

at war with herself:

## harriet beecher stowe as woman in conflict within the home

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Like other nineteenth-century sentimentalists, Harriet Beecher Stowe sought a place and purpose for woman in an America being transformed by modernization. The place was the home, the family the unit for the dissemination of values, and woman the spiritual and moral overseer.<sup>1</sup> Likening the home to the church in *The Minister's Wooing*, Stowe compared woman's role to the minister's. Home, she stated, was the "appointed sphere for woman, more holy than cloister, more saintly and pure than church and altar. . . . Priestess, wife, and mother there she ministers daily in holy works of household peace."<sup>2</sup> The wife and mother was portrayed as the exemplar and inculcator of the pre-eminent value of service to others, the inspirer and reformer of man, and the educator of children, all within the confines of domesticity. The home was assigned a dual function. Not only was it rhapsodized as a peaceful, joyful retreat, but also it was christened as the hallowed ground for the dissemination of a selflessness that would purify the larger society.<sup>3</sup>

Concurrent with their attempt to idealize woman's role as wife and mother, the sentimentalists sought to glorify the marital relationship. Addressing themselves to the bonds uniting wife and husband, they alternately presented frothy, beribboned, love letters and sacred intonements. Stowe assured the readers of *We and Our Neighbors* that the true tale of a wife's and husband's union was an intense, egalitarian devotion. "Intimate friendship—what the French call *camaraderie*," she proclaimed, was "the healthiest and best cement."<sup>4</sup> At the same time, the bond, as a sacred responsibility, implied more than earthly intimacy and delight. Writing in the introduction to *My Wife and I*, Stowe described marriage as "the oldest and most venerable form of Christian union on

record.” Her chosen title, “My Wife and I,” Stowe stressed, was to be construed as the “sign and symbol of more than any earthly partnership,” as, instead, “something sacred as religion, indissoluble as the soul, endless as eternity—the symbol chosen by Almighty Love to represent his redeeming eternal union with the soul of man.”<sup>5</sup> Underlying these sentiments was the anticipation that wife and husband would perform in perfect harmony their respective duties within designated spheres. The superior, selfless woman set an example for her husband and nurtured her children, while the strong, reliable male absented himself from the family on a daily basis in order to provide for its support.<sup>6</sup>

Seeking to promote the image of women as superior beings and wedded to their domestic dream, Stowe and the other sentimentalists openly presented models of correct behavior along with instances of idyllic family life. Stowe’s preface to *Pink and White Tyranny* is typical of a group of writers who were anxious to instruct as well as entertain a readership that numbered in the hundreds of thousands and was largely female. Stowe did not hesitate to inform her audience that hers was “a story with a moral.” Concerned that her message might elude obtuse readers, she took them by the hand and explained her none too subtle approach. Her readers were told that she had decided upon “the plan of the painter who wrote under his pictures ‘this is a bear,’ and ‘this is a turtledove.’” For those who needed additional guidance there was yet her assurance that “We shall tell you in the proper time succinctly just what the moral is, and send you off edified as if you had been hearing a sermon.”<sup>7</sup> At other times, Stowe and her literary cohorts were less obvious, but there was no doubting their presence. Maneuvering behind the scenes, manipulating characters, and concocting incongruous endings, their presence was plain and their intent obvious.

The sentimentalists were directing their novels and stories to women not only because there was a vast, commercial, female market waiting for their fiction, but also because they had a message. As moralists they sought to prescribe standards of behavior for an entire society. Their demand for selfless behavior extended to everyone regardless of gender. But they presented and promoted woman as a distinct being, and charged her with the mission to reform society, both because they believed in her superiority and felt the need for a reformation of values, and because they found man inferior and wanting, just as wanting as the values they sought to change.

