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Another glow than sunset's fire
Has filled the west with light,
Where field and garner, barn and byre,
Are blazing through the night.
John Greenleaf Whittier, "At Port Royal"

THE WEST THAT GLOWS SO in John Greenleaf Whittier's "At Port Royal" signifies more than the scorched-earth retreat of Southerners in the face of the Union army's occupation of the town. Coming as it does in the midst of a poem that celebrates the liberation of the local slave population and the commencement of "that work of civilization which was accepted as the grave responsibility of those who had labored for freedom," the glow in the west marks not only the rout of a confederacy "wild with fear and hate," but also the light of the nation's progress towards the day "ob jubilee."[1] As such, it functions as a sign among signs in keeping with the abolitionist movement's traditional reliance on typological exegesis. The millennium of freedom has been foretold by God sing the "dusky gondoliers" of the poem, and all of nature concurs in pronouncing its inevitable arrival: "De norf-wind tell it to de pines, / De wild-duck to the sea. . . . / De rice-bird mean it when he sing, / De eagle when he scream" (lines 61–68). That a glow in the west should stand among these signs as harbinger of emancipation is

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hardly surprising, but it does raise questions as to the extent and nature of the "progress" heralded by the poem, for Whittier's light-filled west also invokes the golden West, rich in natural resources and "luminous with the accumulated lights of European and American civilization" that is one of manifest destiny's signal promises (Benton 46).

As political ideologies, the predominantly Republican espousal of abolitionism and the predominantly Democratic invocation of manifest destiny display some striking convergences. Each doctrine was indebted to a sense of the United States as a chosen land and Americans as chosen people, and adherents of each tended to present their mission as an inexorable progress mandated by God, a progress that would culminate in the conversion of the entire country into a redeemed nation—one free of slavery or one that would extend republican institutions across the American continents. Just as John O'Sullivan declares that the United States is driven by "our *manifest destiny* to overspread the continent allotted by Providence" and prophesies the day when "two hundred and fifty, or three hundred millions—and American millions—[are] destined to gather beneath the flutter of the stripes and stars, in the fast hastening year of the Lord 1945!" (28, 30; emphasis added), for Harriet Beecher Stowe emancipation serves as a sign of the millennium. It is, she says, "one of the predicted voices of the latter day, saying under the whole heavens, 'It is done: the kingdoms of the world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ'" ("Reply" 285).

Likewise, both the discourse of abolition and that of manifest destiny emphasize the link between physical migration across the landscape and spiritual migration towards a perfected nation. In Stowe's account, the nation's movement towards perfection would have been an unstoppable progress if not for Southern extremism. In her defense of Union policy, she recounts the Republican rationale for prohibiting slavery's expansion rather than eliminating it altogether as based on a teleological evolutionary logic: "They reasoned thus: Slavery ruins land, and requires fresh territory for profitable working. Slavery increases a dangerous population, and requires an expansion of this population for safety. Slavery, then, being hemmed in by impassable limits, emancipation in each State becomes a necessity" (274–75). In this optimistic view, both territorial expansion and emancipation are presented more as divinely ordained forces of nature than as matters requiring direction through policy. The most telling congruence of all, however, is that by

the 1850s proponents of both ideologies, both manifest destiny's boosters and abolitionist visionaries, tend to envision the perfected nation as racially homogeneous.

This essay will trace the entanglement of abolitionism and manifest destiny in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by examining Stowe's attempt to deploy the teleological discourse of westward expansion in the service of abolition. Stowe resorts to the discourse of manifest destiny throughout *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, consistently presenting abolition's aims in terms of the teleologies of expansion, with the attendant emphasis on claiming and converting territories and the pursuit of imperial designs. At the same time, however, she also reveals her commitment to the Anglo-Saxonist stance that undergirds manifest destiny and relegates Americans of African ancestry to the position of impurities, impediments that must be expelled from the providential nation before it can fulfill its destiny.

By operating in what Jane Tompkins has identified as a "typological" mode, "rewrit[ing] the Bible as the story of a Negro slave," abolitionist authors of slave narratives set in motion an implied teleology for the nation and its inhabitants (134). As in countless spiritual autobiographies, from *Pilgrim's Progress* onward, abolitionist narratives link spiritual progress with physical or geographical progress, transforming the migration of the individual slave into a paradigmatic journey to be emulated by readers. In these narratives, regions freed from the taint of slavery—whether Ohio or Canada or individual households—are repeatedly described in terms of redemption: such places are "the top of Pisgah," "the land of promise," "the Paradise of the earth," and "the Canaan of liberty" (Northup 60, 200; Stowe *UTC* 107). With the shift in physical state, the transition from slavery to freedom also entails an alteration in moral condition. As Frances Smith Foster points out, the primary axis of the physical and spiritual migration in abolitionist slave narratives is usually vertical, running from a tyrannical rural South to a democratic urban North, from a "wilderness of untamed land, ineffective religion, and savage brutality" to a "location of enlightened Christianity, harmony, and brotherhood" (76). Further, the movement from south to north is usually figured as a literal "rise." Like Bunyan's Christian ascending to the Heavenly City from the dungeons of Despair, Frederick Douglass announces that "my tendency was upward" when he determines to leave "the hottest hell of unending slavery" and strike for

freedom (90, 74). Similarly, William Wells Brown charts his many journeys up and down the Mississippi as so many rises and falls in moral condition, as he leaves behind the hell of New Orleans, where slaves are "set . . . to dancing when their cheeks were wet with tears," for an Ohio farmland populated by "angels of mercy" (17, 48). Further, the shift in geography marks a redemptive shift in Brown's own moral status, for in the hellish regions of the south he can easily betray an innocent bystander into taking punishment meant for him, while once he arrives in the north he becomes an agent of salvation, ferrying fugitives across Lake Erie to Canada.

