

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Richard Murray points out that Thayer's public exhibition of the major paintings of his family at the same time in 1890 serves as a public testimony to his attachment to his children as "his source of spiritual strength" after his wife's death. Richard Murray, "Abbott Thayer's 'Stevenson Memorial,'" *American Art* 13.2 (1999): 2–25, 10. Murray also suggests that, by adopting varied subjects and contexts, Thayer could repeatedly affirm his devotion to his children, while obscuring that direct interpretation (14).
2. See Kristin Schwain, *Signs of Grace: Religion and American Art in the Gilded Age* (Cornell University Press, 2008), 121.
3. Elizabeth Lee makes a compelling case for Thayer's social consciousness, and especially his concern over the nation's declining morality. Elizabeth Lee, "Therapeutic Beauty: Abbott Thayer, Antimodernism, and the Fear of Disease," *American Art* 18.3 (2004): 32–51.
4. The recovery of the significance of the family to American literary history may be traced to a number of crucial interventions, most famously to Jane Tompkins, *Sensational Designs* (New York: Oxford University Press), which famously refuted the notion that sentimental literature "feminized" and degraded American culture. More recent and influential contributions to the restoring of the role that fictions of family and sentimentalism play in the shape of American cultural and literary history include Kirstin Boudreau, *Sympathy in American Literature* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002); Cindy Weinstein, *Family, Kinship, and Sympathy in Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); and Elizabeth Barnes, *States of Sympathy: Seduction and Democracy in the American Novel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997). Conversations of family and sentimental literature have shed light on the significance of affiliation, allegiance, and kinship in the context of national divisiveness. Elizabeth Duquette's *Loyal Subjects: Bonds of Nation, Race, and Allegiance in Nineteenth-Century America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2010) particularly situates the concept of loyalty as a distinct and meaningful discursive construct within the context of the Civil War, and Amy Murell Taylor, *The Divided Family in Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005) examines the "divided family" as both

- a historical reality during the war era and a literary motif, with particular attention to the trope of courtship and marriage as an allegory for the Union.
5. The significance of siblings has had more attention in British literary studies than in American. See Valerie Sanders, *The Brother–Sister Culture in Nineteenth-Century Literature, from Austen to Woolf* (New York: Palgrave, 2004) and Leila S. May, *Disorderly Sisters: Sibling Relations and Sororal Resistance in Nineteenth-Century British Literature* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2001). Elsewhere, May’s attention to an American example situates the brother–sister dynamic of that short story in the context of euro-centric traditions and cultural movements, which, she argues, shaped American literature and culture, as well. Leila S. May, “‘Sympathies of a scarcely intelligible nature’: the Brother–Sister Bond in Poe’s ‘Fall of the House of Usher’” *Studies in Short Fiction* 30 (1993): 387–396. While these contributions suggest that the nineteenth-century intrigue for sibling love occupied literary imaginations on both sides of the Atlantic, the significance of fictional representations of siblings to the tumultuous history of nineteenth-century America, especially the role of national identity making to that history, has gone mostly unnoticed. In an intriguing exception, Denis Flannery theorizes same-sex sibling representations in examples of American writing from the nineteenth-century to the contemporary period, with a focus on the capacity for lateral dynamics to articulate queer desire; Flannery’s attention to homoerotic implications of sibling love throughout the American canon complements my more historically focused study of the presence of opposite-sex sibling romance in the nineteenth century. Denis Flannery, *On Sibling Love, Queer Attachment, and American Writing* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007).
 6. Michael Shapiro historicizes and contextualizes the contemporary neoconservative project of “redeeming an imagined past and colonizing the present and future” via the dissemination of values surrounding the “traditional” American family. *Moral Ambiguity: National Culture and the Politics of the Family* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 1.
 7. Recently, the subject of siblings in American history has attracted more serious and extensive critical attention. In her recent study of real-life brothers and sisters in American history, Annette Atkins examines examples of sibling dynamics in a variety of antebellum American families, mostly through personal letters, to demonstrate the significance of that relationship to American family life during that time period. Annette Atkins, *We Grew Up Together: Brothers and Sisters in Nineteenth-Century America* (Urbana: Illinois University Press, 2001). In a more comprehensive study of American siblings in the nineteenth century, C. Dallett Hemphill contributes a timely overview of the cultural emphasis on sibling dynamics in American history. C. Dallett Hemphill, *Siblings: Brothers and Sisters in American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).
 8. For key interdisciplinary examples of studies that explore the paradigm of family with nation, see, in addition to the works cited in my first note,

George B. Forgie, *Patricide in the House Divided: A Psychological Interpretation of Lincoln and His Age* (New York: Norton, 1981); Elizabeth Duquette, *Loyal Subjects*, and Nancy Cott, *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).

9. Taylor's examination of the trope of the divided family as an allegory for the divided nation focuses on novels that exhibit what she notes to be the "existing literary association of the Union with a marriage" (125); her examples showcase the tradition of Civil War novels that adopt marriage as a metaphor for the relationship between the North and South (see especially 123–153). Taylor's chapter on siblings divided by the war focuses mostly on real-life experiences and letters between siblings and on the tradition of "fratricide" discourse. Karen A. Keely considers the "reconciliation marriage" between a Northern groom and Southern bride to be the dominant allegory for the national union in postbellum literature. Karen A. Keely, "Marriage Plots and National Reunion: The Trope of Romantic Reconciliation in Postbellum Literature," *Mississippi Quarterly* 51.4 (Fall 1998): 621–648. Also, Duquette examines how reunion romances "disseminate loyalty on the national scale by demonstrating the domestic felicity of coerced consent and propose that companionate unions predicated on loyalty would stabilize rebellious tendencies and harmonize political families" (62). Chapter 5 will add sibling romance to the conversation of familial allegories of national recuperation after Reconstruction.
10. Peter Coviello, *Intimacy in America: Dreams of Affiliation in Antebellum Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005). The capacity for the sibling romance trope to support the project of affiliation that Coviello examines particularly surfaces in the last chapter of this study, which demonstrates the ways in which postbellum African American fiction would deploy the solidarity of brother–sister union to expose the limitations of white-centric narratives of affiliation.
11. See especially Atkins's study, which reveals the importance and strength of sibling ties in such socializing processes.
12. Hemphill, *Siblings*, 7.
13. While the focus of this book is opposite-sex sibling bonds, for an important study of the implications of difference in sisterly dynamics in fiction, see *Sororophobia: Difference among Women in Literature and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).
14. Here I want to distinguish my use of the term "sibling love" from sibling incest. While the concepts certainly overlap—sentimental sibling representations surely can be read incestuously, and at times my analysis will address incestuous overtones of sentimental love. Likewise, many of the subjects of sibling incest blur the lines between the lasciviousness of incest and the sentimentalism of romance. Elizabeth Dill focuses on sibling incest as a vehicle to understand the literary lineage of such apparently distinct traditions as the sensational and the sentimental. Elizabeth Dill, "That Damned Mob of Scribbling Siblings: The American Romance as Anti-novel in *The Power of*

