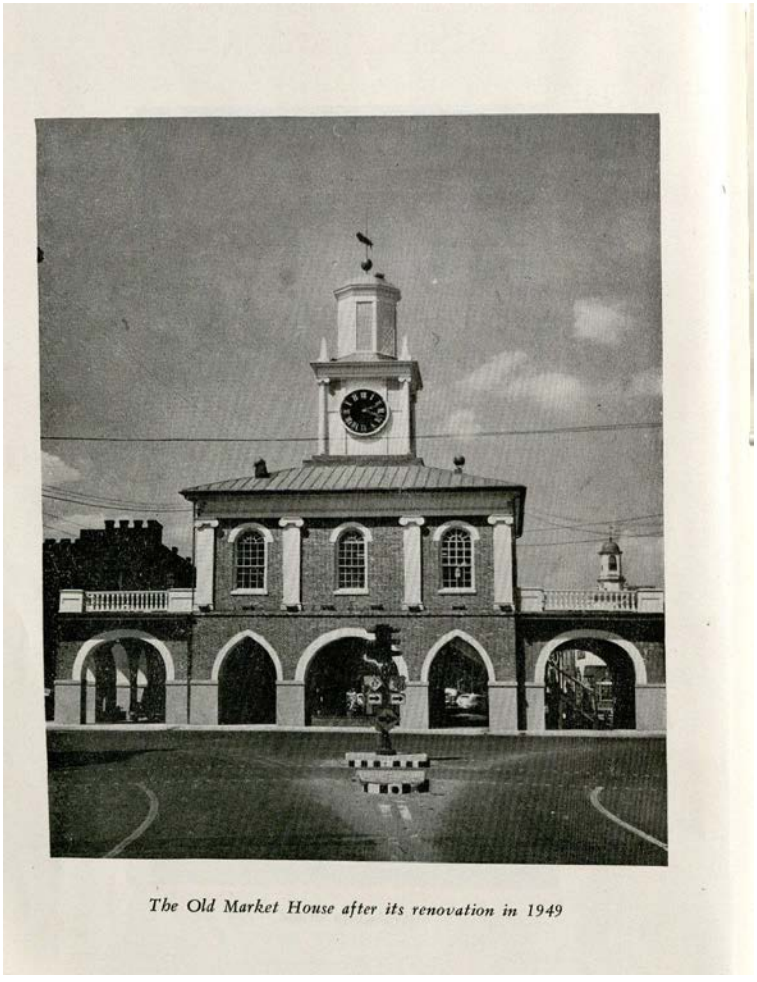
Figure 14. Cover Image for *The Conjure Woman* by Charles W. Chesnutt (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1899). ***Documenting the American South*. 1999. University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.**

Like John Pendleton Kennedy, Charles Chesnutt historically locates his collection of tales in Patesville by making specific references to the economic, social, and physical landscape of Fayetteville, North Carolina. In her discussion on the terrain of Chesnutt's tales, Sarah Ingle notes that "Julius's conjure tales serves as gestures in opposition to the cartographical erasure of black life by re-inscribing the names of former slaves throughout" (157). Therefore, Chesnutt's opening story, "The Goophered Grapevine" is important because John and Annie's sequence of movements through Patesville to the McAdoo estate underscores the plantation's gravity as a force field. Chesnutt's description of John and Annie's arrival in Patesville, "the last hundred miles of which were upriver on a sidewheel steamer," provides a small but vital indication of the importance of water transportation in Fayetteville (Chesnutt *Conjure Woman* 5). Chesnutt's description of John and Annie's arrival to Patesville suggests that the existence of African Americans do not begin and end on the plantation. Rather, their pathways are much more complicated and less prescribed than the master's formalized processional routes.

In *The Story of Fayetteville*, author and long-time resident John Oates describes how the steamboat fostered trade in Western North Carolina, East Tennessee, and portions of South Carolina, Georgia and Virginia prior to the Civil War. Once material goods landed in Fayetteville, they were transferred to white-covered caravans traveling on plank-roads. As the railroad later became a cheaper and more effective means of carrying merchandise, the slow, expensive and difficult plank-roads were abandoned and river boat transportation was substantially reduced. Steamboats and railroads in Fayetteville reveal the shifting trajectory of plantation production—from the tilling and packaging of raw products in back country agricultural estates, through a series of complex wagon trails, steamboat routes, and then railroad lines to consumers largely in the North. The narrator in *The Conjure Woman* satirically touts John's wine making on the McAdoo plantation as "a striking illustration of the opportunities open to Northern capital in the development of Southern industries" to illustrate this process (Chesnutt 17).

Upon John and Annie's arrival in Patesville, readers are also introduced to the red brick Market House, located "in the public square, with a tall tower, which held a four-faced clock that struck the hours, and from which pealed out a curfew at nine o'clock" (pg. 5 fig 15).[105] Completed in 1832, the Market House was certified as a National Historic Landmark in 1970. Seated at the intersection of the city's main thoroughfares, it originally served two purposes: as a market place for selling meat and produce on the first floor's open arcade and as a town hall offering meeting spaces and impressive views from the second floor's bay windows. Because of its close proximity to the County Court House three blocks away, the Market House also operated as a place to sell slaves, usually as part of an estate sale where other personal property was made available for

public auction. Playing a part in every notable moment in the town's history, the curfew bell housed in the upper cupola originally signaled slaves to return to their quarters. If they were discovered without a pass after 9pm, they were arrested and held in jail until their masters picked them up. Slave children were also expected to be under the paternal roof before the bell rang. The pealing of the curfew bell echoes Lucy's heartrending cries from *Swallow Barn* as a holdover from the antebellum era, though Lucy's cries suggest slave protest rather than master class summons. The bell thus picks up on the plantation's undercurrent of love, joy, despair and outcry that Chesnutt describes in his stories.



The Old Market House after its renovation in 1949

Figure 15. "The Old Market House" ***The Story of Fayetteville and the Upper Cape Fear*** (Charlotte: Dowd Press, 1950): 89.

Chesnutt's use of physical locations such as the Market House draws attention to the importance of movement, flow, and travel as a means of extending the plantation. The characters' consistent movement keeps readers provocatively away from a central view of the big house and serves the second half of Chesnutt's two-fold purpose by mining prevailing attitudes and policies towards African Americans.[106] The apparent stability of Uncle Remus's fireside cabin is countered by Uncle Julius's ambling tales along the Lumberton plank-road and the Wilmington road in Patesville. In "The Goophered Grapevine," Chesnutt takes the reader out of town through the winding, and at times, dangerous country roads to McAdoo's dilapidated plantation. Driving "over a long wooden bridge" and coming upon a road so sandy "that the horse's feet sank to the fetlocks, they continue on their trail past "cultivated farms," "abandoned fields," and "once or twice through the solemn aisles of the virgin forest" (Chesnutt 7). After receiving directions from a young black girl, John and Annie arrive at the plantation where they meet Uncle Julius. Subsequently led by Uncle Julius, John and Annie continue their travels through the plank-roads, sand hills, and swamplands of Patesville. John and Annie's relocation to the South also reveals the post-Reconstruction socioeconomic exchange between the city and plantation. Their journeys establish the plantation's connection to the larger world by reestablishing the latter's continual reliance upon the former. Whereas Uncle Remus's seamless movement from the city to the plantation implies containment and stable relations between him and the little boy, Uncle Julius's peregrinations and crafty interactions with John and Annie unearth the circuitously complex links between both spaces.

There are several spaces on the plantation that are points of contention between Uncle Julius and John. Effectively, the estate war between relatives of the former owner has been replaced by the subtler battle between Uncle Julius and the story's northern transplants, John and his wife Annie. In "The Goophered Grapevine" and all the other tales in the collection, Uncle Julius tells stories of the old plantation to deter John's plans. In "The Goophered Grapevine," he cautions John against purchasing the estate and in particular the vineyard because it is bewitched. Julius does not reveal his ulterior motive: to keep John off of the land so that he can continue to live and earn a decent wage from the neglected grapes. While Uncle Julius's goophered grapevine tale does not work to his advantage, it does reveal John's blindness about the lay of the plantation and John simply believes that "the wages I gave him for employment in that capacity, were more than an equivalent for anything he lost by the sale of the vineyard" (Chesnutt 17-18). John's notion that Uncle Julius earns more as his coachman than as an independent businessman suggests John does not understand that Uncle Julius has more than a fiduciary interest in the property. Another example of this is provided in "Mars Jeems's Nightmare." Although John notices "that he was a marvelous hand in the management of horses and dogs," he attributes Uncle Julius's skill to "a greater familiarity" with the animals "due to the simplicity of life that kept him close to nature" (30). Finally, despite the fact that Uncle Julius's extensive knowledge of the landscape proves "useful," John observes that Uncle Julius's relationship with the land "might be called predial rather proprietary" (30). All three examples reveal John's initial view of African Americans as primitive and childish. John may not be a slaveholder, but he clearly has a prejudice informed by his Northern upbringing.

While Uncle Julius's tale about magical grapes in "The Goophered Grapevine" did not work out to his full advantage, his story about a slave turned into a tree is effective in "Po' Sandy." Uncle Julius wants to use the old schoolhouse as a meeting place for the congregation of the coincidentally named, Sandy Run Colored Baptist Church. John, on the other hand, wants to use its lumber to satisfy Annie's desire for a separated kitchen "after the usual Southern fashion" (19). When John and Annie go to purchase extra lumber at the sawmill, they are delayed because the mill's foreman is absent. In a "lugubrious tone" with a "perceptible shudder," Uncle Julius narrates the tale which "touched a responsive chord" in John and Annie's hearts (Chesnutt 20). Upon hearing that he is going to be lent to work on yet another plantation, Sandy laments to his wife Tenie:

> 'I'm gittin monst'us ti'ed er dish yer gwine roun' so much…it 'pears ter me I ain' got no home, ner no marster, ner no mistiss, ner no nuffin'. I can't eben keep a wife: my yuther ole 'oman wuz sol' away widout my gittin' a chance fer ter tell her good-by; en now I got ter go off en leab you, Tenie, en I dunno whe'r I'm eber gwin ter see you ag'in er no. (22)

Movement represents a loss of identity and stability to Sandy. Sandy's usefulness as a slave is rewarded not with choice lodging, food and marital rights, but with a perpetual transience at his master's will. With no control over when and where he works, he declares "I wisht I wuz a tree, er a stump, er a rock, er sump'n w'at could stay on de plantation fer a w'ile" (22). Tenie uses her conjuring powers to transform him into a tree on the edge of swamp near the slave quarters and change him back into a man during her frequent nightly visits. However, the tree is later cut down to use its lumber ironically, for a kitchen.

As Uncle Julius tells John and Annie the tale, the sounds of the saw cutting through the lumber at the mill "kyars my 'membrance back ter ole times, en 'min's me er po' Sandy" (Chesnutt 20). While Lucy's piteous cries carry throughout her bucolic cottage and the plantation at Swallow Barn, Sandy's moans and groans create a cacophony of sad sounds in the kitchen. According to Uncle Julius "hit got so Mars Marrabo's wife herse'f wuz skeered ter go out in de yard atter dark" (27). Tenie was the only person who was not afraid of the structure, and often sat on its steps mumbling unintelligible words of apology to Sandy as she leaned against the doorjamb. The kitchen was soon taken down, moved, and converted into a schoolhouse that was only used during the day. But people would often comment about seeing and hearing strange things along the road where the school was relocated. One morning, a young boy finds Tenie's dead body, cold and stiff, in the schoolhouse.

Even though Sandy could not control the movement of his person, Uncle Julius as narrator seeks to regain control of the schoolhouse for himself. Uncle Julius is a cunning Uncle Tom who is not preoccupied with heaven but with his standing on the McAdoo plantation. Instead of the Bible, he uses place-centered narration to stop the advance of John and Annie's encrypted vision of abiding black service. His story also educates Annie about the importance of her request. According to Michael Olmert, southern kitchens of the nineteenth century had little to do with cooking and "everything to do with race, gender, and social space" (35). [107] Kitchens were hot, smoky, smelly, bloody and noisy places where hardworking slaves and other servants performed demanding work. A detached kitchen, usually connected to the house through colonnades or covered passageways, created a physical barrier between the site of labor-intensive food

production and the meal's dramatic delivery to a well-ordered dining room. Detached kitchens made it easy for dining rooms in the big house to become what Olmert calls "eating as theatre" because they cloaked the slaves' toil in favor of an orderly display of wealth and status before family and special guests (35). Through the power of story, Uncle Julius's tale makes a harrowing commentary on slavery's transformation of human beings into voiceless pieces of property whose (im)mobility was always held captive. Commenting on the impact of Sandy's story, Patricia Yaeger notes that the "body's time and labor blend with the physical landscape to create a commentary on the horrors of inhabiting the built environment of Southern history" (27). At the conclusion of the tale, John does not use the lumber. The schoolhouse remains untouched and is donated to Uncle Julius and the members of his church.