Such a south-to-north topography of uplift clearly obtains in white abolitionist works as well, grafting moral hierarchies onto the cartographic convention that puts north at the top of the map. The moral axis of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, for instance, seems to run primarily from north to south, as characters "sink down" into Southern slavery, or follow an "upward course" to freedom. The implications of this rise and fall are made most explicit during Ophelia St. Clare's famous comic catechism of Topsy:

> "Our first parents, being left to the freedom of their own will, fell from the state wherein they were created."
>
> Topsy's eyes twinkled, and she looked enquiringly.
>
> "What is it, Topsy?" said Miss Ophelia.
>
> "Please, Missis, was dat ar state Kintuck?"
>
> "What state, Topsy?"
>
> "Dat state dey fell out of. I used to hear Mas'r tell how we came down from Kintuck."
>
> St. Clare laughed.
>
> "You'll have to give her a meaning, or she'll make one," said he. "There seems to be a theory of emigration suggested there." (*UTC* 368)

For abolitionists' purposes, the individual soul is not all that is at stake, for like the pagan Topsy, the slaveholding nation as a whole has fallen out of "Kintuck." Through a downward emigration from the Eden of first principles, the national ethos has fallen to a lower moral and spiritual state as well as to a state that appears geographically "lower" on the map. Abolitionism promises to rectify this downward tendency and bring the nation back onto an upward course, a prospect illustrated by

William Seward's declaration that abolition would lead "the free and vigorous North and West to work out the welfare of the country, and drag the reluctant South up to participate in the same glorious destinies" (qtd. in Foner 51).

Seward's remark also demonstrates that in spite of the prominence of the north/south dynamic, abolitionists often overlaid the struggle between north and south with one that aligned the nation's spiritual progress with its material and political expansion *westward*. Seward places the west alongside the north as an agent of the south's uplift and redemption, making the spiritual pilgrimage towards a redeemed nation run in close parallel with the material progress implied by manifest destiny; similarly, abolitionists' anxiety over the integrity of existing free states runs hand in hand with a very practical political concern for the status of western territories. Such territorial questions were central to abolitionism, and sectional concerns over the status of the huge parcels of territory ceded to the United States in 1848 at the close of war with Mexico provided political abolitionists with one of their most effective recruitment tools. Republicans put the question of what to do with new territories in terms of a choice between moral progress and decadent stagnation: a west free from slavery, Samuel Chase claimed, would be a region of "freedom not serfdom; freeholds not tenancies; democracy not despotism . . . progress, not stagnation or retrogression" (qtd. in Foner 56).

It is true that some abolitionists—Garrison among them—rejected the drive for territorial acquisition, arguing that such gains were the result of unjust wars or unconstitutional maneuvers.[2] More often, however, such resistance resulted from the anxiety that the acquisitions had been engineered by pro-slavery interests in Congress, not from any sense that territorial expansion was in itself tainted.[3] Yet even those who most strenuously denounced expansionist policies couched their calls for the progress of abolition in the rhetoric of manifest destiny, and focused on claiming ground for freedom. As the executive committee of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society urged its members to "go forward in the great work of political regeneration, . . . aim at a higher standard, and . . . lead forward the allies of freedom until liberty shall be proclaimed throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof," it presented its manifesto in explicitly territorial, even expansionist, terms: "be firm, united, progressive, and unflinching, and persevere in the course marked out. . . . abandon not an inch of ground

already acquired, but make aggressive movements" ("Anti-Garrisonian" 214, 217).

Such a notion of abolition as a conversion of territory can be found in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as well, in spite of its usual classification as a text dedicated to effecting abolition exclusively through the reformation of the "private," domestic sphere. Stowe's call for the reformation of American culture through a reassertion of the feminine, Christian, and domestic over the masculine, secular, and political has been exhaustively documented, giving rise to a consensus that, far from representing a rejection of the world and its works, Stowe's valorization of the domestic sphere elevates it not as a sanctuary from the corrupt public world but as a model for that world's redemption.[4] In Tompkins' words, "centering on the home . . . is not a way of indulging in narcissistic fantasy . . . or a turning away from the world into self-absorption and idle reverie; it is the prerequisite of world conquest" (143). "World conquest" is an apt choice of words, for Stowe portrays the domestic sphere as engaged in a kind of manifest destiny of the household—expanding its influence, colonizing the public world, and (in every sense of the word) sweeping the nation to its destiny. Stowe's sister Catharine Beecher states this ideology bluntly in her *Treatise on Domestic Economy*: "to American women, more than to any others on earth, is committed the exalted privilege of extending over the world those blessed influences, which are to renovate degraded man." This renovation through conversion will culminate in the nation's fulfillment of its destiny through "the building of a glorious temple, whose base shall be coextensive with the bounds of the earth, whose summit shall pierce the skies, whose splendor shall beam on all lands" (qtd. in Sklar 159–60).[5] Tompkins rightly points out the "imperialistic drive" at work in domestic manuals such as Catharine Beecher and Isabella Beecher Hooker's collaborative work, *The American Woman's Home* (1869), in which the authors argue that the "Christian Family" should send forth "colonies" that will "shine as 'lights of the world' in all the now darkened nations." Ultimately, they claim, "the 'Christian family' and 'Christian neighborhood' would become the grand ministry, as they were designed to be, in training our whole race for heaven" (144).[6] Nonetheless, in spite of her felicitous turn of phrase, Tompkins only hints at the degree to which imperial expansion and manifest destiny motivate the mission of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* may be "the *summa theologica* of

nineteenth-century America's religion of domesticity," but in its exposition of its mission it also invokes many aspects of manifest destiny's imperialistic drive, the very drive against which it putatively struggles (125).[7]