- Sympathy and Pierre*,” *American Literature* 80.4 (December 2008): 707–738. While the implications of sibling incest, especially as it is manifest in psychological dynamics, will sometimes surface in the analytical work of this study, my use of “sibling love” basically refers to an affiliation that does not manifest in overt sexuality, and my study focuses mostly on opposite-sex sibling pairs in nineteenth-century American fiction.
15. Gillian Brown traces Locke’s influence on American culture in the history of children’s literature, which disseminated the famous Lockean philosophies of consent and of children’s ability to reason. Gillian Brown, *Consent of the Governed: The Lockean Legacy in Early American Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).
 16. Jay Fleigelman’s classic study has established this philosophical history and its implications in American discourse history. Jay Fleigelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 12–21. Also, see Elizabeth Barnes’s explication of the Lockean underpinnings of Thomas Paine’s antipatriarchal discourse in *Common Sense*. Barnes, 26–31.
 17. For more on Hegel’s relevance to sibling representations in nineteenth-century literature, see May’s *Disorderly Sisters*, especially 32–41.
 18. Miriam Leonard traces what she calls “psychoanalysis’s backward gaze to Hegel” (135), pointing out that of the philosophers who interrogated the connection between psychoanalysis and Hegelianism, Derrida intervened most productively, especially in the conceptualization of sexual difference. Miriam Leonard, *Athens in Paris: Ancient Greece and the Political in Post-War French Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). For another brilliant intervention in the Oedipal legacy in the twentieth-century Anglo and Germanic imagination, see Jill Scott, *Electra after Freud: Myth and Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005). It is beyond the scope of this project to interrogate or debate Hegel’s theories of the dialectic and their impact on gender identity theory, as I mainly invoke Hegel here to demonstrate the salience and relevance of the sibling dialectic to the tradition of sibling representations in nineteenth-century siblings. That said, the remainder of this book will engage in a close analysis of literary representations of siblings and their implications surrounding issues of gender and social difference, revealing the rich and varied engagement with these debates in nineteenth-century American fiction.
 19. David V. Ciavatta intervenes in long-standing assumptions about the importance of the marriage bond to Hegelian philosophy (and, by extension, modern psychology) with his insistence that “the logic of the marriage bond, as Hegel . . . articulates is, is actually closer to the prepersonal logic of sibling relations (and of parent/child relations) than it seems.” David V. Ciavatta, *Spirit, the Family, and the Unconscious in Hegel’s Philosophy* (New York: SUNY Press, 2009), 170.
 20. Judith Butler points out that “The Hegelian legacy of Antigone interpretation appears to assume the separability of kinship and the state, even as it posits an essential relation between them.” Judith Butler, *Antigone’s Claim: Kinship between Life and Death* (New York: Columbia University

- Press, 2000), 5. For new psychoanalytic and feminist pragmatism, recognizing the legacy of this logic, and redefining the implications of Antigone within the contexts of contemporary crises (*à la* Butler) has become a central tool for reorganizing and blurring the lines between kinship and the state, and understanding the liminal spaces of figures on the margins of historically normalized culture.
21. Hegel's reading of Antigone, a definitive interpretive performance for his philosophy of human psychological development, appears abruptly with a statement that, along with its meaningful footnote, would come to symbolize the gender distinctions that premise his philosophy of the ethical life: "The loss of a brother is thus irreparable to the sister, and her duty toward him is the highest." The simple and straightforward literary reference he would append as a footnote to this assertion—"Cp. Antigone. 1, 910."—sheds light on the classical source for the Hegelian model of gendered psychological and civic development, at the same time that it reifies the definitive interpretation of the tragic Sophoclean heroine that celebrates her supposed filial and spiritual submission. G. W. F. Hegel, *The Phenomenology of Mind* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1967), 477.
 22. Kelly Oliver argues that the brother–sister dialectic central to Hegel's philosophy on ethical order undermines the premise of his philosophy of self-consciousness, which, as she points out, insists that mutual recognition is contingent upon desire. Kelly Oliver, *Witnessing: Beyond Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).
 23. As George Steiner demonstrates, "Between c. 1790 and c. 1905, it was widely held by European poets, philosophers, and scholars, that Sophocles's *Antigone* was not only that finest of Greek tragedies, but a work of art nearer to perfection than any other produced by the human spirit" (1). George Steiner, *Antigones* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984). See also May's invocation of Steiner in her contextualization of sibling representations in nineteenth-century British literature (*Disorderly Sisters*, 37).
 24. See Caroline Winterer, "Classicism and Women's Education in America: 1840–1900," *American Quarterly* 53.1 (2001): 70–93.
 25. The ideology that discouraged women from political activity is well established, beginning with the landmark essay by Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," *American Quarterly* 18.2, Part 1 (Summer, 1966), 151–174. For foundational studies on gender spheres, see Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England 1780–1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977) and Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980). For examples of the vast amount of literature that challenges the notion of separate spheres, see Cathy Davidson and Jessamyn Hatcher, eds., *No More Separate Spheres* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002); Linda Kerber et al., "Beyond Roles, beyond Spheres: Thinking about Gender in the Early Republic," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 46.3 (1989): 565–585, and Laura McCall and Donald Yacavone, eds., *A Shared Experience: Men, Women, and the History of Gender* (New York: New York University Press, 1998). While recently scholars have sought to

- debunk the history of separate spheres, nineteenth-century discourse nevertheless reveals a strict, if nuanced and contested, proscription against female agency in the public sphere. This book's exploration of the nationalizing capacity of the sibling romance, a trope that appears in mostly domestic fiction, takes as its premise the politicizing potential in domesticity. In that way, it aligns with Amy Kaplan's suggestion that antebellum women's novels "of domesticity and female subjectivity [are] inseparable from narratives of empire and nation building" ("Manifest Domesticity," *American Literature* 70.3 (Sep. 1998): 581–606, 584).
26. R. D. Hinshelwood and Gary Winship take as their classic Greek example of the sibling paradigm Orestes and Electra, a pair that, according to their argument, symbolizes not only the extreme form of sibling devotion, but also, in Aeschylus's rendering of their dynamic, the anarchist potential in democratic experiments. Given the matricidal union of Orestes and Electra, it is noteworthy that during the nineteenth century, an era characterized by unquestioning acceptance of the democratic ideal, would favor the Antigone model of sisterly loyalty. R. D. Hinshelwood, and Gary Winship, "Orestes and Democracy," in *Sibling Relationships*, edited by Prophecy Coles (New York: Karnac, 2006).
 27. Mary Kelley, in *Learning to Stand and Speak*, recognizes that, in *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, Fuller "contested common definitions of masculinity and femininity. She severed the common link between femininity and dependence. And she called for opportunities that enabled women to develop their potential, not only as wives and mothers whose lives were defined by domesticity but also as individuals, each of whom had particular inclinations, desires, and talents." Mary Kelly, *Learning to Stand and Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America's Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 222.
 28. In this famous epistolary exchange, Abigail Adams urges her husband to "remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands Why, then, not put it out of the power of the vicious and the lawless to use us with cruelty and indignity with impunity?" to which John Adams's responds: "Depend upon it, we know better than to repeal our masculine systems. Although they are in full force, you know they are little more than theory. We dare not exert our power in its full latitude. We are obliged to go fair and softly, and, in practice, you know we are the subjects. We have only the name of masters, and rather than give up this, which would completely subject us to the despotism of the petticoat, I hope General Washington and all our brave heroes would fight." Abigail Adams and John Adams, *The Book of Abigail and John: Selected Letter of the Adams Family, 1762–1784*, edited by L. H. Butterfield, et al. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002), 121, 123.
 29. Of the vast history of literary criticism on the incestuous theme in Poe's "The Fall of the House of Usher," May ("Sympathies of a Scarcely Intelligible

