

To day I have taken my pen from the last chapter of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." . . . It has been the most cheering thing about the whole endeavor to me, that men like you, would feel it.  
—Letter from Harriet Beecher Stowe to Horace Mann,  
2 March 1852

In 1847, three years before Harriet Beecher Stowe began *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Horace Mann and his wife Mary offered Miss Chloe Lee, a young black student who had been admitted to the Normal School in West Newton, the spare room in their Massachusetts home.<sup>1</sup> Mann had recently been corresponding with Stowe's sister Catherine Beecher about their shared goals for instituting a new kind of education that would focus more on morals than on classical knowledge and would target the entire society. Beecher enthusiastically asserted that with this inclusive approach, she had "no hesitation in saying, I do not believe that *one*, no, *not a single one*, would fail of proving a respectable and prosperous member of society."<sup>2</sup> There were no limits to who could be incorporated into their educational vision—a mission that would encompass even black students like Lee. Arising from the evangelical tradition of religious teaching, these educators wanted to change the goal of the school from the preparation of leaders to the cultivation of citizens. This work of acculturation—making pedagogy both intimate and all-encompassing—required educators to replace the role of parents and turn the school into a multiracial family. Stowe and her friends accordingly had to imagine Christian instruction and cross-racial connection as intimately intertwined.

At the turn of the 1850s, however, not everyone was ready for an extension of cross-racial evangelical pedagogy into the home. Some in Mann's circle were bothered by physical closeness to Lee. Sophia Hawthorne wrote to her sister Mary Mann that the neighbors had complained about her boarder's "evil odor," and that during supper with Lee, Sophy's "stomach turned over and over" from exposure to the "intolerable atmosphere of a black skin." While educating a black student was admirable, sharing meals, tea, and parlor conversation with her was going too far: "All that I question . . . is your right to *oblige* your *guests* to tolerate her presence if it be distasteful or disagreeable to them."<sup>3</sup> But for the Manns and their reform-minded friends, "distasteful" and disruptive actions like taking in Lee were exactly what made their movement different from existing forms of education. Mann wrote of his common school as a nurturing "parental bosom,"<sup>4</sup> and by the end of the 1860s Stowe and Beecher, in their domestic manual *The American Women's Home* (1869), were calling for states to implement a protofoster care system for ex-slaves, orphans, and fallen women.<sup>5</sup> These evangelical reformers believed that religious education combining home, church, and school could achieve what Stowe's father Lyman Beecher had described, during the first stirrings of the evangelical education movement, as "a sameness of views, and feelings, and interests, which would lay the foundation of our empire upon a rock."<sup>6</sup> In this formulation, the nation is not bound together by territory or laws, but through a cultural hegemony that cuts across family relationships—fostering affinities that consolidate the "empire on a rock." Rather than reaching out to bring together populations under the umbrella of the nation, Stowe's religious imagination seeks to build a spiritual community from the inside out by shaping intimate "feelings" and political "interests." In the desire for conversion, this Sunday school-book vision does not distinguish between the poor at home and colonial subjects abroad, subordinating national sovereignty to spiritual and emotional connections.

This essay traces the origins of the racial imagination in Stowe's novel to Puritan stories about conversion and adoption that were actively reprinted, adapted, and distributed in the early nineteenth century for use in evangelical Sunday schools. The interest in relics, which critics such as Philip Fisher argue is integral to sentimentalism's "melancholy of ruins,"<sup>7</sup> had been at work in James Janeway's seventeenth-century story collection *Token for Children* (1671) as well

as in its later adaptations, and in Mary Martha Sherwood's Janeway-inspired *History of Little Henry and His Bearer* (1814), a collection of stories memorializing the deaths of saintly children that were the first and most popular Sunday school texts. Stowe found in these publications tales of outsiders—like Lee, or like Topsy in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*—who are taken in and incorporated into the Christian community. Stowe's first book was a children's geography primer that neatly ordered the world's races and territories,<sup>8</sup> and she herself was a member of a group of reformers who transformed education by espousing gentleness and affection as effective means of teaching even the most incorrigible students—tenets that formed the basis of the U.S. public school system. Advocates for education such as Mann, Beecher, and Horace Bushnell had been raised in the midst of the Sunday school movement, likely learning from *Token* books about the transformative power of religious feeling.

Stowe plays with the strategies of pedagogy, adoption, and the loving encouragement of internal self-discipline from these prenatal texts to conceptualize the central problem of her own time, when the nation's stretching borders led to a dilemma about how to absorb not only poor white laborers and immigrants but also native peoples and freed ex-slaves.<sup>9</sup> By rooting *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in a nineteenth-century reinterpretation of Puritan religious education, I argue that Stowe renders the prospect of cross-racial intimacy familiar and nonthreatening by making it appear to be a new manifestation of the colonial problem of the place of the outsider within society.

When we begin to see Stowe's novel outside the twin contexts of sentimentalism and abolitionism and instead recognize its participation in a dialogue about Christian pedagogy, we can illuminate the workings of the nineteenth-century religious imagination. It moves swiftly between intimate and global scales, between domestic spaces and frontiers. Here the nation and the family are conceived of in similar terms, and educating new populations is not only possible but, as Beecher and Stowe describe, constitutive of the identity of those already "at home":

If the great end and aim of the family state is to train the inmates to self-denying love and labor for the weak, the suffering, and the sinful, how can it be done where there are no young children, no aged persons, no invalids, and no sinful ones for whom such sacrifices are to be made?<sup>10</sup>

In the vision of these sisters, the outsider within is essential to the “family state”—the state that is imagined as a family, or the family that is modeled as a nation in microcosm. And this state must re-form, temporarily, along moral rather than biological lines in order to incorporate these “sinful ones” and best prepare its (presumably original) inmates. Here Beecher and Stowe echo a Puritan ambivalence toward kinship—moving between a curious openness to others and the reassertion of biological reproduction as the “great end and aim.” In this missionary family, outsiders circulating in and out of hereditary borders serve as catalysts for religious feeling, motivating both ongoing education and the desire to educate others.<sup>11</sup>

Stowe found a template for the adoption and education of children outside the family in Puritan children’s stories, which drew their power to convert from the memories of dying child saints. Memorial objects—tokens such as books, monuments, or locks of hair that serve as physical reminders of loss—become placeholders for the nuclear family as Stowe explores new forms of kinship in her novel. These objects and the strong emotions they conjure transgress the boundaries of family and race, while keeping new affective bonds safely in the symbolic realm. Token objects both seal intimate connection and mark essential differences that need to be overcome, throwing open the doors of households and looking forward to a millennial moment when nations would contain no outsiders and be free from the problem of racial division.