The swamp is also a vital setting, so much so that it is used in Chesnutt's concluding stories: "The Gray Wolf's Ha'nt" and "Hot-Foot Hannibal." Far more than Kennedy's swamp at the end of *Swallow Barn*, Chesnutt's swamp is transformed into a site that renegotiates the African American's relationship to the plantation space. While the swamp serves as a place that aligns blacks with primitivism in Kennedy's novel, Uncle Julius's wizardry turns the swamp into a contested and commercially exploitable place, one sought by both Northerner John and Uncle Julius. In his discussion on the importance of the swamp in African American folklore, Cowan suggests "If a white audience saw in swamplore an affirmation of their exotic primitive stereotype, a black audience was just as likely to see black characters occupying a black landscape" (*The Slave in the Swamp* 176). In "The Gray Wolf's Ha'nt," John's desire to use a patch of low ground by the swamp for corn cultivation prompts Uncle Julius to tell the story of a

slave turned wolf howling at the same site over his wife's accidental death. Once seen in opposition to the master's plantation order, the vitality of the swamps becomes a fertile, exploitable part of the plantation. Specifically, Chesnutt turns this story on its head; when John clears the land despite Uncle Julius's claims, he discovers a bee-tree full of honey, which he suspects Julius used for economic purposes. Although John surmises that "The gray wolf's haunt had doubtless proved useful in keeping off too many inquisitive people, who might have interfered with his monopoly" (82), the reader also gets a sense that he can never fully gauge Uncle Julius's motives. The revelation of another of Julius's money-making schemes suggests that there may be other sites on the McAdoo plantation which Uncle Julius utilizes and that John may never discover.

Finally, in "Hot-Foot Hannibal," the swamp becomes a site of reconciliation between quarreling parties like the Meriwether/Hazard and Tracy clans in *Swallow Barn*. While Lucy and Abe's story is overshadowed in the midst of happy nuptials between neighboring families, Chesnutt's tale of a love triangle between slaves foregrounds the reunion between the story's squabbling pair. Annie's sister Mabel and her potential southern suitor Malcolm Murchison break up after a heated argument in which Mabel accuses him of infidelity. As John, Annie, and Mabel take a ride through a portion of the swamp a few days later, their horse stops at a nearby bay tree, refusing to go further. Uncle Julius suggests that they let the mare sit for a few minutes before attempting to continue. Suddenly, Uncle Julius surmises that the horse is scared of the tree because it is haunted by a former slave. "Willing to humor the old man's fancy," John thinks Uncle Julius "had not told us a story for some time; and the dark and solemn swamp around us; the amber-colored stream flowing silently and sluggishly at our feet, like the waters of

Lethe; the heavy, aromatic scent of the bays, faintly suggestive of funeral wreaths,--all made the place an ideal one for a ghost story" (86). Uncle Julius tells the story of a love gone wrong between three slaves: Hannibal, Chloe, and Jeff (86). Hannibal exacts revenge against Jeff and Chloe for the hot-footed and addle-brained spell they paid the conjure woman to devise, which results in Jeff's jumping overboard a ship to his death when he is sold down river. Chloe pines away for Jeff in Shakespearean-like fashion at their current location, the site of his supposed affair.

In his description of the swamp, Chesnutt gives the stream a specific name—Lethe, which in classical Greek means forgetfulness or oblivion. In Greek mythology, the Lethe is one of the five rivers of Hades from which the dead must drink in order to forget their former life on Earth.[108] The ill-fated love story between two slaves underwrites the love story between Malcolm and Mabel to make a larger political commentary on the status of the country's race relations at the turn of the twentieth century. Chesnutt's swirling amber-colored river suggests that as the United States began to experience unprecedented expansionism in national and international arenas, the rights of its black citizens must be remembered. Uncle Julius's proclamation that "Uh huh! I knows w'y dis mare doan go. It des flash' 'ross my recommemb'ance," introduces the legacy of the plantation as part of the national reconciliation. In "Hot-Foot Hannibal," Chloe and Jeff used conjure because their master promised Chloe to Hannibal without any consideration for her. Chesnutt reveals how slavery robbed this couple of their choice of each other as a means of convincing Mabel to not let her misguided anger about Malcolm end their relationship. Therefore, Mabel, represented by the North, must try to

make amends with the Malcolm, represented by the South, in order to prevent future fallouts between regions from occurring.

When Mable recognizes the similarities between her story and Chloe's misfortune, Uncle Julius and Annie devise a series of mishaps along the road so that Malcolm, who is leaving town, can reunite with Mabel. Annie intercedes with her husband on Uncle Julius's behalf. Annie changes her mind and decides to take the long road as Uncle Julius suggests; later on, she orders Julius to stop the rockaway and asks John to pick for her some flowers along the road. When he returns with a bouquet, John discovers that Mabel has left the rockaway and is walking up the road ahead of them. Finally, Annie loses her fan and asks Julius to retrieve it for her. Annie is like Stowe's Mrs. Shelby who engages in kitchen delay tactics in order to help Eliza and her son Harry escape. At the ending of "Hot-Foot Hannibal," Mabel eventually marries Malcolm and they settle on his ancestor's plantation not far from Annie and John. Malcolm and Mabel's marriage solidifies John and Annie's standing as members of the New South with an infusion of Northern blood.

However, the story does not end there. John seems to have come to some sort of reasonable conclusion regarding Uncle Julius as he observes:

> I do not know whether or not Julius had a previous understanding with Malcolm Murchison by which he was to drive us round by the long road that day, nor do I know exactly what motive influenced the old man's exertions in the matter. He was fond of Mabel, but I was old enough, and knew Julius well enough, to be skeptical of his motives. It is certain that a most excellent understanding existed between him and Murchison after the reconciliation, and that when the young people set up housekeeping over at the old Murchison place, Julius had an opportunity to enter their service. For some reason or other, however, he preferred to remain with us. The mare, I might add, was never known to balk again. (Chesnutt 95-96)

In this closing section of the story, John's sense of superiority leaves him perturbed because he cannot fully account for how the two lovers were reunited. He seems to be outdone by Uncle Julius yet again. John becomes a post-Reconstruction Tom Grant who discovers by the Lethe-like stream that he may not ever fully understand Uncle Julius but is savvy enough not to underestimate him again. The amber-colored stream suggests that the move forward must be a biracial endeavor in which both parties are willing to adjust to the ebb and flow of the times. Moreover, Chesnutt uses Uncle Julius and his place-centered narration to validate memory by claiming ground. When John tries one last time to remove Uncle Julius from the McAdoo plantation through the ruse of service to Malcolm and Mabel, he refuses to leave. To John, it may seem as if Uncle Julius's rebuttal is just the muttering of a former slave who would like to stay in his own backyard. However, "It is the power of memory—good and bad" according to Gleason "that Julius reaffirms by preferring to remain where he *is*" (italics mine Gleason 101).

Joel Chandler Harris and Charles Chesnutt both produced tales exploring the plantation as a viable space for blacks and whites if they are willing to work together. They reverse the trajectory where all of the routes lead back to the plantation and its insistent windows. For Harris, southern/northern interracial reconciliation is the understanding of a shared history narrated by black "Uncles" to little white boys who are willing to "listen." In Chesnutt's collection, Annie becomes a model reader who is able to understand the metaphorical undertones of Julius's stories as she mediates between John's propensity for fact and Uncle Julius's knack for fiction. In Chesnutt's hands, the tales of slavery's brutality become the foundation from which the future should be built based on understanding history as a lesson in forgiveness, but definitely not a lesson of

forgetfulness. John Pendleton Kennedy's story of reconciliation and reunion lives another day and another decade, to see who will disrupt it once again.

CONCLUSION

"What of Berry?" Family Dishonor on the Post-Bellum "Plantation" in Paul Laurence Dunbar's *The Sport of the Gods*

At the beginning of the twentieth century, writers like Paul Laurence Dunbar continued to explore the pastoral plantation whose contradictions reveal the early precedent set by John Pendleton Kennedy's *Swallow Barn* (1832, 1851). In the final scene of *The Sport of the Gods* (1902), Abe and Lucy's cottage is resurrected when Berry Hamilton and his wife Fannie return South and take up residence in their former house behind Maurice Oakley's home, at his wife Leslie's insistence. At night, the Hamiltons would sit "together with clasped hands listening to the shrieks of the madman [Maurice] across the yard" in his great mansion (433). While Lucy's driveling dotage reflects her grief over her dead son, Oakley's screams reflect his unjust treatment of his former black servant Berry Hamilton, and the terror he experiences over its discovery by a northern journalist. The juxtaposition of sorrow in both spaces reveals that everyone eventually bears the cost of investing in the social code of the plantation. Arguably, Dunbar's dark ending challenges Uncle Remus's happy return to the plantation and Uncle Julius's "truce" with John and Annie as readers see the Oakley-Hamilton reunion coming unhinged.

Dunbar's turn-of-the-century novel is a cautionary tale about the legacy of slavery. As Berry and his wife Fannie reflect on their northern experience the narrator notes that it fostered in them a humble resignation for they realize "it was not a happy life, but it was all that was left to them, and they took it up without complaint, for they

knew they were powerless against some Will infinitely stronger than their own" (433). That "will" according to Susan Bausch in "Inevitable or Remediable?" is that the Hamiltons and Oakleys ignoreD the role of the racial oppression in their lives which causes their downfall. Bausch establishes a connection among slavery, racism, and urban degradation in Dunbar's novel to suggest that the relationship between whites and blacks forged during the antebellum era had not changed. However, she concludes that "The will of the gods is strong, but not stronger than our own" (Bausch 522). In order to change their future, the migrating Hamiltons must begin to understand the residual effects of the plantation on their current state.

Although she places the burden of interrogating the plantation's contemporary influence on African Americans, it is equally important that whites question the paternalist ethos as well. Taking a cue from Toni Morrison, I argue that Maurice Oakley's deterioration serves to warn whites of the repercussions of their own actions. A year after Berry's incarceration for theft, Francis Oakley sends his brother Maurice a letter confessing to the theft and expresses guilt for framing Berry. When Oakley's wife Leslie utters her concern for Berry after reading the letter, Maurice replies, "What of Berry? . . .What is Berry to Frank? What is that nigger to my brother? What are his sufferings to the honour of my family and name?" (406). Therefore, the Oakleys bury "the secret in their breasts," and Maurice wears "its visible form upon his heart" by carrying his brother's letter around in his breast pocket for several years (406). Like Kennedy's Meriwether, Dunbar's Oakley is preoccupied with protecting, in this case, his family honor and name. No longer able to shift the blame on arguments regarding the "Negro Question," Oakley cannot come to terms with his *dis*honorable conduct, which

precipitates his descent into madness. Oakley's cries depict his unbearable shame as he occupies the prison of his own making. He is as trapped by the dictates of the plantation as much as his servant Berry was unjustly incarcerated for a crime he did not commit.

Furthermore, while several scholars argue that Dunbar's ending does not offer social or political alternatives to the plantation model, *The Sport of the Gods* revisits a space—the urban milieu—as a site where African Americans continue the process of creating a new identity away from the plantation proper.[109] Like the wilderness in Frederick Douglass's *The Heroic Slave*, the city can be friend, or foe. Away from the master's big house windows, the city, according to Nancy Von Rosk, allows the freedom of African American cultural expression in three distinct places: "the ragtime and blues bar, the vaudeville stage, and the boarding house" (147). In Dunbar's *The Sport of the Gods*, the Hamilton family's journey illustrates that Abe's banishment from Kennedy's paradigmatic plantation might not result in a shipboard revolt like Madison Washington's. Rather, Fannie, Kitty, and Joe's failures continue to emphasize the plantation's misguided notion of honor through the Hamilton family's stay in New York City. Fannie's middle-class pretentions to superiority cause the family to be evicted from Mrs. Jones's Manhattan boarding house and push her into a bigamous relationship with a gambler. Kitty's smug indifference to the bright lights of the city is replaced with her self-absorbed climb to stardom on stage. Finally, Joe's "false idealism and fevered ambition" turn him into a drunken murderer through his visits to the Banner Club (Dunbar 373). Unlike Madison Washington or Louis LeCroix, the Hamilton family is unable to dispense with the social traditions of the plantation and embrace the usable parts of their southern black culture in an urban space. However, their temporary social

displacement ushers in the boarding house, the theatre, and the club as alternative sites and the city streets as glittering pathways of possibilities for African Americans in the opening decades of the twentieth century.

Paul Laurence Dunbar's *The Sport of the Gods* chronicles the journey of two families—one white and one black—over the course of several years. There are many parallels between Abe's family in *Swallow Barn* and Joe's in *The Sport of the Gods*. Dunbar's novel begins with a description of the Hamiltons' plantation-like home, which is located "back in the yard some one hundred paces from the mansion of his employer," Maurice Oakley and his wife Leslie (321). Although their modest little cottage is built "somewhat in the manner of the old cabin in the quarters," the Hamiltons' abode is "a neatly furnished, modern house, the home of a typical, good-living negro (321). Dunbar intentionally locates this cottage directly behind the Oakleys mansion to suggest that social relations between whites and African Americans have changed little even 40 years after the conclusion of the Civil War. The novel's opening sentence confirms this when the narrator states, "Fiction has said so much in regret of the old days when there were plantations and overseers and masters and slaves, that it was good to come upon such a household as Berry Hamilton's, if for no other reason that it afforded a relief from the monotony of tiresome iteration" (321). Dunbar establishes from the outset that this novel is not a whimsical depiction of southern life hearkening back to Kennedy's *Swallow Barn*, but rather a pointed critique of its consequences. The only apparent difference between Abe and Joe is that Lucy's cottage is situated far away from her master and on the edge of his property. In 1832, Littleton only saw this site *after* a visit to the slave quarters. Therefore, Kennedy's critique of slavery is not as direct as Dunbar's. Dunbar

establishes the plantation and its attendant social relations as a themed space in the opening chapter only to explore the outcome of its continued influence throughout the novel.