- Nature”) focuses the most squarely on the cultural implications of the Ushers as a sibling pair. May argues that Poe’s short story is “prophetic in its anticipation of a vision of the collapse of a society built on the seemingly secure foundations of a family.” May’s reading of the significance of the collapse of the incestuous mansion especially aligns with my own study of the potential for sibling romance to complicate the role that female sacrifice necessarily plays in the presumption of family structure: “As in texts as diverse as *Antigone*, *Frankenstein*, and *Wuthering Heights*, it is significantly the sister who must be sacrificed—here literally entombed, buried alive deep within the tomb of the familial edifice—and it is her breaking free from that entombment that provokes the collapse of the entire structure” (May, 391).
30. Juliet Mitchell (2000) notes that “Siblings are the great omission in psychoanalytic observation and theory,” and she redresses that omission by reclaiming the role of sibling enmeshment as a primary source of the death drive. Juliet Mitchell, *Siblings: Sex and Violence* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003), 23. Also, Prophecy Coles asserts that “the Oedipus complex, as the fulcrum of our psychic development, is an oversimplification,” and she postulates whether “we fear the power of sibling relationships.” Prophecy Coles, *The Importance of Sibling Relationships in Psychoanalysis* (London: Karnac, 2003), 2. Despite the fundamental difference in their conclusions (that is, Coles objects to the death-drive as a necessary element of the human psyche), both psychoanalysts turn to literary representation to complement, and at times, fill in the holes left by the dearth of sources in clinical literature. Another major contributor to the new turn toward lateral psychoanalysis is Jill Scott, whose recovery of the impact of Electra to modernist literature suggests a compelling alternative to the Oedipal master narrative. Jill Scott, *Electra after Freud: Myth and Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).
31. Hemphill points to Mitchell’s work in sibling psychology as an example of how contemporary theory tends to extrapolate the Freudian premise of sibling rivalry. Mitchell’s reading of the role that lateral enmeshment may play in the motivation of the death drive, and the ensuing catastrophe of an absent self-consciousness, have particular relevance to my analysis of Hentz’s story of lateral jealousy and violence, a voice that we must factor into the discursive and representational history surrounding American identity and affiliation. Whether read as supportive of or competitive with identity development, shifting the critical focus from the traditionally vertical alignment to lateral dynamics is a fruitful method of diversifying our understanding of the development of the human psyche and the culture’s response to it.

CHAPTER 1

1. William A. Alcott, *Familiar Letters to Young Men on Various Subjects* (Buffalo: Derby, 1850), 266.
2. Steven Mintz notes that “Nineteenth-century middle-class culture idealized the bond between sisters and brothers as purer and more innocent than any

- other social relationships, untouched by sexuality and selfishness.” Steven Mintz, *Huck’s Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2004), 86.
3. In his study of American manhood, Rotundo points out that the brother–sister pair in the nineteenth century was nurtured to be a “trial run at marriage.” E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Harper, 1993), 96.
 4. Steven Mintz, *A Prison of Expectations: The Family in Victorian Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 1985), 150–151.
 5. See Gillian Brown, *Consent of the Governed: The Lockean Legacy in Early American Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).
 6. Rev. John Angell James, *Family Monitor; A Help to Domestic Happiness* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1830), 148–149.
 7. In *Siblings*, Hemphill draws upon the example of Sedgwick’s attachment to her brothers: C. Dallett Hemphill, *Siblings: Brothers and Sisters in American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), see especially 108, 116, 129, and 172–173.
 8. James, 149.
 9. William Aikman, *Life at Home; or, The Family and Its Members* (New York: Wells, 1870), 183.
 10. Augustus Woodbury, *Plain Words to Young Men* (Concord, NH: E. C. Eastman, 1858), 36.
 11. James, 151.
 12. *Ibid.*, 151.
 13. Richard Broadhead, “Sparing the Rod: Discipline and Fiction in Antebellum America,” *Representations* 21 (1988): 67–96. Broadhead asserts the “disciplinary intimacy” of children’s literature, particularly of periodical literature, in which editors seek to shape child readers through the process of textual selection as well as explanatory insertions.
 14. Lorinda Cohoon, *Serialized Citizenships: Periodicals, Books, and American Boys 1840–1911* (Landham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2006) emphasizes the role that periodicals played in shaping model citizens.
 15. For more on the sense of community in *St. Nicholas*, see Suzanne Rahn, “St. Nicholas and Its Friends: The Magazine–Child Relationship” in *St. Nicholas and Mary Maples Dodge: The Legacy of a Children’s Magazine*, edited by Susan Gannon (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2004). Also, Greta Little points out the ways in which nineteenth-century American children’s periodicals encouraged aspiring writers. In an especially valuable internet project, Pat Pflieger brings to life what she terms the “online community of the nineteenth-century” with an overview of readers’ correspondence that includes embedded links to full-text primary source examples from *Robert Merry’s Museum* (“An Online Community of the Nineteenth Century,” <http://www.merrycoz.org/papers/online/online.htm>).
 16. Hemphill explicates examples of this emphasis on sibling grief in children’s literature, too; see *Siblings*, 132–133.

17. See Gordon R. Kelly, *Children's Periodicals* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1984), 508–509.
18. See James Marten, *The Children's Civil War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 31–32.
19. For a discussion of the metaphor and actual history of the divided family during the Civil War, see Amy Murrell Taylor, *The Divided Family in Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005). While Taylor's chapter on "Brothers and Sisters" (63–91) sheds light on the history of sibling divisiveness and solidarity during the Civil War, her attention to the fictional representations of the divided family metaphor mostly centers upon the allegorical treatment of the Union as a marriage (see 123–153).
20. Elizabeth Young contends that in Alcott's Civil War fiction, "a reciprocal metaphor connects gender and nation: the national conflict symbolizes individual struggles against gender norms, while such internal civil wars allegorically reconstruct the warring nation"; Elizabeth Young, "A Wound of One's Own: Louisa May Alcott's Civil War Fiction," *American Quarterly* 48.3 (1996): 439–474, 441.
21. Notwithstanding its stature as a classic work of domestic fiction, *Little Women* appears here as a text that contributes to context, rather than as one of the primary works in this study. While it certainly showcases sibling love generally (see Hemphill's discussion of this in *Siblings*, 141), it does not develop the focused plot of opposite-sex sibling love that I identify as key to the "sibling romance" novel. Laurie's brother-like relationship to the March sisters and his eventual marriage to Amy make his role in the plot comparable to that in the sibling romance novels, if marginally. More pertinent to the scope of this project is the ways in which Alcott's novel evokes and reinforces the efficacy of sibling literary representations.
22. Alcott's success was largely associated with the children's periodicals market. Besides contributing to *Our Young Folks*, she served as the editor for *Merry's Museum* from 1868 to 1870, and eventually became a high-profile (and high-earning) contributor to the most prominent children's magazines, *St. Nicholas*, in 1874. For a discussion of Alcott's relationship with the famous editor of *St. Nicholas*, see Daniel Shealy, "Work Well Done: Louisa May Alcott and Mary Maples Dodge," in *St. Nicholas and Mary Maples Dodge: The Legacy of a Children's Magazine, 1873–1905*, edited by Susan Gannon, et al. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2004): 171–191.
23. See R. Gordon Kelly's *Children's Periodicals of the United States* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1984), 331.
24. A review of *Battles at Home* notes Alcott's praise as affirmation of the novel's merit: "We began to read this story with a more than ordinary degree of interest, for the reason that it had been warmly praised by Miss Alcott, of whom it may be said that, if the ability to write a good book comprehends the ability to recognize a good one by another, her judgment ought to be beyond appeal" (*The Literary World*, volumes 1–2, original from Harvard University digitized on Google Books, July 2007).

