Domestic Ideology and the Social Construction of Mammy

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DOMESTIC IDEOLOGY AND THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF MAMMY

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DOMESTIC IDEOLOGY AND THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF MAMMY

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an exploration of the cultural work of the Mammy stereotype in two antebellum American novels: Uncle Tom's Cabin: or Life Among the Lowly, an antislavery novel by Harriet Beecher Stowe, and The Planter's Northern Bride, a proslavery novel by Caroline Lee Hentz.

In both of these novels one finds liberal doses of nineteenth-century domestic ideology and the rhetoric by which it was circumscribed, characterized by the glorification of piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity in women. Yet, for both Stowe and Hentz, domestic ideology contained implicit — and differing — visions of social hierarchy. These differing vision of social hierarchy become apparent when one examines the ways in which Stowe and Hentz connect elements of domestic rhetoric to their respective abolitionist and proslavery stances.

Despite their opposing political positions, it is argued in this thesis that both Stowe and Hentz viewed slavery as a potentially marvelous opportunity for the exertion of feminine power through the care and guidance of one's extended Black "family" of slaves. This opportunity, however, is consistently thwarted by circumstances beyond the control of women, circumstances caused by men, slaves, abolitionists, or slave traders.

Ultimately, both Stowe and Hentz look to the marginal female characters in their narratives — and none is more marginal than Mammy — to express those critiques of "true womanhood" that they themselves were constrained from expressing by literary and cultural expectations.
DOMESTIC IDEOLOGY AND THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF MAMMY
In Sensational Designs Jane Tompkins re-visions literature as an attempt to "redefine the social order":

In this view, novels and stories should be studied not because they manage to escape the limitations of their particular time and place, but because they offer powerful examples of the way a culture thinks about itself, articulating and proposing solutions for the problems that shape a particular historical moment (Tompkins p.xi).

In 1852 Harriet Beecher Stowe initiated a literary dialogue among American women about the relative merits of the slave society that was flourishing in the South. Her novel Uncle Tom's Cabin was extremely popular, and a number of like novels were written about this social issue before the Civil War erupted. Stowe also provoked a number of passionate responses in the form of proslavery novels. One such "anti-Uncle Tom" proslavery novel is The Planter's Northern Bride, written by Caroline Lee Hentz.

In these novels, both Stowe and Hentz explore the questions of race and chattel slavery. They grapple with political, social, even economic issues, all of which had traditionally been considered concerns of what Nancy Cott and others have termed, the "male sphere." Yet the more closely one examines these two texts, the more one discovers that they are not simply impassioned defenses of socio-political systems but rich examples of the ways in which nineteenth-century American women writers explored their own roles within male-dominated hierarchical societies by employing a uniquely feminine discourse.
This discourse was drawn in large part from what I will refer to as the rhetoric of domesticity. The rhetoric of domesticity was, as I will discuss in more detail later, language used by both men and women to justify and exalt the confinement of women to the home, or the "female sphere." In domestic literature, women who were pious, pure, and submissive were deemed "true women." It was suggested in this literature that "true women" could by virtue of their purity and moral superiority provide invaluable moral guidance to others, including men, children, and in the two novels that I will discuss, slaves. According to this idealized vision of female confinement, a woman had only to stay home and spin her magic web of nurturance and evangelism in order to save her family and, by extension, the world. The rhetoric of domesticity, as perpetuated in sermons, tracts, magazines, and novels of the nineteenth century became so pervasive in its suggested vision of female empowerment as to represent an ideology unto itself. I contend that in Uncle Tom's Cabin and The Planter's Northern Bride Stowe and Hentz debated the goals and limitations of domestic ideology and the extent to which the empowerment that it implied could or should effect change in either the domestic or the larger public arena.

In order to understand the degree to which each accepted or rejected that domestic ideology was empowering, it is useful to consider that for Stowe and Hentz domestic ideology contained implicit -- and different -- visions of social hierarchy. These differing visions of social hierarchy become apparent when one examines the ways in which Stowe and Hentz connect elements of domestic
rhetoric to their respective abolitionist and proslavery stances. Stowe and Hentz sought to preserve different socio-political systems in the face of a rapidly approaching Civil War and in so doing each accentuated those facets of domestic rhetoric that best served her political agenda.

In *Uncle Tom's Cabin* Stowe combined domestic rhetoric -- language that praised the virtues of true womanhood and the role of women as preservers of happy, healthy, Christian families -- with the rhetoric of reform and abolition. While patriarchal thinking certainly existed in the North and is reflected in domestic rhetoric, it did not drive the political machinery of the North as explicitly as it did southern slave society. Stowe wrote in an attempt to preserve a northern social system wherein hierarchies of class, race, and gender existed but were increasingly challenged. Reformers -- many of them middle-class women -- came together in the North to call these hierarchies into question by suggesting that the lives of the oppressed, disenfranchised, or "lowly" could be made better. For Stowe, abolitionism was a public extension of the private goal of guiding and caring for others to improve their condition. In *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, then, Stowe focuses on those aspects of abolitionist thought that emphasized the immorality of slavery, its divergence from the Christian ethic of caring for others, and the ravages of slavery on the family.

Although Stowe combines domestic and reform rhetoric to argue against slavery, she does not conclude that either are successful in deterring its continuation or the advent of Civil War. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* can be read as a
sustained illustration of how ineffective woman's reform efforts are in the face of the public and political dealings from which she is excluded. Stowe was clearly aware of the limits of female reform efforts on both the private and public level. In linking the languages of domesticity and reform Stowe ends up stressing the limits of both in the face of patriarchy and market capitalism as embodied by the slave trade.

In a letter to a friend after publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Stowe reflected that "I wrote what I did because as a woman, as a mother, I was oppressed and heartbroken, with the sorrows and injustice I saw" (Boydston 48). She continued by noting that she, "must speak for the oppressed who cannot speak for themselves." The juxtaposition of the two parts of this statement capture Stowe's ambivalence toward her place in the cultural hierarchies of race and gender. For while Stowe does in this assertion condemn *patriarchy* in the guise of the southern slave society and name herself as one of the oppressed (a woman), she also confirms her acceptance of *hierarchy* by proposing that she is somehow superior to and able to speak for the oppressed (slaves and other women).

Hentz's vision of social hierarchy is revealed in the points at which she connects domestic rhetoric with her proslavery stance. Hentz's defense of slavery is largely based on the positive-good theory of slavery whereby slave owners had the moral responsibility (and, it is inferred, the innate superiority) to make the lives of slaves better. For Hentz, the nurturance and moral suasion that were intrinsic parts of being both mother and plantation mistress could be effective only in the absence of reformers such as Stowe. Southern women could achieve domestic
empowerment only if they were fully acceptant of their place within the clearly defined patriarchy of the Old South. In accordance with this patriarchy a true woman in the Old South was clearly submissive to her husband and master and dominant over all slaves. As Elizabeth Moss observes in *Domestic Novelist of the South*, "elite southern women willingly supported the hierarchical construct of their society because they reaped considerable benefits from social inequality" (Moss 17). Among these was the freedom to shape the character of the family and to exert moral influence without the burden of domestic labor or economic considerations. *The Planter's Northern Bride* is certainly a defense of these benefits. Even so, Hentz did grapple with the degree to which a woman's domestic power was useful in the preservation of antebellum southern society.

Hentz's acceptance of hierarchy as a prerequisite to feminine success illustrates that she and Stowe differ in their notions of what would ultimate benefit women. Hentz's novel embodies the southern philosophy that was, as Fox-Genoves notes, particularist and hierarchical as opposed to Stowe's, which is universalist and egalitarian (Fox Genovese 60). Yet despite these profound philosophical differences, and while we call Hentz's a proslavery and Stowe's an antislavery novel, their views on slavery are united in one important respect: each saw slavery as a potentially marvelous opportunity for the exertion of feminine power through the care and guidance of one's extended Black "family" of slaves, impeded by circumstances beyond the control of the woman. As noted above, their philosophies of slavery and freedom are inextricably connected to their
philosophies of domesticity and always return to the discussion of how public affairs inevitably influence the home. Woman's capacity to correct the ills of society is most pointedly called into question by the presence of outside forces in each novel -- the slave trade in Uncle Tom's Cabin and abolitionism in The Planter's Northern Bride. Both Stowe and Hentz rely on the presence of an intrusive external force to explain the failure of domestic evangelism. Rather than directly criticize the failure of the pious, pure, submissive woman in the fight to save society -- whatever that society may be -- Stowe and Hentz remain loyal to the rhetoric and place blame on others: men, slaves, abolitionist, traders. And rather than give voice directly to the frustration, rage, and powerlessness of White women, both Stowe and Hentz voice frustration through a literal and figurative surrogate: the plantation mammy.

In this paper, I will illustrate that both Stowe and Hentz, while praising women's work with home and family, struggled with its limitations. The way that I propose to illustrate this inherent and shared conflict is through a close look at how Black women, and in particular the plantation mammy, are used in each novel to underscore the point at which domestic ideology fell short of domestic reality. A close look at Stowe's Aunt Chloe and Hentz's Kizzy, in contradistinction to their respective White mistresses, highlights the degree to which each author accepted the "female sphere" as a place where a woman could be useful and exert some form of control over her life and the lives of others. Both Stowe and Hentz look to the marginal female characters in their narratives -- and none are more marginal than

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Mammy -- to express those critiques of "true womanhood" that they themselves were constrained from expressing by literary and cultural expectations.