Abe's father Luke, like Berry, was a personal servant to his master. Although he was offered his freedom, Luke declined, wanting to stay close to the "family." In lieu of emancipation, he is rewarded with a few acres of land near the slave quarters and given a cabin. He also marries Lucy, a fellow slave, who was a personal servant to the lady of the house. When Maurice rewards Berry's faithful service likewise with a cottage, he jokingly says, "There is no telling when Berry will be following my example and be taking a wife unto himself" (321-22). Subsequently, Berry mimics the moves of his employer: after Maurice gets married, Berry marries Fannie, Leslie's housekeeper. Both of their stories intertwine; the "stream of years had flowed pleasantly and peacefully with them" (322). Just as Luke's and Lucy's children grow and enter into service on the Swallow Barn estate, Berry and his family mimic the manners of their employer through dress, speech, and conduct. Berry stresses to his son Joe that "It's de p'opah thing fu' a man what waits on quality to have quality mannahs an' to waih quality clothes" (322). Therefore, while Joe "from scraping the chins of aristocrats came to imbibe some of their ideas" (322), his sister Kitty wears "the prettiest clothes of any of her race in town," which is in part "aided and abetted by Mrs. Oakley (323). Berry Hamilton achieves middle-class status, which would have been considered a privileged status for Lucy, Luke, and Abe on the Swallow Barn plantation.

Although the Hamiltons' success initially reflects the gains African Americans had made after slavery through the bourgeois virtues of thrift and industry, their

achievement is shattered when Berry is accused of stealing money from the Oakleys.[110] Despite Berry's faithful years of service, he is arrested, tried, convicted of theft, and sentenced to ten years hard labor. While Kennedy's Lucy is allowed to stay in her slave cabin and is cared for by her other children, Fannie, Joe, and Kitty are evicted from their cottage. Furthermore, the Hamiltons middle-class notions have isolated them from the rest of the African American community. During a conversation about Berry's downfall, one of their black neighbor's remarks, "He wanted to dress his wife an' chillen lak white folks, did he? Well, he foun' out, he foun' out. By de time de jedge git thoo wid him he won't be hol'in' his haid so high" (343). The parallel between Lucy's slave cabin and Berry's "free" cottage in terms of status is evident, except that Lucy's standing does not seem to be held against her because Meriwether had a decidedly more economic interest in her well being than Oakley has in that of the Hamiltons. As a member of the plantation's family, Lucy could affect the morale of the other slaves at Swallow Barn if she was punished along with Abe for his misdeeds. Dunbar's novel reveals that such a fiduciary interest does not exist between the Oakley and Hamilton families which leave the Hamiltons at a huge disadvantage: not only does their financial security depend on Maurice Oakley's wealth, but their social standing and safety also rely upon him. Furthermore, they do not have a supportive black community to fall back on because of their "plantation status." Oakley's dismissal of Fannie, Kitty, and Joe, as well as his later refusal to clear Berry's name reveals that he is more concerned with protecting his own family name than anything else.

The response of Joe and Kitty to their banishment reflects the effects of living in a planter's landscape. As Dunbar reveals, when Fannie leaves to find them another home in the community,

> Joe and Kit saw her go as if she were starting on an expedition into a strange country. In all their lives they had known no home save the little cottage in Oakley's yard. Here they had toddled as babies and played as children and been happy and care-free. There had been times when they had complained and wanted a home off by themselves, like others whom they knew. They had not failed, either, to draw unpleasant comparisons between their mode of life and the old plantation quarters system. But now all this was forgotten, and there were only grief and anxiety that they must leave the place and in such a way. (Dunbar 349-50)

Joe and Kitty's landscape like Lucy's features the big house as central. Included their sense of the plantation space are several outbuildings which support the Hamilton's status: the Lodge, the A.M.E. church, and the white barbershop where Joe works. Although the Hamiltons interact with other blacks in these spaces, they only do so to the extent that it reasserts their hierarchical relationship. In this instance, they are treating members of their community the way Maurice Oakley treats them. Therefore, Fannie is unsuccessful in her attempt to secure a new house. She tells her children of the experience that "Some of 'em made excuses 'bout one thing er t'other, but de res' come right straight an' said dat we'd give a neighborhood a bad name ef we moved into it" (353). When Joe tries to procure employment in a black barbershop, the proprietor tells him "I don't think we got anything fu' you to do; you're a white man's bahbah" (350). Frustrated over their predicament, Joe asks "Do they want us to live on the levee an' steal, like some of 'em do?" (353). Joe's exasperation reflects the family's anxiety of being forced out of their jobs in service to the Oakley's mansion and the Hamiltons' residence in the cozy cottage. They face the harsh possibility of living like the less fortunate members of their race.

Startled by a curt message from the "House" about their impending eviction, Joe suggests that they relocate North to New York (353). The narrator describes their ideas about this distant place:

> They had heard of New York as a place vague and far away, a city that, like Heaven, to them had existed by faith alone. All the days of their lives they had heard of it, and it seemed to them the centre of all the glory, the wealth, and all the freedom of the world. New York. It had an alluring sound. Who would know them there? Who would look down upon them? (354-355)

The Hamiltons' ideas about New York City correspond with the slave's thoughts about the North. As Ginsburg and Upton observe, those in the big house intentionally misinformed slaves about the world outside the plantation. They were unfamiliar with direction and coordinates on a larger scale because their orientation is rooted to the big house as their geographical center. Therefore, like antebellum slaves, the Hamiltons' have general notions about New York, but they cannot map its spaces. The Hamiltons' migration North picks up where writers like Kennedy, Douglass, and Harper left off, especially in their earlier attempts to imagine a space for African Americans not rooted in the plantation.

Once the Hamiltons arrive in New York, Dunbar describes their initial confrontation with the urban landscape. [111] The opening paragraph of chapter seven, "In New York," provides a general description of the migrant's first impression of the city:

> To the provincial coming to New York for the first time, ignorant and unknown, the city presents a notable mingling of qualities of cheeriness and gloom. If he have at all any eye for the beautiful, he cannot help experiencing a thrill as he crosses the ferry over the river…Later, the lights in the busy streets will bewilder and entice him…A new emotion will take his heart as the people hasten by him,--a feeling of loneliness, almost of grief, that with all of these souls about him he knows not one and not one of them cares for him….after he has passed through the first pangs of strangeness and homesickness, yes, even after he has got beyond the stranger's enthusiasm for the metropolis, the real fever of love for the place will begin to take hold upon him…if he be wise, he will go

> away…But if he be a fool, he will stay and stay on until the town becomes all in all to him. (356-57)

In this description, the city has the potential to evoke a variety of emotions within its visitors. Gripped by the beauty and spectacle of its busy streets, the Hamiltons find that the city's largeness inspires confusion, trepidation, but, ultimately, hope. Like Miss Theodosia, John Huntingdon's sister in "A Story of the War," who is rescued from being "in the midst of a great crowd" at an Atlanta railroad station by Uncle Remus (Harris, *Songs and Sayings* 177), the Hamiltons are also rescued when "they looked about them for some coloured face" and found Thomas, a baggage handler who gives them the address of a local boarding house (Dunbar, *The Sport of the Gods* 357). However, the unworldly Hamiltons are no match for what awaits them and their well-being is left to chance as they entrust themselves to a man who turns out to be a self-serving predator. They soon find out that while the urban culture seems to promise new freedoms, their experiences demonstrate that the city would continue to enforce an insidious racism that they did not escape in leaving the South.

The close kinship among Fannie, Joe and, Kit begins to disintegrate during their stay at the boarding house. Directed by Mr. Thomas, a railroad porter who hides his lust for Kitty behind what De Santis calls "a mask of benevolent friendliness," they find shelter at Mrs. Jones's four-story brick building on 27th street (87). "Surprised at its apparent grandeur," Dunbar notes the Hamiltons are "afraid that the price of staying in such a place would be too much for their pockets" (357). Once inside, "the sight of the hard, gaudily upholstered instalment[sic] –plan furniture did not disillusion them, and they continued to fear that they could never stop at this fine place" (357). As in the opening scene of this novel, here the narrator provides a favorable description of a space

only to reveal its shortcomings. In the absence of plantation surveillance, Mrs. Jones boarding house is depicted as an Uncle Tom's cabin gone wrong. Instead of worrying about her children being sold to another plantation, Fannie has to worry about her children being lost to the vagaries of city life. Like Thomas, Mrs. Jones who seemed "so gracious and home-like," is actually a beer-drinking, theater-going woman who likes to dance.

After their first night in the city, Mrs. Hamilton "was not sure she was going to like New York…the very bigness of it frightened her and made her feel alone, for she knew that there could not be so many people together without a deal of wickedness" (358). Fannie is unable to articulate her feelings just like she is incapable of mapping the city; she knows something is not right, for which she has no immediate remedy. In several instances, Thomas and Mrs. Jones undercut Fannie's parental authority by sending Joe out for beer or taking the family to the theater, and they secretly encourage Kitty's relationship with Thomas. As a result, Joe spends his time and money in the streets instead of coming home. Kitty, who "had grown secretive and sly," starts to express a real desire for the stage by dropping the old songs she knew from down home to "practice the detestable coon ditties which the stage demanded" (378). Therefore, Mrs. Jones's boardinghouse is the antithesis of the Northern home Fannie imagined for her family. It is a place where the veil of propriety hides moral debauchery. It is ironic that Mrs. Jones evicts them from the boardinghouse for fear of her reputation being ruined when she finds out about Berry's imprisonment from Minty Brown, a black neighbor from home.

Dunbar explores the spatial consequences of the plantation in the metropolis through Joe and Kitty's perspectives. The city does for Joe what the sea did for Abe: reveals his personality more so than it radically transforms his nature. While the treacherous waves of the sea foster in Abe "a sturdy manhood" (Kennedy, *Swallow Barn* 475), New York's urban cesspool "made all the evil of his [Joe's] nature" flourish (Dunbar 347). Compared to Abe, Joe is like "the stream of young negro life. . . dashing itself against the hard necessities of the city and breaking like waves against a rock" (414). Although Berry and Fannie raised their children to become "quality" black folks, Joe is blinded by the spoils of the white barbershop, and comes to ascribe to its code. Specifically, the narrator observes that "Down home he had shaved the wild young bucks of the town, and while doing it drunk in eagerly their unguarded narrations of their gay exploits. So he had started out with false ideals as to what was fine and manly" (365). Instead of practicing social decorum, familial accountability, and fiscal responsibility like his father Berry, Joe is "wild with enthusiasm and with a desire to be a part of all that the metropolis meant" (358). As he stood at the window of Mrs. Jones boarding house looking with envy upon the nicely dressed young men walking the streets, he vowed that "Some day some greenhorn from the South should stand at a window and look out envying him, as he passed, red-cravated, patent-leathered, intent on some goal" (358-59). Joe's view from the window compounded by his "moral and mental astigmatism" causes him to see the sparkling city streets as routes to unbridled freedom resulting in his one-way street trip to life imprisonment (365).

Unlike Joe, Kitty had "No such radical emotions" (359). As "she stood at the windows and looked down into the street," there was,

> a sort of complacent calm in the manner in which she viewed the girls' hats and dresses. Many of them were really pretty, she told herself, but for the most part they were not better than what she had had down home. There was a sound quality in the girl's make-up that helped her to see through the glamour of mere place and recognise [sic] worth for itself. Or it may have been the critical faculty, which is prominent in most women, that kept her from thinking a five-cent cheese-cloth any better in New York than it was at home. She had a certain self-respect which made her value herself and her own traditions higher than her brother did his. (359)

Kitty's examination of the same city street reveals how she uses her personal memory of the South to gauge her observations of New York. Initially, she sees through the fancy women's clothing and decidedly values her simple southern traditions more than the glitz and glamour of New York. However, upon her first visit to the theater with Thomas, she becomes enchanted with the "airily dressed women" who "seemed to her like creatures from fairy-land" (365). Fanny ultimately buys into the delusion of the North as an enchanting place. Without the "protection" of a male figure, it is only a matter of time before Kitty and Fannie will have to make some difficult choices. Upset over his mother's refusal to patronize their black neighbors from home, Joe leaves his mother and sister Kitty to their own devices. Kitty has to forgo her southern honor and work onstage after she and her mother are fired when news of her father's criminality continues to spread.