25. See Hemphill, *Siblings*, 149.
26. Suzanne Rahn establishes Dodge's editorial philosophy with special emphasis on the magazine's relationship to its readers. See the following three contributions by Rahn in *St. Nicholas and Mary Maples Dodge: The Legacy of a Children's Magazine*, edited by Susan Gannon et al.: "St. Nicholas and Its Friends: The Magazine-Child Relationship" (93–111); "Young Eyewitnesses to History" (111–119); and "In the Century's First Springtime: Albert Bigelow Paine and the St. Nicholas League" (119–143).
27. The full text of Dodge's letter to Roswell Smith is included in *St. Nicholas and Mary Maples Dodge: The Legacy of a Children's Magazine*, edited by Susan R. Gannon et al.
28. These academic differences between boys and girls were particularly coded into gender representations in children's literature of the day. A *St. Nicholas* short story titled "How Cousin Marion Helped" (Vol. 24.2, May 1897) suggests how a pre-adolescent girl may restore harmony with her twin brother by allowing him to excel her in math performance. Pat Pflieger explains how readers engaged in vocal debates over the presumed intellectual superiority of men. Pat Pflieger, "A Visit to Merry's Museum; Or, Social Values in a Nineteenth-Century American Periodical for Children" (Doctoral Dissertation: University of Minnesota, 1987); see especially Chapter II for a compelling analysis of the "algebra war" among readers of *Merry's Museum*.
29. For a discussion of Dodge's interventions in hero-worship via her editorial practices in *St. Nicholas*, see Susan R. Gannon, "Heroism Reconsidered: Negotiating Autonomy in *St. Nicholas Magazine* (1873–1914)" in *Culturing the Child, 1690–1914: Essays in Memory of Mitzi Myers*, edited by Donelle Ruwe (Lanham, MD: The Children's Literature Association and The Scarecrow Press, 2005): 179–198.
30. "Children's Literature: What 'St. Nicholas' Has Done for Boys and Girls," in *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* 16.96 (Dec. 1890), 668.
31. Anna Barbauld (1743–1825) was a famous British children's author. "Peter Parley" was the pseudonym for Samuel Goodrich (1793–1860), prolific children's author best known for historical and biographical writing, and also as the editor of the children's periodicals *Parley's Magazine* and, later, *Merry's Museum* (see Kelly, *Children's Periodicals of the United States*, 345–355). Here, Dodge appears to be criticizing the older models of children's literature that have lost favor and relevance with the children of her own day in the latter decades of the century.
32. Dodge's reference to "'good-y' talk" alludes to the famous 1765 "The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes" by British children's author John Newberry.

CHAPTER 2

1. Sedgwick's earlier novel *Hope Leslie* (1827) and James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) and *The Spy* (1821) appropriated and Americanized Scott's historical fiction tradition.

2. For classic critical attention to Scott's influence on American fiction, see Lawrence Buell, *New England Literary Culture, from Revolution through Renaissance* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986) and George Dekker, *The American Historical Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
3. For recent work on Scott's own relationship to national history, see Katie Trumpener's *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).
4. Disrupting the historical tendency to read nationalism as a static and stable construct in the nineteenth century, Robert S. Levine has highlighted key literary interventions in white American nationalism, exposing the limitations of historical perspectives that too strictly define the relationship between race and nation, North and South, regionalism and sectionalism. See Robert S. Levine, *Dislocating Race and Nation: Episodes in Nineteenth-Century American Literary Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).
5. Richard E. Ellis, *The Union at Risk: Jacksonian Democracy, States' Rights, and the Nullification Crisis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 12.
6. Ellis explains three positions on the nature of the federal union: nullifiers, nationalists, and traditional states' rights advocates (10–12). Signifying the complexity of the debate is Jackson's complex position as both an advocate of states' rights and a determined protector of the Union (Ellis, 13–40).
7. William Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina, 1818–1836* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). Freehling explains the "Great Reaction" to Nullification in the years just following its political resolution, when South Carolina planters increased their vigilant defense of slavery and enforced test oaths to secure Unionist's loyalty to the state (301–339). Clearly, while the compromise of 1833 resolved the Nullification issue in legislative terms, the cultural anxiety over conflicting allegiances was heightened as a result of the controversy.
8. "The Debate in the Senate of the United States," *The North American Review* 31.69 (Oct, 1830): 533.
9. Quoted in William Freehling, *The Nullification Era: A Documentary Record* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992) 54.
10. *Ibid.*, 127.
11. *Ibid.*, 173.
12. See James Brewer Stewart, " 'A Great Talking and Eating Machine': Patriarchy, Mobilization and the Dynamics of Nullification in South Carolina," *Civil War History* 27.3 (1981): 197–220. Stewart points out that the leaders of the Nullification movement were conscious of "the fundamental importance of family relationships in structuring South Carolina's politics and social arrangements" (200).
13. In addition to Stewart, other studies that have established the paternalistic culture of slavery include Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981); Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*

- (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974); and Herbert Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and in Freedom* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976).
14. Stewart, 204.
 15. Several scholars have noted the nationalistic strain running through much of Sedgwick's writing. In her introduction to Sedgwick's short story, "Cacoethes Scribendi" in *Provisions: A Reader from 19th-Century American Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986: 41–49), Judith Fetterley explains that Sedgwick "grew up in an atmosphere pervaded by politics and informed by a commitment to translating political beliefs into public acts" and that her works "reflect her profound belief in the American democratic experiment and her deep commitment to devoting her talents, as her father did before her, to the service of her country" (41, 44). For a rich discussion of Sedgwick's nationalism in her personal and authorial contexts, see Mary Kelly, "Negotiating a Self: The Autobiography and Journals of Catharine Maria Sedgwick," *New England Quarterly* 66 (Sept, 1993): 366–398. Also, scholars have paid particular attention to the role of national politics in *Hope Leslie*: see Maria Karafilis, "Catharine Maria Sedgwick's *Hope Leslie*: The Crisis between Political Action and US Literary Nationalism in the New Republic," *American Transcendental Quarterly* 12 (Dec, 1998): 327–344; T. Gregory Garvey, Gregory. "Risking Reprisal: Catherine Sedgwick's *Hope Leslie* and the Legitimation of Public Action by Women," *American Transcendental Quarterly* 8 (Dec, 1994): 287–298; Susan Harris, "The Limits of Authority: Catharine Maria Sedgwick and the Politics of Resistance," in *Catharine Maria Sedgwick: Critical Perspectives*, edited by Lucinda Damon-Bach and Victoria Clements (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2003: 272–285).
 16. While Sedgwick's nationalism has been a predominant premise of most critical discussions, Philip Gould makes an interesting corrective in his reading of the novelist's transnational engagement in *The Linwoods*, which, he asserts, promotes a "spirit of the enlightened cosmopolitan . . . urging her readers to think national and transatlantic terms simultaneously" (258). See Philip Gould, "Catharine Sedgwick's Cosmopolitan Nation," *New England Quarterly* 78 (2005): 232–258.
 17. Catharine Maria Sedgwick, *The Linwoods; or, "Sixty Years Since" in America*, edited by Maria Karafilis (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2002), xv.
 18. Quoted in Sedgwick, xii.
 19. See VanDette, "It Should Be a Family Thing: Family, Nation, and Republicanism in Catharine Maria Sedgwick's *A New-England Tale* and *The Linwoods*," *ATQ* (March 2005): 51–74.
 20. See Jay Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 57–58.
 21. See C. Dallett Hemphill, *Siblings: Brothers and Sisters in American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 108. Also, in her autobiography

Sedgwick admits that her older brother, Robert, was especially important to her: "I looked . . . upon my favorite brother as my preserver. He was more than any other my protector and companion. Charles was as near my own age, but he was younger, and a feeling of dependence—of most loving dependence—on Robert began then, which lasted through his life." Catharine Maria Sedgwick, *The Power of Her Sympathy: The Autobiography and Journal of Catherine Maria Sedgwick*, edited by Mary Kelley (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1993), 72. Not only were Sedgwick's brothers protective in the sense prescribed by the domestic advice literature, but they were also, according to Sedgwick, loving and supportive, and they directly impacted her literary career. As Mary Kelley notes in her introduction to Sedgwick's *The Power of Her Sympathy*, Sedgwick's brothers "encouraged the initially reluctant author, applauded the novels and stories, and negotiated with the publishers" (29). The close bonds between brothers and sisters in *The Linwoods* echo Sedgwick's own sentiments from her autobiography, where she says, "I can conceive of no truer image of the purity and happiness of the equal loves of Heaven than that which unites brothers and sisters" (89).