Politically active, emotionally charged, and focused on pedagogy, evangelicalism imprinted an anxious desire to convert others onto the nineteenth-century imagination. It expanded the definition of nuclear families and traversed racial lines in the service of a vision of domestic empire, where the missionary urge abroad took place inside the national home. The echoes of texts from a prior colonial era offered strategies for confronting shifting national borders and the recognition of outsiders who existed within them and yet remained foreign. The same techniques of memorialization, affect, and pedagogy that were used to dramatize the conversion of a colonial subject in India could be applied to the internal heathens claiming membership within the national family in Stowe’s day, when nostalgic readers of these antiquated storybooks searched for precedents for how to convert outsiders. As Karen Sánchez-Eppler argues with regard to Sunday school books obsessed with far-off missionary activity, “For

a nation constructed through the displacement of native peoples and the accretion of a diverse immigrant population—both voluntary and involuntary—the otherness that classic colonialism would continue to regard as foreign remains still other and yet somehow inside the national home.”<sup>12</sup> Other and yet inside, orthodox and yet liberal, open and yet anticipating a final closedness, Stowe’s Sunday school imagination vacillates between opposites. Far from being rigid, in her iteration religion opens up the possibility of subversion and consolidation, the retrenching and the progression of “the family state” acting hand in hand.



Between 1817 and 1830, the American Sunday-School Union claimed to have printed over six million books for children and adults.<sup>13</sup> *Uncle Tom's Cabin* would later break records when 300,000 copies were sold in its first year of publication, but during the 1820s Sunday school books were circulating at an average yearly rate of around 460,000.<sup>14</sup> These texts had many different titles and authors, but all were carefully chosen to please the various denominational constituencies of the evangelical united front—a network of groups such as the American Tract Society and the American Home Missionary Society. The shared goal of all these publication-driven “home missions” was not to bridge differences but to focus on tenets shared by all evangelicals in order to articulate and encourage a uniformity of belief among potential readers.<sup>15</sup> Of these groups, the American Sunday-School Union was one of the most prolific publishers. The idea of the Sunday school was born in England and spread to the United States at the turn of the century as a means of teaching working children and adults, but it became more widespread with the efforts of advocates like Lyman Beecher, who insisted that Sunday schools minister to the rich as well as the poor.<sup>16</sup> Literacy, for these Protestants, was both the means and the end of instruction: thanks to Sunday schools’ primary focus on putting books into the hands of beginning readers, the Sunday school library served as the only public library for most communities across America in the early nineteenth century.<sup>17</sup>

With presses ready and manpower galvanized, the question of which stories to publish remained. Sunday school publishers needed texts that were both proven to convert their readers and amenable to all evangelicals, and they found them readily available in Janeway’s

*A Token for Children: Being an Exact Account of the Conversion, Holy and Exemplary Lives, and Joyful Deaths, of several young Children*, first published in England in 1671 and widely circulated in America throughout the eighteenth century. Janeway was a Puritan preacher who was inspired after witnessing the death of his brother to collect stories of pious children who had died at an early age, in the hopes that they would inspire other children's devotion. His *Token* was not the first conversion book written for and about children; Puritans had been eager to print Protestant counterparts to Catholic hagiographies since *Foxe's Book of Martyrs* appeared in 1563, and later books in that vein such as Samuel Clarke's 1646 *A Mirrour* included stories of saintly young people. Janeway's book was the first, however, to tell the stories of everyday pious children—not martyrs—and thus to treat the spiritual lives of children with the same attention as those of adults. And Janeway was careful to aver that the children in his stories had actually lived—each child is introduced as within just one or two degrees of separation from the writer, and he always vouches for the original witnesses' veracity. This reality effect turns the book into a kind of relic, a textual mediation between the reader and his or her demonstrably holy counterpart.

Evangelicals remained deeply suspicious of exposing children to fiction until the 1840s, and Janeway's original *Token* books (he followed up the first with "a farther account" of holy children's lives and deaths a year later) were both firmly orthodox and readily available for reprinting.<sup>18</sup> Through their adaptation, Sunday school publishers were also reenacting the embrace of Janeway by early Puritan leaders in America; in 1700, Cotton Mather added his own *Token* stories of American children to Janeway's in the collection *A Token for the Children of New England*. Although Mather's and Janeway's volumes spread impressively across the Atlantic in their authors' time, they were most widely in print much later, when early national printers and readers began to value them for their longevity. In the nineteenth century there were already at least fifteen reprintings of *Token* books attributed to Janeway before 1821.<sup>19</sup> Many of these nineteenth-century editions, including those published by John Babcock and Son in Stowe's home state of Connecticut, were exact copies of Janeway's original text, and the subtitles declare that they were specifically "designed for use in Sunday schools." But like Mather before them, Sunday school publishers wanted to print new stories that contempo-

rary children could relate to, while keeping in line with the structure of a Janeway story and its insistence on depicting real children. As of 1806, there were eleven editions of George Hendley's *A Memorial for Children* and versions thereof (some of which are advertised as "a continuation of Janeway's *Token*" and intended "for Sunday school boys") and at least five of William Moseley's *The New Token for Children* ("a sequel to Janeway's") printed in Boston, Philadelphia, and other cities across the Northeast.<sup>20</sup> Whereas Mather rewrote the life stories of young saints in order to show that juvenile holiness could cross the space between England and America, writer-preachers such as Hendley, Moseley, and their Sunday school publishers insisted that it endured across time.

The generic conventions of *Token* stories changed remarkably little in the century and a half during which they played a dominant role in children's publishing: a child is introduced in relation to a community of well-meaning adults, including the writer; the child exhibits special qualities and ministers to his or her peers and elders; and finally the child foretells his or her own death and accepts it with grace. The children are described as the ones with something to teach: one twelve-year-old, Charles Bridgman, speaks with "wise and weighty" words that "might become some ancient Christian," and is known to "rebuke his Brethren if they were at any time too hasty at their meals, and did eat without asking a blessing."<sup>21</sup> He sickens with "a lingring disease," and his death on the day he had predicted is a moment of rapture: "[N]o sooner had the Sun beautified that morning with its light, but he falls into a trance; his eyes were fixed, his face cheerful, his lips smiling, his hands and face clasped in a Bow" (*TC*, 47). This plot is repeated precisely in the Mather, Hendley, and Moseley *Token* books as well as in Sunday school publishers' first smash hit, Sherwood's *History of Little Henry and His Bearer*. Repetition is an important aspect of both Janeway's didacticism and the *Token's* internal structure; in his preface Janeway advises parents to make their children read his book "over an hundred times," and the collection itself is a demonstration of conventions that are repeatedly reenacted as the focus changes to different children in different places. He incites his readers with dire reminders—"Every Mothers Child of you are by Nature Children of wrath"—and calls on parents to remedy this by "[taking] some time daily to speak a little to your Children, one by one, about their miserable condition by Nature." Thus his book as a collection of simi-



lar stories enacts the cure for children's "miserable" natural state—Janeway repeats, repeats, repeats, mirroring in his writing the way his young readers learn through daily reminders and multiple encounters with the same text. Although ages, places, names, and sexes of the children change at the opening of each story, the characters become uniformly holy through Janeway's adherence to convention. Similarly, Janeway expects incessant reading of his text, combined with consistent admonitions by parents, to succeed in converting the disordered "wrath" of child readers into pious submission. For Janeway, memorizing his conventions orders the chaos from which "mother's children" are made into recognizably Christian adults.