The heroine’s self-discipline, her self-denial for the benefit of others, is proclaimed the behavior necessary to redeem society. Self-sacrifice and service to others were the dominant values. Man is the central, predatory villain in the fiction because he is perceived as the primary transgressor of these values. That all men in the novels and short stories are not evil incarnate tells us that the writers were not motivated by a vengeful hatred of men. Quite often it is the male who dispenses accolades to the sterling character of the heroine. In *Pogonuc People*, Stowe’s Dolly

Cushing receives just such an accolade from her suitor, Alfred Dunbar: “‘She impresses me as having, behind an air of softness and timidity, a very positive and decided character.’” That character, that “‘sort of reserved force,’” is apparent in Dolly’s defense of “‘everything high and noble.’”<sup>8</sup> Nor did the sentimentalists think that every erring, sinning man was hopeless. The great encampment of reformed men confirms that conclusion; male tributes to women point to the source of reformation. Stowe’s Mary Scudder is offered the typical paeon by her fiance, James Marvyn, who proclaims, “‘It is only in your presence, Mary, that I feel that I am bad and low and shallow and mean, because you represent to me a sphere higher and holier than any in which I have moved, and stir up a sort of sighing and longing in my heart to come toward it.’”<sup>9</sup> Reformed or not, however, man can never be woman’s equal. Lest inferior man forget that fact, superior woman reminds him of it, as Stowe’s Mara Lincoln in *The Pearl of Orr’s Island* reminds her repentant lover, Moses Pennel, on her death bed, saying, “‘I have felt in all that was deepest and dearest to me, I was alone. You do not come near to me nor touch me where I feel most deeply.’”<sup>10</sup>

Although the sentimentalists wanted to glorify woman’s role as wife and mother, wanted to idealize marriage, indeed, sanctify the bond between husband and wife, they were touched with glimmerings of doubt about woman’s place in the home and her relationship with her mate. Their skepticism, however, was seldom and imperfectly conceptualized, and never totally embraced. It is clear, too, that their doubts stemmed from what they observed and what they experienced concerning woman’s situation in nineteenth-century America. Note, for example, Stowe’s bewailing in *We and Our Neighbors* “that a large proportion of marriages have been contracted without any advised or rational effort.” She was even more dismayed at “The wail, and woe, and struggle to undo marriage bonds, in our day . . . .”<sup>11</sup> And, elsewhere, she alluded to man’s shortcomings and his failure to fulfill the husband’s responsibilities in the marital relationship. In querulous tones, she commented in *My Wife and I* that “In our days we have heard much said of the importance of training women to be wives. Is there not something to be said on the importance of training men to be husbands?”<sup>12</sup> Her most despairing and poignant observation was a private one. “Women,” she said in a letter to her brother, Henry Ward Beecher, “hold the faith in the world. [It is] the wives and mothers who suffer and must suffer to the end of time to bear the sins of the beloved in their own bodies.”<sup>13</sup>

Despite the sentimentalists’ thousands of readers, despite their fiction’s immense popularity, it is difficult to assess the fiction’s actual impact upon that readership. It is critically important for historians to attempt to link prescription with behavior, but it is frequently impossible to develop correlations with any great precision. Historians can speculate, interpret, surmise, and arrive at fairly sound judgments. And, as has already been done, they can point to the importance of roles and family

structure in determining the content and character of life for nineteenth-century women. But, as Daniel Scott Smith has aptly noted, "It is easier, for example, to describe historical attitudes toward women's proper role than to determine what the roles were at any given time."<sup>14</sup> Smith himself has suggested a number of sources by which women's lives might be explored; those cited by him include manuscript lists, local history, and personal documents. Particularly illuminating is the last approach. When available, letters, diaries, and journals offer the possibility of a sustained, intimate, recounting of actual experience as well as responses to that experience. Equally important, the examination of women's documents represents, as has been suggested by Gerda Lerner, a needed "shift from a male-oriented to a female-oriented consciousness."<sup>15</sup> Not only does such an analysis reveal women's perception of reality but it also discloses how and why these perceptions differed from those of male contemporaries.