22. *Southern Literary Messenger*, 1.5 (May 1835), 522. Kennedy's biographer notes that his reputation was just as acclaimed in northern presses as it was in the South, pointing out that the *New England Magazine*, the *Knickerbocker*, and the *American Quarterly Review* all received *Horse-Shoe Robinson* warmly and ranked Kennedy with James Fenimore Cooper. See Charles H. Bohner, *John Pendleton Kennedy: Gentleman from Baltimore* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1961), 97.
23. Charles H. Brichford makes this interpretive claim in a rare example of critical treatment of *Horse-Shoe Robinson*. According to Brichford, especially when it is compared alongside Simms's *The Partisan*, Kennedy's novel presents a "surprisingly non-partisan and realistic portrayal of the Revolution." Charles H. Brichford, "That National Story: Conflicting Versions and Conflicting Visions of the Revolution in Kennedy's *Horse-Shoe Robinson* and Simms's *The Partisan*," *Southern Literary Journal* 21.1 (Fall 1988): 64–85, 64. On the other hand, Bohner points to the failure of the novel to achieve trans-Atlantic success as an indicator of its American nationalism.
24. Bohner, 93.
25. For a discussion on the flexibility of gender roles in brother–sister dynamics, see Hemphill, 74–77.
26. For a classic reading of this effect of incest, see Peter L. Thorslev, Jr. "Incest as Romantic Symbol," *Comparative Literature Studies* 2.1 (1965): 41–58. Thorslev interprets Percy Shelley's portrayal of incest as signifying a "sense of the past as being parasitic upon the future; of fathers, authorities; institutions, and traditions having outlived their usefulness, but being unwilling to grow old gracefully and wither away and even attempting grotesquely to renew their youth by devouring their youth or reproducing upon them" (49).

27. Bohner notes that “As the country drifted toward disruption and civil war, Kennedy, like the chorus in a Sophoclean tragedy, warned but was powerless to change. He thought that ‘the conception and estimate of a *gentleman*’ had been entirely obliterated from the popular mind” (227).
28. While Simms would attain some political success, eventually being elected to the South Carolina House of Representatives in 1844, his notoriety mostly came from his prolific and popular fiction output. James Perrin Warren notes that “More important than his political ambition is Simms’s position as the leading man of letters in the antebellum South,” and that he achieves status as a “figure of cultural authority.” James Perrin Warren, *Culture of Eloquence: Oratory and Reform in Antebellum America* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 141.
29. J. Quitman Moore, “William Gilmore Simms,” *DeBow’s Review* 29.6 (Dec. 1860): 702–712, 708.
30. For a detailed account of the development of Simms’s political views, see Jon L. Wakelyn, *The Politics of a Literary Man: William Gilmore Simms* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973).
31. Quoted in Wakelyn, 26.
32. C. Hugh Holman points out that *The Partisan* reflects Simms’s investment in both “movements for a national and for a distinctively Southern literature between 1830 and 1860” (445). Simms, like most antebellum writers, believed that sectionalism/regionalism supported the larger body of national literature. C. Hugh Holman, “William Gilmore Simms’ Picture of the Revolution as Civil Conflict,” *The Journal of Southern History* 15.4 (Nov. 1949), 441–462.
33. The crisis of Walton’s oath of loyalty to the British anticipates what Elizabeth Duquette has established as the cultural encoding of coercive loyalty during and after the Civil War, signified by the emergence of “test oaths” that would require Confederates to swear their loyalty to the nation and by such historically enduring texts as the Pledge of Allegiance. See Elizabeth Duquette, *Loyal Subjects: Bonds of Nation, Race, and Allegiance in Nineteenth-Century America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2010). Freehling locates the test oath controversy during the Nullification crisis, and especially during the backlash period following the compromise, when Southern Unionists were compelled to testify their loyalty to the South; see 263, 268–270, 171, 309–322. The novel’s emphasis on this Revolutionary character’s repudiation of his oath of loyalty further reveals Simms’s rhetorical sensitivity to the complicated nuances of loyalty and nationalism in the Nullification-era South.

CHAPTER 3

1. For a good discussion of the domestic social agenda of Hentz’s literary works, see Elizabeth Moss, *Domestic Novelists in the Old South: Defenders of Southern Culture* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992).

2. Besides *Ernest Linwood*, another compelling site of sibling romance, while outside the scope of the close psychoanalytical reading in this chapter, is her collection of short stories and novellas, *The Banished Son* (1856). The title novella as well as several of the collected stories feature a recurring narrative of sisterly/brotherly romance in the shape of cousins or adopted sibling pairs.
3. Moss restores critical recognition of Hentz's prolific propagandist fiction career, pointing out that *Ernest Linwood* was a rare example of a Hentz novel that is noticeably devoid of overt pro-South agenda.
4. See Jamie Stanesa, "Caroline Lee Whiting Hentz" (Profile), *Legacy* 13.2 (1996): 130–139, 130–131.
5. See Rhoda Coleman Ellison, "Caroline Lee Hentz's Alabama Diary, 1836," 254, n. 2, for this history. Also, the history of the novel's posthumous publication and its immediate reception is recorded in Mary Eileen Kennedy, *A Criticism of the Novels of Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz* (Dissertation, The Catholic University of America: 1923). According to Kennedy, Hentz's publisher, John P. Jewett & Company, announced in the Boston *Evening Transcript* the author's untimely death of pneumonia in Marianna, Florida, which they say they learned about on the day they commenced the publication of "her new and beautiful, and alas, little did we think it, her *last* literary effort": "Ernest Linwood will be to us, and to the hundreds of thousands of admirers of this gifted and lamented authoress, as the '*last notes of the dying swan.*' Her closing chapter, like the Requiem of Mozart, seems almost prophetic of her own speedy dissolution." The *Transcript* reported that sales of the novel reached 5,000 in one week (15–16).
6. Also, as Stanesa has suggested, this experimental first-person narrative technique serves as a "precursor to the mature *bildungsroman* of the period as well as the psychological realism of Henry James" (Profile, 136).
7. In an early recovery of the legacy of female contributors to the gothic, Kay Mussel suggests the overlapping conventions of women's "gothic" and "romantic" novels, but she nevertheless reasserts the notion that the gothic plot is less interested in love and romance than in "vicarious danger," and she contrasts that convention to the "more domestic" women's fiction, such as popular romance novels. Kay Mussel, *Women's Gothic and Romantic Fiction: A Reference Guide* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), xi, x; Leslie Fielder, in *Love and Death in the American Novel* (New York: Stein and Day, 1982), contended that the American version of the genre in the nineteenth century prioritized an inward focus on the human psyche, in contrast to the presumably more historically and socially engaged British tradition of gothic. Toni Morrison's famous intervention in that conversation (*Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992) insists upon the historically situated racializing implications of American gothic fiction. Also, Cathy Davidson, in *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), established the capacity for the early American gothic to expose and criticize individualism, and Teresa A. Goddu illuminates "the gothic's