Mammy emerges as a pivotal figure in these domestic narratives because she stands squarely at the intersection of the issues that they sought to address -- slavery, race, and the inevitable impact of public and private, or male and female spheres on one another. She provides a foil for the most earnest reform efforts of both Stowe's and Hentz's White female characters. In both novels, it is Mammy's broadly drawn reaction to outside influences, such as the slave trade or abolitionist movement, that signals the possible failure of the White mistresses' mission. As such, Mammy underscores the permeability of the female sphere. In antislavery literature such as Uncle Tom's Cabin she also illustrates one of the most glaring failures of domestic rhetoric, which is that while it provided what was, in a general sense, a universal vision of the "woman's place" and suggested a vision of women united across racial and class lines by the common work of mothering and nurturance, upon closer inspection, it proved incapable of acknowledging or productively sustaining any discourse of racial difference. Mammy's presence reminds the reader (and the White women in Uncle Tom's Cabin) that efforts toward social reform based on a family model are continually undermined not only by public/political/male intrusions, but by female heterogeneity and varying definitions of womanhood. In proslavery fiction such as The Planter's Northern Bride, Mammy illustrates the vulnerability of the female sphere in the face of reformers who would call into question the value of a system based on hierarchy and privilege. Mammy's
racial difference is less vexing to Hentz who not only accepts but praises a system based on inequality and the inevitable subordination of some and domination of others.

In each case Harriet Beecher Stowe and Caroline Lee Hentz used Mammy to "convey enormous amounts of cultural information in an extremely condensed form" (Tompkins xvi). The cultural information that I will examine involves Stowe and Hentz's differing visions of social hierarchy. It also involves the ways in which each thought that domestic ideology was or was not empowering within these respective societies. Mammy is used to convey this information because her racial difference -- and Stowe and Hentz imply, inferiority -- frees her from the boundaries of acceptable behavior. Mammy is permitted to carry and express anger that White women were restrained from expressing in reaction to their frequent powerlessness. A close look at Aunt Chloe in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and Kizzy in *The Planter's Northern Bride*, confirms that, as one scholar notes, Mammy served as a "dumping ground for those female functions a basically Puritan society could not confront" (Christian 2).

It is not surprising that Stowe and Hentz wrote novels that share narrative and rhetorical strategies. Their backgrounds were quite similar and there are a number of parallels that should be considered in a comparison of the two. Both Hentz and Stowe were born in the early nineteenth century to prominent New England families. Hentz was the youngest child of Revolutionary War Colonel John
Whiting. Stowe was the sixth child of Roxana and Lyman Beecher. Stowe's mother died when she was only five years old, leaving her with an idealized memory of her mother and a driven and successful evangelical preacher father. Roxana Beecher's deathbed wish is said to have been that her sons "become ministers of Christ." All of them did. But, as one feminist scholar points out, Roxana neglected to mention her three daughters, perhaps because she could envision domesticity as their only recourse (Kelley 79). Roxana evidently underestimated the intelligence and drive of her daughters and could not have anticipated how they would contribute to the manipulation of domesticity into a social science and, ultimately, an ideology.

As early as the mid-1830's Stowe's fiction was published in periodicals and journals. She and her sister Catherine, a surrogate mother of sorts and a driving influence in her life, moved to Cincinnati where Harriet met and married Calvin Stowe, a widowed minister nine years her senior. Similarly, in 1824 Hentz met and married her husband, a French political refugee, also many years her senior. The Hentzes spent the rest of their years moving throughout the southern and western states where he supervised a number of schools. They too lived in Cincinnati for a time, where Hentz became involved in a literary group called the Semi-Colon Club and began to write. While there, she probably made the acquaintance of Stowe, who was also a member.

During the following years, both made great strides, personally and professionally. In addition to surviving a number of miscarriages, Stowe bore six children and managed to successfully nurture her literary career. Stowe maintained
the dual role of mother and writer but not without considerable anxiety and misgiving. In fact, she frequently dismissed her literary achievement as the product of dire financial necessity. Because Calvin was a minister and did not command a very high salary, he, like Marcellus Hentz, relied on his wife to serve not only as wife and mother to his children but also as professional writer and breadwinner. Stowe, however, always felt that her priority was the care of her family, and so she was frequently unnerved by the insistence of her husband and sister Catherine that she first be a, "literary woman." Stowe assured one friend that "if you see my name coming out everywhere - you may be sure of one thing, that I do it for the pay" (qtd. in Kelley 152).

Like her heroine Eula, Hentz was a Northerner who moved to the South. This southern migration was not uncommon and it is interesting to note that not all "anti-Uncle Tom" literature was written by southern women. The Hentzes lived in Alabama for nine years, during which time Caroline worked as a teacher and raised four children of her own. In 1848 her husband's health began to fail and Hentz, like Stowe, began to write more regularly to earn money. By 1851 her writing was their sole means of support. She produced roughly a dozen volumes during the early 1850's and, as noted earlier, her books sold quite well. They did not own slaves, but Hentz was impressed enough with southern slave society that she decided to write The Planter's Northern Bride in response to Stowe's popular antislavery novel. While it is not as easy to find exact sales figures for The Planter's Northern Bride,
one source does note that during a three-year period in the late 1850's, 90,000 copies of Hentz's novels were sold. (Moss 3)

Clearly Hentz worked very hard during these years -- raising children, tending to an ailing husband, and producing popular and critically acclaimed works of fiction, including novels, short stories, a number of serialized verses, and one play. (Dict. of Literary Bio., Volume 3, *Antebellum Writers in New York and the South* p. 148 & 149) Likewise, Stowe, despite her self-deprecation and public insistence that she was uninteresting and a "mere drudge with few ideas beyond babies and housekeeping," had completed *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by 1851. Published in 1852, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* sold 100,000 copies within two months of its publication; 300,000 in its first year (Herzog 103). By 1855, at least fourteen proslavery novels had been written in response to this provocative novel (Sundquist 57). While arguing for or against slavery, both writers stressed the importance of preserving the family. Each explored the degree to which a "good woman" -- one that was pious, pure, submissive, and domestic -- could morally guide and influence family and by extension the community as a whole.

The ideal of womanhood that is in large part shared by Stowe and Hentz was fostered by specific historical and economical shifts that occurred in the early and mid-nineteenth century. Throughout the nineteenth century (Cott pinpoints the dates 1780-1835), industrialization and increasing urbanization contributed to a shift in production in the Northeast. As the home was less frequently the primary center of production, men were forced into a separate work space. As a result of this shift,
middle-class northern women and men experienced a gradual reworking of gender roles. While men went outside of the home to earn, the women were left at home with reduced work responsibility. Woman's relegation to the home meant confinement, exclusion from public affairs, and an abrupt loss of economic control. Consequently, "women were considered adjunct and secondary to men in economic life..., A wife's property and earnings belonged to her husband" (Cott 20). Furthermore, women became increasingly dependent upon money earned and brought to the home by the husband in order to manage her own, increasingly limited sphere. While the male sphere was increasingly public, political, and defined by capitalist market relations, the female sphere was private, maternal, and defined by domestic relations. Graceful acceptance of her powerlessness was praised and encouraged in particular by the liberal clergy, such as Horace Bushnell who preached that a woman's importance to society lay solely in her moral elevation (Douglass 44). Consequently, "a wife who submerged her own talents to work for her own husband was extolled as an example of a true woman" (Welter 29). Lydia Maria Child, prolific contributor to the canon of domesticity, wrote in Mothers Book that, "the care of children requires a great many sacrifices, and a great deal of self-denial, but the woman who is not willing to sacrifice a good deal in such a cause, does not deserve to be a mother" (qtd. in Cott 91). As mentioned earlier, in order to be a "true woman," one had to be pious, pure, submissive, and domestic (Welter 21).
Paradoxically, the northern woman was both limited and liberated by this notion of a new distinctly female sphere. In order to sustain this centrality and usefulness, many northeastern women underwent the "reconversion of household into home" (Fox-Genovese 39). If the woman was displaced economically and confined to the home sphere, she used the rhetoric of feminine piety and submission to secure power for herself. She declared herself the undisputed ruler of this "acknowledged dominion" (Fox-Genovese 61). Barbara Epstein notes:

... in an immediate sense [domesticity] represented the best of all available alternatives; and by providing women with a role that was clearly defined and widely venerated, it offered them an arena for self-development and a base from which to press their claims. (84)

Many nineteenth-century women writers wrote sentimental, popular fiction that was informed by domestic rhetoric and detailed the challenges of women's domestic experience. While they were not banner waving for temperance, suffrage, or any number of popular reform movements, these "quiet women," "waged their own devious, subtle, undeclared war against men through their critically dismissed but popularly embraced fiction" (Papashvily 24). The war these women "fought" was about power -- power over who would ultimately control this still evolving definition of "woman's place." Nina Baym similarly notes, "Domesticity was set forth as a value scheme for ordering all of life, in competition with the ethos of money and exploitation that was perceived to prevail in American society" (Baym 27). As the shaper of young minds and guardian of Christian virtue, woman realized that
"if she [could] preside over the homespace" she would then be "not out of the world, but at the very center of it" (Baym 49). Jane Tompkins takes this argument one step further claiming that the cult of domesticity was in fact a "new matriarchy" in which vocal females sought to "relocate the center of power in American life, placing it not in the government, nor in the courts of law...nor in the marketplace, but in the kitchen..." (145). Domestic rhetoric sustained the belief that by shaping individual characters with religious and moral influence, woman could, if indirectly, effect social change.

The degree to which Stowe and Hentz accepted the premise that women could, or should, bring about social change through domestic influence is reflected in the degree of success that their respective fictional mistresses have in shaping the character of the Black women who are a part of their plantation household, in particular Mammy. Mammy is, then, a provocative marker to consider in a close reading of these books, which are at the same time about both social and domestic issues. She is a domestic, a mother, and a woman. She is generally depicted, as one Afra-American scholar notes, as "the ultimate Black nurturer of White culture" (Carby Lecture, College of William & Mary, 1989). But as Elizabeth Fox-Genovese points out, "If implicitly the idea of the mammy referred to motherhood and reproduction, it also claimed those privileges for the masters rather than for the slaves themselves... the image displaced sexuality into nurture and transformed potential hostility into sustenance and love" (19). These privileges -- the privilege to reproduce and mother one's own children -- were quite literally claimed by slave
owners, for the domestic slave's children were chattel. But in creating the "idea" of Mammy, White writers usurped these female privileges by portraying a woman who cared more for the White children than her own. By implying that the mammy cared more for her surrogate children than her own, indeed by frequently presenting mammy characters who mistreat their Black children, like Stowe's Chloe, or who are childless, as is Heritz' Kizzy, White writers such as Stowe and Hentz removed any possibility that the Black slave woman could ever hope to achieve the status of "true womanhood."