While for Beecher "the manifest destiny of American women to domesticate and Christianize the world can be realized through the work they perform in their homes" (G. Brown 20), for Stowe this manifest destiny of the household has an explicitly "public" and territorial dimension. In *Uncle Tom's Cabin* Stowe furthers the text's quest for world domination by linking the moral house with the moral nation and embarking on a conversion of geographical territory as well as of families and souls. Ophelia St. Clare's journey from Vermont to New Orleans, for example, thoroughly elides the distinction between domestic and territorial conversion. Ophelia's avowed mission is to bring feminine order to the St. Clare household, to "keep everything from going to wreck and ruin during the frequent illnesses of [Augustine's] wife" (*UTC* 249). At the same time, however, Ophelia's mother describes the journey in terms of a missionary expedition, equivalent to "going to the Sandwich Islands, or anywhere among the heathen," and the master narrative for the trip (on whose text Ophelia's father grounds his approval of her going) is provided by "Flint's Travels in the South and West," an account of missionary work in the trans-Allegheny west (245). In addition, her neighbors discuss her trip as having the potential to alter the entire status of the south, either by promoting reconciliation with southerners or by giving tacit support to slaveholding. Once Ophelia arrives in the St. Clare household, even the most domestic elements of her sojourn are described in terms of an expansionist campaign, as she takes over "the store-room, the linen-presses, the china-closet, the kitchen and cellar" and usurps "all the principalities and powers of kitchen and chamber" until she has "thoroughly reformed every department of the house to a systematic pattern" and brought order to the "chaos and old night" of its wilderness (309, 316, 317).[8]

For Stowe, the imperatives of domestic manifest destiny do not override the aims of the ideology in its more traditional sense, and instead of repudiating or ignoring the territorial concerns of the masculine secular political order, she grants them a central place in the construction of the new national identity she envisions. Just as Topsy's "virgin soil" and the dark inner ground of Legree are territory to be conquered,

domesticated, and converted by efforts such as Ophelia's (357, 567), Stowe places the conversion of the national soul in explicitly geographical terms. In the "Concluding Remarks" to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Stowe invokes the westward march of American moral and physical progress as she gathers an audience that begins with the "generous, noble-minded men and women of the South," proceeds to the "farmers of Massachusetts, of New Hampshire, of Vermont, of Connecticut," and finally sweeps westward to the "brave and generous men of New York, farmers of rich and joyous Ohio, and ye of the wide prairie states" (622–23). Yet as she addresses herself to the entire geographical spectrum of the secular, predominantly masculine nation, she reserves significant authority over that domain, and responsibility for its ultimate progress, to the final object of her exhortations: the "mothers of America" (623). To this last group she addresses more passionate arguments, asserting that "if the mothers of the free states had all felt as they should, in times past, the sons of the free states would not have been the holders . . . of slaves; the sons of the free states would not have connived at the extension of slavery, in our national body" (624). By so allowing responsibility for territorial compromises and the Fugitive Slave Law to devolve on "mothers of the free states," Stowe underscores her belief that it is the duty of American women to guide not only the moral development of individual families but also the "extension" of the "national body." Ultimately women must be responsible for maintaining the westward march of progress as an advance towards the millennium, and for preventing the march of progress from becoming a degenerative movement that will bring on "the *day of vengeance* with the year of [God's] redeemed" (629). Just as a moral house will spread the gospel to other families, a moral territorial policy that prohibits the spread of slavery will spread the national gospel.

Such a link between the domestic and the territorial was not limited to feminists or to abolitionists. Many of the compromises over the extension of slavery in the United States recognized the link between the security of the domestic scene and the manifest destiny of the frontier. One proposal of this sort, Samuel Nott's *Slavery and the Remedy; or, Principles and Suggestions for a Remedial Code*, was popular enough to boast of receiving a "warm welcome . . . from some of the largest slaveholders, as well as from many eminent citizens and statesmen both North and South," and went through five editions between 1855 and

1857 (1). Nott suggests that the crisis over slavery in the new territories might be resolved by replacing the existing system with an "ameliorated slavery," from which the enslaved would not wish to escape. Nott's extensive "revisions" of the system of bondage—a fantastically romanticized mix of feudal serfdom and patriarchal benevolence—would hold contented slaves to their servitude within a "'cordon' of comfortable livelihood, unbroken families, and happy homes" (80). So remediated on the domestic front, Nott argues, slavery could be safely extended into new territories, and the work of manifest destiny perpetuated as "the two races . . . flow together in their southern proportions, over the southern 'West,' with equal opportunity for the 'pursuit of happiness'" (81).[9]

Although such arguments resemble Stowe's in that they explicitly align the territorial interests of nation with the progress of the family, for Stowe these compromises represented a dangerous mis-management of the nation-as-family, allowing the polluting influence of slavery to extend into "fair, free, unoccupied [sic] territory" (qtd. in Charles Stowe 257). In response, Stowe grants the western territories an important position in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Claims such as Eric Sundquist's, that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* "is in direct opposition to the rich American tradition of masculine confrontation with nature (the frontier tradition of the 'American Adam') that Melville helped define," tend to underestimate the importance of the frontier for Stowe (2). It is true that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* does not foreground the taming of the wilderness; nonetheless, the novel does invoke expansion into the frontier as an element of redemption, a supplement and complement to the more frequently noted redemption to be found in conversion to the matriarchal rule typified by Stowe's Quaker characters. In the novel's conflation of moral and physical geography, Kentucky is not only the "earthly middle ground" (Tompkins 138), but also the state that holds most promise for a national trajectory that will move upwards morally and westward geographically.

Figures of the expanding West appear with surprising frequency in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, usually in the form of Daniel Boone-like backwoodsmen who are engaged in the project of extending the physical bounds of American empire. In the Kentucky tavern described in Chapter XI, for example, frontiersmen and their descendants are first shown laying claim to their dominion by "trailing their loose joints over a vast extent of territory" (*UTC* 175).[10] In addition to expanding the nation's terri-

torial claims, however, these men also act as moral trailblazers for those who will follow, espousing a philosophy based on individualism and self-determination. Stowe's catalogue of the peculiar characteristics of the western Kentuckian establishes their tradition of liberty, so congenial to abolitionist sentiments, as the direct product of frontier conditions:

> Your Kentuckian of the present day is a good illustration of the doctrine of transmitted instincts and peculiarities. His fathers were mighty hunters,—men who lived in the woods, and slept under the free, open heavens, with the stars to hold their candles; and their descendant to this day acts as if the house were his camp,—wears his hat at all hours, tumbles himself about, and puts his heels on the tops of chairs or mantel-pieces, just as his father rolled on the green sward, and put his upon trees and logs,—keeps all the windows and doors open, winter and summer, that he may get air enough for his great lungs,—calls everybody 'stranger,' with nonchalant bonhommie, and is altogether the frankest, easiest, most jovial creature living. (176–77)