- intimate relation to the romance,” and the infiltration of the American literary canon by the “popular, the disturbing, and the haunting of history”; Teresa A. Goddu, *Gothic America: Narrative, History, and Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 8. By suggesting the psychological significance of sibling love in *Ernest Linwood* in the context of historical narratives of crisis and nation, I want to acknowledge the historical and social relevance of Hentz’s experimentation with gothic gesturing in a novel of domestic love and violence.
8. Elizabeth Dill, “That Damned Mob of Scribbling Siblings: The American Romance as Anti-Novel in *The Power of Sympathy* and *Pierre*,” *American Literature* 80.4 (December 2008): 707–737.
 9. This conflict likely caused intellectual and personal as well as pragmatic anxieties for Hentz. Not only did she probably retain some sympathy with attitudes about race, family, and nation that were typical in the North, but also her success in the literary marketplace provided crucial financial support for her family, and that success was contingent upon the continued approval by her Northern publishers.
 10. Caroline Lee Hentz, *The Planter’s Northern Bride* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970), 4.
 11. For a reading of *The Planter’s Northern Bride* as a nationalistic gesture that aligns with Stowe’s literary domesticity in idealizing American womanhood above sectional difference, see Carme Manuel Cuenca, “An Angel in the Plantation: The Economics of Slavery and the Politics of Literary Domesticity in Caroline Lee Hentz’s *The Planter’s Northern Bride*,” *Mississippi Quarterly* 51.1 (1997): 87–104. In a competing reading, Elizabeth Moss, situating the novel as a foundational text in the tradition of Southern domesticity, locates the publication of *The Planter’s Northern Bride* as a turning point in Hentz’s growing sectionalism; she argues that “Whereas in previous novels Hentz had portrayed Northerners with some degree of consistency, emphasizing the common humanity of residents above and below the Mason-Dixon Line, in *The Planter’s Northern Bride* she depicted Yankees as largely reprehensible” (110).
 12. Jamie Stanesa, “Caroline Hentz’s Rereading of Southern Paternalism; Or, Pastoral Naturalism in *The Planter’s Northern Bride*,” *Southern Studies* 3.4 (1992): 221–252, 234. Also, in her *Legacy* Profile of Hentz, Stanesa observes more generally that, “Writing from within the ethic of paternalism rather than against it, Hentz often rejected bourgeois notions of individualism as selfish and immoral and upheld instead Southern notions of the pastoral garden of chattel, revising them to encompass a greater sense of the rights and responsibilities of women within it” (134).
 13. Robert Hunt, “A Domesticated Slavery; Political Economy in Caroline Hentz’s Fiction,” *The Southern Quarterly* 34.4 (1996): 24–35, 26, 27.
 14. Moss, 117.
 15. See Rhoda Coleman Ellison, “Mrs. Hentz and the Green-Eyed Monster,” *American Literature* 22 (1951): 345–350. Ellison makes a strong case for the

- validity of the autobiographical connections in *Ernest Linwood*. In an especially compelling example, the scene in the novel in which Gabriella receives a secret note from a strange man at the opera closely resembles an episode in Hentz's own life, which provoked the real-life jealous rage of Hentz's husband, according to their son's memoirs.
16. Charles A. Hentz, *A Southern Practice: The Diary and Autobiography of Charles A. Hentz. M. D.*, edited by Steven M. Stowe (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 406.
 17. See Dawn Keetley, "A Husband's Jealousy: Antebellum Murder Trials and Caroline Lee Hentz's *Ernest Linwood*," *Legacy: A Journal of American Women Writers* 19 (2002): 26–34. Keetley invokes the Freudian concept of melancholia to explain Ernest Linwood's unfulfilled desire for masculine intimacy. In another exception to the dearth of contemporary critical attention to *Ernest Linwood*, Elizabeth Barnes focuses on the embedded narrative of Gabriella's mother's seduction story, showcasing how this novel contributes to an important tradition in literary history that Barnes calls "mother-texts." See Elizabeth Barnes, *States of Sympathy: Seduction and Democracy in the American Novel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 101–114.
 18. Caroline Lee Hentz, *Ernest Linwood* (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co, 1856), 122.
 19. Recent innovations in psychoanalysis support this possibility for lateral dynamics as a source of the repression of the self. In her revisionist treatment of hysteria, for instance, Juliet Mitchell traces the fear of annihilation to the occurrence of a sibling birth, which sets the stage for a formative trauma: "the realization that one is not unique, that some stands exactly in the place as oneself, and that though one has found a friend, this loss of uniqueness is, at least temporarily, equivalent to annihilation." Juliet Mitchell, *Siblings: Sex and Violence* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003), 43.
 20. Ernest's sense of his jealous and violent behavior as a disorder is comparable to Hentz's husband's self-diagnosis; according to Charles Hentz, his father, he "sometimes, especially in the later years of life, spoke of his infirmity, and spoke of it as a disease" (406).
 21. Mitchell, 205.
 22. Gabriella's attractiveness and Ernest's violent possessiveness resoundingly echo the portrayal of the Hentz's marriage by their son, Charles, who says that his mother "was possessed of the most lovely, sunny dispositions that ever existed—Was charming in person & conversation, and was always a centre of attraction, wherever she went, and the attention that she drew inevitably, always excited my poor, dear father's jealous temperament to frenzy" (406).
 23. *Ibid.*, 206.
 24. *Ibid.*, 205.
 25. Caroline Lee Hentz, *Marcus Warland; or, The Long Moss Spring, a Tale of the South* (Philadelphia: A. Hart, Carey, & Hart, 1852), 7.

CHAPTER 4

1. Katherine Adams connects Hentz and Stowe in her chapter, "Harriet Beecher Stowe, Caroline Lee Hentz, Herman Melville, and American Racialist Exceptionalism" in *A Companion to American Fiction 1780–1865*, edited by S. Samuels (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2007). Also, see Amy Elizabeth Cummins, *A Common School: Models of Instruction in the United States Common School Movement and the 1850s Literature of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Caroline Lee Hentz, Fanny Fern, and Mary Jane Holmes* (PhD Dissertation, University of Kansas, 2004).
2. Beyond this well-known motto, an idea credited to Josiah Wedgewood (c. 1787) and most famously evoked in the broadsides of anti-slavery poet and activist John Greenleaf Whittier in the 1830s, the appeal to brotherhood was one of the most prevalent devices of abolitionist discourse. In 1843, Rev. Steven S. Foster famously evoked the concept Christian brotherhood in his controversial abolitionist manifesto against American clergy, *The Brotherhood of Thieves, or, A True Picture of the American Church and Clergy*. On the concept of "brotherhood" as a vital "fighting word" for the development of Black-centered abolitionist discourse, see Timothy Shortell, "The Rhetoric of Black Abolitionism," *Social Science History* 28.1 (spring 2004): 75–109.
3. Cindy Weinstein contributes a much-needed analysis of the contrasting sentimentalism in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and its pro-slavery responses, but assertions about the "progressive politics of [Stowe's] abolitionism" and the "progressive force" of *Uncle Tom's Cabin's* sympathetic appeals (67) somewhat overstate Stowe's liberalism, even within nineteenth-century contexts. Cindy Weinstein, *Family, Kinship, and Sympathy in Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
4. In addition to Weinstein, on the importance of reading Stowe within her historical context, see Susan Ryan, "Charity Begins at Home: Stowe's Antislavery Novels and the Forms of Benevolent Citizenship," *American Literature* 72 (2000): 751–782, maintains the importance of historical context for understanding Stowe.
5. Acknowledging that "Stowe's moral and racial politics should be historicized more thoroughly" (751), Ryan interprets the interracial politics of *Dred* through the linkage between national citizenship and benevolence in antebellum America. And, in another important effort to free the novel from beneath the shadow of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Gail K. Smith exposes the politics of reading and interpretation, which is a theme that moves beyond, while couched in, abolitionism. Gail K. Smith, "Reading with the Other: Hermeneutics and the Politics of Difference in Stowe's *Dred*," *American Literature: A Journal of Literary History, Criticism, and Bibliography* 69.2 (1997): 289–313.
6. The significance of the mother figures in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has been well established, most prominently by Jane Tompkins, *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction 1790–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985) and by Elizabeth Ammons, "Stowe's Dream of the