Janeway's tactic of making the strange familiar through repetition was well suited for evangelicals' work in establishing missionary schools inside the nation. In his stories, each child is converted by becoming a copy of some original to which his text provides mediated access: "Put them, I beseech you," he appeals to parents, "upon imitating these sweet Children" (*TC*, preface). His Christian community grows through a process of modeling and copying, and in the nineteenth century this process became the strategy of missionaries performing an American identity for the benefit of those in need of conversion. Sánchez-Eppler has shown how various Sunday school books in America eventually began to represent colonial and urban working-class subjects interchangeably, expressing a desire simultaneously to convert both "swarms of internal aliens" and foreign masses abroad through a process of imitation (*DS*, 198). She writes that "the child so disciplined into Americanness performs as a model for national identity, and hence as a means of disciplining the nation" (*DS*, 206). Janeway's popular and long-circulating texts motivate parents' faith in the efficacy of mimicry by stoking an anxiety about the disordered "miserable nature" of children, and in the nineteenth century his books helped evangelical educators imagine how to absorb ever-changing student populations into a nation with equally unstable borders.

Long before the advent of the sentimental novel, Janeway claimed that conspicuous weeping was necessary to prove that a reader has been converted. These tears, however, are not simply welcome but compulsory—as Sánchez-Eppler describes, the tears themselves do not only prompt missionary action but also "serve as its telos" (*DS*, 195). Janeway counts weeping as an essential part of the discipline of



conversion, as crucial as memorization and observing the Sabbath: he writes, "Put your Children upon Learning their Catechism, and the Scriptures, and getting to pray and *weep* by themselves after *Christ*: take heed of their company; take heed of pardoning a lye; take heed of letting them misspend the Sabbath." He also insists that their children be monitored for their emotional reactions while reading and then be interrogated afterward; he tells parents to "observe how they are *affected*, and ask them what they think of those Children, and whether they would not be such?" Janeway asks his readers constantly to question and monitor themselves about their emotional reactions: "*How art thou now affected, poor Child, in the Reading of this Book? Have you shed ever a tear since you begun reading?*" (*TC*, preface). When circulating in nineteenth-century America, the reprintings of Janeway's original *Token* can be seen as part of a larger educational movement toward what Richard Brodhead has called "disciplinary intimacy," embraced by educators such as Horace Bushnell and Catherine Beecher, in which the body is retained as a site of instruction through affection instead of corporal punishment. Brodhead shows that the pivotal scene in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Topsy's conversion through Eva's loving touch, is the fictional apex of this movement—Topsy as an abused child is the "incorrigible" litmus test of corporal punishment, and Stowe renders worship of Eva's altruism as the most effective discipline.<sup>22</sup>

The tears on the cheeks of Janeway's child reader are the marks of his or her submission to authority, and this submission is enforced by parental surveillance. The evidence implies that Janeway's *Token* is both an origin and a distorted intertext of this later educational agenda: the *Token* books were some of the earliest publications of the Sunday school movement, which in turn laid the groundwork for the public school system. They appeared en masse a generation prior to the influential treatises and schoolbooks of the 1830s and 1840s in which educators like Lydia Maria Child, Lyman Cobb, Bushnell, and Beecher espoused a discipline of love. They were read, published, distributed, and taught by the same circle of evangelical educators who first articulated the effectiveness of cajoling incorrigible subjects into submission with emotional appeals. Indeed, the *Token* books and their adaptations, filled with prescriptive tears and humble adults, are likely what these educational advocates had read as children.

But even as the turn-of-the-century adaptations adhere strictly to Janeway's conventions—marking one child per story as special early

on in life; insisting on the veracity of the biography with names and ages; describing his or her interrogative encounters on matters of faith with both adults and peers; and then swiftly recounting the child's acceptance of suffering and an early death—they greatly expand on a theme that is expressed in only two of thirteen stories in the original Janeway *Token* books: how to save a child whose parents are either unknown or insufficiently Christian. Moseley downplays his zealous fidelity to Janeway's original text by insisting that his 1806 *New Token* will rouse the emotions of contemporary children: "Janeway's *Token for Children*, has been as much read, during the last hundred and fifty years, by youth, as Plutarch's *Lives*, by adults. But it loses half its value by its antiquity. What children experienced many years ago, does not interest and affect children now, one half as much as what took place but yesterday."<sup>23</sup> The only thing, however, that would feel new to a child reader with a reprint of Janeway in one hand and Moseley's book in the other is that nearly all of the "children now" are either servants, laborers, or foundlings. They work in counting houses and as domestic servants and they live in "manufacturing towns" (*NT*, 81). The style, the conversations, and even the size of the book are remarkably similar to Janeway's, but Moseley's and others' adaptations of the original implicitly define the difference between Janeway's era and their own as the prevalence of disadvantaged outsiders in need of conversion, and they identify the problem of their time as ministering to these suddenly ubiquitous populations.

Janeway only rarely and tentatively entertained the possibility of a child with suspect biological origins becoming a Christian beacon for others. His goal had not been mission work; rather, as historian C. John Sommerville argues, his project was part of a larger seventeenth-century Protestant curiosity about the lives of children (John Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* would appear later in 1692).<sup>24</sup> Janeway's *Token* "showed that life could be lived fully, within its moral and spiritual dimensions, before the end of childhood. . . . [I]t shows an appreciation of the religious status of children which had scarcely been taken seriously before."<sup>25</sup> Whereas Janeway wanted to prove that Puritan child saints existed and saw tears as bodily evidence of the soul, his nineteenth-century proponents viewed crying instrumentally as a step toward the most basic level of conversion. In his stories, redeeming and converting a child is a much more difficult process outside the parent-child relationship than within it. In the only story in *Token* of

a child who is a convert from sinfulness, the indigent child endures a long period of self-hatred and denials of his own worthiness of being accepted into heaven before he finally believes he is saved. This boy is a “*notorious wicked child*” of the parish who is taken in while begging, Janeway writes, by “a dear Christian friend of mine,” even though his appearance is as miserable as would befit the “wrathful” state out of which Janeway insists children must be converted. Just as Lee appears to Sophia Hawthorne, the boy is “so filthy and nasty, that he would even have turned ones stomach to have looked on him” (*TC*, 56). The child’s soul mirrors his physical condition: “[H]e was a very Monster of wickedness, and a thousand times more miserable and vile by his sin, than by his poverty” (*TC*, 57). However, Janeway’s friend pities and prays for him, “[laboring] with all his might to convince him of his miserable condition by Nature” (*TC*, 58), and soon the child reforms, to the amazement of the parish. He is so completely transformed that “he is like another creature” (*TC*, 59).