The west depicted here seems at first to invert the hierarchies of more "civilized" regions. This is an exclusively masculine region where squatters are glorified, where "bonhommie" makes every companion a "stranger" and every stranger a companion, and where the standard posture is quite literally heels-over-head. Yet through this apparently chaotic inversion of order, Stowe's frontier actually brings about order, extending the compass of nation by turning the rough frontier into a domestic scene on a grand scale. As the Kentuckian moves into the wilderness, he gradually claims it in the language of the domestic order of nation, making stars into candles, trees into chairs, breezes into windows, camps into houses. Here territorial expansion is brought under the rubric of conversion; the sprawling occupation of the frontiersman tames the wilderness by bringing uncultivated landscape into the confines of the nation-as-family, and the progress of territorial expansion is merged with Stowe's domestic manifest destiny.[11]

The conversions brought about by these westering characters seem at first glance to be antithetical to the conversions Stowe wishes to effect through domestic reform. Honest John the Kentucky drover, for example, seems to repudiate domestic order when he adopts his charac-

teristic posture, sitting "with his chair tipped back, his hat on his head, and the heels of his muddy boots reposing sublimely on the mantelpiece." However, this action marks him not as a brute but as a frontiersman adopting the local means of "elevating [his] understandings" (*UTC* 175). His under-standing legs that have allowed him to range over and lay claim to territory here become the "elevated understandings" that allow him to declare that "such papers as these [advertisements for runaway slaves] is a shame to Kentucky" (179) and later to refute a clergyman who claims that Noah's curse of the descendants of Ham constitutes a Scriptural endorsement of the slave trade. Speaking authoritatively from his frontier sensibilities, John maintains that Matthew 7:12 "seems quite as plain a text . . . to poor fellows like us" (201), and he goes on to suggest that God shares his interpretive bent.[12] "'Cussed be Canaan,'" he tells Haley, "'mabbee . . . won't go down with the Lord, neither, when ye come to settle with Him, one o' these days, as all on us must, I reckon'" (202). Those characters like Haley and Legree, who are untouched by the domesticating influence of the frontier, may put their muddy boots on the furniture or bring their drunken revels into the parlor (531), but their "understandings" remain resolutely unelevated. As a result, they relentlessly misread the founding texts of the nation—the Bible, the Constitution, and the Declaration of Independence—while promulgating atrocities such as the Fugitive Slave Law in a perversion of the ideal of the frontier that reinscribes their perversion of the institutions of family and domesticity.

Throughout *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, migration from east to west follows the pattern of redemptive disruption that also characterizes the migration from south to north and from sin to salvation. Stowe shows the frontier's capacity to direct an individual's spiritual and physical migration on a proper course with the episode of another "Honest John" from Kentucky who has freed his slaves and resettled them in Ohio. Now cleansed of the taint of slaveholding, John Van Trompe has repaired to the limits of the frontier, to a solitary farm that can be reached only by an arduous journey over a road of jumbled logs half-submerged in mud "of unfathomable and sublime depth" (156).[13] Stowe marks this "Ohio railroad"—an underground railroad in every possible sense—as a characteristic feature of western travel, and with the image she not only fuses abolitionist uplift with the technology of territorial expansion, but also underscores the west's redemptive ability to overturn the estab-

lished (slaveholding) social order and to "expiate" its sins (156). As Senator Byrd, Eliza, and Harry travel this rail-road towards the safe haven of Van Trompe's farm, they are thrown about by the lurching carriage: "senator, woman, and child, all tumble promiscuously on to the front seat,—senator's hat is jammed over his eyes and nose quite unceremoniously. . . . Carriage springs up, with another bounce . . . senator, woman, and child, fly over on to the back seat, his elbows encountering her bonnet, and both her feet being jammed into his hat, which flies off in the concussion" (157). Such heels-over-head mixing echoes the drover's unseemly posture, marking this journey as a subversion of the established social order en route to a zone of elevated understandings. That the journey has had the desired redemptive effect becomes clear at the end of the chapter, when a mud-smeared Senator Byrd demonstrates that he has been definitively converted from the "political sinner" who helped pass the Fugitive Slave Law (156), into one of the saved who wholeheartedly assists the fugitive with money and protection.

Stowe's frontier locales should be counted among the series of domestic tableaux in the novel, each of which "projects a political model of nationhood and implies a final refuge with, or judgment by, God" (Sundquist 23). As stations on the Underground Railroad, the masculinized frontier order and the feminized Quaker order are ideologically contiguous. In spite of the comic emphasis laid on the bad road that separates Van Trompe's farm from more settled and civilized regions, his sanctuary is narratologically adjacent to the spiritual redemption promised by the Quaker settlement: Eliza falls asleep at his farm and next appears four chapters later, miraculously transported to the Halliday household—a significant elision in a chronicle of escape that up to this point has left few of her steps unaccounted for. This contiguity between the manifest destinies of the frontier and the household is further underscored by the transformation of the slave catcher Tom Loker, who first appears as a near-beast dressed in a buffalo skin coat "made with the hair outward" (*UTC* 122). Wounded by George Harris and nursed back to health by the Quakers, he emerges from his "chrysalis" of blankets having been converted not into a religious proselytizer but (what is just as good) into a successful fur trapper (543). Thus redeemed, he can join the outmigration to the new settlements and "[make] himself quite a name in the land," extending the bounds of an

honest market and speaking "reverently" of the Quakers who launched him on his moral and physical trajectory (544).