Instead, Chloe and Kizzy are racially limited counterparts to their mistresses -- women who have come as close as is possible to the standard of White female acceptability. Their domestic behavior, while laudable, is tenuous at best, despite the best efforts of the mistress. The inherent inferiority of Chloe and Kizzy is most clearly illustrated by the ease with which each departs from the ideal when confronted with the detrimental outside force, be it slave trader or abolitionist. In each case, Mammy's behavior signals the falling away from the ideal and serves as a watermark for the failure or success of her White mistress.

Ann Shapiro writes in Unlikely Heroines that Black women in Uncle Tom's Cabin "break the rules and in the end they prevail" (Shapiro 24). To illustrate her assertion, she provides a thorough discussion of Eliza and Cassy. Her choice of Eliza and Cassy is interesting and bears consideration. Shapiro is correct in noting that Eliza and Cassy succeed where Stowe's White women do not in challenging
the tenets of slave society. What she does not discuss is why they, rather than Aunt Chloe, achieve some measure of success in their rebellion. 

Like Chloe, they are marginal characters who give voice to Stowe's frustration with patriarchy and the slave trade. Unlike Chloe, they are of mixed blood. Both Eliza and Cassy are versions of another nineteenth-century stereotype: the tragic mulatto. The octoroon, quadroon, or mulatto character in antebellum literature is tragic by virtue of her mixed blood. While her White blood increases her intelligence, sensitivity, and refinement, she is held back by her Black blood, the "darker" more primitive aspects of her nature, and the conflict between her two selves. Both Eliza and Cassy hover between whiteness and blackness and, consequently, come closer than Chloe ever could to true womanhood. Eliza is a quadroon, a woman with "rich, full, dark eyes" and "ripples of silky black hair" (4). Her skin is dark, but not too dark to disguise a "perceptible flush" of embarrassment and humility. Cassy, though living in the most brutal plantation situation, is described as having delicate hands and feet, a well-formed nose, and a finely cut mouth. Unlike Chloe, whose clothes are voluminous in order to accommodate her fat shaking sides, Eliza's dress is of "the neatest possible fit, and set off to advantage her finely moulded shape; - a delicately formed hand and a trim foot..." (4). And Cassy, though made to pick cotton in the fields, wears "neat and respectable garments" (350).
The reader learns that as Mrs. Shelby's personal servant Eliza was "brought up by her mistress from girlhood, as a petted and indulged favorite" (10). Obedient and attentive, she is a pious Christian and a devoted mother. Similarly, Cassy tells Tom of her refined upbringing in her father's own home, raised not as a slave, like her mother, but as a educated and indulged child of privilege. But, Stowe stresses, while both desire domesticity, piety, and pureness, each is driven to take extreme measures and to break out of the confines of acceptable behavior. Both lose or are threatened with the loss of children to the slave trade. Eliza escapes to freedom with her child. Cassy is driven to kill her own child rather than have it sold away from her.

It is true, as Shapiro notes, that it is their blackness that allows them to defy. But it is their own whiteness -- the common bond with Stowe and her readers -- that allows them to prevail, not the efforts of a well-intentioned White mistress. In the end both Eliza and Cassy, despite their harrowing experiences, are reunited with their children and are free. Chloe, who is still by Stowe's racist standard relatively primitive, defies but does not prevail. She wails "ye'll come to it, too! ye'll live to see yer husband sold, or mebbe be sold yerself; and these yer boys, they's to be sold, I 'spose too, jest like as not...O Missis! 'scuse me, my hearts broke, - dat's all!" (94). Chloe stands as a lingering reminder of how the most sincere efforts at female reform fall short of success, in part because of intervening circumstances outside of domestic control, and in part because of Mammy's difference and consequent inability to rise above her circumstance like Eliza and Cassy.
As bell hooks reflects in *Ain't I a Woman*, it is not difficult to imagine how Whites came to create their versions of Mammy. She notes, "...it is important that White people created an image of Black womanhood which they could tolerate" (Hooks 84). While in fact many White mistresses were jealous of their Black nannies and servants, many of whom were sexually pursued, harassed or abused by their masters, the mammy stereotype presented a Black woman who was entirely unthreatening. Hooks writes:

She was first and foremost asexual and consequently she had to be fat (preferably obese); she also had to give the impression of not being clean so she was the wearer of a greasy dirty headrag; her too tight shoes from which emerged her large feet were further confirmation of her bestial cow-like quality. Her greatest virtue was of course her love for white folk whom she willingly and passively served. The mammy image was portrayed with affection by whites because it epitomized the ultimate sexist-racist vision of ideal black womanhood - complete submission to the will of whites. In a sense whites created in the mammy figure a black woman who embodied solely those characteristics they as colonizers wished to exploit. (84)

Stowe and Hentz appropriated Mammy's *image* as the site of their own ideological conflicts over the degree to which domestic confinement could be empowering. By extension, they used her as a marker in the debate over whether female empowerment was desirable within the differing social systems that each sought to protect and preserve. As stated earlier, Stowe used Mammy in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to illustrate the powerlessness of White women to guide and reform others while continually challenged by the intrusive and patriarchal slave trade. Hentz
used Mammy to illustrate the ease with which a mistress's efforts at moral guardianship could be undermined by northern reformers. She implies that this domestic disruption is a harbinger of greater societal disruption that would result from abolitionist who seek to obliterate the class and race distinctions necessary to preserve domestic and social order. By using Mammy as the focus of my inquiry, I run the risk of repeating a similar cultural appropriation. Thus, I have made a conscious effort not to reify inaccurate and arguably dangerous stereotypes. In what follows, then, I will explore the mammy stereotype by briefly tracing its origins and examining some of the stereotypical descriptions that Stowe and Hentz provide. When one "unpacks" some of these repeated, stereotypical descriptions, one gains a deeper understanding of how Aunt Chloe and Kizzy evolved, and what rhetorical purpose each served.

Because she is both a slave and a woman, Mammy serves as a useful illustration of the strong connection between domestic rhetoric and each author's commentary on slave society. The mammy in each novel functions as a sort of tabula rasa of womanhood -- a primitive female to be shaped as best as possible by the White mistress whose mission it is to make the Black woman over in her own Christian image. In fact, the essence of Stowe's abolitionist stance is the condemnation of the slave trade as an intrusive patriarchal force that rends families and thwarts this missionary work. One of the most memorable and broadly drawn characters in Uncle Tom's Cabin is Ophelia who epitomizes northern missionary zeal. Her interaction with both Dinah, the kitchen slave, and Marie St.
Clare, the ineffectual plantation mistress, provide succinct examples of Stowe's sometimes ambiguous notions of "good" and "bad" female behavior. Ophelia, like Hentz's Eula, comes to the South to try to impose domestic order in a house that has fallen into chaos. Unlike Eula, however, Ophelia has never been married nor does she have any children of her own. As an "old maid," Ophelia is, in a sense, freer than Mrs. Shelby to effect change -- she has no husband or master to stand in her way. The flip side of this freedom, however, is a loss of a certain feminine power, the power of nurturance and moral guardianship that only a wife and mother can, according to the tenets of true womanhood, impart. Her character remains, then, largely stereotypical and comic, --she is the consummate spinster Aunt, obsessed with the imposition of order and efficiency. Ophelia comes to the South not to marry but to do battle with the domestically ineffectual and mean-spirited mistress of her guest household, Marie St. Clare.

Ophelia comes to the St. Clare's plantation from a New England where there is "nothing lost, or out of order ... where everything is once and forever rigidly in place, and where all household arrangements move with the punctual exactness of the old clock in the corner" (154). She comes to assist her cousin who is, among other things, "indolent and careless of money" (20). In fact St. Clare is so much so that he gladly hands over the "marketing and providing for the family" to Tom, his newest and consummately honest slave. St. Clare's laxity as master of his home and plantation is complemented by the laxity of his wife, Marie. Unlike Mrs. Shelby and Mrs. Bird and even Ophelia, Marie is of the opinion that "it is we
mistresses that are the slaves, down here" (166). Unmoved by domestic or maternal stirrings, Marie has difficulty caring for her own child Eva, much less the well-being and supervision of her slaves. She shuns any suggestion that Blacks may be equal, or even educable, and is forthright in her opinion that "...there's no way with servants...but to put them down, and keep them down" (170).

Mirroring Marie St. Clare's example and illustrating the domestic disorder that could ensue in such a flawed southern household, is the St. Clare's mammy, Dinah. The looming spectre of domestic disorder is embodied in Dinah, who is the ultra-efficient Ophelia's antithesis and one of the most memorable of Stowe's Black female slave characters. Dinah is a two-dimensional, comic character and, unlike Aunt Chloe, has no complexity of emotion. Unlike Chloe (the product of a good mistress), who "was a trained and methodical [cook]," and "moved in an orderly domestic harness", Dinah is described as a "self-taught genius... opinionated and erratic to the last degree." Her style of cooking is described as, "peculiarly meandering and circuitous, and without any sort of calculation as to time & place, -- though her kitchen generally looked as if it had been arranged by a hurricane blowing through it..." (205).

Stowe effectively strips Dinah of femininity and sexuality by presenting her "seated on the kitchen floor, smoking a short, stumpy pipe." She only breaks her concentration to give a poke, or a rap on the head to some of the young operators, with the pudding stick that lay by her side. In fact, Dinah ruled over the wooly heads of the younger...
members with a rod of iron, and seemed to consider them born for no earthly purpose but to `save her steps'....(206)

Stowe is quick to inform us that "it was the spirit of the system under which she had grown up, and she carried it out to its full extent." The spirit of the system at St. Clare's plantation is even more harsh than any potential scenario at the Shelbys' refined Kentucky home. It is farther south than the Shelbys', and, consequently, closer to the heart of the trade and more dependent upon the back-breaking field labor of slaves. The spirit of the system at St. Clare's is also, perhaps more importantly, one lacking the necessary moral guidance of a "good woman." The presence of an ineffective master, it is implied, is the direct result of the absence of an effective mistress. As the result of Marie's failure to take control, St. Clare is not moved to be a good Christian. In fact, Tom sadly observes that St. Clare refuses to read the Bible and goes out drinking on the Sabbath. Without a vigilant woman present to safeguard home and family on a plantation Stowe suggests that the door is open to brutish cruelty and domestic chaos.