Kitty's decision to work on stage represents a departure from her mother's notions of decency, which is rooted in the plantation model, to make way for a new urban consciousness. Fannie responds to her daughter's news stating "Maybe I'm ol'-fashioned but I can't believe in any ooman's lady-ship when she shows herse'f lak dem gals does" (394). Fannie's response to Kitty's career choice subtly recalls the shame of the auction block, where women were forced to strip, dance, and stand before the white male gaze. Joseph Roach explores the connection between the auction block and the modern stage in

Cities of the Dead when he notes "Here resides a plausible, if yet relatively unexplored genealogy of music performance. With music, dance, and seminudity, the slave auction, as a performance genre might be said to have anticipated the development of American musical comedy" (214). The connection between the auction block and stage is that both spaces are an arena for the theatrical exhibition of bodies for consumption and exchange. Although Fannie does not face the threat of being separated from her child like Stowe's Eliza and Cassy, she is still worried that her daughter's new occupation is morally corruptive. Fannie's response may also be rooted in the late nineteenth-century movement among African American like Ida B. Wells, Anna Julia Cooper, and others to combat racist stereotypes about black women as oversexed jezebels.[112]

However, Kitty's theatre career allows her to not follow the condition of her mother Fannie. Most African American women migrating to the cities were limited to employment as domestics or laundresses. These service jobs were typical occupations for black women working for white families during and well after slavery.[113] Fannie found similar work for her and her daughter when they arrived in New York. Unfortunately, their ruined reputation has made it hard for them to support themselves. Upon her brother Joe's advice, Kitty befriends Hattie, a veteran stage performer who helps her land her first gig in a chorus line. Kitty's move from the big house to the big lights of the stage challenges the plantation's lingering goal of containing African Americans. Her new job is especially important for her because it frees her from domestic and breeding duties. Specifically, Hazel Carby argues that Kitty's decision to perform on stage "was not attractive primarily because it offered a mythic life of glamor [sic] but because it was a rare opportunity to do "clean" work and to reject the life of a

domestic servant" (Carby 752). In other words, stage work relieved her from getting in the kitchen with Dinah, as well as getting in the bed with the master. Specifically, stage work allowed women like Kitty the geographic mobility and economic opportunity which garnered her higher wage in exchange for her labor.[114]

Dunbar also questions the notions southern honor through his depiction of the New York Banner Club and its patrons. Frequent visitors to this bar are similar to the clientele of Douglass's Virginia tavern in their complicity, apathy, and laziness. Thomas introduces Joe to "a set which lives, like the leech, upon the blood of others,--that draws its life from the veins of foolish men and immoral women, that prides itself upon its well-dressed idleness and has no shame in its voluntary pauperism" (386). Specifically, the club's customers are "Parasites [who] came there to find victims, politicians for votes, reporters for news, and artists of all kinds for colour [sic]and inspiration" (372). In the absence of the black church and community, the Banner "stood to the stranger and the man and woman without connections for the whole social life. It was a substitute—poor, it must be confessed—to many youths for the home life which is so lacking among certain classes in New York" (372). Dunbar illustrates what happens when there is no honor among individuals through his descriptions of the Banner Club. Without his father, mother, and sister, Joe attempts to build a new life and family with some of the club's most notorious members: Thomas, Mr. Skaggs, Sadness, and Hattie Sterling.

When Thomas realizes that "his hope of winning Kitty's affections lay, not in courting the older woman but in making a friend of the boy" (369), he introduces Joe to a group of his friends who treat him with "a pale, dignified, high-minded respect that menaced his pocket-book and possessions" (370). Thomas leads Joe like a "lamb" to a

shearing as Thomas's friends flatter him into buying their drinks (371). Mr. Skaggs, a New York *Universe* reporter who presents himself as a friend to the black people, is one of the curious white visitors who like Kennedy's Mark Littleton, "wanted to see something of the other side of life" (372). He declares to Joe "I like coloured [sic] people…You see, my father had a big plantation and owned lots of slaves,--no offense, of course, but it was the custom of that time,--and I've played with little darkies ever since I could remember" (374). Although Skaggs was born and reared on a Vermont farm, he uses the old plantation ruse to glean Berry's story out of Joe and secures "a fatter lining for his own pocket" by getting it published on the front page of the *Universe,* a New York yellow journal (424).[115] Dunbar shows how Skaggs, a representative of the New York *Universe*, is self-motivated, just like big house owner Maurice Oakley, no matter the consequences. Specifically, the narrator observes that Skaggs justifies himself by asserting that "A corporation [the Universe], he argued, had no soul, and therefore no conscience. How much less, then, should so small a part of a great corporation as himself be expected to have them?" (424). Therefore, southern honor has morphed into northern corruption as represented by Skaggs' unscrupulous acts.

Sadness, another Banner Club regular, tries to educate Joe about perils of city life when he is troubled about the news of his father's conviction spreading around town and destroying his reputation. [116] Described as having his "usual expression of innocent gloom" (372), Sadness tells Joe that "in this life we all are suffering from fever and no one edges away from the other because he finds him a little warm. It's dangerous when you're not used to it; but once you go through the parching process, you become inoculated against further contagion" (385). Beginning with the gruesome tale of his

father's lynching in Texas, Sadness goes on to recite the criminal activities of the club's other regulars: Viola, who killed another woman with a bar stool; Barney, who was indicted twice for pick-pocketing. Finally, there's Wallace, who wasted his $2000 inheritance in a matter of months and will continue to drink and live off of others in Sadness's estimation until "the poorhouse or the potter's field gets him" (385). Sadness recites these stories to encourage Joe to use the pain of the past to positive use. Unlike the other club members, Joe still has a chance to redeem himself. "If he [Joe]could only have understood all that the man [Sadness]was saying to him" the narrator notes "he might have even yet turned back" (386). Where his father's alleged crime is a mark of shame at Mrs. Jones's boarding house and his mother's former workplace, it is a sign of solidarity with the other club members. However, Joe hears Sadness's advice and thinks "dishonor was the only real thing worthwhile." (386). Therefore, he mistakenly values notoriety as a way of life. In other words, "Joe does not take away the strength to withstand their common oppression" Susan Bausch notes "but rather their tacit permission to accept his own degradation" (511). The effect of Joe's "moral astigmatism" is depicted through his relationship with Hattie Sterling, an aging show girl.

Despite "the grease-paint which adhered in unneat patches to her face," and "her taste for whiskey in its unreformed state," Joe thought Hattie "was altogether lovely to him" (375). Likewise, Hattie initially thought he "was a good-looking boy and made money enough…to show her a good time," so she takes him in and teaches him about the sporting life (378). During Joe's five-year course of alcoholism and sobriety, he shifts between the bars, the theatre, Hattie's house, and the barbershops. Towards the end of those five years, he began to think "that at last he was one of the boys that Sadness had

spoken of. He did not work, and yet he lived and ate and was proud of his degradation" (408). Inflamed by his alcoholic ways, she tauntingly states, "You're the thing I've given up all my chances for—you, a miserable drunken jay, without a jay's decency" before slapping him (408). Before Joe strangles her, he states "You put me out—you—you--, and you made me what I am…You made me what I am, and then you sent me away. You let me come back, and now you put me out" (411). Joe kills Hattie because he sees her as the cause of his downfall rather than his own dysfunctional understanding of honor. When Joe strangles Hattie, he switches physical places with his father.

Like Douglass's Virginia tavern, Dunbar's Banner Club and Joe's relationships with its patrons reveals the plantation's defining power by illustrating how it continues to control African Americans, even in the North. Dunbar shows how southern honor is transformed into northern corruption in the absence of white surveillance through the Hamiltons:

> Oh, is there no way to keep these people from rushing away from the small villages and country districts of the South up to the cities, where they cannot battle with the terrible force of a strange and unusual environment? Is there no way to prove to them that woollen-shirted, brown-jeaned simplicity is infinitely better than broad-clothed degradation? They wanted to preach to these people that good agriculture is better than bad art,--that it was better and nobler for them to sing to God across the Southern fields than to dance for rowdies in the Northern halls. They wanted to dare say that the South has its faults—no one condones them—and its disadvantages, but that even what they suffered from these was better than what awaited them in the great alleys of New York. Down there, the bodies were restrained, and they chafed; but here the soul would fester, and they would be content. (414)

The narrator's harsh commentary suggests that turn-of-the-twentieth-century northern blacks faced another form of oppression as powerful as what enchained those slaves who appeared in Douglass's antebellum back-alley coffle. Specifically, he illustrates the frustrations African Americans experienced from living in the purgatorial space of the

city—between the seeming paradise of the planter's big house and the supposed hell of living in the slave quarters. The Hamiltons' Sunday worship at their A.M.E. church is supplanted by their visits to the rowdies in the northern theatres. All of Fannie's, Kitty's, and Joe's attempts at creating a better life for themselves are frustrated by multiple setbacks, which make the chasm between the dream of liberty and their perpetual nightmare of constraint insurmountable. Dunbar brings his novel to a close by rendering different fates to the Hamiltons and Maurice Oakley, who are all victims and culprits of the plantation whether they are located in the North or the South.

As the story ends with Joe switching places with his father and Kitty continuing on in show business, Fannie and Berry reunite after the death of her new gambling husband Gibson (415). Their reunion and move back South provides the seeds for their future without their children. Joe, like his father Berry, realizes too late the role southern honor has played in his downfall. However, they both escape, but not without its costs, which is manifested through their physical appearances and mental state. While Joe is awaiting transfer to begin his life-term sentence, he is allowed to spend some last moments with Hattie's dog. As he sits there stroking her pet in his lap, "There was a mute sorrow in the eyes of both man and dog, and they seemed to take comfort in each other's presence" (413). Likewise, Berry's "erstwhile quick wits were dulled and imbruted" (427). Because he "had lived like an ox, working without inspiration or reward," in a southern jail, Berry "came forth like an ox from his stall" when he was released (427). Dunbar's animalistic description of Joe and Berry could suggest that Kennedy's Meriwether was right to argue that African Americans needed the guiding hand of slavery to prevent them from returning to their criminally animalistic nature.

However, Berry's return to the plantation and Joe's incarceration will provide them the opportunity to interrogate the role dis(honor) has had in their lives like never before.

Although Joe's arrest and subsequent conviction was "quite a blow," to Kitty, it was only in so much as that "no one could help connecting her name with the affair" (415). Kitty's experience in New York has turned her into a self-absorbed prima donna, who is preoccupied with guarding her own image and reputation**.** She is satisfied when her brother confesses to the murder, which saves her from having to hire an attorney and suffer through the newspaper coverage of a trial. However, like Hattie, Kitty lives a life "in which the chief aim was the possession of good clothes and the ability to attract the attention which she had learned to crave" (415). Moreover, "Miss Kitty Hamilton had to be very careful about her nerves and her health. She had had experiences, and her voice was not as good as it used to be, and her beauty had to be aided by cosmetics" (415-416). Kitty's current status hearkens back to Hattie's prior declaration that "We don't last long in this life: it soon wears us out, and when we're worn out an sung out, danced out and played out, the manager has no further use for us; so he reduces us to the ranks or kicks us out entirely" (Dunbar 392). If she is not careful, Kitty will become another Hattie who will be utterly used up and eventually tossed away.

In *The Sport of the Gods*, Paul Laurence Dunbar explores how the southern notion of honor rooted in the plantation space continues to influence African Americans even in the city. As the Hamiltons' experience can attest, "Whom the Gods wish to destroy they first make mad" (359). While their inability to renegotiate their southern identity in the north leads to the heartbreak and confusion, their story also provides promise from pain. Like John Pendleton Kennedy's *Swallow Barn* and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's*

Cabin, the literary importance of Paul Laurence Dunbar's *The Sport of the Gods* extended beyond the page in the years following its 1902 publication. On April 18, 1921, Robert Levy's the Reol Productions Corporation released a silent film adaptation of Dunbar's novel to Chicago audiences. "The Sport of the Gods" was also the inaugural film of Levy's Reol Productions Corporation which was launched May, 31, 1920.[117] Dunbar's novel was the ideal fit for Levy's goal of presenting serious black drama to challenge stereotypical images of African Americans in film. Specifically, in "The 'Reol' Story," Christina Petersen argues that Levy's interest in promoting black film may have been for personal as well as commercial reasons. As the son of Russian Jews who spoke Yiddish, Levy sympathized with African Americans probably because he faced anti-Semitic discrimination (312).[118] While there are no extant copies of "The Sport of Gods," clues about Levy's depiction of Dunbar's novel exist through lobby cards. These examples provide a glimpse into how plantation spaces like the quarters are transformed into enclave sites in the city.