Tom Loker's conversion sets him on a course whereby he can advocate the redemptive domestic order of the Quakers and simultaneously advance the work of settling untamed land. But cases such as his also reveal the rupture in Stowe's abolitionist logic, the point at which the migrations of freed slaves and those of manifest destiny diverge and an underlying racial logic becomes apparent. For while the white Loker can be converted, however improbably, into a figure who perpetuates the expansion of nation, Stowe's non-white characters are ultimately unassimilable to such ends. The fusion of domestic and territorial manifest destiny may further national redemption by linking abolition inextricably to American material progress, but it also replicates the exclusions of the dominant ideology.[14] Rachel Bowlby has commented that if, as Tompkins would have it, the "earthshaking" nature of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* lies in its vision of a world where the "primary work" is done by blacks and women, then the novel's much-vaunted "disturbing effect" lies "less in its difference from than in its point-for-point correspondence to what it turns upside down" (208). Indeed, in some very profound ways, Stowe's imperial abolitionism replicates the racialist beliefs of the proponents of manifest destiny.[15]

By the end of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Stowe is faced with the prospect of former slaves migrating towards the north and west and claiming the right to participate in the extension of American nationhood. To some extent such participation is a fait accompli: in her closing chapter, for example, Stowe provides a catalogue of emancipated slaves residing in Cincinnati who seem to be furthering the conversion and domestication of land in the greater midwest. After their successful migrations from slavery to freedom, they have turned to employments—ranging from farming to trade to preaching to real estate dealing—that mark them as individuals working to further the spiritual and material conversions that drive the nation. Yet Stowe's own characters are consistently deflected from this course, even when they seem most poised to assert their right to participate in the national expansion and redemption. Although he flies through settled land, when George Harris is guided to a defensible escarpment by a "hearty, two-fisted backwoodsman" turned Quaker (*UTC* 288), a frontier materializes to meet him, as a pile of boulders becomes a natural fortress worthy of the Leather-

stocking Tales, complete with "narrow defile," an intervening "chasm" ("more than a yard in breadth," Stowe rather breathlessly informs her readers), and a craggy ledge with sides as "steep and perpendicular as those of a castle" (296). From this unexpected outcropping of wilderness, George shouts a "declaration of independence" that links him to the live-free-or-die sentiments of the nation's founders: "We stand here as free, under God's sky, as you are; and, by the great God that made us, we'll fight for our liberty till we die" (298). George would seem to be eminently suited for the task of bringing enlightenment and order to new American territories: he travels a south-to-north trajectory, has an authoritative grasp of the founding texts of nation, is noted for his "adroitness and ingenuity" as an inventor (54), is converted from atheistic nihilism to Christian grace, and is frequently elevated as an icon of paternal strength and fortitude.

At the peak of his declaration of independence, however, George Harris repudiates membership in the nation he invokes, declaring that "we don't own your laws; we don't own your country" (298). With this double-edged statement, George rejects not only the notion that he should "own" the nation's sovereignty over him, but also renounces any claim that he can "own" the nation by possessing it, by participating in the conversion of undifferentiated land into domestically held territory. The implicit promise of this statement is borne out in Chapter XLIII, with George's famous declaration that he has "no wish to pass for an American, or to identify myself with them," but longs instead for "an African nationality. . . . a people that shall have a tangible, separate existence of its own" (608). Opting out of westward and northward settlement, George and his newly reconstituted family are launched instead on an eastward trajectory towards Liberia, a path safely distinct from that being pursued by a white America.[16]

Similarly, Topsy seems to be launched on a course that advances the conversionary project of nation when she and Ophelia leave New Orleans in favor of the northern domain of "the grave deliberative body whom a New Englander recognizes under the term '*Our folks*'" (*UTC* 612). Yet in spite of the promise that she will be included in the community as it advances the conversionary movement of nationality, Topsy never actually becomes one of "our folks," instead relocating to Africa where her talents are used "in a safer and wholesomer manner, in teaching the children of *her own country*" (612; emphasis added). Un-

like Texas, which can be successfully converted from "mere geographical space" into "Our Country," Topsy remains stubbornly unconvertible.

As with Topsy's express request for baptism and a position as missionary to "her people," George's decision is presented almost obsessively as his own choice, an exercise of free will and an act of individual conscience. He speaks of his "wishes," "wants," and "choices" no fewer than seven times in the course of his final letter to his friends, insisting repeatedly that "I have no wish" to stay in the United States, that "it is my wish to go," that "I do not want [reparation], I want a country, a nation, of my own," that Liberia is "my chosen, my glorious Africa" (608–10). Yet in spite of this aggressive insistence on George's free will, his decision to attempt Liberia is not corroborated as a choice by any indication that it is possible to choose otherwise. By the end of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, all Stowe's characters of African extraction are either dead, immobilized, or exported. Even the catalogue of exemplary emancipees cited earlier is brought into the service of colonizationist efforts, as Stowe brackets their achievements with assertions that "the educating advantages of Christian republican society and schools" are primarily useful in preparing former slaves to be resettled in Liberia (626).

Stowe's ultimate decision to advocate colonization reveals the extent to which her views on expansion, migration, and the integrity of the providential nation are in fact contingent on race. Many of Stowe's readers were acutely aware of the racialist logic behind the denouement of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. One critical letter to an African American newspaper denounced Stowe's solution to the "problem" posed by emancipation: "Uncle Tom must be killed, George Harris exiled! Heaven for dead Negroes! Liberia for living mulattoes. Neither can live on the American continent. Death or banishment is our doom, say the Slaveocrats, the Colonizationists, and, save the mark—Mrs. Stowe" (qtd. in Yarborough 69).[17] The writer touches on a fundamental truth of Stowe's colonizationist plan with this observation of the color line that undergirds it, for according to Stowe's logic, the ability to migrate "upward"—and hence the ability to take part in the conversion of territory into the domestic order of nation—is contingent on color. Blackness, in this model, becomes the mark of stasis and sedimentation, whiteness of the ability to migrate. Tom himself becomes an icon of inertia, not only in his moral immovability, but also in his physical acquiescence to the laws of gravity as they manifest themselves in the slavocracy. His

much noted passivity does serve the function of heightening his status as a type of Christ, but it also aligns him with the legions of immobilized servants who, like the slaves on the Shelby plantation, "don't want to be no freer than we are" (*UTC* 616) and results, ultimately, in his completing his sedimentary trajectory by being laid down in the earth.