Dinah corroborates Ophelia's suspicions by simultaneously condemning the laziness of her mistresses and reaffirming her acceptance of her own inferiority by asking, "what does ladies know 'bout work, I want to know?" (208). She embodies the small-scale disorder that is the result of a system wherein White women are in fact made powerless in their own homes by their acceptance of the paternalistic slave trade. Dinah's messy kitchen holds immense symbolic importance, and Dinah's behavior is the metaphorical tip of the iceberg.
In her description of the St. Clares, Stowe provides an illustration of the immense potential for domestic breakdown inherent in the southern household. She condemns the hierarchy of the slave-holding household by emphasizing the ease with which household order can disintegrate when headed by an unworthy male who lacks the necessary, if repugnant, market savvy. St. Clare's failure as patriarch, however, is not as lamentable to Stowe as is his wife's failure to seize matriarchal control of the situation and take advantage of his absence by asserting her female power, or even taking control of the household finances in which he is disinterested.

For as evidenced here and throughout *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Stowe indicts patriarchy -- patriarchy as defined by Gillian Brown in *Domestic Individualism* to mean, "the tradition of men holding political authority over the household" (129). Rather than suggest that the hierarchical foundation of this patriarchy be destroyed, Stowe suggests an alternative hierarchy, a domestic matriarchy in which, as quoted from Tompkins earlier in this paper, the center of power is "relocated from the governments, courts of law, and marketplace, to the kitchen." In this new hierarchy, "...domesticity is set forth as a value scheme for ordering all of life, in competition with the ethos of money and exploitation," and "the primary guardians of the rights of black men and women were white women, who she believed had the sacred responsibility of instructing men to lead virtuous lives" (Shapiro 20). In the "Concluding Remarks" to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* Stowe addresses her audience directly, and presents what is the essence of her critique of slavery. Stowe
ultimately condemns the slave TRADE -- which is run by men -- for its failure to acknowledge the basic human rights of slaves, such as the rights of families to remain together. The "heartbreak and horrors" of the trade form the basis of her appeal to readers, typified by passages such as the following: "I beseech you, pity those mothers that are constantly made childless by the American slave-trade! And say, mothers of America, is this a thing to be defended, sympathized with, passed over in silence?"

Mrs. Shelby, unlike Marie St. Clare, struggles with rather than collapses beneath the weight of this domestic challenge. She embodies the ambivalence that is reflected in Stowe's view of domestic ideology, for while her struggle is clearly viewed as noble, she does, ultimately, fail. When she first hears of her husband's plans to sell a young slave, Mrs. Shelby asks her husband to share with her what financial factors have made this decision necessary. He refuses. She continues to challenge Mr. Shelby's decision and offers to work herself in order to successfully fulfill her domestic and Christian education of the Black women on her plantation. Exasperated, she explains:

I have taught to them the duties of the family, of parent and child, and husband and wife; and how can I bear to have this open acknowledgement that we care for no tie, no duty, no relation, however sacred, compared with money. (32)

Later in the novel, Mrs. Shelby again tries to persuade her husband to include her in efforts to rectify the financial mess that has made it necessary for him to sell Chloe's husband down the river. She first suggests that he give her "a list of
all your debts, at least, and of all that is owed you, and let me try and see if I can't help you to economize" (252). He dismisses her offer by assuring her that while she is "the finest woman in Kentucky," she hasn't the sense "to know that you don't understand business; - women never do, and never can" (252). Implicit is the sentiment that women never should understand business, nor should they work outside of the home. For when Mrs. Shelby, powerless in her attempts to gain any amount of knowledge about the sacred male business sphere, suggests that she herself will work, her husband scoffs, and curtly responds, "You wouldn't degrade yourself that way, Emily? I never could consent to it" (253). Economic self-sufficiency is clearly not a prerequisite to being the "finest woman in Kentucky."

It is this exclusion from involvement in male-driven market activity that compels Stowe's White women to suggest an alternative hierarchy wherein women, through the preservation of the domestic sphere, can attempt change. But, confined by the limiting rhetoric of true womanhood, the White women in Uncle Tom's Cabin are restricted to polite sympathetic lamentations rather than frustration and rage. One such controlled observation is voiced by a nameless woman on a riverboat who observes that, "the most dreadful part of slavery, to my mind, is its outrages on the feelings and affections - the separating of families, for example" (120). Mrs. Shelby, the epitome of restraint and self-effacement, whose frustration at trying to use characteristically feminine tactics in struggling with the tenets of chattel slavery drives her to a startling admission: "I thought by kindness, and care, and instruction, I could make the condition of mine better than freedom -- fool that
I was!" (33). Nowhere is Stowe’s frustration with the limitations of the female sphere more evident.

This frustration is more directly expressed by Aunt Chloe, from whom the reader does not expect acceptable or refined feminine behavior. As I will discuss in more detail later in this paper, Chloe articulates a deep and abiding frustration and anger at the sale of her husband down the river. Her anger is largely a condemnation of those qualities in the slave -- specifically her husband -- that result in the disruption of their domestic life. She criticizes most pointedly his piety and his submission. Surely Stowe intended the dual purpose of this direct challenge to two of the four tenets of true womanhood. Chloe directly calls into question the value of the redemptive qualities that the true woman was supposed to embrace by subtly aligning women and slaves in their common oppression. As asserted earlier, however, this alignment does not suggest that Stowe felt in any real way equal with slaves. She suggests, rather, that this shared, oppressed status of Black and White women is yet another example of the ravages of the slave system.

The repressed frustration of Mrs. Shelby and other characters in Uncle Tom’s Cabin is not nearly as evident in The Planter’s Northern Bride in either White or Black characters. The one sentiment expressed above -- that by kindness, care and instruction, the White woman could make the condition of hers better than freedom -- provides a succinct analysis of Hentz’s thesis in The Planter’s Northern Bride, one that is not in the end refuted as in Stowe’s novel. Hentz’s White mistress Eula embodies Hentz’s belief that kindness, care, and instruction could make the
condition of slaves -- and their mistresses -- better than freedom. Furthermore, Eula's reform efforts are not undermined but, on the contrary, are made possible and even bolstered by her acceptance of a social hierarchy wherein the woman "knows her place" -- a place of importance and a certain degree of empowerment -- that can exist only WITHIN the confines of strict patriarchy. For Hentz's purposes slavery is a large-scale domestic challenge. Eula faces this challenge unhampered by the notion of equality between the sexes or the races and emerges victorious. Unlike Mrs. Shelby, Eula is freed by her acceptance of hierarchical difference -- including patriarchy and overt racism -- to epitomize true womanhood. The view of social hierarchy that Hentz sees embedded in domestic rhetoric is, unlike Stowe's, one that supports social stratification and that "celebrated the positive virtues of many forms of inequality" (Fox-G, p. 64).

Hentz was clearly in agreement with Stowe in her assertion that "there is all the difference in the world in servants of Southern establishments according to the character and capacity of the mistresses who brought them up" (204). As a missionary transplanted from the North to the South, Eula is one of those rare southern housekeepers that Stowe describes, a woman who views the role of plantation mistress as a brilliant opportunity to exhibit domestic talent. In the process of becoming the perfect wife/mother, and perfect hybrid of North and South, Eula is called upon not to abandon the self-sacrifice essential to achieving the northern version of true womanhood but to extend her mothering and
missionary Christian zeal to the nurturance of an entire plantation, her "family black and white."

The slave society to which Hentz was attracted differed in many ways from the flourishing market capitalist society evolving in the North in which Stowe and Hentz were raised. The separation of spheres that was accentuated by the economic shift in the North did not occur to as great a degree in the South. For the most part, slave-owning men and women continued to work in one household -- admittedly under the dominion of the male -- and the woman remained part of the productive, as well as the reproductive, process. As Hentz surely observed, the integration of labor and life was more consistent for southern than northern women before the war (Fox-Genovese 53). Their social networks had been, and continued to be, households; their work rhythms were dependent upon the land and seasons; and they generally accepted their positions within a stratified system in which they had less power than their husbands and masters but infinitely more power than their slaves.5

In her defense of patriarchal southern slave society, Hentz has Moreland, the southern planter, give voice to the vast array of economic, political, and social proslavery defenses. His arguments range from the "white man's burden" defense, wherein it is the White man's duty to provide for slaves and make the best of an already bad situation ("We are not responsible for it, though we are for the duties it involves, the heaviest perhaps ever imposed upon man"), to the most base genetic inferiority argument for inequality ("...take the native African, examine his
lineaments, features, and peculiar characteristics, and say if he came from the hands of God in a state of equality with ourselves....")). While these political diatribes appear throughout the book, they are awkward and seem to have been included by Hentz as a necessary appendage to her narrative.

The proslavery argument that buoys Hentz's narrative, however, and that dove-tails with her use of domestic rhetoric, is the moral defense of slavery. Northern bride Eula embodies a good part of the Christian-based positive good theory of slavery, wherein the potential evils inherent in the system could be expunged through religious and legal measures to make the lives of slaves better, but not through freeing them from slavery. This emphasis on making the lives of others better was, as discussed earlier, a goal that was fostered by domestic rhetoric as well. The positive good theory of slavery provided a rhetorical point at which women like Hentz could connect the private mission of the "true woman" to the greater public mission and vision of society. Thus did Hentz and her proslavery peers, like Stowe and abolitionist women in the North, established a way in which women could be included in a debate that was commonly considered public, political, and male.