- Mother-Savior: *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and American Women Writers Before the 1920s" in *New Essays on Uncle Tom's Cabin*, edited by Eric J. Sundquist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). Other studies that explore the rhetorical significance of motherhood and family themes throughout the novel include the following: Myra Jehlen, "The Family Militant: Domesticity Versus Slavery in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," *Criticism* XXXI.4 (Fall 1989): 383–400; Carle E. Krog, "Women, Slaves, and Family in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: Symbolic Battleground in Antebellum America," *Midwest Quarterly* 31.2 (Winter 1990): 252–269; S. Bradley Shaw, "The Pliable Rhetoric of Domesticity" and Susan L. Roberson, "Matriarchy and the Rhetoric of Domesticity," both in *The Stowe Debate: Rhetorical Strategies in Uncle Tom's Cabin*, edited by Mason Lowance, Jr., Ellen E. Westbrook, and R. C. De Prospro (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994).
7. Moss examines McIntosh's *The Lofty and the Lowly* as an attempt to preserve Southern domesticity. Elizabeth Moss, *Domestic Novelists in the Old South: Defenders of Southern Culture* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 92–98. Jordan-Lake revisits the novel as a product and agent of Southern patriarchy. Joy Jordan-Lake, *Whitewashing Uncle Tom's Cabin: Nineteenth-Century Women Novelists Respond to Stowe* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2005), 120, 139.
 8. The sibling bond is the most developed and sustained, but not the sole method Stowe used to break away from the biological model of family in *Dred*. The novel's conclusion offers two striking alternatives to the extended families of the plantation tradition. After suffering the loss of her 12 biological children, all of whom were either sold away from her or murdered, former slave Milly lives out her old age taking care of homeless children, who she refers to as her "family": "I calls 'em all mine; so I's got good many chil'en now" (547). The other non-biological family that concludes the novel is headed by a fugitive slave character, Tiff, who absconded to New England and made a home with the two white children of his abusive, alcoholic owner. Susan Ryan interprets these two final family images in the context of "benevolent citizenship" in antebellum America, but the closing family scenes also reflect the novel's attempt to move beyond the biological prerequisite for family that made Stowe's earlier abolitionist arguments vulnerable to attack by proslavery writers.
 9. C. Dallett Hemphill, *Siblings: Brothers and Sisters in American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011) is the definitive new source of this cultural history. See also E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Harper, 1993); and Steven Mintz, *A Prison of Expectations: The Family in Victorian Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 1985).
 10. See Chapter 1 for more extensive excerpts and analysis of these domestic advice examples.
 11. "Mrs. Stowe and Dred," *Southern Literary Messenger* (October 1858): 284–286.

12. Nina's ardent attachment to Harry despite being unconscious that he is her brother may be explained by Clifton Cherpach's concept of the *cri du sang* or *force du sang*, which acknowledges the convention in sentimental and gothic traditions of "an instinctive knowledge of consanguinity which informs literary characters who may never have seen each other that they are linked by ties of blood": *The Call of Blood in French Classical Tragedy* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1958), 3.

CHAPTER 5

1. See Rayford W. Logan, *The Negro in American Life and Thought: the Nadir, 1877–1901* (New York: Dial Press, 1954) and Carla L. Peterson, "Commemorative Ceremonies and Invented Traditions: History, Memory, and Modernity in the 'New Negro' Novel of the Nadir," in *Post-Bellum, Pre-Harlem: African American Literature and Culture, 1877–1919*, edited by Barbara McCaskill and Caroline Gebhard (New York: New York University Press, 2006).
2. For an extensive discussion of literary representations of lynching by African American authors of the period, see M. Giulia Fabi, "Reconstructing the Race: The Novel After Slavery," in *Cambridge Companion to the African American Novel*, edited by Maryemma Graham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004): 34–49.
3. Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997). Also, see Karen A. Keely, "Marriage Plots and National Reunion: The Trope of Romantic Reconciliation in Postbellum Literature." *Mississippi Quarterly* 51 (Fall 1998): 621–648, 621.
4. In suggesting the intertextual comparison between Harper's use of the sibling trope and Stowe's *Dred*, I am acknowledging Harper's complicated revisionist responses to the abolitionist writer, and not suggesting that Harper's works, in Frances Foster's famous words of indictment of this critical history, "should be read as attempts—weak and inadequate, but, given their situation, rather heroic—to imitate the literary productions of Euro-Americans" [Frances Smith Foster, introduction to *Minnie's Sacrifice, Sowing and Reaping, Trial and Triumph: Three Rediscovered Novels by Frances E. W. Harper*, edited by Frances Smith Foster (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), xxiii]. For more on Harper's relationship to white female abolitionists, see Alice Rutkowski, "Leaving the Good Mother: Frances E. W. Harper, Lydia Maria Child, and the Literary Politics of Reconstruction," *Legacy: A Journal of American Women Writers* 25 (January 2008): 83–104.
5. Teresa Zackodnik argues that both Harper's *Iola Leroy* and Hopkins's *Contending Forces* were "signifying, rather than reifying," the tragic mulatta trope. Teresa Zackodnik, "Little Romances and Mulatta Heroines: Passing for a 'True Woman' in Frances Harper's *Iola Leroy* and Pauline Hopkins's *Contending Forces*," *Nineteenth-Century Feminisms* 2 (Spring/Summer 2000):

- 103–124. Also, see M. Giulia Fabi, Patricia Bizzell, Hazel Carby, Barbara Christian, and Ann duCille.
6. Foreman credits the novel with rewriting history via “histotextuality,” which she describes as “a strategy marginalized writers use to incorporate historical allusions that both contextualize and radicalize their work by countering the putatively innocuous generic codes they seem to have endorsed”. Foreman P. Gabrielle, “ ‘Reading Aright’: White Slavery, Black Referents, and the Strategy of Histotextuality in *Iola Leroy*,” *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 10.2 (1997): 327–354, 328.
 7. Harper’s portrayal of Robert and Marie’s tenacious memories of each other resonates with the real history of sibling attachments in slavery and the trauma of separated siblings. See Hemphill, C. Dallett, *Siblings: Brothers and Sisters in American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011): 186–196.
 8. Robert H. Abzug, “The Black Family during Reconstruction,” in *Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience*, edited by Nathan I. Huggins et al. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971): 26–41. Abzug restores the history of the freedmen’s effort to establish normal family life in freedom, and exposes how their attempts for stability were undermined by white violence and economic subjugation. Also, correspondence documentary projects that have contributed significantly to the recovery of African Americans’ roles in Reconstruction are featured in Berlin and Rowland, eds. *Families and Freedom: A Documentary History of African-American Kinship in the Civil War Era*. More recently, Eric Foner, *Forever Free: The Story of Emancipation and Reconstruction* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), revises the story of Reconstruction to feature the real participation of African Americans, and Heather Williams, *Self-Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), documents the history of African American educational leaders before and after the Civil War.
 9. Karsten H. Piep, “Liberal Visions of Reconstruction: Lydia Maria Child’s *A Romance of the Republic* and George Washington Cable’s *The Granddissimes*,” *Studies in American Fiction* 31.2 (Autumn 2003): 165–190. Piep points out that even in the “Liberal visions of reconstruction” of George Washington Cable’s *The Granddissimes*, “Blacks . . . neither affect nor contribute to historical progress” (183). Caroline L. Karcher also explains that even Albion Tourgee’s most progressive of white-authored efforts to imagine a Black-centered Reconstruction plot eventually “reorients . . . toward addressing the issue of national reunification in lieu of Black self-determination” (“*Bricks without Straw: Albion W. Tourgee’s ‘Black Reconstruction.’*” *REAL: The Yearbook of Research in English and American Literature* 22 (2006): 241–258, 241, 255).
 10. See Paul A. Cimbala, *Under the Guardianship of the Nation: The Freedmen’s Bureau and the Reconstruction of Georgia, 1865–1870* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003); Eric Foner, *Forever Free: The Story of Emancipation*