Figure 16. "Edna Morton in 'The Sport of the Gods 1923.'" Photolithograph by the Reol Productions Corporation. From the Helen Armstead-Johnson Theater Photograph Collection. Located at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture / Photographs and Prints Division

Figure 16 features the character Hattie Sterling played by African American actress Edna Morton Wilson in the foreground of the Banner Club, the local dive where she meets Joe Hamilton. Other patrons are enjoying themselves whether they are dancing, performing, listening to the music, in conversation, or people watching. Compared to Strother's illustration "Abe with Out-Lyers," (Fig. 4), Levy depicts blacks enjoying themselves in a space outside of the master's gaze. However, the lobby card also implies that the Banner Club becomes a site of spectacle that attracts whites as well as blacks. Laguerre notes that places like Dunbar's bar is a spectacle site which "provides a corridor through which outsiders may penetrate the community" (102). Skaggs and his lady friend Maudie were just two of the white regulars who visit the bar. The Banner Club is open to whites while the natural spaces of the plantation like the

swamp provided a safe haven for Abe and his friends. However, Levy's film rightly depicts the Banner Club as a place where blacks and whites of ill repute congregated. Unfortunately, "When images are put on display by outsiders for outsiders, the place projected will not correspond to the actual place. It is a commodified, idealized, and exotic aspect of the enclave that is used and projected" (102-103). Therefore, because African Americas are not allowed autonomous control of this space, the wrong ideals are highlighted: debauchery instead of bravery and lust instead of love. Levy's attempt to present serious African American drama arguably, may have had the opposite effect of its intent by accentuating the differences between Dunbar's dive and Harris's *Atlanta Constitution* offices. This difference transforms spaces like the Banner Club into a site that has no connection to its slave past rooted in black culture (folklore and conjure) and ultimately, no relevance to places—banks, hospitals, offices—that are essentially vital to a city. Robert Levy's "The Sport of the Gods" continues to explore the plantation's influence through depiction of places like the Banner Club as a site of African American expression and interracial exchange.

NOTES

[1] All quotations from *Swallow Barn* are cited from the 1851 edition for illustrative purposes, unless otherwise noted. The 1986 republication has the same pagination.

[2] Captain Hazard, Littleton's Uncle, offered Luke his freedom, but "the domestic desired no greater liberty than he then enjoyed, and would not entertain the idea of any possible separation from the family" (465). In lieu of a formal manumission, Hazard gave Luke a few acres of land within the vicinity of the slave quarters and the current cabin in which Lucy resides.

[3]According to the Oxford Dictionary of Art and Artists, picturesque (derived from the Italian pittoresco, or "from a picture"), is a term covering a set of aesthetic ideals about landscape, both real and painted that flourished in Britain in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Adherents of the ideal saw the picturesque as a category between the beautiful (serene) and the sublime (awe inspiring), and is characterized by roughness and irregularity, variety, detail and interesting textures. Ruins, country cottages, and partly kept woodlands were typical picturesque subjects and were depicted by artists like J.M.W. Turner and Gaspard Dughet. William Gilpin was one of the leading writers on the picturesque who published a series of essays and books on the topic.

I am particularly interested in how Kennedy utilized the picturesque's panoramic views, framing effect (orienting around a singular axis vision), and the positioning of distant laborers in *Swallow Barn*. Mark Littleton seems to run the gamut between what Christopher Hanlon calls in *America's England* "distance and propinquity" (32). Throughout the narrative, Littleton provided the reader with sweeping optimum views of plantation life. However, his proximate view of Tidewater culture unsettles his former vision when he visits the slave quarters and Lucy's cottage. See Hanlon 191-237 for a longer discussion on the role of the picturesque in *Swallow Barn*.

[4] In their efforts to justify slavery as a necessary system of race relations, Southern theorists of the 1830s and 1840s developed a series of arguments for Negro inferiority in response to arguments for gradual emancipation, black colonization schemes, and the growing sector of radical abolitionism in the North. These arguments, while not new, were powerful because of the quick and organized way in which they were launched. I am interested in how Lucy, Abe and several other African American characters in this project adhere to and depart from this model.

[5] He also notes "Nor is it a matter of numbers: women, who are in the numerical majority, are minoritized" (3).

[6] Contrary to Littleton's travel by steamboat to Swallow Barn, he decides to take a public stage home via Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Washington D.C. (502).

[7] See Charles H. Bohner for full coverage on Kennedy's life as a lawyer, businessman, and politician.

[8] The "Old Dominion" is Virginia's unofficial state nickname. The phrase and elevated status was awarded by King Charles II around 1663 for the settlement's loyalty to the crown during the English Civil Wars.

[9] *Swallow Barn* has been seen as establishing the plantation tradition for over eighty years. In *The Southern Plantation* (1924), Francis Pendleton Gaines credits Kennedy with presenting a fixed image of the plantation known solely for its "picturesque qualities" (22). Some of the most important features of the "Old Dominion" included the big house and the gentleman planter serving as the symbolic center of antebellum life. Vernon Parrington recognized *Swallow Barn* as the earliest novel of plantation life and

commented on its idyllic and romantic treatment of slavery (28). Finally, Jay Hubbell argued that Kennedy's series of sketches is "a faithful picture of Virginia plantation life" (492).

[10] For historical discussions of The Bower see *Magazine of the Jefferson County Historical Society Volumes* VII (1941): 8-10; XVIII (1952): 15-17; XXIV (1958): 9-15. Michael J. Pauley's National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form. Also, *Between the Shenandoah and the Potomac: Historic Homes of Jefferson County, West Virginia* (1990): 103.

[11] For a comprehensive overview of the abolitionist movement in the press, see Risley.

[12] For a discussion on the role of religion in the abolitionist movement, see Robert B. Azburg, Walters, and Wyatt-Brown, 78-125.

[13]Regarding their family connection, Cecil D. Eby writes, "David Strother and John P. Kennedy were first cousins once removed. Strother's grandfather, David Hunter, and Kennedy's father had married daughters of Philip Pendleton of Martinsburg. Kennedy's mother and his two brothers, Andrew and Philip ("Pent"), lived in or near Martinsburg. The friendship of John P. Kennedy and John Strother antedated the War of 1812" (48). In the fall of 1850, the author enticed Strother into collaborating with him by offering to split book profits in return for twenty illustrations. Though the proceeds were scanty, Strother's contributions brought *Swallow Barn* renewed critical acclaim (Cuthbert and Poesch 27).

[14] For a detailed discussion of Strother's artistic training, see Eby 3-86.

[15] Eby outlines Strother's political stance and his participation in the Civil War, 102-174.

[16]For a history on the Abolitionist Movement's change in tactics from religious persuasion to political engagement see Mitchell, 3-28; Risley 77-101; and Stewart 3-34.

[17] *The Heroic Slave* is based on the November 1841 slave mutiny aboard the *Creole*, a US brigantine. The ship carrying 134 slaves was bound for New Orleans from Hampton Roads, Virginia (In *The Heroic Slave*, it is Richmond, Virginia). During its voyage, Madison Washington led a takeover of the ship and sailed it to the free British port of Nassau in the Bahamas. The British refused to return the slaves to their owners and the mutineers were allowed to stay. While the revolt did not receive as much attention as the 1839 *Amistad* takeover, the leader of the mutiny, Madison Washington, became a hero to many black abolitionists, particularly Douglass. For a historical account of the *Creole* see George Hendrick and Willene Hendrick 77-111. Also see Jones 28-50.

Before his publication of *The Heroic Slave*, Douglass also used Madison as an example of the bravery and heroic nature of black men in several speeches: "American Prejudice Against Color" (October 1845), "America's Compromise with Slavery and the Abolitionists' Work" (April 1846), " American and Scottish Prejudice Against the Slave (May 1846), "Farewell to the British People" (March 1847), "The Slaves' Right to Revolt" (May 1848), and "Slavery, the Slumbering Volcano" (April 1849). All of these speeches can be found in *The Frederick Douglass Papers* Edited by John W. Blassingame.

[18] For a further discussion of Stowe's access to information see Thomas Gossett 148-49 and chapter XI; Hedrick 218-23, 230. See also Stowe's *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* 74-81.

[19] Joan Hedrick notes that Bailey shared with Stowe a "boarder state perspective" that "made him more sensitive to the feelings of the South than abolitionists from the Northeast" (206). Susan Belasco Smith agrees adding that Bailey had been chosen specifically for editorship of the *Era* because of his diplomatic personality and his goal to persuade southerners and southern slaveholders that "slavery was more than a sectional issue" (78). To that end, the *Era* was targeted towards a southern audience because

he wanted to treat them as reasonable beings whom he might involve in a "national campaign against a moral, social, political and economic evil" (78). This moderate boarder state perspective is reflected in Stowe's novel, specifically in the characterization of Uncle Tom as the friendly God-fearing hero and her decision to not have Cassy kill Simon Legree; rather, she haunts him to death.

[20] I am conflating theatre and the periodical for metaphorical purposes, while keeping in mind that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was performed for the stage as early as Tom Aiken's production in 1852. For more discussions on the theatrical history of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, see Eric Lott 211-233, Jo-Ann Morgan, and Judith Williams (19-39), who provide provocative commentaries on the historical and social ramifications of the novel's adaptation to other mediums including theatre.

[21] For a discussion of cotton's role in the development of the Deep South, see Rothman, especially chapter two, "Civilizing the Cotton Frontier," 37-72.

[22] Milette Shamir argues in *Inexpressible Privacy: The Interior Life of Antebellum American Literature* that in order to appease the anxiety associated with the extension of the right of proprietary privacy (a house of their own) to slaves and women, Stowe's novel fills spaces like Tom's cabin and Eva's room with "well-rehearsed social narratives of identity" which must be devoid of "any individualized, counteridentitarian, and potentially transgressive elements; they must be exposed to contain nothing beyond sheer convention" so that "the boundaries of privacy are all but superfluous, because nothing within these rooms requires a protective veil to begin with" (131-132). While Shamir argues her point through a detailed analysis of the "dead spaces" in Stowe's novel, she neglects to address how this argument extends to the garret, and particularly, the shed.

[23] There has been extensive discussion of Cassy's garret escape scene, beginning with Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar's "Madwoman in the Attic Motif" (533-535). Margaret Lant argues that Cassy is a heroic figure because she is the only character who can end the suffering of slavery and bring Stowe's narrative to an end. Concerning the gothic implications of Cassy's haunting, Karen Halttunen argues that while it draws on the most clichéd aspects of the Gothic tradition, Stowe satirizes that tradition. Haltunnen also observes that the true haunting of Simon Legree is "more psychological than supernatural" (125). Thomas Fick supports Halttunen's claim, but his argument focuses on how feminine ghost stories "allowed women writers to acknowledge the higher spiritual nature of women without prescribing worldly action" (83). For differing views on the use of the gothic in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, see Teresa Goddu, who argues that Cassy's escape under a white sheet erases the historical relevance and reality of her time as a slave. See too, Michelle Massé, who argues that this episode provides an "escape" from "uncomfortable questions about the nature and extent of our identifications with either Cassy or Legree" (164). All of these scholars provide useful commentary about the nature of Cassy's haunting scheme from various perspectives.

[24] Unfortunately, there is no concrete evidence about Stowe's participation in the production of illustrations for her novel. For a longer discussion on visual images in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, see Jo-Ann Morgan's *Uncle Tom's Cabin as Visual Culture* and several earlier essays.

[25] There were two editions published simultaneously after the first edition by John P. Jewett & Co; an expensive octavo edition and an inexpensive "Edition for the Million" in mid-December 1852, both in time for the Christmas season. In spite of this, the publication date for these editions remains 1853. For this edition Hammatt Billings, the artist who had drawn the seven pictures in the first edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, was hired to draw 117 new pictures -- 45 for the head of each chapter, 45 for the end of each chapter, 27 inside various chapters -- as well as ornamental capitals for the first word of each chapter. For an extensive discussion of the illustrations and the history of the editions, see Jo-Ann Morgan's essay, "Illustrating *Uncle Tom's Cabin*" and Michael Winship's "*Uncle Tom's Cabin*: History of the Book in the 19th Century United States" located at the University of Virginia's Website, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and American Culture.

[26] In her discussion of Billings's illustration of Eva and Uncle Tom reading the Bible, Jo-Ann Morgan asserts "The act of reading the Bible together was an undermining of patriarchal authority potentially more disruptive than even abolitionism." See Morgan's "Illustrating Uncle Tom's Cabin" for further commentary on this illustration.

[27] There were other illustrators just as famous creating pictorial representations of Stowe's text, such as George Cruikshank, whose work was featured in the first London edition published 1853. In *Blind Memory*, Marcus Wood contends that Cruikshank was a prime choice for publisher John Cassell because Cruikshank's fame as a graphic artist could bolster sales of his edition of Stowe's novel. As a result, Cruikshank's illustrations had the effect of infiltrating "print culture, the popular culture and the intellectual culture of Europe and America during the last two hundred years" (7). Compared to his earlier illustrations of blacks and the ones he created for other texts with predominately white characters, Cruikshank's illustrations in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Wood concludes, failed to move beyond stereotypical roles of blacks as "passive, ludicrous and respectable" (171). He asserts that Cruikshank's drawings resulted in making Stowe's novel operate on a "basic level of entertainment" (185). For an extensive discussion on George Cruikshank, see Marcus Wood 143-214.

[28] In "Remodeling the Model Home in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Beloved*," Lori Askeland describes Cassy playing a combination "Good Samaritan and Mary Magdalene" to Uncle Tom (789). Jo-Ann Morgan discusses Cassy's similarity to Mary Magdalene through references to Christian iconography in fine art (*Visual Culture* 72). In the Gospels, there are several women who minister to Christ: Mary Magdalene is the first one to see Christ after his resurrection (John 20 11-19). Mary, the sister of Martha and Lazarus, sits at his feet listening to his teachings in one story and anoints his feet with ointment in another (Luke 10:38-42 and John 12:1-8). Finally, a sinful woman anoints Christ's feet at the Pharisee's house (Luke 7:36-50). This is just a sampling of the number of women who ministered to Christ and provided a possible framework for Stowe's characterization of Cassy and how she has been critically assessed by scholars since.