Eula's work as a northern missionary, her effort to make the lives of her slaves better, is made possible by her acceptance of patriarchy. Eula, unlike Mrs. Shelby, never suggests that Moreland share with her the economic goings-on of the estate, nor does she question his wisdom in the sale or purchase of slaves. She is not moved by frustration and sorrow to suggest that the system itself may be
faulty. Rather, she, unlike Claudia, accepts what is one of the most basic building blocks of both proslavery theory and of the ideology of true womanhood: the necessity of submission. In *Proslavery Thought in the Old South*, William Jenkins notes that, "the abstract principle of slavery is the general principle of submission or subjection to control by the will of another" (111). Hentz clearly believed that this tacit consent between man and wife, and master and slave, was not merely acceptable but desirable. The hegemony of the Old South functioned according to a contract of sorts, wherein

> Master exacts of the slave obedience, fidelity, and industry; and places him under just so much restraint as insures compliance with his regulations. The slave in return has far more certainly insured to [him] propensities -- freed from all care for the present, or anxiety for the future with regard either to himself or family (Jenkins 112).

Replace the word slave with the word wife and one has a rather clear description of what Hentz thought to be a woman of privilege's place. Far from suggesting a new maternal hierarchy, Hentz and Eula embrace the old -- a patriarchy in which a woman is left in charge of moral guardianship, unimpeded by any grander designs, domestic or political.

Like, Stowe, however, Hentz is not without reservations about the limits of female power within her chosen social system. Moss notes that Hentz's novels "provided female readers with means and motivation to transcend the bounds of culturally proscribed womanhood but at the same time articulated grave doubts as to southern femininity's potential for rehabilitation" (Moss 3). So while Hentz
defends patriarchy, privilege, and female submission, she also suggests that within those confines women should take "an active role in protecting their region from northern encroachment." (Moss 23) Hentz does express frustration with the conflicts that arise in such a paradoxical stance, but she does not do so directly. Instead, she blames intrusive Northerners and the failure of those who she would seek to reform -- specifically Mammy -- to respond to her efforts.

The internal conflicts that arise in Hentz's application of domestic ideology are embodied in her heroine, Eula. Eula lends a uniquely northern sensibility to her southern experience. Like Stowe's Ophelia, Eula is horrified at the disorganization of her southern household and seeks to improve her surroundings. But the differences between these two characters are very important in terms of how Stowe and Hentz construct gender within the confines of domestic rhetoric. The most important difference is that Eula is a northern bride -- Ophelia is really just a northern observer. Eula marries into the southern household, assuming the full range of domestic and maternal duties, while it is Ophelia's mission, for the most part, to reorganize drawer and shelf space. Eula has the much more weighty responsibility of extending nurturance and moral guidance to her new family, including her "Black family" of slaves. While Ophelia does ultimately adopt Topsy, the beautiful and youthful Eula not only cares for Moreland's daughter Effie but bears a child of her own.

It is Eula's mission to fill the gap left by Moreland's wayward ex-wife, Claudia. In Claudia, Hentz creates a revision of Marie St. Clare, a White woman who has
failed as wife, mother, and plantation mistress. Claudia is presented as even more threatening to the existing order than is Marie. She is a venomous heathen who threatens to reemerge from her mysterious exile and spoil the sanctity of Eula's plantation household. Claudia is unable to transcend her wild Gypsy blood, and this inferior lineage combined with her extreme quasi-feminist leanings results in a "wild lawlessness" that, Hentz seems to say, jeopardizes domesticity everywhere. She expects to be treated as an equal to her husband and rants:

I thought I married a lover! he turned into my master, my tyrant! - he wanted me to cringe to his will, like the slaves in the kitchen, and I spurned his authority! - I defied his power! He expected me to obey him... (366).

Hentz presents a White woman who is dangerous by virtue of not wanting to be dominated, not wanting to be allied with slaves in her submission. Because of her rebellious nature, Claudia becomes an outcast of the worst kind: a divorcee. Without the grace of acceptance that Eula has, Claudia dies alone and unhappy.

There are certainly parallels between Marie St. Clare and Claudia. Each has fallen away from the ideal of true womanhood and has failed to live up to her responsibilities as wife and mother. Each, however, has fallen away for a different reason. Marie St. Clare, Stowe implies, is a victim of an oppressive system that she has emulated rather than sought to rectify. Stowe also implies that Marie's husband -- a man who refuses, as discussed earlier, to take on the necessary role of patriarch within a patriarchal system -- is partially to blame for his wife's sorry state. Claudia, on the other hand, is undone by her wild Gypsy blood -- by some sort of
suggested genetic inability to accept submission, a quality that Hentz suggests, as illustrated in Eula, is essential to the achievement of feminine fulfillment.

The reader of these two novels finds many rhetorical similarities between the two, in particular, as I have discussed, the presentation of the "good" or true woman who is pious and submissive, as well as the "bad" woman who is blasphemous, dominating, and slovenly. But the degree to which their views of social hierarchy differ, despite these similar narrative strategies, becomes even clearer when one closely examines the way that each manipulates Black female characters within the confines of this domestic rhetoric. As mentioned above, the language that Stowe and Hentz use in the creation of Mammy reveals the extent to which each thought the White woman could successfully exert control over the domestic sphere to which she had been relegated. Through the presence of the White mistress -- Mrs. Shelby and Eula, specifically, -- both Chloe and Kizzy have, at the beginning of each narrative, come as close as possible to the White ideal of womanhood. It is understood in each case that neither could hope to achieve that ideal because of the limitations of race. In the same sense that Chloe's and Kizzy's blackness prevents them from achieving "true womanhood," the Black woman's racial difference is also used by each author as the weak link that facilitates their departure from good to bad behavior once confronted with a corrupting outside influence -- for Stowe, that influence is patriarchy; for Hentz, it is abolitionism and its connotations of equality.
While there are differences between Chloe and Kizzy, they both embody many of the standard elements of the mammy stereotype, a composite that sprang from a long tradition of plantation literature with which Stowe and Hentz were undoubtedly familiar. In fact Moss stresses that southern domestic fiction like the *Planter's Northern Bride* was as heavily influenced by plantation fiction as it was by the domestic literary model discussed earlier that emerged in New England. The two literary models are joined, she notes, by their designation of “the home, with woman its custodian, as the bedrock of southern civilization.” (Moss 21) Novels about the South were written as early as the eighteenth century. In these early novels, slaves were primarily background characters without specific characterization (Brown 6). By the early nineteenth century, however, prominent authors such as Washington Irving, James Fennimore Cooper, and William Gilmore Simms were writing novels that included Black characters, many of them written in the “comic darky” vein (Brown 6). Simms, as well as other southern writers such as W.A. Carruthers, Beverly & George Tucker, and John Ester Cooke wrote about plantation life, featuring “southern gentry and their complaisant slaves”. As Sterling Brown notes in *The Negro in American Literature*, “these mammies and butlers and coachmen are interchangeable” (6).

By the 1830's, novels written in what is commonly called the Plantation Tradition became popular. Within this tradition, which certainly informed the subsequent rash of anti-Uncle Tom proslavery novels, slaves were depicted as childlike, comic, and content. In novels like J.P. Kennedy’s *Swallow Barn*, a
skeptical Northerner visits the South, only to be won over by its charms, particularly the happiness of the slaves. As Kennedy writes, "I never met a negro man... that he is not whistling; and the women sing from morning to night" (Brown 18). In most of this literature, racism informs descriptions of slaves as patently inferior and uniquely suited to serve the master or mistress. In 1840 William H. Thompson wrote about a White mistress who insists on taking her slave Prissy on a trip with her instead of a hired White girl:

I could never bear to see a white gall toatin' my child about, waiting on me like a nigger. It would hurt my conscience to keep anybody 'bout me in that condition who was as white and as good as me. (Brown 19)

Slave characters were, then, routinely drawn as broadly comic and often physically grotesque. Mammy arrives in the pro- and antislavery novels of the 1850's much as she looked on the label of Aunt Jemima's Syrup until just a few years ago: an obese, jolly, bandana-wearing woman with a perpetual smile of shiny white teeth. For the purposes of this paper, I will define Mammy as follows: a domestic, employed in the Big House, who worked in conjunction with the mistress, sharing domestic and maternal duties as either cook, maid, nurse, or child-rearer. Eugene Genovese writes in Roll Jordan, Roll:

Primarily, the Mammy raised the white children and ran the Big House either as the mistress's executive officer or her de facto superior. Her power extended over black and white... She served as confidante to the child, the mistress, and even the master.... (Genovese 355)
Many slave owners expected their mammy to be “the perfect slave, a loyal, faithful, contented, efficient, conscientious member of the family...” (Genovese 356).

Although Chloe and Kizzy do share domestic and maternal duties with Mrs. Shelby and Eula respectively, it is never suggested that they are in any way equal to their mistresses. One of the ways in which each author maintains this distance is through close adherence to the physical stereotype of Mammy that grew out of the plantation tradition and that hooks summarizes earlier in this paper. The reader is "introduced" to Aunt Chloe, who is Uncle Tom's wife, with the following description: "A round, black, shining face is hers, so glossy as to suggest the idea that she might have been washed over with white of eggs, like one of her own tea-rusks." As she surveys her cozy cabin,

> Her whole plump countenance beams with satisfaction and contentment from under her well-starched checked turban, bearing on it, however, if we must confess it, a little of that tinge of the self-consciousness which becomes the first cook of the neighborhood as Aunt Chloe was universally held and acknowledged to be (19).

Chloe is, as hooks suggests, asexual. Her "plump" face, "round" and "shiny" is not one, the reader is led to believe, that would provoke any sort of physical advances from Mr. Shelby. By keeping Chloe fat and jolly, Stowe clarifies the dynamic between her and Mrs. Shelby, her mistress. Mrs. Shelby is willing and able to lavish upon Chloe her most concentrated domestic/evangelical efforts, unimpeded by such unchristian emotions as jealousy or suspicion. And Chloe (who, Stowe does
not allow us to forget, like all Blacks, is imitative by nature) is free to take childlike pride in her aping of White manners and affected dignity.