- and Reconstruction* (New York: Random House, 2005); and Williams, *Self-Taught*.
11. For a reading that examines how Harper deployed the gothic tradition to rewrite Reconstruction, see Justin D. Edwards, *Gothic Passages: Racial Ambiguity and the American Gothic* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2002), 53–71.
 12. W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Norton, 1999), 30.
 13. W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860–1880* (New York: Free Press, 1998), 711–712.
 14. Williams, 24.
 15. Frances E. W. Harper, *Iola Leroy; or, Shadows Uplifted* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1987), 201. Further references to *Iola Leroy* are to this edition and will be cited parenthetically in the text.
 16. Charles Chesnutt, *The House Behind the Cedars* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1988), 7. Further references to *The House Behind the Cedars* will be cited parenthetically in the text.
 17. Matthew Wilson, *Whiteness in the Novels of Charles Chesnutt* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004), 60–61.
 18. Quoted in Wilson, 67.
 19. *Ibid.*, 67.
 20. Williams, 80.
 21. See Julie Cary Nerad, “Slippery Language and False Dilemmas: The Passing Novels of Child, Howells, and Harper,” *American Literature* 75.4 (December 2003): 813–841.
 22. Pauline Hopkins, *Contending Forces: A Romance Illustrative of Negro Life North and South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 41. Further references to *Contending Forces* will be cited parenthetically in the text.
 23. Nerad’s important intervention in the study of passing novels examines the tradition of “unintentional passers” that “reveals how race functions in the United States to maintain socioeconomic inequalities by controlling an individual’s sense of identity and her place within family, community, and nation” (814). My suggestion that Jesse “passes” for Black and thus shifts the racial identity of the Montfort family draws similarly upon the critical understanding of “passing” (whether deliberate or not) from one constructed racial identity to another as a disruption of the notion of biologically constructed racial identity.
 24. The sisterly bond between Dora and Sappho, enduring the threats of male violence, emergent within and linked to the surrounding community of women, and consummated by Dora’s naming of her first-born after her close friend, remarkably fulfills the African American “womanist aesthetic,” which Loyalerie King locates in Alice Walker and dates back to Zora Neale Hurston. Loyalerie King, “Womanism from Zora Neale Hurston to Alice Walker,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the African American Novel*, edited by Maryemma Graham (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004):

- 233–252. Hopkins's participation in the womanist aesthetic suggests an even earlier history for this tradition.
25. See Carol Allen, *Black Women Intellectuals: Strategies of Nation, Family, and Neighborhood in the Works of Pauline Hopkins, Jessie Fauset, and Marita Bonner* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998). Allen explains Hopkins's burgeoning Black nationalism at the turn of the century, tracing polemical and fictional texts by Hopkins that contribute to various nationalist camps, including both extra-continental expatriation and a separate Black state within the United States (30–33). A classic source for that history is Essien Udosen Essien-Udom, *America Black Nationalism: A Search for Identity in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995; first edition, 1962). A more contemporary account that examines the history of public discourse shaping Black nationalism is Melanye Price, *Dreaming Blackness: Black Nationalism and African American Public Opinion* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).
 26. A classic source for that history is Essien Udosen Essien-Udom, *America Black Nationalism*. . Hopkins's emphasis on "brotherly affiliation" aligns remarkably with Price's definition of the Black nationalist, particularly in the attention the novelist gives to a separate, self-determining Black community, as well as its focus on the Diaspora in its multi-continental setting of the Montfort family history.
 27. Peter Coviello, *Intimacy in America: Dreams of Affiliation in Antebellum Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 27.

EPILOGUE

1. Herman Melville, *Pierre; or, The Ambiguities* (New York: Penguin, 1996), 7.
2. Diane Roberts, *Faulkner and Southern Womanhood* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 95.
3. For various accounts of the novella and its history, see Anne Edwards, *Road to Tara: The Life of Margaret Mitchell* (New Haven: Ticknor & Fields, 1983), 129–130; Joel Williamson, "How Black Was Rhett Butler," in *The Evolution of Southern Culture*, edited by Numan V. Bartley (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 103–105; Roberts, *Faulkner and Southern Womanhood*, 95; and Darden Asbury Pyron, *Southern Daughter: The Life of Margaret Mitchell* (New York: Oxford University Press), 215–217; Finis Farr, *Margaret Mitchell of Atlanta: The Author of Gone with the Wind* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1965), 77 and 103.
4. Pyron, 216.
5. Quoted in Farr, 103.
6. For an excellent study of the novel's reception, see Amanda Adams, "'Painfully Southern': Gone with the Wind, the Agrarians, and the Battle for the New South," *Southern Literary Journal* XL.1 (Fall 2007): 58–75.

7. While offering a timely suggestion for revisiting the novel's legacy within its contemporary literary and political contexts, Adams distances the novel from the sentimental tradition.
8. For important studies that recover the presence of domestic fiction in the modernist and contemporary eras, respectively, see Susan Edmunds, *Grotesque Relations: Modernist Domestic Fiction and the U.S. Welfare State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008) and Kristin J. Jacobson, *Neodomestic American Fiction* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2011).
9. John T. Irwin, *Doubling and Incest/Repetition and Revenge: A Speculative Reading of Faulkner* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1975), 11–21.
10. Karl Zender, "Faulkner and the Politics of Incest," *American Literature* 70.4 (December 1998): 739–765, 741–742.
11. For the connection between *Pierre* and the early American seduction novel, see Elizabeth Dill, "That Damned Mob of Scribbling Siblings: The American Romance as Anti-novel in *The Power of Sympathy* and *Pierre*," *American Literature* 80.4 (December 2008): 707–738.
12. Denis Flannery, *On Sibling Love, Queer Attachment, and American Writing* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 11.
13. See Gillian Silverman, "Textual Sentimentalism: Incest and Authorship in Melville's *Pierre*," *American Literature* 74.2 (June 2002): 345–372. Silverman challenges the traditional reading of *Pierre* as a parody of sentimentalism, pointing out not only Melville's correspondence about the novel and its initial reception, but also the conventional employment of self-directed mockery in the sentimental tradition (348–350).
14. Dill, 708.
15. For examples of recent attention to the novel in the context of domesticity and gender, see Keiko Arai, "Phoebe is No Pyncheon: Class, Gender, and Nation in *The House of the Seven Gables*," *Nathaniel Hawthorne Review* 34.1–2 (Spring-Fall 2008): 40–62; Holly Jackson, "The Transformation of American Family Property in *The House of the Seven Gables*," *ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance* 47.3 (Summer 2011): 227–260; Robert S. Levine, "Genealogical Fictions: Race in *The House of the Seven Gables* and *Pierre*," in *Hawthorne and Melville: Writing a Relationship*, edited by Jana L. Argersinger and Leland S. Person (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008): 227–247; and Roberta Weldon, *Hawthorne, Gender, and Death: Christianity and Its Discontents* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
16. Theresa Goddu, "The Circulation of Women in *The House of the Seven Gables*," *Studies in the Novel* 23.1 (Spring 1991): 119–127, 125. For an overview of the criticism of the novel's ending, see Michael T. Gilmore, *American Romanticism and the Marketplace* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985), 96. Also, Gallagher points out that some twentieth-century readings of the novel's ending interpret it as an ironic commentary upon Phoebe and Holgrave's union (12–13, n. 23).

17. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1967), 133.
18. *Ibid.*, 133, 134.
19. *Ibid.*, 134, 135.
20. Leila S. May, " 'Sympathies of a Scarcely Intelligible Nature': The Brother-Sister Bond in Poe's 'The Fall of the House of Usher,' " *Studies in Short Fiction* 30.3 (Summer 1993): 387–397, 391.
21. May notes this biographical context, 391, n. 10.

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