Long after he begins seeking knowledge from his caregiver, however, the orphan child refuses to believe he is worthy of heavenly mercy. Like Topsy in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, he constantly laments how hopelessly wicked and shameful he is: “He would condemn himself for sin, as deserving to have no mercy . . . and he abhorred himself as the vilest creature he knew” (*TC*, 63–64). Even though he too has been adopted by a member of the parish, the child considers himself no more than an animal; he “thought he could never speak bad enough of himself; the Name that he would call himself by, was a Toad” (*TC*, 66). Only just before he dies is the child finally able to believe he can be Christ’s “for ever” (*TC*, 71). With this singular exception Janeway opens the possibility for an extrabiological conversion, while still rendering it a torturous process for a child from a degraded or helpless family. Unlike most of the other children in the *Token* stories, Toad has no other name but the epithet he gives himself. He has internalized the disgust the adults around him feel and has made himself his own castigating taskmaster. For Janeway, it is as extraordinary for a child from a Christian family to become a memorialized saint as it is for a kinless child to feel secure that he will get to heaven at all. Toad’s story, which closes the first volume, ends with Janeway asserting that even in death Toad has no human family: “This Narrative I had from a judicious holy man un-related to him, who was an eye and ear-witness to all these things” (*TC*, 72). Toad is both within and outside

of the Christian community; he is assured full membership in the next life but remains safely marked as apart from the living teachers and memorial writers who took an interest in his conversion.

Another unnamed child is also taken under the care of one of Janeway's godly friends. His narrative too ends with the careful assertion that Janeway heard the story from someone "who was no ways related to him" although his parents were known: he had "a very bad Father, but it was hoped to be a very good Mother" (*TC*, 55, 50). This half-parented child's conversion is swifter and less difficult than Toad's, thanks to the godly friend who "did with great sweetness and kindness allure the Child" (*TC*, 50). The man from the parish becomes a father figure to the poor child, who "began to obey him with more readiness than Children usually do their Parents" (*TC*, 50). Through these two stories of "taking in," Janeway cautiously suggests the possibility of extending the parental relation across family lines, finding a way to keep the alien at once outside and submissively within. An imperfect genealogical connection seems to enable a child to at least be spared the relentless self-scolding that a wandering penitent must endure to feel assured of conversion, as long as a kind and patient godly friend intervenes. Loosening their hold on the concept of innate depravity, nineteenth-century evangelicals developed their *Token* adaptations about working-class children out of these last two stories, and in the process revealed their rapidly growing interest in the question of how to both educate and contain other people's "degraded" children.



Like the first *Token*, the nineteenth-century adaptations of child conversion stories circulated quickly across the Atlantic, and this time the books simultaneously considered characters in "manufacturing towns" and at the far reaches of the British Empire. Race was the pre-occupying question for readers in the age of modern colonialism, who wondered whether imitation, education, and conversion could forge communities despite the divisions of hereditary difference. Sherwood's *History of Little Henry and His Bearer* took the *Token* genre to India, and after its near immediate arrival in the United States from England, it became the American Sunday-School Union's first published book and was printed across the Northeast at least nineteen times between 1817 and 1821.<sup>26</sup> While Sherwood was one of the most self-consciously old-fashioned children's book writers in the early nine-

teenth century, deliberately harkening back to writers like Janeway, she also arguably laid much of the groundwork for the plot of Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Rita Smith has compared the similarities between *Little Henry* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and concludes that Stowe probably read Sherwood's children's book and based the story of Eva on the figure of the title character, a young white boy named Henry.<sup>27</sup> Given that Stowe's father was actively working to broaden the appeal of Sunday schools and that when Stowe was a child Sherwood's book was the most widely circulating Sunday school text, Stowe was undoubtedly familiar with the story, and it shows: Smith cites the parallel representations of Henry's and Eva's locks of hair; the similarities between their negligent guardians; and the striking resemblance of their black caretaker figures, one an Indian colonial "bearer," Boosy, and the other the slave Tom. Sherwood and Stowe also both depict meditative scenes portending death that describe walks beside water (involving Henry and Boosy and Eva and Tom). When Stowe invented Tom she brought the colonial subject Boosy inside her "family state" and drew on the tactics hinted at in Janeway to imagine how the nation could contain a circulating slave population.

Sherwood's Henry is the white orphan of a colonial officer and a devout Christian mother, but because his appointed caregiver is lax, he must be "taken in" for moral education by a godly clergyman's daughter. Henry exhibits the fearsomely degraded state of Janeway's "miserable nature," but Sherwood imagines this innate depravity as the condition of having gone native, or having become indistinguishable from the Indians around him. Like Janeway, Sherwood begins with a claim that these events actually happened and transmits the child's story through communal affiliation—through friends: "From Mrs. Baron and Mr. Smith I gathered most of the anecdotes relative to the history of Henry."<sup>28</sup> In the same manner of the children in Janeway's and his adapters' stories, the saintly Henry approaches an early death praying tirelessly for the conversion of others. But Henry is not entirely isolated when he is rediscovered by a Christian missionary, and together with Boosy, he forms part of a freely chosen adoptive family. Boosy is the only adult in his life, and his title, "bearer," implies that he is both a servant and a caretaker, crossing gender lines and blurring hierarchies (Who takes care of whom? And who works for whom?). Henry has only learned to speak Boosy's language, "Hindoostanee," not English, and instead of believing in Christ, Henry

“believed there were a great many gods . . . and that the river Ganges was a goddess. . . . He believed, too, that the Mussulmans were as good as Christians” (*HB*, 8). Despite Henry’s ardent loyalty to Boosy, he quickly converts to his young teacher’s Christian beliefs, learning to read and answer her questions from the catechism.

Once Henry’s teacher sees that her labors have been successful, she leaves Henry with the admonition to convert his servant/parent: “You must try . . . to make Boosy a Christian, that he may no longer be numbered among the heathen, but may be counted among the sons of God” (*HB*, 21–22). Henry then begins explaining the Bible to Boosy as his teacher had done but now emphasizes the need to erase cultural differences like caste and to cure Boosy’s “idleness” (*HB*, 27). As Henry sickens, adults ask him about his beliefs and dying wishes just as they had flocked to hear the preternatural wisdom of Janeway’s child saints, and Boosy at last comes to him willing to convert: “‘*Sahib*, I have been thinking all day that I am a sinner, and always have been one; and I begin to believe that my sins are such as Gunga cannot wash away. I wish I could believe in the Lord Jesus Christ!’” (*HB*, 43). Henry rejoices and addresses Boosy’s concerns about reconciling his Indian culture with his Christianity. In a catechistic dialogue taken right out of Janeway’s deathbed interrogation scenes, the wise child Henry ardently rejects the possibility that Boosy could be a Christian within Indian society, insisting that Boosy must “[lose] caste” (*HB*, 44). After protracted suffering, Henry dies; and his guardian arranges for a monument to be erected over his grave (*HB*, 47). Henry’s memorial carries a verse inscribed below his name that celebrates his success in converting others: “He which converteth the sinner from the error of his way shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins” (*HB*, 47).