If, as one scholar observes, "the rights and dignity of black women and men were repeatedly obscured in the antislavery fiction of the 1850s, which abounded in stereotypes," one need only read The Planter's Northern Bride to see how Hentz and her anti-Uncle Tom peers obscured the rights and dignity of Black characters in the defense of slavery (Ryan 139). Kizzy is a two-dimensional mammy stereotype, an icon of Black female imperfection and the antithesis of Eula's White female perfection. Kizzy embodies many of the same physical characteristics as Chloe, and is also very close to the stereotypical description of Mammy provided earlier by hooks. As noted above, Eula first spies Kizzy chasing after Effie, "her ebony face shining like the sun, and her thick African lips flattened in the broad smile that parts them" (212). Reference is made more than once to Kizzy's shining face and thick lips, as well as to the "well-fed rotundity" to which one may attribute her waddling. Her face is shiny like Chloe's face which, one remembers, is described as having been glossed in eggwhites. This is, Hentz implies, not only because of its blackness, but perhaps as a result of her being unclean, or unkempt. Like Chloe, Kizzy's lips are continually described as thick, flat, or fat, enforcing the notion, as hooks points out, that Mammy is grotesque, bestial, and perhaps even lewdly sexual, but always in an animalistic, degraded way.

Stowe and Hentz not only undermine any physical or sexual power Mammy may have but also call into question her skills as a woman and mother, and
embrace the notion that the mammy was, for all of her boastfulness and busyness, a domestic buffoon. In the beginning of Uncle Tom's Cabin, Stowe praises Chloe's domestic achievement. Chloe is described as a competent housekeeper, whose cabin features "a neat garden patch" on the outside and a neat arrangement of useful furniture and modest decoration on the inside. The reader is reminded, however, that Chloe has achieved this level of competence as the result of her mistress, Mrs. Shelby. Because of this positive influence, Chloe is a "... trained and methodical [cook], who moved in an orderly domestic harness." Stowe continually undermines any serious consideration of Chloe as a true woman, however, by tempering her praise with condescension, as when she observes that Aunt Chloe "shakes her fat sides with honest pride and merriment" as she cooks corn-cake and boasts about her culinary accomplishment. Her domestic achievement is lauded by Stowe, for the most part, as the domestic achievement of a child playing house.

More destructive than condescension, however, is Stowe's decision to depict Chloe, also in keeping with the conventions of the stereotype, as a less-than-perfect mother with little instinct to nurture her own children. In keeping with this particular stereotype, Chloe is short and abusive with her family, unlike the perfectly domestic Mrs. Byrd whose "husband and children were her entire world" and whom "she ruled more by entreaty and persuasion than by command or argument" (76). Chloe does, however, find time to lavish praise and affection on the young White master. Chloe shakes her fat sides with merriment only at the appearance of the young
Master George, not her own boys, "a couple of wooly-headed boys with glistening black eyes and fat shining cheeks." As Chloe feeds master George, she yells,

Hey you, Mose & Pete! get out de way, you niggers! Get away, Polly, honey - mammy'll give her baby somethin', by and by. Now Masr George, you just take off dem books, and set down now with my old man, and I'll take up de sausages, and have de first griddle full of cakes on your plate in less dan no time. (21)

Later, while filling Master George's plate Chloe comments that "you know your old aunty'd keep the best for you" (27).

Genovese notes in Roll, Jordan Roll that Mammies were frequently devoted to their White charges, oftentimes as an effective protection device for themselves and their families: "the sacrifices they made for the Whites earned them genuine affection in return, which provided a guarantee of protection, safety and privilege for their own children" (357). Furthermore, extensive documentation, including narratives such as Frederick Douglass' and Harriet Jacobs', bear witness to the fact that while slave mothers were frequently separated from children, temporarily or permanently, they put forth extraordinary effort to nurture their offspring. Willful neglect or indifference to their children was not a reality, but rather what Genovese calls the "wishful white perceptions" that informed the stereotype of Mammy as a bossy, often "shifless" woman, such as Dinah or one more concerned with the well-being of her master's White children than her own, such as Chloe. Stowe needed to depict Mammy as innately ill-disposed toward nurturing her own children in order to amplify just how essential the presence of a White woman was to the process of
bringing Black women closer to the ideal of acceptable female behavior. Mammy's precariously womanhood raises the stakes of the White woman's mission.

Hentz begs this issue to a certain extent by creating a mammy who has no children of her own. Hentz does, however, view Mammy's domestic efforts with even more humored condescension than does Stowe. Kizzy is efficient enough with her tasks, and more than once Eula is told to allow Kizzy to tend to her comfort. Moreland insists that Kizzy, not Eula, pack Eula's bags and prepare her for a long trip because "...you can rely on her judgement and experience" (312). However, upon arrival at the plantation, Eula finds Kizzy waddling about, ineptly attempting to care for Effie. Kizzy's affection for Effie is deemed excessive by Eula, and she is judged spoiled because "Aunt Kizzie, its Black nurse and mammy, would as soon have thought of cutting off her head, as refuse to gratify its most unreasonable wishes" (212). The gravest ramification of Kizzy's inferior childrearing is that Moreland is unable to love his own child -- Effie is so spoiled that he feels disdain for her. Before the arrival of Eula, Moreland is able to justify his feelings toward Effie by reaffirming that "...[her] black nurse feels for [her] more than love-worship and adoration" (205). It is Eula who recognizes the deficiency of this worship and adoration and the lack of disciplined child-rearing -- something that cannot be expected from Kizzy or any other Black woman. It is clear to Eula that the child needs the influence of a White mother, for Kizzy is a ridiculous child herself, inferior in all respects to her White counterparts. In fact, Hentz implies,
Kizzy too needs Eula's blessed influence -- the advantage of an "orderly domestic harness" like Chloe's.

In this manner, Stowe and Hentz transmute Mammy's tenacious survival mechanisms and iron will into the stereotypical comic petty tyrant who storms around her kingdom (the kitchen), lording her illusory power over her subjects (other slaves, or her own little "pickaninnies"). In *From Mammies to Militants*, Trudier Harris notes that, in contradistinction to what is generally believed to have been true, Mammy was portrayed as a woman whose "piety and patience worked more often than not in favor of the whites", whose "tyranny was most ruthless when it was exercised over other Blacks," who "believed in aping white manners", and who, "if she was not servile, ... certainly believed herself inferior to those for whom she worked" (Harris 36). She was alternately a jolly accommodating darky for the benefit of her Whitefolk or a ham-fisted matriarch when forced to be among her own family.

As Harris suggests, both Chloe and Kizzy not only accept but reinforce their own difference and inferiority. In the same manner as Dinah, Chloe laughingly relates how she "gets sarcy" with her mistress and objects to her interference:

> Now Missis, do just look at them beautiful white hands of yourn, with long fingers and all a-sparkling with rings, like my white lillies when the dews on 'em; and look at my great black stumpin' hands. **Now don't ye think dat de lord must have meant me to make de pie crust, and you to stay in de parlor** (24).
This amusing anecdote prompts the now well-fed Master George to toss "some liberal bits" of his cakes to Mose and Pete and urge Aunt Chloe to feed them their dinners.

In a similar fashion, Kizzy clearly loves working for Mars Russell and Eula, loves accommodating them and theirs, loves them more than she loves herself and her own. As Hentz writes,

> She would speak in a domineering manner to the servants, but her language and manner were gentle as a lamb's to Eulalia and Effie. She adored her master; and, when he introduced his northern bride to the assembled household... distinguishing [Kizzy] as a faithful friend of the family and the kind nurse of his child, she was so proud, so happy, so full of admiration and delight, she could scarcely restrain from hugging both in her ample arms. (229)

Like Stowe's Dinah, who enjoys bullying the other slaves, and Chloe who exhibits infinite patience for Master George and almost complete intolerance for her own "pickaninnies," Kizzy is a devoted protector of her White family. As Hentz writes of "the negro" in general,

> The admiration, love, and devotion which the negro feels for the children of a beloved master, is one of the strongest, most unselfish passions the human heart is capable of cherishing. The partition wall of colour is broken down. The sable arms are privileged to wreath the neck of snow, the dusky lips to press soft kisses on the cheek of living roses. (509)

As Hentz would have it, Mammy's devotion suggests that slavery is not divergent from but consistent with the Christian ethic of caring for others. Hentz stresses that she is, despite her racial inferiority, a cared-for member of the
plantation family. Consequently, Kizzy is happy to assist Eula and accommodate her as a maid, relieving her of many of the dirtier aspects of the job and enabling her to devote herself to the moral care and nurturance of Effie. Like some sort of pack mule, Kizzy shuffles, huffs, and grunts. She is apt to boss around the other slaves, claiming falsely that she has "flammatory rheumatiz." Her behavior is deemed dishonest and shiftless but, Hentz informs us, impossible to change -- after all, we are told, Africans are by nature imitative and Kizzy loves to role-play as mistress. All of this, ultimately, is a constant form of entertainment for the White folk, who "bear it with grace and good humor" (227). Kizzy herself is content to be a laughing stock, providing what Eula calls "Aunt Kizzieisms" on a regular basis. Her attempt to ride a horse is one big "Aunt Kizzieism." She is described as looking "...very much like a large ball of India rubber, with a butterfly sticking to it," riding with a "quivering, jelly-like motion". When everyone present, including the horse, laughs at Kizzy's efforts, she responds:

Laugh away, young missus.... Mars Russell put me here purpose to make you laugh.... I does feel sorter bruised, missus, but not more than I can bear; you see I ain't used to master's saddle no how, and it makes me a little oneasy and discomforted. Never mind missus; if you and Mars. Russel is satisfied, Kizzie won't complain. (321)

Ultimately, like Eula, Kizzy cares for her oppressor, thereby ensuring her own oppression. With this sort of acceptance of hierarchy, Hentz indicates, the slaves are happy, the women fulfilled, and the men masterful. And all are content in their designated roles. This brand of self-loathing submission and inferiority is reiterated
by Judy, a free Black, who offers the following observations to support her claim that she would prefer to be a slave:

De Lord never made us look like dem. We mustn't be angry wid de Lord, for all dat; He knows best, I s'pose. Look a' me, black as de chimney back, - dey, white as snow; what great, big, thick, ugly lips I got, - dere's look jist like roses. Den dis black sheep head, What de Lord make dat for? Dey got putey, soft, long hair, just like de silk ribbons. Now look at dat big, long heel, will you? ... I do wonder what the Lord made us negger for? I 'spect de white dust gin out, and he had to take de black. (267)

Nowhere in The Planter's Northern Bride is it clearer that Hentz was in agreement with racially based proslavery arguments. The book is peppered with observations like, "... wherever civilized man exists, there is the dividing line of the high and the low, the rich and the poor..." (32) and "God never intended that you and I should live on equal terms with the African" (202). In the same sense, Hentz suggests that women should not live on equal terms with men. With the rejection of any movements toward equality between races or sexes, Hentz implies, comes true happiness and liberation. Hentz uses Kizzy who, like Chloe, is marginal and therefore not confined by expectations of acceptable female behavior, to help justify her own personal revision of true womanhood and the female sphere and turn individualism on its head, suggesting that slavery, or at least submission, replace freedom as the essential medium of growth.