[29] In "Concluding Remarks," the novel's final chapter, Stowe exhorts her readers in a jeremiad-like fashion to join the fight against slavery for its injustice and cruelty to human beings (*UTC* 437-446). Through various scenes of the slave's suffering, Harriet Beecher Stowe encourages readers to intercede on their behalf asking, "Does not every American Christian owe to the African race some effort at reparation for the wrongs that the American nation has brought upon them?" (442).

[30] Tom's death is problematic because his activities in the shed are supposed to critique and indict the slavery in nineteenth century America through his Christ-like actions. However, James Baldwin argues in "Everybody's Protest Novel" that Stowe's text is a failure because Tom, "robbed of his humanity and divested of his sex," dies ultimately paying "the price for that darkness with which he has been branded" (94). Baldwin's critique that fiction like Stowe's tended to categorize humanity instead of reflecting it in its breadth of "beauty, dread, [and] power" is seen in the depiction of Tom (97). Although described as "a large, broad-chested, powerfully made man of a full glossy black," his humble martyrdom is a common occurrence throughout the novel. In some instances, however, death is not necessarily negative if living in shackles is the alternative. While Cassy kills her daughter, Tom dies from a fatal beating instead of telling Legree of Emmeline and Cassy's location. This suggests that Stowe is not making a moral judgment of one death over another, but includes both instances to condemn those who would force or harm someone to this point.

[31] Several scholars have commented on Stowe's expulsion of black characters from the United States at the end of Uncle's Tom's Cabin. In *Harriet Beecher Stowe*, Joan Hedrick argues that her position resulted from her unfamiliarity with antislavery politics noting paradoxically that Stowe's inexperience "enabled her to act as a unifying force" within this realm (236).

[32] The King James Version of this scripture states, "For both he that sanctifieth and they who *are* sanctified are all of one: for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren" (Emphasis KJV).

[33] For a complete listing of contributors see *Autographs for Freedom*.

[34] Several scholars address Douglass's use of various sources to address the status of African Americans in the United States. See Andrews, Levine, Sale, Stepto, Sundquist, and Yarborough.

[35]From a literary historical perspective, Robert B. Stepto makes similar claims about Douglass's deployment of Virginia's duality in the opening section of *The Heroic Slave*. First, he argues that Douglass brought to the novella "all the intentions, if not all the skills, of a self-conscious *writer*" by writing the opening paragraph as a "significant revoicing of the conventional opening of a slave narrative" (Emphasis Stepto 361). Second, Douglass through his comparison of heroic statesman (George Washington) and heroic chattel (Madison Washington) provides a complex commentary asserting that "statesmen and slaves may share the same name and be heroes and Virginians alike" (362). Robert B. Stepto 355-68.

[36] Many scholars have written about the issues leading up to and surrounding Douglass's break from the Garrisonian school of Abolitionism. Not exhaustive, but a sampling, see Robert Fanuzzi, Robert Levine, and Benjamin Quarles.

[37] As Marriane Noble puts it, cultural training can be loosely defined as the ways in which individuals are taught acceptable behaviors, ideas, and opinions in order to be successful participants of a particular society. Cultural training often prohibits individuals from seeing the "conviction of our common humanity" thereby making a true transformation impossible. For example, George originally came to repurchase Tom and take him back to Kentucky as a slave and valued member of the family both enslaved and freed. George would have been a representative of the complicity occurring within the system or slavery, no matter how kind and loving a master George Shelby may have been, had Uncle Tom lived.

[38] Douglass wrote an appendix to his Narrative *of the Life Frederick Douglass an American Slave* (1845) describing American Christianity as "corrupt, slaveholding, women-whipping, cradle-plundering, partial and hypocritical" (105). In contrast, he loves "the pure, peaceable, and impartial Christianity of Christ" (105). He also gave a series of speeches on the hypocrisy of the American Church that included: "American Prejudice and Southern Slavery" (Nov. 4, 1841), "The Southern Style of Preaching to Slaves" or "A Slaveholder's Sermon" (Jan. 28, 1842), "The Church is the Bulwark of Slavery" (May 25, 1842), "Southern Slavery and Northern Religion" (Feb 11, 1844) and "Slavery Corrupts American Society and Religion" (Oct. 17, 1845). All of these speeches can be found in *The Frederick Douglass Papers* Edited by John W. Blassingame.

[39] Maggie Sale states similarly that Mr. Listwell's behavior "teaches Douglass' readers that the "submissiveness" of enslaved people may be a conscious strategy rather than an indication of their inferior status. . . By participating in this fashion, Listwell not only aids Washington and provides a model for abolitionist action, but his experience also supports Washington's earlier argument for the necessity of such strategies, be they deceptive or illegal" (49). See Sale, "Politics of Solidarity" 25-60.

[40] Explaining his preference for the tavern yet understanding Douglass's choice of the marine coffee house instead, Robert Stepto writes:

> The braggadocio and general belligerence of Jack Williams, for example, suggest the behavior of a man whose cup contains a headier brew than coffee or tea. Of course, the problem for Douglass was that, given his advocacy of temperance, he could not easily situate Tom Grant, the reformed sailor and a voice of reason, in one of the Devil's haunts. This is quite likely an

> instance where Douglass' politics and penchant for realism conflicted in a way he had not encountered before he attempted prose fiction. (364)

See also "Sharing the Thunder: The Literary Exchanges of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Henry Bibb, and Frederick Douglass" in *New Essays on Uncle Tom's Cabin* edited by Eric J. Sundquist (135-54).

[41] Jürgen Habermas notes that in theory one of the most important criteria of public places such as the coffee house is that hierarchies of any kind, laws of the market, and laws of the state were disregarded in favor of those who could offer the best argument. He asserts that these criteria "If not realized, it was at least consequential" (36). Regarding the status of African Americans and the public sphere in antebellum America, Robert Fanuzzi argues that "Douglass appeared as the sublime image of the public sphere at the same moment that enfranchised American citizens were seeking to idealize themselves on the basis of white manhood. He would invoke this object at nearly every oratorical appearance in order to reveal the public sphere itself as a "pathological" institution, predicated on the failure to establish the equivalency between subjects that was necessary for its own operation" (221). While Habermas is interested in charting the history and practice of the public sphere, however imperfect, Fanuzzi critiques the public sphere's exclusivity as evidenced by Douglass's uncertain position within the public discourse of antislavery.

[42] Foucault defines heterotopias as a mixed space consisting of real/unreal elements. He provides the mirror as an example of this concept stating, "it makes this place I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there" (24). Michel Foucault, "Of Other Places" (22-27).

[43] In "What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?" Frederick Douglass credits Lysander Spooner, Esq., William Goodell, Samuel E. Sewall, Esq., and Gerrit Smith for their contributions on the unconstitutionality of slavery.

[44] Robert Stepto also suggests that Listwell and Grant's change of heart signal the idea that "freedom for slaves can transform the South [Grant] and the North [Listwell] and hence the nation" ("Storytelling" 365). Krista Walter claims that while both men (Listwell and Grant) "provide two different models (from two distinct classes) for conversion. . . Grant allows Douglass to accommodate a more aggressively patriotic, working-class and racist reader" (241).

[45] Marianne Noble makes similar claims in her article suggesting through Tom Grant that "White vision is not transcendent . . . it is shaped by racial categories. Therefore, the white man who converts to antislavery is realistically portrayed as inconsistent in outlook. His development of anti-slavery beliefs begins with an assumption of difference, and he slowly grants respect to the slaves. His narrative suggests that experience and a willingness to listen can lead whites past the effects of ideology" (5). Ivy G. Wilson argues that "With Grant's disavowal of slavery Douglass implies that had the founding fathers atoned for their sin of owning slaves, they could have reemerged as rehabilitated Tom Grants. Imperfect and belated as his conversion is, Grant arrives as the son to redeem the fathers" (465).

[46]The *Southern Literary Messenger* was published in Richmond, 1834-64. The *Southern Review* (1828-32), the *Southern Literary Journal* (1835-38); the *Southern Quarterly Review* (1842-57), and *Russell's Magazines* (1857-60) were all published out of Charleston. *De Bow's Review* was published in New Orleans 1846-80; *Southern Parlour Magazine* (1852-56) in Mobile; finally, the *Southern Literary Companion* of Newnan Georgia (1859-64). This is a representative but not exhaustive listing of some of the more successful and longer running periodicals in the south prior to and during the Civil War. To be fair, publications in the North could also be short-lived during the 1850s, as *Putnam's* discovered.

[47] Brantley (xi-xii) and Flanders (204-206) both discuss Georgia's literary importance in the south during the Civil War. Flanders observes that Georgia's 134 publications compared to Charleston's eighty-two between 1732 and 1864. Fahs notes that Tennessee's printing establishments fell under Union control early in the war (21).

[48] To be fair, Virginia's *Southern Literary Messenger* (1834-64), and *De Bows Review* (1846-1884) out of New Orleans, and Charlotte's *The Land We Love* (1866-69), were two of the South's most widely circulated periodicals.

[49] For further discussion of Southern periodicals during the war see Flanders 129-31; Griffith and Talmadge, who focus specifically on the role of the free press during the war, 66-89; Hubbell 447-6. Alice Fahs provides a critical overview of southern and northern wartime publications in chapter one of *The Imagined Civil War*, 17-60.

[50] Under the pseudonym "Orion," Joseph Addison Turner printed his article in the *Temperance Banner*, a semi-monthly paper published in Penfield, Georgia, by Benjamin Brantley in 1846 (Huff 90). Turner also published a book of juvenile verse entitled *Kemble's Poems* in 1847. While reviews assert that this text did not possess any real poetic merit, Huff observes that, with the exception of Augustus Baldwin Longstreet and William Tappan Thompson, there were few literary works of any significance written by Georgians before 1847 (93-106). In January 1848, despite the difficulties other men had already encountered in trying to establish literary periodicals in middle Georgia, Turner launched *Turner's Monthly*, a magazine "prominently open for the discussion of general politics and religion" that was filled with "interesting and instructive essays, reviews, tales, sketches, and poems" (Huff 112-113). Despite its ambitious prospectus, the magazine did not receive sufficient support and was discontinued in March 1848 after three numbers. For an extensive discussion of Turner's publishing history beyond *The Countryman*, see Huff.

[51] Plantation Plain type, also known as "Plantation Plain" or the "I" house, takes its odd name from its tall, slender, side profile. I-houses feature gables to the side and are at least two rooms in length, one room deep, and two full stories in height. Thus, upstairs rooms had ventilation on three sides, a distinct advantage in a hot climate. Often, they also have a rear wing or ell for a kitchen or additional space. The facade of an I-house is symmetrical and constructed in a variety of materials, including logs, wood, frame, brick, or stone. One particularly striking I-house variant—now sometimes known romantically as the "plantation-plain style"—featured a long, one-story porch across the front, with a corresponding shed-roofed extension across the rear. Thus upstairs rooms had ventilation on three sides, a distinct advantage in a hot climate. Developed from traditional 17th century British folk house types, the I-house became a popular house form in the Mid-Atlantic and Southern United States at an early date, but I-houses can be found throughout most of the country in areas that were settled by the mid-19th century. Also known as the "Farmer's Mansion," the I-house represented the financial success of a rural upper class farmer in an agricultural based society. See Gamble (29-32).

Turner's house is rectangular in plan, two stories high, with a gable roof and exterior end chimneys. A one storey, gable-roofed ell extends to the rear. Unlike the traditional I-house, Turners house was built in an asymmetrical two over two manner without a central stair. The stairway, in an exterior corner, is enclosed. The full-width, one story, hip roofed porch which replaced an even earlier shed roofed porch was replaced with a two story portico during the 1930s. Also, a one-story, shed-roofed addition to the southeast side of the house has been removed. For further discussion about the Plain Plantation style or "I" house, see Encyclopedia of Alabama, Alabama Humanities Foundation. http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/face/Article.jsp?id=h-1671 retrieved 5/07/2010. For a detailed discussion of Turnwold, including Joseph Addison Turner's house (Alexander-Turner House), see the National Register of Historic Places, Inventory Nomination Form Turnwold (Putnam County, GA #80001225).

[52] In June 1865, Turner was placed under military arrest in Macon, Georgia, by United States Major General James Harrison Wilson, who charged him with publishing disloyal articles in his newspaper. Certain restrictions were placed upon the periodical so that no issue was published between June 27, 1865 and January 30, 1866. For an extensive discussion of *The Countryman*, see Flanders 164-177 and Huff 266-268.

[53] Concerning the history of the *Countryman's* format, Lawrence Huff writes, "Except for the addition in 1863 of a weekly summary of war and other news, the general nature of the *Countryman* remained the same until the beginning of 1864, when the only major change in its plan and purpose occurred. After this date it retained a literary department, but in other respects was modeled after *Niles' National Register* (September 7, 1811- September 28, 1849) in Baltimore. Therefore, the *Countryman* contained speeches, messages, letters, and documents of public officials, such as important laws, military orders, circulars issued by the Treasury Department and announcements emanating from the governors of southern states and the President of the Confederacy. Turner also printed articles on a greater variety of subjects than before, including sections on stock raising, field sports, philosophy, art, science, market values, and the industrial and mechanical resources of the South (273-274).