In a memorializing gesture later replicated in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* between Little Eva and her servants, Boosy’s conversion to Christianity is insured by the lock of Henry’s hair he carries with him after the boy’s death. Boosy is taken in by a Christian family, baptized, and given a Christian name, one signifying that he has been removed from the animalistic state of the damned, like Janeway’s Toad:

Immediately after the funeral of his little *sahib* . . . he carried the lock of hair . . . [to] Mr. Smith’s family, and removed with him to a distant part of India; where, shortly after, he renounced *caste* and

declared himself a Christian. It was on the occasion of the baptism of Boosy, to whom the Christian name of John was given, that the last verse was added to the little monument of Henry. (*HB*, 48)

The engraved scriptural monument to Henry's death and the relic of his saintly body left behind appear in this otherwise convention-bound fiction to mediate a conversion that happens in a queer and cross-racial family. Boosy "bears" Henry and teaches him to speak, but Henry's death and the subsequent creation of a memorial to him enable him to baptize Boosy into John. Memorialization through an object had always been a part of the *Token* stories—"token" meaning, after all, a trace of one's feeling. Janeway insisted on an obsessive relationship with the physical book—keeping it close by, memorizing it, and blurring tears and text. But now the stone verses and the lock of hair used to remember Henry simultaneously bind racial others within a shared Christian family while marking them forever as separate. Boosy's life is permanently wedded to Henry's memory through token objects—his baptism completes "the last verse" of Henry's monument—but the mediation itself serves as a reminder of the essential difference it traverses.



In Stowe's novel, too, token objects like books, clothes, and locks of hair simultaneously seal intimate connections and signal the disparities that persist inside these bonds. Stowe imagines these emotionally charged objects as tools for joining people together, and in the process produces her own vision of political affiliation that challenges national formulations such as Thomas Jefferson's. Both Stowe and Jefferson write about the problem of slavery in terms of education, and Stowe uses the character of St. Clare to paraphrase Jefferson's query on manners from *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785). Jefferson imagines that society reproduces itself through a process of imitation between children and their (biological) parents:

[M]an is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that the child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the



child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances.<sup>29</sup>

Like Janeway, Jefferson believes morals are learned through mimicry, but Jefferson doubts that a child can choose to imitate only a “prodigy” or a saint put before him. However, Janeway viewed peers, and not parents, as having special influential powers, and Stowe follows in this vein. She has St. Clare repeat Jefferson’s passage, with Eva taking the place of the prodigy, but with a crucial difference—St. Clare fears a child’s intimacy not with imperfect slave-owning parents, but with the slaves themselves:

It takes no spectacles to see that a great class of vicious, improvident, degraded people, among us, are an evil to us, as well as to themselves. The capitalist and aristocrat of England cannot feel that as we do, because they do not mingle with the class they degrade as we do. They are in our houses; they are the associates of our children, and they form their minds faster than we can; for they are a race that children always will cling to and assimilate with. If Eva, now, was not more angel than ordinary, she would be ruined.<sup>30</sup>

Stowe recognizes that different racial groups inside a nation have the potential to influence and “cling to” each other, and that hereditary ties are not necessarily the most powerful ones. Stowe reframes Jefferson’s description of the social evil of slavery to ask how whites can bear and raise children in a society where races “mingle” without allowing “degradation” to spread. More specifically, St. Clare recalls Sophia Hawthorne’s objection to the Manns’ hospitality: how does one restrict the sense of closeness in the process of trying to assimilate other races? In response, Stowe rejects fixed boundaries, blurring the lines that designate the nuclear family or separate the colony from the metropole. Instead, she imagines how affective ties can hold together different people in various places through submission to one dominant cultural and religious ideal.

Sunday school books had long dramatized the problem of absorption, and they found a solution in the act of mission work itself. As Sánchez-Eppler has noted, “[T]he very fact of a mission school oddly

serves to un-Americanize its students by marking them as others in need of conversion" (*DS*, 198). In this way, "taking-in" Lee marks her as in need of a missionary's embrace and raises the stakes for instilling cultural norms in that missionary. The insider desperately needs intimacy with the outsider in order to illuminate the barrier between them, and so Stowe's solution is not less closeness, but more. Stowe expands the role of token objects, monuments, and insistence on memorization and mimicry already within Sunday school conventions to bind together the unconventional couplings throughout her novel. The mournful tears elicited by intense attachment to a memorial signal the conversion to self-discipline and membership into a new community. But mediating objects, as in Sherwood's novel, also function as temporary bandages for these realignments—in time, as the end of Stowe's novel depicts with George and Eliza's reunion and the freed slaves' migration to Liberia, heteronormative families and homogeneous nations will be restored.

Queer family alignments similar to Boosy's mothering of Henry abound in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.<sup>31</sup> But I am most interested in how Stowe seals Topsy and Eva's union with the exchange of memorial objects while transporting Janeway's Toad into the context of abolition. Just as the sight of Toad would have "turned ones stomach," in this oft-quoted passage Topsy is presented as equally frightening and animalistic to Miss Ophelia, who ultimately adopts her:

Her round, shining eyes, glittering as glass beads, moved with quick and restless glances over everything in the room. Her mouth, half open with astonishment at the wonders of the new Mas'r's parlor, displayed a white and brilliant set of teeth. Her woolly hair was braided in sundry little tails, which stuck out in every direction. The expression of her face was an odd mixture of shrewdness and cunning, over which was oddly drawn, like a kind of veil, an expression of the most doleful gravity and solemnity. She was dressed in a single filthy, ragged garment, made of bagging; and stood with her hands demurely folded before her. Altogether, there was something odd and goblin-like about her appearance,—something, as Miss Ophelia afterwards said, "so heathenish," as to inspire that good lady with utter dismay. (*UTC*, 206–7).

She is a "goblin" with eyes that "dart" like those of a squirrel or a hawk; she has "little tails" that stick out of her hair like a puppy, all

of which combine to make her utterly “heathenish.” Like Toad, Topsy was picked up while begging in the neighborhood. She is an African incarnation of the parish foundling, in need of a godly caretaker to adopt her. With Topsy, Stowe does not simply imagine a figure of essentialized blackness; she instead tries to understand what Orlando Patterson calls a “genealogical isolate” using a conventional and antiquated character in a children’s book.<sup>32</sup> Topsy is thus both introduced and contained, both a foreigner and an ancestor, and both the adoptee and redeemer of the St. Clare family.