In order to best present the benefits of slave society, Hentz devotes the first half of her novel to a description of the northern cities in which wage labor -- not
slavery -- is the true enslaver. In Hentz's urban North, many suffer from varying degrees of consumption and most are wretchedly overworked. Women lament that they would "rather, a great deal, do housework, than stand all day long behind the wheels and looms" (76). The workers, old and infirm, are left to die without support, such as that provided by plantation masters and mistresses. As Betsey, the free kitchen girl confides to Albert, Moreland's slave, "I'm ten times more of a slave, this minute, than you are, and have been all my life" (174).

Hentz's anti-northern diatribes are, however, balanced by fond, sentimental reminiscences of her highly romanticized northern home and mother. In fact, part of what makes The Planter's Northern Bride intriguing to the contemporary reader is Hentz's ambivalence about region and the way in which Hentz employs her innately northern sensibility to illustrate the attractiveness of southern slave society. The reader of The Planter's Northern Bride quickly becomes aware of Hentz's extensive use of domestic rhetoric in the telling of her tale. Eula is first described by her husband and master, Moreland, as having the perfect profile for true womanhood. She is

... pure, sweet, fresh womanliness, a virgin delicacy, a strong but guarded sensibility, a deep, genuine, but unobtrusive piety. She was fair without vanity, intelligent and highly cultivated without pedantry or display....(101)

The Planter's Northern Bride is Hentz's illustration of how this total feminine happiness can be achieved, and how a woman might become, like Eula, "a golden
link of union between the divided interests of humanity, and inherit the peculiar blessing reserved for those who shall be called the Children of God" (136).

One of the ways that Eula learns how liberating slave society can be for White women is in her gradual acceptance of help from Kizzy. After a perfunctory objection, Eula gives herself over to such concessions with the revelation that a certain amount of pampering and indulgence has its place, and, more importantly, that the energy she saves in the execution of mundane tasks can be saved for her more noble mission of caring for the moral lives of her family. Hentz entices her female readership with the prospect of a life in which a wife and mother is taken care of financially, and can rely on slaves to do much of her more tedious labor. Here on the plantation, with the assistance of Kizzy and a full complement of well-treated slaves, Eula is free "to mould [Effie] into such moral loveliness that [Moreland] would be constrained to love her" (216). So, at the end of her first day, Eula reflects on her new challenge:

...She wondered she had ever been happy before, so full was her content, so deep her gratitude.... She travelled back to New England and blessed her mother for her inculcations of wisdom and love. (218)

It is, as discussed earlier, the intrusion of a disruptive outside force that interferes with the domestic order that Eula has established. All is well on Moreland's plantation until Brainard, an abolitionist disguised as a minister, comes south seeking to help the downtrodden, or "the lowly." He settles near Moreland's plantation and begins regular meetings for slaves in an attempt to make them
aware that they are being oppressed. Although the slaves initially resist, they gradually become disturbed by this new knowledge. As one slave points out to Brainard, "I thought I mighty well off till I hearn you say I ain't" (450).

Eula soon notices the change in her house staff, particularly Kizzie, who is less and less willing to assist her, even though Eula has given birth to her own child. And while "... the crowning grace of maternity had humanized the celestial loveliness of Eula" (402), Eula has also become dependent upon Kizzy for the care of the infant and has come to rely on their clearly defined hierarchical relationship. As Kizzy is drawn in by Brainard's abolitionist rhetoric, meetings become her priority and she places "gitting the blessing" above caring for Eula (437). She also begins to fuss about her appearance. No longer content in a greasy headrag, she dresses in her best "starched white apron and bright headkerchief" and hustles off to services.

While Hentz does not directly criticize this newfound pride in appearance, she does link it directly to the more dangerous pride that allows Kizzy to challenge her mistress: "`If you insist on my staying missus' said Kizzie, folding her fat fingers over her waist, without offering to take the child, `of course I'll give up the preaching'" (438). While certainly not a blatant act of subversion, the absence of Kizzy's complete willingness to serve sets Eula on edge. As Hentz writes, Eula "was very childish -- but Kizzie had always seemed so self-sacrificing, so devotedly attached to her and the child, she could not help feeling distressed" (437). Having been sullied by disruptive northern reform rhetoric, Kizzy acts out notions of
individualism, equality, and individual freedom, all of the notions that Hentz saw as a direct threat to woman's true domestic power. Despite Eula's best efforts at reform, Kizzy falls away from the ideal of acceptable behavior and questions her subjugation. This is the only point in *The Planter's Northern Bride* at which Kizzy is anything but comic relief. While she is not granted the depth of character that Stowe gives Chloe, the reader is allowed to see that even a character as benign as Kizzy can "turn bad" in the face of detrimental outside influences.

Kizzy's behavior is adversely effected by the intrusion of Brainard, and her protest against the otherwise smoothly functioning system is a warning. Her unwillingness to submit serves first as an omen of the societal unravelling that may ensue. Her behavior also points, perhaps more importantly, to the possible failure of Eula to morally guide her slaves within her adopted social system. Kizzy's rebelliousness prompts an interesting flash of northern guilt in Eula, who is momentarily thrown into a fit of remorse as she reflects, "How selfish I am, to grudge poor Kizzie this little gratification! Oh! how often has my own dear mother rocked me, a weeping infant, in her arms, when there was no one near to relieve her of the burden of care" (439). This struggle with her conscience exhausts Eula and then passes as she remembers how dearly she has come to cherish her privileged status as plantation mistress. Hentz writes, "...she wanted Kizzie to see, when she returned, how much trouble she had caused. She wanted her to feel sorry for having left her" (440). Kizzy's changed behavior awakens Eula's uncertainty about the privilege that she has come to value. She is presented with the possibility that
her reliance on Kizzy may have rendered her ineffectual as both mistress and mother. In this important respect Hentz and Stowe fear the same thing: a loss of control over their already diminished sphere of influence. That sphere includes the Black woman and its vulnerability is exemplified by Mammy's failure to respond to domestic and moral tutelage.

By this point in *The Planter's Northern Bride*, it is clearer than ever -- despite the final death throws of northern guilt mentioned above -- that Hentz embraced the ideal of privileged womanhood. The northern bride has grown accustomed to the luxury of attending only to the moral nurturance of her child, not the labor of child care. Moreland is furious to find her exhausted and sick as a result of Kizzy's desertion, and Hentz notes, in what must have been a familiar scenario for her, that "...never had Eula spent so weary an evening" (439). This domestic episode only foreshadows the near chaos that ensues on Moreland's plantation, incited by Brainard. After a lengthy diatribe against the disorder, anarchy, and fanaticism that he has wrought, Brainard -- who it is revealed is an escaped felon -- is put in jail. Full-scale insurrection averted, Eula and Moreland can carry on with their lives. As they prepare for a trip to the North to visit her family, it is noted that "Kizzie's countenance rejoiced once more in its former expression of consequential good-nature" (529).

The dynamic that exists between Eula and Kizzy helps illustrate Hentz's version of woman's role in private and public. Her ideal is, like her heroine, based on a fusion of northern and southern values. Hentz was undeniably versed in the
rhetoric of domesticity, whereby a woman could become empowered by providing moral guidance to and shaping the character of those around her. By combining this concept of woman as domestic missionary with the southern belief in the importance of difference and hierarchy, Hentz was able to defend a social system that rejected essentialism and embraced a firm belief in the importance of status and privilege that she believed could be particularly beneficial for White women. In an effort to align herself with the southern ideal of womanhood, Hentz chose to make a reform movement, or an "ism" -- in this case abolitionism -- the villain in her piece. Furthermore, she used Mammy to articulate the ease with which women -- both black and white -- could fall away from ideal womanhood in the presence of a "bad" influence.

In contrast, Stowe was clearly and openly influenced by the bourgeois rhetoric of her time, in which, "an individual could, in a sense, be abstracted from the accidents of race and sex and be seen as essentially the freehold owner and user of energies and talents," given, of course, the guidance of White women as "moral guardians" (Matthews 280). It is this bourgeois rhetoric that links Stowe's philosophies of abolitionism and domesticity and suggests that the woman plays a vital role in this connection. This same rhetoric also suggests that the White woman is left with the responsibility (and power) of shaping the "energies and talents" of Black women. This is a task that Stowe suggests is virtually impossible in the face of the slave trade that continually separates the families White women
seek to keep together, as well as the failure of Black women to become White women, despite the best efforts of mistresses.

Chloe's racial difference, while at times problematic to Stowe, does enable her to react vocally to her oppression in ways that Mrs. Shelby cannot. In response to the sale of her husband down the river, Chloe displays behavior that is antithetical to what she has been taught: she becomes blasphemous rather than pious and outraged rather than submissive. Chloe is employed by Stowe as a sort of surrogate woman -- a woman-type who can lend voice and action to the most unacceptable of White female sentiment -- including the blasphemy and rage mentioned above. It is Chloe who becomes angry and calls Christianity itself into question. The White folks busy eating inside, Chloe leads a group of slaves in the kitchen in an invocation of an angry Lord, a Lord of vengeance who will take care of the slave traders as a lot. She cries,

> Don't natur herself kinder cry out on 'em?... Don't dey tear der suckin' baby right off his mother's breast, and sell him, and der little children as is crying and holding on by her clothes - don't dey pull em off and sells em? Don't dey tear wife and husband apart? ... And all the while does they feel one bit, - don't dey drink and smoke, and take it oncommon easy? Lor, if the devil don't get them, what's he good for?