Stowe's romantic racialism—her insistence that stillness, fixity, tight "local attachments," and "home-loving" qualities are attributes peculiar to those of African extraction—make all people of color, not only the enslaved, subject to her sedimentary logic. While Stowe presents the Anglo-Saxon race, with its "stern, inflexible, energetic elements," as having been "intrusted [with] the destinies of the world, during its pioneer period of struggle and conflict" and working to drive that destiny forward, the African race is unable to migrate westward, stuck in place and time, sinking down and back as the providential nation moves forward and up.[18]

This sedimentary logic gets overwritten with a geographical element, as can be seen in claims made by Stowe and her contemporaries that people of African extraction feel a "natural" affinity for southern territories as closer to their "native" African culture. Tom's own deep seated "passion for all that is splendid, rich, and fanciful" makes him react to the tropical splendors of New Orleans with radiant admiration and the statement that "it looks about the right thing" (*UTC* 253–54). Such invocation of natural affinity was often used as a rationale for colonizationist proposals, as in Frederick Freeman's *Africa's Redemption; the Salvation of Our Country*, which holds that:

> . . . the colored man, going to Africa, goes to the land of his fathers, for a residence in which nature has peculiarly fitted him. *We* should sicken and die where the native African, invigorated under the influence of a vertical sun, glories in its blaze, and grapples with the lion of the desert. Expose the African to the cold blasts of the northern clime, he shivers and drags out a miserable existence, while the white man can bare his bosom to the blast. (221)

Such a discourse that makes the person of color's movement from south to north a violation of natural principle was easily adapted to pro-slavery arguments; John O'Sullivan claimed that annexing Texas as a slave

state would of necessity "drain off [slave] labor southwardly, by the same unvarying law that bids water descend the slope that invites it . . . towards the only outlet which appear[s] to furnish much probability of the ultimate disappearance of the negro race from our borders" (29). However, such wishfully sedimentary demography appears in abolitionist writings as well, as in Salmon P. Chase's claim that emancipation would halt the migration of blacks from south to north. Freed from slavery's unnatural impulsion towards the north, he argued, "our colored population would begin to retire southward," thus reverting to its inherently sedimentary tendency (qtd. in Foner 273). The movement of former slaves from south to north, while it would seem to be the epitome of American progress—signifying uplift, capitalization, and the settling of new territories—was figured by anxious white northerners and southerners alike as retrograde and unnatural—at least, that is, if the freed people stayed in the north and claimed the right to participate in American progress. Far better for such people to go south, "down" among the inferior peoples of Mexico, or east, "back" to their putative homeland.[19]

In contrast to Tom's blackness, which pulls him down into the morass of slavery, it is the blood of the "hot and hasty Saxon" that gives George Harris the "high, indomitable spirit" that impels him northward (*UTC* 611, 182). Indeed, all the successful escapees of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* can be described as having been 'leavened' with whiteness, for the ascent of each is attributable to the fact that she or he is light-skinned enough to pass as white. Although George's whiteness leavens his ascent thus far, his admixture of white and black blood alters his course from the Anglo-Saxon's conversion of the American frontier and launches him onto the mirror-trajectory of eastward colonization in Liberia. This alternate outmigration does have imperial trappings of its own and appears to parallel the millennial teleology of the United States: the Liberian mission will "roll the tide of civilization and Christianity along its shores, and plant there mighty republics, that, growing with the rapidity of tropical vegetation, shall be for all coming ages" (609). George explicitly describes the "development of Africa" in terms of conquest, and foresees the African race's advancement of "that sublime doctrine of love and forgiveness . . . which it is to be their mission to spread over the continent of Africa" (611). As a "field of work," too, Liberia is consonant with the missionary advancement of Protestant

values and the building of nation. However, the Liberian trajectory is fundamentally at odds with whiteness; George himself admits that he is inadequate for the task of forwarding the Liberian mission as "full half the blood in my veins is the hot and hasty Saxon" (611).[20]

Unlike the teleological movement that characterizes expansion into the American west, the movement towards Liberia is presented not purely as progress towards a glorious future, but also as a return to a putative origin and a recreated fantasy of the past. The characters who take part in the Liberian outmigration acquiesce in the notion that their "return" to Africa can in effect undo centuries of slavery. Although Topsy has "grow'd" as a quintessential product of American slavery, even after a lifetime of cultivation at the hands of "our folks," her own people are nonetheless those of Africa. Even more radically, by embarking on a "return" to Africa, repudiating his father's whiteness, and wishing himself "two shades darker, rather than one lighter" (608), George rhetorically reverses the generations of racial mixing that produced him, invoking a return to a time before slavery and miscegenation had begun to exert their corrupting influence.[21] Such a solution meshes neatly with Stowe's view of innate racial characteristics: while the Anglo-Saxon race is "naturally" propelled along a westward path towards transcendence, those of African descent are divinely ordained to follow a path that will bear them according to their "natural" tendencies, backwards through time and space.

The Liberian trajectory thus serves as a means of purging a retrograde element from the American utopia, a divinely ordained solution to the problem posed by the possibility of non-white migrants becoming incorporated into the American progress towards the millennium. Stowe's embrace of the colonizationist perspective reveals that although she does not embrace the claims of Anglo-Saxon superiority as unquestioningly as Catharine Beecher does, she nonetheless accepts the notion of westward migration as a whites-only trajectory and envisions the millennial future of the American nation as one free from the complications of racial difference. Blacks are notably excluded from the great rhetorical fusion of the "Concluding Remarks," and their elision underscores the fact that Stowe does not envision them as part of the redeemed nation; the nation-as-family is to extend towards the Pacific, but that family is resolutely envisioned as white and as remaining so.[22]