Just as Janeway’s holy children appeal to their siblings, Eva on her deathbed begs for Topsy’s conversion. Topsy has long insisted that she is unlovable and useless, offering “I’s so wicked!” (*UTC*, 244) — wickedness having been Janeway’s refrain in identifying Toad—as her only explanation for her behavior. She repeats this self-deprecation in her scene with the dying Eva, comparing herself to a “toad” like the child in *Token*:

“But people can love you, if you are black, Topsy. Miss Ophelia would love you, if you were good.” . . .

“No, she can’t bar me, ’cause I’m a nigger!—she’d ’s soon have a toad touch her! There can’t nobody love niggers, and niggers can’t do nothin’! I don’t care,” said Topsy. (*UTC*, 245)

Topsy names herself with epithets, just as her conventional predecessor did, but now, Stowe subtly conflates “toad” with “nigger.” Eva’s loving gestures—motherly, erotic, pedagogic—“penetrate the darkness of her heathen soul” and lure forth the bodily evidence of Topsy’s conversion (*UTC*, 245). Just as Boosy had assured the dying Henry that he would become a Christian, Topsy promises Eva passionately, “I will try, I will try” (*UTC*, 246). Most important, Topsy cries salvific tears: “She laid her head down between her knees, and wept and sobbed” (*UTC*, 245). Topsy’s pose is one of both prayer and submission, and her tears mark the discipline she has now taken upon herself as she accepts adoption by Ophelia. The story of Eva and Topsy becomes a “lesson” to be “taught” to Miss Ophelia, and it enables her to become the godly neighbor who, through the intimate act of “taking in,” completes the convert’s education. Miss Ophelia humbles herself into a reader of Eva’s token story, admitting to St. Clare, “I wish I were like her. She might teach me a lesson” (*UTC*, 246).

To complete this story, however, all of the education and religious

inspiration in Stowe's novel must be predicated on Janeway's trope of a saintly child's death. Stowe encases her abolitionist pedagogy within a strictly conventional Sunday school tale: adhering to Janeway's pattern, Eva portends death's approach early on and sickens very gradually. On her deathbed she both appeals to a sibling figure and engages in weighty discourse with her father and other adults (in Janeway, one "poor little thing would be ready to counsel other little children how they ought to serve God, and putting them upon getting by themselves to pray" [*TC*, 40], and similarly Eva pleads for both her servants and parents to "'not live idle . . . lives. . . You must pray to [Jesus]'" [*UTC*, 251]). She "check[s]" the mourning of others while welcoming her death with "radiant . . . joy" and "a glorious smile" (*UTC*, 251, 253, 257). Likewise in Janeway, children discipline their parents' emotions: one child saint consoles her mother, who asks her, "[H]ow shall I bear parting with thee, when I have scarce dryed my eyes for thy Brother? She answered, The God of love support and comfort you; it is but a little while, and we shall meet in Glory, I hope" (*TC*, 9–10). Most significant, Eva is memorialized and held up for imitation and the elicitation of emotion after her death. Miss Ophelia and St. Clare view Eva's caress of Topsy silently from behind a curtain like two readers of a story, and this memorized drama becomes the guiding force of Miss Ophelia's missionary guardianship of her adopted daughter. Miss Ophelia recalls Eva's example with the rhetoric of schooling: Eva is a source of lessons, teaching, and learning. Miss Ophelia promises to turn Topsy into a real "girl," rather than a heathen creature, by reciting Eva's words: "'I can love you, though I am not like that dear little child. I hope I've learnt something of the love of Christ from her. I can love you; I do, and I'll try to help you to grow up a good Christian girl'" (*UTC*, 259). Miss Ophelia's open weeping is also evidence of her own religious conversion and self-discipline, rendering her mission work that much more effective: "Miss Ophelia's voice was more than her words, and more than that were the honest tears that fell down her face. From that hour, she acquired an influence over the mind of the destitute child that she never lost" (*UTC*, 259). Miss Ophelia's tears, shed in memory of Eva, become the most powerful pedagogical tool she has in her efforts to reform her ex-slave adoptee.

Through Eva and Ophelia's influence, Topsy undergoes as thorough a conversion as Boosy did when he became John. Once Topsy arrives in Vermont, Stowe does not repeat her unchristian name:

[S]o thoroughly efficient was Miss Ophelia in her conscientious endeavor to do her duty by her élève, that the child rapidly grew in grace and in favor with the family and neighborhood. At the age of womanhood, she was, by her own request, baptized, and became a member of the Christian church in the place; and showed so much intelligence, activity and zeal, and desire to do good in the world, that she was at last recommended, and approved, as a missionary to one of the stations in Africa; and we have heard that the same activity and ingenuity which, when a child, made her so multiform and restless in her developments, is now employed, in a safer and wholesomer manner, in teaching the children of her own country. (*UTC*, 377)

Topsy is humanized with a gendered representation: she has grown in “grace” and has reached “the age of womanhood,” thus giving her physical appearance feminine rather than animalistic features. Like Miss Ophelia, she becomes a teacher and evangelist of the same lesson that originally benefited her, and the cycle of imitative religious education continues, now even in Africa. As in the case of Boosy, objects serving as memorials to a saintly child mediate this conversion across race. In a parcel Topsy guards, Miss Ophelia finds “a small book, which had been given to Topsy by Eva, containing a single verse of Scripture, arranged for every day in the year, and in a paper the curl of hair that she had given her on that memorable day when she had taken her last farewell” (*UTC*, 267). Eva has bequeathed Topsy a handmade religious primer—a Sunday school book—with which Topsy safely guards Eva’s lock of hair. Through this saintly relic, Eva’s memory works on Topsy along with each lesson—in effect, Eva’s memory *is* Topsy’s lesson.

The story of Little Eva’s holy life and joyful death is the central episode in Stowe’s novel, setting in motion the events leading to Tom’s victorious Christ-like death. It unfolds from beginning to end in the center of the action, bookended by Eliza’s memorable leaps across the icy Ohio river and George’s ultimate missionary passage to Africa; and in Stowe’s novelistic descent into the inferno of the Southern slave states, it occupies the middle circle between the relative Kentucky calm and the fires of Legree’s plantation. The pedagogic strategies of the Puritan children’s stories from which Eva is drawn serve as the novel’s central mode of rendering intelligible a mixed-race society.

Janeway memorializes holy children by writing and circulating their stories; Sherwood erects a monument for Henry; and Stowe imagines memorial objects as mediating linchpins of intimate and affectionate evangelical education. These memorial objects enable female-only families like Ophelia and Topsy's; love affairs like that between Topsy and Eva; and cross-racial mothering like that between Mrs. Bird and Eliza's son Harry, when Mrs. Bird shares her memorial treasures of her lost son. Memorial-based mission work throws open a familial embrace at the same time it marks that embrace as only mimicking the familial, and it asks adoptive members to internalize undeserving feelings and view themselves as orphan foundlings.