Tom implores her to pray for them and she replies "Lor it's too tough! I can't pray for 'em" (52).

Chloe continually rejects Tom's Christian submission, and admittedly finds prayer cold comfort: "...de Lord lets drefful things happen, sometimes. I don't seem
to get no comfort dat way." When Tom implores her to "think on our marcies," she responds

`Marcies!... don't see no marcy in't! 'tan't right! 'tan't right it should be so! Mas'r never ought ter left it so that ye could be took for his debts... Mebbe he can't help himself now, but I feel it's wrong... them as sells hearts love and heart's blood, to get out thar scrapes, de Lord'll be up to 'em! Wal, anyway, that's wrong about it somewhar', said Aunt Chloe, in whom a stubborn sense of justice was a predominant trait; `I can't jest make out whar 'tis, but that's wrong somewhar, I'm clar o' that.' (92)

Her domestic behavior becomes continually less acceptable until she is driven in a visceral and uncontrolled reaction to box her sons' ears, about which she comments, "Wal, I can't help it.... I's so tossed about, it makes me act ugly" (94).

As Hentz's abolitionist upsets the delicate balance of plantation life and racial harmony in *The Planter's Northern Bride*, so does the sale of Uncle Tom to a trader in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Mrs. Shelby's evangelical work is continually impeded by Mr. Shelby, particular in his decision to sell Uncle Tom -- Chloe's husband -- down the river. Mrs. Shelby suggests more than once that her husband involve her in the handling of business affairs, but without his permission to do so, she is forced to work within the confines of her domestic sphere. Despite her frustration, she and most of Stowe's White women never stray from the confines of true womanhood. Like Eula, they never resort to rebellion or subversiveness. Instead, as Ann Douglass notes, a female-centered hierarchy or what she terms "feminization," sometimes guaranteed "the continuation of male hegemony in different guises" (13).
In fact, not only does Mrs. Shelby sustain the hierarchical relationship that exists between her and her husband/oppressor, but she in turn reenacts that hierarchical power structure with her slaves/oppressed, placing herself in the dominant position.

There is one particularly telling dialogue between Chloe and Mrs. Shelby -- a dialogue that almost reenacts a previously discussed dialogue between Mr. and Mrs. Shelby in which she seeks his permission to work outside of the home. Mrs. Shelby, herself denied the opportunity to participate in the market economy in an attempt to prevent the break-up of Chloe's family, allows Chloe herself to be hired out as a baker. In the act of permitting Chloe to leave and earn money in Louisville, Mrs. Shelby exerts the little control she has over the destiny of herself and her slaves. Confined by expectations of appropriate behavior in literary heroines (and female novelists), Stowe allows her own defiance of true womanhood to be acted out through the Black woman. By permitting Mammy to enter the marketplace she, by extension, defies her master's command to not become involved in traditionally male concerns. In allowing her to work outside of the home, Mrs. Shelby also liberates Chloe from the confines of true womanhood, as she is no longer even entirely domestic. In her depiction of Chloe the reader sees Stowe pushing rhetorically at the edges of her domestic confinement.

In The Feminization of American Culture, Ann Douglass suggests that the sentimental Christian ethos of ineffectual moral guardians such as Mrs. Shelby is one of the flaws in Uncle Tom's Cabin and other sentimental novels of the time. She concludes that it "provides a way to protest a power to which one has already in
part capitulated" (12). I would argue that Stowe did not so much capitulate to the power structure as provide a compelling illustration of the obstacles standing in the way of her new domestic hierarchy. In the end, the value scheme of the female sphere is fragile at best in the face of this driving market force. One of the ways in which Stowe protests the limits of domestic rhetoric and illustrates how ineffectual both abolition and moral reform efforts are when relegated exclusively to the domestic sphere is through the Black women in her novel. Aunt Chloe may not prevail in the end (her husband never returns to his cabin), but she does protest loudly.

Hentz, in her lifetime, had to raise children, provide income, and tend to a demanding and sickly husband. Her life, then, bore little resemblance to any nineteenth-century representation of ideal womanhood, northern or southern, and she benefited from neither empowerment nor privilege. Hentz, then, chose to embrace patriarchy, in which the woman might successfully avoid social or economic entanglements, as a liberating ideal and a means toward an end. In Kizzy, Hentz created an obedient and amusing Mammy who, by virtue of her inferiority, made plantation patriarchy work, particularly to the benefit of the White mistress.

I have, then, used texts that are overt responses to an historical conflict in order to examine how both Stowe and Hentz seized this period of social shifting and public soul-searching as an opportunity to contribute to an on-going literary dialogue among women concerning woman's place in American society. There are
many shared elements in these two novels including the presence of "good" or "true" White women -- evangelical domestic heroines who, through moral influence, struggle to improve the lives of those for whom they are responsible. However, my examination of how these fictional White women interact with the Black women in their households illustrates the degree to which Stowe and Hentz found the tightly prescribed ideal of domestic womanhood either limiting or liberating within a larger social context. Each ultimately has a very different view of what a woman's place should be, and that difference is based in large part on what socio-political system and consequent view of social hierarchy each is defending. The difference in these two novels underscores, among other things, the diversity of literary voices that exist within the rather broadly classified genre of domestic or sentimental fiction. It also illustrates the inability of both Hentz and Stowe to move toward any real consideration of a "sisterhood" that might transcend expectations of true womanood from "other" women, including women of color.

While Chloe and Kizzy cannot tell us everything about nineteenth-century feminine culture in America, these Mammies do, as mentioned earlier, offer powerful examples of the ways in which northern and southern women's culture -- and Stowe and Hentz -- thought about themselves. As Barbara Christian notes in Black Feminist Criticism, fictional Mammies are a particularly resonant stereotype, "...their images being a context for some other major dilemma or problem the society cannot resolve" (2). Jane Tompkins adds that in most nineteenth-century American women's fiction, stereotypes serve just this function. Their "familiarity and
typicality, rather than making them bankrupt or stale, is the basis of their effectiveness as integers in a social equation" (xvi). It is unfortunate that Mammy has repeatedly been reduced to an "integer," and yet it is in her capacity as a sign in a "cultural shorthand" that she helps the contemporary reader understand the culture, or cultures, that have created and recreated her throughout the years. Upon analysis, Chloe and Kizzy truly do convey enormous amounts of cultural information about the ways in which Harriet Beecher Stowe and Caroline Lee Hentz indeed sought to redefine -- or maintain -- the social order.
Notes

1 Catherine Beecher first applied her father's evangelical fervor to an analysis of the care and upkeep of the home. Beecher wrote extensively about domestic economy in an effort to make a business or science -- something tangible and credible -- out of woman's domestic life. For Catherine Beecher, "...good housekeeping (was) a political practice and the home a model political province" (Brown 20). Her belief in the importance of order and systems in the maintenance of a successful household is best illustrated in her book, The American Woman's Home; or Principles of Domestic Science. Stowe collaborated with Beecher on this revision of the book, which was published in 1869. The rest of its subtitle reads; 'being a guide to the formation and maintenance of economical, healthful, beautiful, and Christian homes'. By the time this revision was published, however, Stowe had more than established her own literary career.

2 A number of women who wrote southern domestic fiction were from the north, had lived there for some period of time, or had some northern allegiances. Sarah Josepha Hale, author of Northwood, a novel that was revised to include proslavery sections in 1852 was a Northerner; Caroline Gilman, a southern domestic novelist was, like Hentz, a Southerner who emigrated from New England; Mary Eastman, author of the anti-Uncle Tom Aunt Phillis' Cabin had spent seven years in Minnesota before moving to Virginia with her Northern husband. There were, of course, many prominent proslavery domestic novelists who were from the south, including E.D.E.N. Southworth, Augusta Evans, Maria Macintosh, and Mary Virginia Terhune. For a discussion of the role of southern domestic novelists in the maintenance of southern culture before and during the Civil War, see Domestic Novelists in the Old South by Elizabeth Moss and Drew Gilpin Faust's essay in Journal of American History 76 [March 1990]: 1200-28).

3 Aunt Chloe and Dinah have been consistently overlooked in critical analyses of Stowe's work. In the recent flurry of discourse about Uncle Tom's Cabin, many scholars have chosen to focus on Stowe's Christianization of the slave question, or "Life Among the Lowly"; Tom as the American Eve (Herzog); Little Eva and the redeeming power of Christianity in life and death (Tompkins). While Stowe's text does indeed resemble a jeremiad, and is "halfway between sermon and social theory" (Tompkins 126), it is more important to realize how her form of sermonizing is feminized -- a potent fusion of Christian, northern bourgeois, and domestic rhetoric and how Aunt Chloe and Dinah stand more squarely at the intersection of Stowe's attitudes toward race and gender, slavery and motherhood, and abolitionism and feminism, than do any of her other characters.
The tragic mulatto stereotype appears throughout nineteenth-century fiction by both white and black authors. For examples of the stereotype in African-American fiction, see *Clotel: or the Colored Heroine* by William Wells Brown and Charles Waddell Chesnutt's *The Wife of His Youth*. For a discussion of the stereotype, see *Amalgamation! Race, Sex and Rhetoric in the Nineteenth-Century American Novel* by James Kinney or *Women, Ethnics, and Exotics* by Kristin Herzog.

Fox-Genovese has done a good bit of debunking of previous feminist scholarship that has tried to pinpoint some sort of protofeminist sisterhood in the Old South in which slaveowning mistresses and their black female servants secretly shared a color-blind bond solidified by their mutual oppression by the white male. Her conclusion, exhaustively documented, is that most slave-holding women were alternately frustrated with, and threatened by or jealous of, their female slaves. All of these mixed emotions considered, most were thoroughly acceptant of, and glorified in, their superior status as mistresses.
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