As the only possible alternative to racial integration in a post-eman-

cipation America, colonization was widely viewed as the key to the nation's deliverance. Pro-colonization publications abounded; Frederick Freeman's *Africa's Redemption*, for example, presents the economic, moral, political and territorial rationales for colonization in the form of a series of thirty-three conversations between a "Mr. Lovegood" and his two children. The domestic milieu of these arguments, however, underscores the fact that the crucial issue at stake is the integrity of family, in both its domestic and its national sense. For if the nation is a family, then a racially integrated nation must be a mixed and miscegenated family and, as Riss has pointed out, "the family's inviolability, according to Stowe's idealized vision, can only be guaranteed if all involved are of the same race" (534). As a result, black participation in westward movement and the conversion of territory to nation threatens this "inviolability," for such participation entails that they also will take part in domestic manifest destiny and will have an active place in the redeemed (and previously "white") family. The pervasive anxiety produced by this linkage of familial and national trajectories surfaces in *Africa's Redemption*; between discussions of the deleterious effects integration would have on the prosecution of the national mission and the expansion of republican institutions, Caroline Lovegood announces that she "recoils" from the views of those extremists who would pronounce "anathemas . . . against those who indulge in any hesitancy touching the fullest expression of equality and unrestricted intercourse" (Freeman 171–72). The tortured syntax of Caroline's statement gives an indication of the chaos racial mixture presents to the destined progress of family and nation, while such words in the mouth of "a lively and interesting girl of sixteen" link the spectres of a wayward national course and interracial rape. Stowe too is subject to the terrors of this association; in the logic of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, blacks and mulattos figure as living evidence of family's corruption under the slaveholding system, their blackness a "mark of exogamy and incongruity" and evidence of the corruption of the nation's territorial mission (G. Brown 59).[23] The nation's "escutcheon" needs to be cleansed of the "bar sinister" (*UTC* 610), the heraldic mark of bastardy and sign of the illegitimacy and impurity created not only by the institution of slavery, but (Stowe implies) by the very existence of slaves and former slaves, especially those marked as the product of miscegenation.

The options Stowe presents for the successful enactment of abolition

emphasize her sense that blacks are an obstacle to the fulfillment of national and familial destiny. The alternatives are summed up when Ophelia's neighbors debate over her proposed journey to New Orleans. The abolitionist position (represented by the town's minister) holds that her trip "might . . . tend to encourage the southerners in holding on to their slaves" and recommends that Ophelia avoid contact with the sinful south altogether (246). On the other hand, the colonizationist position (represented by the town's doctor) holds that her visit would "show the Orleans people that we don't think hardly of them, after all" (246), suggesting that reunification with the south's white population will be possible after the source of discord has been eliminated. The argument is neatly balanced between spiritual and material, between the clergyman's interest in saving souls for the millennium to come and the doctor's concern with healing the bodies that make up the national body. Nonetheless, both parties agree on one crucial point: the primary issue at stake here is the effect Ophelia will have on southern *whites*. Stowe's glorious vision of an America fulfilling its destiny tends to obscure the extent to which she threatens to make abolition more a means than an end, as people of color become instruments instead of agents, objects instead of subjects. The action of abolition may carry fugitive slaves to freedom, but it converts and redeems the whites who help, from Senator Byrd to Ophelia to Augustine St. Clare.[24] Ultimately, Stowe declares Americans of African extraction to be incompatible with the conversion of the American wilderness into domesticated territory, impurities to be sloughed off in the progress towards the providential nation. In the final analysis, Stowe's underground railroad is designed to bear *white* America to its salvation.

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NOTES

1. Whittier's note. "At Port Royal," *Heath Anthology* Vol. I, 1822.

2. Garrisonians in general viewed Free-Soilers with considerable suspicion and questioned their commitment to the cause, as can be seen in the resolutions passed at an abolitionist meeting in Ohio. The published proceedings proclaimed that "while we rejoice in the uprising of the people to prevent the farther extension of slavery, and to effect its abolition within the domain of the national government, and hail the formation of a political party upon this basis as an evidence that the seeds of truth which abolitionists have scattered in faith and hope, and watered

with their tears, are taking root in a fruitful soil, we nevertheless feel bound to declare, that a party which promises protection to slavery in the States where it now exists, and swears allegiance to the 'compromises' of the Constitution, is unsound in principle, radically defective in its aims, and unworthy of the countenance and support of the friends of humanity and freedom" ("Anti-Slavery" 1).

3. In fact, pro-slavery southerners leveled the same accusations at northern proposals to redress the Congressional balance of power by annexing Canada. The *Liberator* cites an editorial in the *Richmond Republican*: "We beg leave to suggest to Canada annexationists, that annexation South will keep pace step by step with annexation North; and *it is a long way from here to Cape Horn*" ("Annexation" 1).

4. Tompkins and Gillian Brown provide two of the most influential exegeses of this point, Tompkins establishing the importance of a domestic "sentimental power" that provides a means for women to subvert and reform patriarchal authority, and Brown elucidating the model through which a reformed domesticity could work to renovate both the concept of American individualism and the market economy with which the domestic existed in simultaneous opposition and complicity. Both Tompkins and Brown link this reformist agenda with the millennialist thrust of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; however, both persist in metaphorizing the authority of the domestic imperium and do not give much consideration to Stowe's explicitly political expansion of territory and American empire.

5. In many ways Stowe was far less conservative a feminist than her sister, rejecting the latter's argument that women should play no role whatsoever in public life. As a result, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* should be located as Sundquist places it: "midway between the moderate position of woman's 'influence' and the more radical position of feminist 'power'" (23).

6. Arguing along similar lines, Gillian Brown points to reformed domesticity as an entity that would constitute "a new form of government as well as a protest against patriarchy and its manifestations in slavery, capitalism and democracy" (25).

7. For an argument holding that expansionism and feminist abolition are in opposition to one another, see in particular Wolff. Wolff argues that Stowe emphasizes Tom's "feminine" qualities in an attempt to present an alternative vision of "manliness": one that is "more sensitive, other-directed, and pacific" than the acquisitive and aggressive norm (599). In a nation that "had always enacted its notions of masculinity through expressions of conquest and colonization," Wolff argues, Stowe and other abolitionists sought to replace a national credo of masculinity that promoted expansion through military aggression with one that promoted benevolence and moral goodness (600). In making this argument, however, Wolff tends to disregard the extent to which this alternate vision of masculinity might nonetheless be conducive to expansionism, an expansionism that operates, as I shall argue later, through conversion rather than through outright conquest.