The most powerful monument in Stowe's novel is of course Tom's cabin itself, marked off by the young and newly abolitionist George Shelby. Tom's enshrined cabin works as a kind of insurance policy that George's own conversion from inheritor of a slave plantation to a benevolent master who frees his slaves will endure. George preaches that the monument will remind the newly freed slaves to "be as honest and faithful and Christian as [Tom] was" (*UTC*, 380), although this exhortation can apply to both whites and blacks. Given the power of memorials demonstrated throughout the novel, the monument to Tom is a comfortingly large and stable establishment with which Stowe can end her narrative. Tom's cabin is not as easily lost or destroyed as a pocketed lock of hair or an article of clothing—a characteristic necessary in the logic of the book for the reader to believe that the slaves' freedom will endure. George consecrates the shrine with a speech, professing the power the memorial to Tom has already had on him and showing how he has undergone the same kind of spiritual education of conversion through remembrance prescribed by Janeway's *Token* stories: "It was on his grave, my friends, that I resolved, before God, that I would never own another slave, while it was possible to free him . . . . Think of your freedom, every time you see UNCLE TOM'S CABIN, and let it be a memorial to put you all in mind to follow in his steps" (*UTC*, 380). It is with this act of monument building (or monument writing) that Stowe seeks to unite all of her characters and in so doing finds her novel's title. With this act of naming, Stowe turns her own book into a memorial with the power to incite conversion, following in the vein of the capacity of Janeway's stories of child death to elicit bodily evidence of spiritual change. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is itself a physical memorial object, to be read over and over, and Stowe intends

for her readers to carry this talisman of suffering memorialized as a token that could reeducate and unite American society.

Jane Tompkins sees the cult of the memorialized dying innocent operating throughout the novel (with Eva, Tom, Mrs. Bird, Cassy's child, and the unnamed mother and child who jump off the riverboat) as Stowe's skillful concatenation of Christological dramas "circulating in the culture at large."<sup>33</sup> But for Stowe, writing from the center of the education reform movement and building on narrative conventions from its Sunday school predecessor, a child's death always carries with it the capacity for the education and conversion of others outside the family. When a child dies, mothers lose the object of their educational advocacy, and Stowe in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* seeks to direct this thwarted biological reproduction to the task of moral instruction across race. Physical monuments or relics of a child—whose memory can elicit bodily evidence of spiritual change—mark these moments when the nuclear family has been opened in order to embrace an unassimilated foundling. Stowe's final chapter is a plea to mothers who have lost children that also mirrors the reading experience of anyone who as a child wept—and proved the redemption of their soul through weeping—over evangelical storybooks:

You, mothers of America,—you, who have learned, by the cradles of your own children, to love and feel for all mankind. . . . By the sick hour of your child; by those dying eyes, which you can never forget; by those last cries, that wrung your heart when you could neither help nor save; by the desolation of that empty cradle, that silent nursery, I beseech you, pity those mothers that are constantly made childless by the American slave trade! (*UTC*, 384)

The mournful tears are always an incitement to action, and the remnants of loss—the cradle, the nursery—motivate the empathetic "taking in" of slave mothers into reader's hearts. In Stowe's imagination, this loving education, and loving discipline, is the most effective way to render a threatening population unthreatening. Focusing on a symbolic object from the past, rather than on a subject speaking in the present, enables the missionary to feel sympathy without fully acknowledging other voices.

By making the central drama of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* adhere so closely to the self-consciously nostalgic *Token* Sunday school storybooks, Stowe renders the most pressing population problem for abo-



litionists—the incorporation of former African American slaves—as merely a version of the centuries-old problem of the “foundling” within Anglo-American society. Stowe ends her novel with a plea to envelop ex-slaves in a mother’s love, as long as they present themselves as children who have left their own family connections behind: “Let the church of the north receive these poor sufferers in the spirit of Christ; receive them to the educating advantages of Christian republican society and schools, until they have attained to somewhat of a moral and intellectual maturity” (*UTC*, 386). The key word for Stowe is “until.” Eventually the alien child leaves the mission school and, with a family of her own, becomes someone who is no longer a foundling or orphan. But Stowe cannot imagine this former pupil forming her own family within American society, cannot imagine her as being anything other than a subject trapped in the process of becoming. Before Topsy can receive Eva’s redemptive love, she must insist she has no “father and mother,” no “brother, or sister, or aunt’”—she must have “never had nothing nor nobody” (*UTC*, 245). For Stowe and those who viewed cultural others as “foundlings” out of their Sunday school books, students like Topsy had to endure a social death before they could be brought back to life through education.

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### Notes

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My epigraph comes from a letter from Harriet Beecher Stowe to Horace Mann, 2 March 1852, Horace Mann Papers III, Massachusetts Historical Society.

- 1 See Jonathan Messerli, *Horace Mann: A Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1971), 446–47.
- 2 Catherine Beecher to Horace Mann, 20 August 1847, Mann Manuscripts, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; quoted in Messerli, *Horace Mann*, 444.
- 3 Sophia Hawthorne, in a letter to her sister, Mary Mann, 16 January 1841,

Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English and American Literature, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations. Sophia's letter notes that Lee had asked to be excused, likely recognizing the guests' disdain, but Mary Mann refused to allow it.

- 4 Horace Mann, Article 1 (no title), *Common School Journal*, 1 January 1841, 1. Mann writes of the universal mother metaphor here with exuberance: "*The Common School is the greatest discovery ever made by man . . . for it is capacious enough to receive and cherish in its parental bosom every child that comes into the world.*"
- 5 Catherine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe outline how Massachusetts could establish a system for social welfare one home at a time, lauding a state report suggesting that the "pauper and criminal classes" be "[scattered] . . . into families of Christian people all over the State" (*The American Woman's Home*, ed. Nicole Tonkovich [New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 2002], 318, 319). The handbook ends by describing how this system of adopting and educating children could shift interest away from foreign missions and toward establishing "Christian neighborhoods" in the "destitute settlements . . . all over the West and South" (336–37).
- 6 Lyman Beecher, *On the importance of assisting young men of piety and talents in obtaining an education for the Gospel ministry* (Andover, Mass.: Printed for the New England Tract Society by Flagg and Gould, 1816), 16. Archive of Americana, Early American Imprints, Series II: Shaw-Shoemaker, infoweb.newsbank.com.
- 7 Philip Fisher, *Hard Facts: Setting and Form in the American Novel* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1987), 121. Fisher sees the feelings *Uncle Tom's Cabin* inspires through these relics as proof that sentimentalism democratically extends "full and complete humanity to classes of figures from whom it has been socially withheld" (99). But I argue that this interest in the feelings of outsiders works for Stowe as a way to subordinate them, as evidenced by its roots in evangelical children's texts. Here, a pedagogy of affect functions hegemonically.
- 8 Harriet Beecher Stowe and Catherine Beecher's desire to expand education is evident in their *First Geography for Children* (1833; reprint, Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1855). The lesson directing children to map their schoolhouse ends with, "I wish all children had such a pretty school house and such fine trees near it" (11).
- 9 Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse have called this concern "the problem of population," where representations of slaves like Uncle Tom or Topsy, viewed as property and not as persons, pose the imaginative difficulty of "containing the larger category of universal humanity within the smaller category of the nation" ("The Problem of Population and the Form of the American Novel," *American Literary History* 20 [winter 2008]: 676).