[54] More specifically, Turner's *The Countryman* provided him a platform for political comment. Before the war, Turner was a Union Democrat who opposed secession (Cousins 37). As late as 1857, Turner cooperated with northern and southern representatives for a peaceful separation of the South from the Union. Although Georgia ultimately decided to secede, he never wavered in his support of the abiding Confederation. During the war, his editorials stressed the importance of cooperation among southerners in their struggle for independence and urged them to assist the Confederate government in this endeavor. Specifically, Turner endorsed President Jefferson Davis in his conflict with Georgia Governor Joseph E. Brown over states' rights and his handling of Major General William T. Sherman's march through Georgia. Blaming Brown for his "continuous opposition to the Confederate authorities," Turner argued that if "there had been more complete accord" between Brown and Davis, then Sherman would "never had made his triumphal march through our state" and to the sea (*The Countryman* Feb 21, 1865, 103).

[55] Included in the report is a description of Joel Chandler Harris that reads, "Compositor—Joel C. Harris—19 years old. Weighs only about 100 lbs. Frail and Feeble. Not fit for military service. Exempt under state and Confederate law, as a compositor" (Huff 278).

[56] Contributions to Turner's paper came with discriminating taste, from three sources. First, reprints quoted in the *Countryman* often came from Turner's own extensive library. The favorites from which he quoted included *Percy Anecdotes* collected and edited by Reuben and Sholto Percy (1826), *Lacon* (1820) by Charles Caleb Colton, Isaac Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature* (1824), Robert Chambers' *Cyclopedia of English Literature* (1844), and Fran*çois duc de La Rochefoucauld's* *Reflexions; ou, Sentences et Maximes Morales* (1665). Along with book selections, he reprinted a great deal of material from his newspaper exchanges which usually dealt with the war, some of them being propaganda. While the newspapers he received often presented a biased view in favor of the South, Turner was less guilty of propagandizing his readers than most of his fellow editors were. Finally, when it came to publishing submitted original works, Turner employed a high critical standard and never hesitated to reject those submissions he considered inferior. In the April 7, 1863 issue of *The Countryman*, Turner wrote:

> For the future, no one, it matters not who, need send a communication to The [sic] *Countryman*, with the expectation that the editor will not exercise a discretion in accepting, or rejecting it. The *Countryman* has no privileged contributors. Each and every article, it matters not from whom it may come, will be subjected to a most rigid scrutiny and criticism.
>
> …None but the very [sic] best, in manner and style, will be published. These columns are not the place for beginners to try their "'prentice hands." Were I editor of a larger journal, I would take pleasure in drawing out and fostering the latent talent of the land. As it is, I must decline 19 communications out of 20. (2)

[57] While *The Old Plantation* was issued in pamphlet form by Turner a few months later, the date is unknown. All references to *The Old Plantation* are from this version. For a complete version of this text see Emory University Library. *The Old Plantation: A Poem*. Ed Henry Prentice Miller. Atlanta, Georgia: Emory University Library, 1945.

[58] In a note published with the first installment (October 27, 1862), Turner acknowledged his belief that the poem was rejected because it was strongly proslavery (37).

[59] Bertram Holland Flanders and Lawrence Huff both agree that Turner accurately depicts certain phases of plantation life as well as certain figures of importance in Georgia history. The country store, school and church, as well as such figures as the blacksmith, miller, doctor, pastor, camp- meeting orator and Yankee school teacher. The pastor of the little country church is based on Rev. William Arnold, who had faithfully served a church near Turnwold. The camp-meeting preacher was based on Bishop William Capers of the Methodist Episcopal Church during his early days. Finally, the Yankee teacher is a description of William H. Seward, Senator of New York and later President Lincoln's Secretary of State, who had taught school for a few months near the Turner home in Putnam County. For a further discussion of these figures, see Flanders 175-177 and Huff 294.

[60] Before the centralization of dairying in the North and Midwest (beginning in the mid to late eighteenth century), separate dairy buildings were not needed to make butter or cheese. Many women, both black and white, churned milk into butter on the porch which was a cooler place than the kitchen inside. For a further discussion on the industrialization of dairying, especially as it relates to its transformation from a home-based operation for women to a large-scale commercial zone for men see Jensen, McMurry, and Valenze. To see an extensive slideshow on dairies and milking visit the Colonial Williamsburg website at http://history.org/Foundation/journal/winter05-06/dairies.cfm retrieved 5/21/12.

[61] See Lipsedge, 29-33; McMurry75-79.

[62] The epitaph for Rachel Teger, a black dairy maid who worked for Martha Ogle Forman reads "She was a field hand when I came here but soon I discovered she had a great deal of intelligence and industry and she made all my pasteries, Cakes and biscuits, best Candlemaker and dairy maid, she has made me many thousands of butter, she had been dairy maid for upwards of 20 years" (91). For more information on black dairy maids see Jensen 84, 90-91.

[63] In *The Old Plantation*, the Wanderer never specifically names where his father migrated from.

[64] In a Sunday November 20, 1864 journal entry Turner writes, "About 1 or 2 o'clock, 4 or 5 yankees [sic] came, professing they would behave as gentlemen. These gentlemen, however, stole my gold watch, and silver spoons, besides whiskey, tobacco, and a hat or two, apiece. About the middle of the afternoon, 4 more came, and got a few hats, and one fiddle, and some whiskey. About night, two dutchmen [sic] came, and got some whiskey, a few hats, etc." (qtd Huff 263). For more details about Union soldiers raiding Turnwold, see Brasch 13-18, Cousins 46-49 and Huff 257-266.

[65]Turner wrote *The Nigger: A Satire* (1866), and published a column "Crumbs from the Countryman's Table" in *Scott's Monthly Magazine* from April to August 1867.

[66] The first Installment was published in the next to last issue *The Countryman* (May 1, 1866), and complete in pamphlet form. According to Lawrence Huff, the only known copy in existence, a pamphlet without date or name of printer, is owned by the Emory University Library, from which I was also able to obtain a copy. Although Huff asserts the poem is 41 pages, my copy is only thirty one pages. In spite of this discrepancy, mine seem to be a copy in its entirety.

[67] Although the Andersonville prison in Andersonville, Georgia could only accommodate up to 10,000 detainees, that number more than tripled to 33,000 prisoners in August 1864 with almost 3,000 of them dying that same month. Elmira Prison in Elmira, New York could hold no more than 5,000 persons. In February of 1865, 1,398 out of 8,996 captives were sick due to a variety of diseases and exposure. Nicknamed "Helmira," Elmira's 24 percent mortality rate outpaced Andersonville's numbers in this category. See Sanders (198-99, 251 and272).

[68] Camilla says to Miriam "I was reading yesterday a beautiful story in the Bible about a wicked king, who wanted to kill all the little boys of a people who were enslaved in his land, and how his mother hid her child by the side of a river, and that the king's daughter found him and saved his life…Now I mean to do something like that good princess" (Harper 5). Harper's novella critiques white Southern patriarchy in Turner's *The Old Plantation* and *A Satire* through gender and race.

[69] See Eric Foner, 45-48 and Jay R. Mandle, 16-17.

[70] Chapter VI of Frances E.W. Harper's *Trial and Triumph* appears in the November 8, 1888 issue of *The Christian Recorder*. In a conversation about the status of African Americans and land ownership, Mr. Slocum states "The land is a basis of power, and like *Anteus* in the myth, we will never have our full measure of material strength till we touch the earth as owners of the soil. And when we get the land we must have patience and perseverance enough to hold it."

[71] In *Help Me to Find My People* (2012), Andrea Heather Williams observes that there were several other short-lived black newspapers which featured "Information Wanted," or "Lost Friends" columns intent on helping black families reunite. These included the *Black Republican*, published in 1865 New Orleans; the *Colored Tennessean*, in Nashville from 1865-1866; the *South Carolina Leader*, published in Charleston from 1865 to 1868; the *Free Man's Press*, published from 1868-1869 in Galveston, Texas; the *Colored American*, also known as the *Loyal Georgian*, published in Augusta from 1865-1868; and the *Colored Citizen*, in Cincinnati, Ohio, 1863-1869. There were also church-sponsored publications like the *Christian Recorder* including the *Southwestern Christian Advocate*, published in New Orleans by the Methodist Episcopal Church South from 1873 to 1929; and the *Star of Zion*, published in Charlotte, North Carolina by the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (153-54). For a further discussion on the role of Information Wanted ads in the African American community, see pages 139-188.

[72] Building upon the earlier work of Helen G. Edmonds, H. Leon Prather's *We have taken a City* is the first book-length study of these events. See also *Democracy Betrayed*, a collection of essays on the same topic.

[73] There are quite a few studies the African American Civil War soldiers with an emphasis on their quest for humanity. See Donald R. Shaffer *After the Glory* 12-21 for a brief overview. See also Glatthar and *Freedom's Journey*. For a specific look at the health of black soldiers see *Intensely Human*.

[74] *A Voice of Thunder*, edited by Donald Yacovone, is a collection of letters written by George E. Stephens to the New York *Weekly Anglo-African*, a companion newspaper to the monthly *Anglo-African Magazine*. Stephens, a member of the 54th Massachusetts, described life on the front lines during the Civil War. Stephens's weekly war dispatches are a prime example of how nineteenth-century African American newspapers operated in the black public sphere by communicating specific challenges colored troops faced. Not only did African American soldiers fight against Confederacy for the abolition of slavery, they also fought against white racism in the Union.

[75] In the King James version, Deuteronomy 32: 11-12 states, "As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings:/ So the

LORD alone did lead him, and there was no strange god with him. Harper often used Biblical models to describe the African American experience.

76 In Harris's collection, the little boy is never given a name.

77 On magazines and the sentimentalism of reconciliation, see Buck, 228-241; Diffley, *Where My Heart is Turning Ever*, xi-xlvii; Lively; Tebbel and Zuckerman note that during the "Golden Age" of American magazines (reconstruction to WWI) the number of magazines and subscriptions for publications such as *Scribner's* and *Harper's* (Weekly and Monthly) soared (57-72). Nina Silber argues that the rising popularity of the reunion theme in the North was largely in response to the dilemmas and divisions of the Gilded Age (93-158). Regarding the importance of Harris's Brer Rabbit tales, Lucinda Mackethan argues that "What Harris allowed Uncle Remus to do in his capacity as teller of folktales was to construct a black slave's dream of Arcady—a dream which manages to undercut the white society he served so charmingly in the framework sketches" (*The Dream of Arcady* 70). Mackethan's observations make no distinction between Uncle Remus's status during the antebellum and post-Reconstruction era. Her troubling description of Uncle Remus as a "black slave" participates in erasing black citizenship as one of the outcomes of the Civil War.

78 "The Goophered Grapevine" (August 1887), "Po' Sandy" (May 1888) and "Hot-Foot Hannibal" (January 1899) were all published individually in the *Atlantic Monthly* under the editorship of Walter Hines Page. "The Conjurer's Revenge" was originally published in the *Overland Monthly* (June 1889). "Sis' Becky's Pickaninny," "Mars Jeems's Nightmare," and "The Gray Wolf's Ha'nt" were created at Page's request for the collection published in 1899. See Andrews, *The Literary Career of Charles W. Chesnutt*; Brodhead, *The Conjure Woman and other Conjure Tales*.

79 According to Walter Brasch, Joel Chandler Harris was probably born in 1846, but "December 9, 1848 is the birth date that Harris and subsequent generations of the public and scholars have accepted" (xxxiii).

80 James Michael Russell argues that Atlanta's postwar commercial interests were an extension of the city's antebellum economic activities. Many businessmen renewed their urban promotion schemes after the War with few ties to the elite planter class (34-36).

81 For a further discussion on Charleston and Mobile's economic struggles after the War, see Doyle, chapters six and seven (136-188).

82 Doyle and Russell note that Atlanta's population grew from approximately 10,000 in 1860 to over 22,000 in 1870. But after 1870, its growth kept pace with other southern cities such as Nashville until Atlanta surpassed the Tennessee capital in 1890. See Doyle 48-49 and Russell 117 and Appendix A.

83 In an August 15, 1880, feature story "Self-Made Men, Whose Grit Has Made Them," the *Atlanta Constitution* editor Henry W. Grady profiled the careers of three dozen businessmen as propaganda for the New South Creed. Russell observes, "although the career histories of most economic leaders may not read like Horatio Alger novels, the more significant themes in Grady's stories of Atlanta's self-made entrepreneurs were rooted in reality" (167).

84 Grady laid out his platform for southern economic development in "The New South" published in the *Atlanta Daily Herald*, March 14, 1874. For a comprehensive listing of Grady's speeches and writings, see Joel Chandler Harris, *The Life of Henry W. Grady, Including His Writings and Speeches* (1890); *The Life and Labors of Henry Grady (1890)*; James W. Lee, *Henry W. Grady: the Editor, the Orator, the Man* (1896); Raymond B. Nixon *Henry W. Grady, Spokesman of the New South (1943)*. For a

discussion on the New South, see Paul Gaston, *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking* (1970) and C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South 1877-1913* (1971).