8. That Ophelia has difficulty consolidating her hold on this new territory, that the particular variety of abolition she practices is shown to be deficient in the Christian virtue of love which facilitates more successful missions, does not detract from the significance of the attempt. Unlike Gillian Brown, who reads Dinah's kitchen as emblematic of slavery's enforced collapse of the domestic sphere with a

fluctuating market, I see Dinah's kitchen as a zone Stowe presents as being in need of reform through colonization, a type for the difficult process of converting domestic wilderness into domestic imperium. See G. Brown Chapter 1, especially 14–29.

9. Nott's rationale for not abolishing slavery outright is at times Orwellian in its logic: "In so far as it depends on us," he argues, "[African Americans] are not to be endowed with 'too free a freedom,' lest they be thereby 'less free,' and some of their present bonds are to be retained, if they may thereby be 'more free'" (80).

10. Obviously, Kentucky was technically no longer a frontier state in 1852, although it was still referred to as the "west" (as were Ohio and Illinois) by easterners, including Stowe herself. In my view, Stowe's "frontier" occupies places at the margins of civilization, where a process of converting undifferentiated land or souls can obtain.

11. A useful comparison for this kind of conversion can be found in O'Sullivan's argument that Texas is no longer an "alien" place but is now to be included in the "family" of the nation. The process of transformation assumes the aspect of a mystic conversion: "She is no longer to us a mere geographical space—a certain combination of coast, plain, mountain, valley, forest and stream. She is no longer to us a mere country on the map. She comes within the dear and sacred designation of Our Country; no longer a '*pays*,' she is a part of '*la patrie*'" (27). This editorial reinscribes the parallel between the transformation of land into nation and that of alien Other into a member of a fatherland.

12. Matthew 7:12: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them."

13. Like his counterpart the drover, John Van Trompe also insists on a proper reading of the scripture grounding, the social order that he extends into the frontier; he rejects the church until he finds a minister who uses his training in Greek and Hebrew scholarship not to support slavery but to denounce it.

14. For a helpful discussion of Stowe's racialism and its historical context, see Riss.

15. To claim that Stowe adheres to racialist beliefs is nothing new; my point here is to underscore the ways in which Stowe's racialism dovetails with the racialist and indeed racist views that expansionists used to justify manifest destiny. See Horsman.

16. Wolff finds this trajectory "not so much problematic as it is enigmatic," concluding that Stowe banishes George Harris not because of any objection to his race but because he represents an overly aggressive enactment of masculinity (612). However, such a claim cannot explain the fact that Stowe feels no such need to banish "white" characters like Tom Loker and the Kentucky woodsmen; these characters are just as aggressively "masculine" as George Harris, but their greater proportion of Anglo-Saxon blood allows Stowe to dispatch them on the higher, westward trajectory. Wolff's emphasis is characteristic of the school of Stowe criticism that tends to submerge her treatment of racial politics in an examination of her gender politics. For an extensive discussion of this pattern, see Riss, especially 516.

17. In a letter to Lord Carlisle, Stowe expressed some surprise that the reaction

against her "solution" was not more vociferous than it was: "I confess that I expected for myself nothing but abuse from extreme abolitionists, especially as I dared to name a forbidden shibboleth, 'Liberia,' and the fact that the wildest and extremest abolitionists united with the coldest conservatives, at first, to welcome and advance the book is a thing that I have never ceased to wonder at" (qtd. in Charles Stowe 169).

18. Riss points out that not only is the Anglo-Saxon, according to Stowe's view of racial essences, naturally predisposed to "transcend the force of materialist influences," but that this transcendental tendency also finds its logical expression in the institution of slavery (522). Stowe, Riss argues, "sees the elegantly scientific harshness of the American slave code as an expression of the Anglo-Saxon race's love of abstract precision" (524).

19. Interestingly, those who advocated black settlement in the American West and the Spanish borderlands often saw it also as "a means of extending American ideology and influence," indicating that while free people of color threatened American ideologies and national stability when they migrated north, they were emissaries of American values and stability when they moved in a "proper" southerly direction (Woolfolk 127).

20. In the case of Topsy's delivery from slavery, the "leavening" is provided by Ophelia's patronage. Notably, Topsy, as "one of the blackest of her race" (351), requires that a white hand be extended if she is to be drawn up. Such hands are extended down to her by Eva, who looks "like the picture of some bright angel stooping to reclaim a sinner" (410) and, after Eva's death, by Ophelia, who at last succeeds in gaining her long-sought "influence over the mind of the destitute child" when she "raises [Topsy] gently but firmly" from Eva's deathbed (431–32). In contrast to Topsy's fundamental inertia, Stowe's light-skinned characters are 'self-rising.'

21. However, George does not repudiate his *mother's* whiteness, nor does Eliza's significant proportion of white blood unfit her for the Liberian mission.

22. For a comparison of Harriet Beecher Stowe's and Catharine Beecher's respective views on Anglo-Saxonism, see Sundquist 24. Both concur, however, in the notion that racial homogeneity is the only secure foundation for a familial or a national community (see Riss 514).

23. Brown notes that in Stowe's view Irish are assimilable to the American mission, but that blacks are not.

24. In his *Narrative*, Douglass raises much the same point when he notes that the "underground railroad" in fact does not serve the best interests of those whom it is designed to help:

> I have never approved of the very public manner in which some of our western friends have conducted what they call the *underground railroad*, but which, I think, by their open declarations, has been made most emphatically the *upperground railroad*. I honor those good men and women for their noble daring, and applaud them for willingly subjecting them-

selves to bloody persecution, by openly avowing their participation in the escape of slaves. I, however, can see very little good resulting from such a course, either to themselves or the slaves escaping; while upon the other hand, I see and feel assured that those open declarations are a positive evil to the slaves remaining, who are seeking to escape. (106)

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