- 10 Beecher and Stowe, *The American Woman's Home*, ed. Tonkovich, 319.
- 11 This kind of open family resembles that often depicted in Victorian England, as Sharon Marcus argues in *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 2007). Contrary to queer theorists' emphasis on subversion, Marcus sees the queer—or nonbiological—family as not in conflict with the heterosexual norm, especially in representations of female homosociality: “[W]omen’s erotic fantasies about women were at the heart of normative institutions and discourses, even for those who made a religion of the family, marriage, and sexual difference” (13).
- 12 Karen Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2005), 195. Further references to *Dependent States* are to this edition and will be cited parenthetically in the text as *DS*.
- 13 Edwin Wilbur Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement and the American Sunday-School Union* (Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union, 1917), 146.
- 14 For publishers' claims about Stowe's circulation numbers, see Claire Parfait, *The Publishing History of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," 1852–2002* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2007), 56–58.
- 15 Denominationalism returned inexorably in the decade before Stowe wrote her novel, as disagreements over theological issues as well as abolition split the “united front.” However, with these institutions established, the mass publication of evangelical materials continued. See Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783–1876* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 69.
- 16 Robert W. Lynn and Elliott Wright report Lyman Beecher's reminiscences of knocking on the doors of neighbors to ask them to send their children to Sunday school alongside poor children in *The Big Little School: Sunday Child of American Protestantism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 14. What this anecdote belies is how Sunday schools functioned as a last resort for eager learners who lacked the means to pay for an education. According to Anne M. Boylan, from the schools' beginnings, they attracted large numbers of factory workers and African Americans. By 1817, for example, fully a quarter of Sunday school students in New York were black, “both adults and children” (*Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790–1880* [New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1988], 23).
- 17 Cremin writes that “at midcentury . . . more than half the libraries designated ‘public’ in the United States were located physically in Sunday schools” (*American Education*, 68); also Harriet G. Long surmises about Sunday school libraries, which evolved into the children's sections of public libraries, that “[t]here is no doubt but that they reached more children with freely loaned books than any other agency between 1825 and

- 1890" (*Public Library Service to Children: Foundation and Development* [Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1969], 49).
- 18 Gillian Avery surveys the debate among evangelicals about whether writing fiction was telling children lies and finds that leaders were still warning against it in the 1830s: "At this date fiction was regarded with the deepest suspicion by most of the Protestant orthodox, and the American Tract Society fought hard against it in their publications, averring in their report of 1836 that the moral effect could only be injurious" (*Behold the Child: American Children and Their Books, 1621–1922* [London: Bodley Head, 1994], 98). Janeway's stories not only insisted vehemently on their realism, but they had also been in constant circulation in America since the first copies arrived in 1683.
  - 19 See d'Alté A. Welch, *A Bibliography of American Children's Books Printed prior to 1821* (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1972), 225–27.
  - 20 *Ibid.*, 163–64; 294–95.
  - 21 James Janeway, *A Token for Children: Being an Exact Account of the Conversion, Holy and Exemplary Lives, and Joyful Deaths, of several young Children* (London: Printed for Dorman Newman, 1676), 45, Early English Books Online, eebo.chadwyck.com. Further references to *A Token for Children* are to this edition and will be cited parenthetically in the text as *TC*.
  - 22 Richard Brodhead analyzes educational treatises, schoolroom accounts, magazines, children's books, and fiction to describe the "purposeful sentimentalization of the disciplinary relation" in nineteenth-century America ("Sparing the Rod: Discipline and Fiction in Antebellum America," *Representations* 21 [winter 1988]: 71). For Brodhead, the greatest exhibition of this phenomenon is in the scene of Eva's garnering of obedience from Topsy simply by bestowing her love: "In this central scene of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* the plan of discipline through love emerges from the ruins of its cultural rivals as a kind of miraculous transcendence of their apparently inevitable limits," while at the same time "[making] plain the sheer emotional manipulation this system mandates in practice" (86, 87).
  - 23 William Moseley, *The New Token for Children; or, a Sequel to Janeway's. Being an authentic account, never before published, of the conversion, exemplary lives, and happy deaths of Twelve Children* (New Haven, Conn.: Printed for Increase Cooke by Sidney's Press, 1806), i. Further references to *The New Token for Children* are to this edition and will be cited parenthetically in the text as *NT*.
  - 24 John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education, and, Of the Conduct of the Understanding*, ed. Ruth W. Grant and Nathan Tarcov (Indianapolis, Ind.: Hackett, 1996).
  - 25 C. John Sommerville, *The Discovery of Childhood in Puritan England* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1992), 31.

- 26 Jacqueline M. Labbe describes the warm worldwide reception of the story of Little Henry as “immensely popular and long-lived, going through thirty editions by 1840 and numerous translations” (“Mary Martha Sherwood” entry in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Children's Literature*, ed. Jack Zipes [New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2006], 451).
- 27 See Rita J. Smith, “Those Who Go Before: Ancestors of Eva St. Clare,” *New England Quarterly* 70 (June 1997): 314–18.
- 28 Mary Martha Sherwood, *The History of Little Henry and His Bearer* (1814; reprint, Hartford, Conn.: Hudson, 1817), 48. Further references to *The History of Little Henry and His Bearer* are to this edition and will be cited parenthetically in the text as *HB*.
- 29 Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. Frank Shuffelton (1785; reprint, New York: Penguin, 1999), 168.
- 30 Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, ed. Elizabeth Ammons (New York: Norton, 1994), 201–2. Further references to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* are to this edition and will be cited parenthetically in the text as *UTC*.
- 31 Elizabeth Maddock Dillon shows that instances of queer families alongside biological ones in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*—what she calls the “radically open sociality” of “mother-child couplings” like Mrs. Bird and Harry; Uncle Tom and St. Clare; and I would add Miss Ophelia and Topsy—are made possible through the rupture left by a dead child (*The Gender of Freedom: Fictions of Liberalism and the Literary Public Sphere* [Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Univ. Press, 2004], 227, 232).
- 32 See Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1982).
- 33 Jane P. Tompkins, *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790–1860* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press), 128.