85 For a further discussion of the *Constitution's* role in criminalizing black vagrancy from 1876-79, see Wagner 126-153. Dorsey discusses the inflammatory content of the *Atlanta Constitution* leading up to, during, and after the 1906 Atlanta Race Riot in chapters six and seven (122-166). Both sources chronicle the newspaper's history of support, though this was not uncommon in the South.

86 Whitehall Street is this site of the original Whitehall Tavern. Established by Charles Humphries in 1836, the inn was the only place providing overnight accommodations for travelers from South Georgia to Tennessee. The road was later changed to Whitehall Street, and became one of the first public roads located by the railroad terminus in Atlanta. For further information on Whitehall Street, see *Atlanta: A City of the Modern South*, 9-12.

87 African Americans were a strong presence in Atlanta after the war. According Doyle, African Americans comprised 46 percent of the population in 1870, decreasing slightly to 43 percent by 1890 (263). Wagner makes similar observations when noting that African Americans grew to make up approximately 40 percent of the Atlanta's population by the end of the nineteenth century (138). Dorsey observes that although slaves and free people of color traveled to Atlanta from other southern states, according to the 1870 census over 70 percent of the former slaves identified Georgia as their place of birth, much like Uncle Remus (33).

88 For further notes on the accumulation of black wealth, see Dorsey's discussion on black community growth and development beginning in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War (29-53).

89 Paul M. Cousins 104-105; Walter Brasch 50-51

90 Although the title page shows an 1881 publication date, Harris's first collection was published in 1880. According to Brasch, "To keep a book as current as possible, thus increasing sales, many publishers will increase the publication date if publication falls during the last quarter of the year" (84).

91 Beverly R. David notes, to Church's credit, that he followed Harris' instructions regarding the drawing of Uncle Remus exactly based on an oil portrait done by Moser. For a longer discussion about the publication history on Harris's first collection of tales, with a reference to the illustrations and the book's success, see Brasch 65-85, Cousins 109-130, and David.

92 Bogle notes that Uncle Remus is the harmless and congenial first cousin to the Tom figure and is distinguished by his quaint, naïve, and comic philosophizing (8).

93 See Wade vi-x.

94 Although Harris agreed with Grady about segregation and about the right of white Southerners to handle their own problems regarding the Negro, he disagreed with Grady's idea about racial superiority and called for an eventual end to racial segregation. See Brasch 114-122 and Cousins 92-95, 133-35, and 144-45.

95 Wagner reads Harris's last urban sketch, "Uncle Remus and the Fourth," published July 6, 1879, as the turning point for Uncle Remus. Uncle Remus finally fulfills his promise of violence against other blacks by getting into a fist fight with a Mobile man. "From the moment that he strikes the excursionist," Wagner observes, "Remus wipes away the distinction between personal and police violence"

(172). Uncle Remus's actions alienate him from the state and cast him as part of the problem. Harris solves the dilemma when Uncle Remus reappears two weeks later as a folk storyteller living on the plantation in "The Story of Mr. Rabbit and Mr. Fox as Told by Uncle Remus," on July 20, 1879. "Filtered through the Uncle Remus's storytelling," Wagner concludes, "the black tradition became apprehensible to its readers in the *Constitution* as vernacular expression that was culturally significant but manifestly irrelevant to the near-present tense of the newspaper" (175). Therefore, Uncle Remus's time in Atlanta became a cautionary tale against other blacks attempting to do the same.

96 In "The Goophered Grapevine," Chesnutt describes Julius McAdoo as "not entirely black, and this fact, together with the quality of his hair, which was about six inches long and very bushy, except on the top of his head, where he was quite bald, suggested a slight strain of other than negro blood. There was a shrewdness in his eyes, too, which was not altogether African, and which, as we afterwards learned from experience, was indicative of a corresponding shrewdness in his character" (8). Several nineteenth-century writers, including Harriet Beecher Stowe, described characters as intelligent to the degree of discernible white blood in them. However, Chesnutt, like Harper, turns this notion on its head when, unlike Stowe's George and Eliza Harris, their mixed-race characters decide to stake their claim in the South.

97 Gleason 67-104.

98 According to Chesnutt's daughter Helen, her grandfather and grandmother actually met on that fateful journey northward. Andrew Jackson Chesnutt was on his way to join his uncle in Indiana, while Ann Maria Sampson was on her way with her parents to an established community of blacks in Cleveland. Andrew Jackson Chesnutt left Indiana months later, went to Cleveland, and married Ann Maria Sampson on July 26, 1857 (3).

99 Ingle, 149.

100 March 16th and May 29th, 1880.

101 After successfully publishing four short stories where he shrewdly deployed the plantation tradition for respected literary magazines such as the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Overland Monthly*, Chesnutt confessed to Albion Tourgeé in a September 26,1889, letter that "I think I have about used up the old Negro who serves as a mouth piece" (qtd in Andrews 21). He added "I shall drop him in future stories, as well as much of the dialect." Tired of writing dialect stories, Chesnutt would not create another one until ten years later in 1899.

102 Chesnutt's new collection of tales included three which were formerly published ("The Goophered Grapevine," "Po' Sandy" and "The Conjurer's Revenge"), and then four new ones ("Mars Jeems's Nightmare," "Sis Becky's Pickaninny," The Gray Wolf's Ha'nt" and "Hot-Foot Hannibal"), all written for Page and Houghton Mifflin.

103 In *Sites Unseen*, William A. Gleason focuses on the significance of the southern piazza (porch) in Chesnutt's tales as a central imaginative location that at first glance symbolizes white power but actually has its roots in "the vernacular building traditions of West Africa, crossing the Atlantic in the minds and hands (and memories) of black slaves" (7). Citing studies by Dell Upton and Rhys Isaac, Gleason reveals African American contributions to the postbellum environment, "whether white Americans understood those claims or not" (71). While Gleason's analysis looks closely at all of Chesnutt's stories, my inquiry is limited to the seven stories published in the 1899 collection, three of which feature the piazza in the frame narration ("The Conjurer's Revenge," "Sis' Becky's Pickaninny" and "The Gray Wolf's Ha'nt"). Furthermore, I am interested in what Uncle Julius's perambulations, like Uncle Remus's reveal about African American ties to space and place making in the postwar South.

[104] See Nowatzki, 21 and Terry, 105, whose discussions confirm that Houghton Mifflin made decisions regarding design choices for Chesnutt's book.

[105] See the United States Department of the Interior Nation Park Service, National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form: Market House at http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/NHLS/Text/70000451.pdf

[106] Chesnutt in a journal entry for May 29, 1880, that the whites' "position must be mined, and we" blacks "will find ourselves in their midst before they think it" (21). Referring to his "high, holy purpose," Chesnutt suggests that he would take a subtle approach to changing America's "almost indefinable feeling of repulsion toward the Negro" (21). See Helen M. Chesnutt, 18-24.

[107] In *Sites Unseen*, William Gleason examines the role of slavery in pattern books. He specifically addresses the southern detached kitchen in Andrew Jackson Downing's *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1850), to argue that while Downing tries to camouflage slavery through certain visual and verbal cues, he inadvertently draws attention to "the hierarchies of domestic space that structure slave life" (46). Chesnutt's story counters the quaint "fiction" Annie has of a southern detached kitchen.

[108] *The Oxford Companion to World Mythology* (2012)

[109] Christopher De Santis concludes that in Dunbar's novel, the goals of Reconstruction "remained at the turn-of-the-century an unfulfilled promise to African Americans" ("The Dangerous Marrow of Southern Traditions" 95). The Hamiltons experiences in the North and their return to the Oakley's cottage in the South, in his estimation, reflect how blacks continue to remain in bondage to the dominate order. Nancy Von Rosk observes that not only has the South, particularly the Hamilton home become "a nightmare—a scene of madness from which one cannot escape," she adds that the northern urban culture "is also determined by the overwhelming power of white culture to define what it means to be an African American" ("Coon Shows, Ragtime, and the Blues" 166). De Santis and Von Rosk's readings of Dunbar's novel reveal the challenges African Americans faced post-Reconstruction, despite the change of geographical space.

[110] In the opening chapter, the narrator states "So the two doting parents [Berry and Fanny] had their chats and their jokes at each other's expense and went bravely on, doing their duties and spoiling their children much as white fathers and mothers were wont to do" (323). Dunbar makes it clear that he is critiquing the society, not the Hamiltons, for creating a sense of unfulfilled hope in the next generation of African Americans, which is hampered by the perpetual influence of the plantation.

[111] In *Who Set You Flowin'?* (1995), Farah Jasmine Griffin explores the role of the migration narrative in African American culture and cites Dunbar's novel as a prime example. She argues that there are four pivotal moments which characterize the migration narrative. First, there is an event that propels a move North. Second, the migrant's initial confrontation with the city is described. Third, the migrants attempt to negotiate their new landscape as they strive to resist the negative effects of urbanization. Finally, the narrative concludes with the migrant's vision of the possibilities or limitations of their new locale. While Griffin asserts that these events may occur in any given moment in the story, a linear progression is almost often the case.

[112] Anna Julia Cooper was an educator, speaker, and author of *A Voice from the South: By A Woman From the South* (1892). In the book she espouses education as key to uplifting African American women and her race. Cooper is a testament of her own philosophy, for she earned a Ph.D. from the University of Paris-Sorbonne in 1924. Ida B. Well-Barnett was one of the founding members of The National Association of Colored Women Clubs (NACWC). Founded in 1896, their organization arose in

response to an inflammatory letter written by James Jacks, the president of the Missouri Press Association, challenging the respectability of African-American women, and referring to them as thieves and prostitutes. The NACWC is one of several prominent organizations created to address issues affecting African Americans such as women's suffrage, lynching, and the Jim Crow laws. For further information on the NACWC see Elizabeth Lindsay Davis or. 110-141 or Deborah Gray White (110-141).

113 Several scholars have written books about the experiences of black domestics working in white homes in the South after slavery. For a compilation of narratives by black domestics and white women see Katherine Van Wormer, David W. Jackson III, and Charletta Sudduth. For a historical discussion of black domestics in the South see Tera Hunter, Danielle L. McGuire, Rebecca Sharpless, and Susan Tucker. All of these histories address two key factors about black domestics. First, as opportunities expanded in the twentieth century, most African American women left their domestic jobs for more lucrative and less oppressive manufacturing, clerical, or professional positions. Another point is that the physical and psychological abuse black women suffered prompted many black women to migrate to northern cities. Specifically, Danielle L. McGuire's *At the Dark End of the Street* chronicles the never before told story behind the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott: protest against the chronic sexual assault of black women by white men in the South.

114 Several scholars have addressed the African American presence in American theatre such as Eric Lott's seminal text *Love and Theft* (1995), which explores the role of blackface minstrelsy in antebellum America. Since then, scholarship has shifted to focus to examine African American contributions to American theater and popular culture. Daphne A. Brooks' *Bodies in Dissent* (2006) explores how African Americans used performance as means of self-actualization in response to their marginalized social and political status from the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century. Focusing on the time period of 1890 and World War I, Karen Sotiopoulos makes similar claims in *Staging Race* (2008), and adds how black performance changed popular culture and made political commentary on America's race relations. Finally, Jayna Brown's *Babylon Girls* (2008), looks specifically at how black women performers between 1890-1945 changed notions race, gender, and the body. By examining well known performers such as Josephine Baker and Valaida Snow, Brown shows how they influenced transnational ideas about the modern woman and how their performances became an essential element in the development of Jazz.

115 According to Frank Luther Mott, yellow journalism, or the yellow press is the sensationalized presentation of news in order to make a profit. The yellow press is characterized by bold headlines of minor news, sympathetic presentation of the "underdog," lavish use of pictures or drawings, illegitimate presentation of facts (fake interviews, unreliable sources), and full-color Sunday supplements, including comics (*American Journalism* 539). In "Yellow Journal" (ch 17 of *The Sport of the Gods*), the narrator states:

> The *Universe* had always claimed to be the friend of all poor and oppressed humanity, and every once in a while it did something to substantiate its claim, whereupon it stood off and said to the public, "Look what we have done, and behold how great we are, the friend of the people!" The *Universe* was yellow. It was very so. But it had power and keenness and energy. It never lost an opportunity to crow, and if one was not forthcoming, it made one. In this way it managed to do a considerable amount of good, and its yellowness became forgivable, even commendable. (425).

116 Several scholars have argued that Sadness is a living embodiment of the blues. For a further discussion of Sadness's performative functions of mobility, healing, and collectivity (Moreno 22), see Baker , Blues, *Ideology, and Afro-American Literature* (114-38); Moreno, 210-241; and Von Rosk.

117 For more information on Robert Levy's Reol Production Corporation see Butters Jr. 187-190, and Sampson 214-215.

[118] In “Between Words and Deeds,” Hasia R. Diner discusses the discrepancy in the mythic versus literal ways Blacks and Jews identified with other between 1880 and 1935. Although each group used each other’s experience as a means of identifying their own experiences, this same mythology prevented them from creating a lasting interracial coalition (101-102).

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