In the case of the sentimentalists, it is possible to go beyond an exploration of their fiction, if not to the lives of the readers, to the lives of the writers, themselves. Fortunately, several of the writers left a substantial body of personal papers. By examining their papers, we can gain insight into the crucial and complex relationship between socially accepted prescription and social behavior. The sentimentalists' personal opinions and ideas as well as moments of recorded behavior reveal the extent to which they internalized their own prescriptions and how they managed, if at all, to resolve the discrepancies and contradictions apparent in the fiction. Such an examination also provides a means for investigation and analysis of women's consciousness. Women can thereby be presented as they actually were: active, involved human beings coping, sometimes successfully, sometimes less so, with a rapidly changing nineteenth-century world; human beings striving to find a sense of identity within roles deemed appropriate for them and a familial institution increasingly isolated from the world beyond the four walls of the home.

Like the other sentimentalists, Harriet Beecher Stowe differed from most of her peers in that she achieved great success in a profession traditionally dominated by men—and achieved that success while publicizing women as superior to men.<sup>16</sup> Involved in a demanding and lucrative career that required stepping beyond the doors of her home, Stowe provided a receptive audience with a seemingly endless stream of prose glorifying woman and the family. Nevertheless, as a woman, as a wife and mother, her own life frequently diverged from the ideal presented in her fiction. There was alternately ambivalence and tentativeness, confusion and conflict in her life, as there is in the lives of the heroines she paraded before her adoring public. Stowe's life symbolized the tension between an ideal to which the sentimentalists subscribed and a reality which they as women experienced. Stowe's own experiences were fraught with anxiety and uncertainty. At times, she maintained a relatively satisfying marriage, but signs of discord and friction are apparent in her

relationship with her husband, and in her open admission concerning the heavy burden associated with the rearing of her children.

Stowe's relationship with her husband, Calvin, was marred by strain and doubt. In part, the difficulties stemmed from the frequent and lengthy separations that characterized the early years of a marriage that spanned more than half a century. From time to time, Stowe herself left the family for visits with various brothers and sisters. Much more frequently, Calvin, a teacher at Lyman Beecher's Lane Theological Seminary for half of his career, left Stowe and the children in order to recruit students, raise funds, and purchase books for the seminary. At different times, each of them spent at least a year at a water cure in Brattleboro, Vermont. Yet, the friction between them was rooted to a greater extent in disparate needs and conceptions of their relationship. Their correspondence tells a tale of longing in a double sense of the word. There, of course, was the longing for each other during the separations, but just as significantly, there was the longing for an unattainable relationship during their times together.

Just as Stowe was unable to sustain an ideal relationship with Calvin, so her attempt to create an idealized home met with frustration. The transfer of the Edenic, the perfect, home from the pages of her fiction to the reality of her life in the nineteenth century proved to be impossible. Try as she might Stowe could not create the idyllic home in which the serene and contented wife and mother presided over a refuge from a restless, transitory, society. Ironically, she found such a home only as a visitor. Writing to Calvin during a short visit to her brother, Henry Ward Beecher, she described the Beecher's home as the "calm, placid quiet retreat I have been longing for . . ." <sup>17</sup> (Of course, she probably found her home ideal simply because someone else was meeting the demands of wifedom and motherhood.) Her own home mirrored the more unsettled, disrupted society; control of her own sphere remained elusive. To Calvin she fretted: "You have no idea of the commotion that I have lived in since you left."<sup>18</sup> The endless litany of household duties to be performed and children to be cared for echoed through her letters. Always there was "the cleaning—the children's clothes, and the baby." The burdens on her, the tensions and apprehensions that tortured her, were equally apparent in Stowe's anguished dirge that everything in her home "often seemed to press on my mind all at once. Sometimes it [seemed] as if anxious thought [had] become a disease with me from which I could not be free."<sup>19</sup>

Certainly as much as any of the sentimentalists, Stowe approximated the stereotype of woman as set forth in the fiction. She married, bore seven children, and considered her duties as a wife and mother more important than the demands imposed upon her as a writer. Invariably, Stowe gave a higher priority to guiding and restraining a husband who was a self-admitted "creature of impulse,"<sup>20</sup> and to rearing and supporting children who received "all [her] life and strength and almost [her]

separate consciousness.”<sup>21</sup> Considered a means to an end rather than an end in itself, she envisaged her literary activity as yet another opportunity to serve her family and contribute to its welfare. In a letter written to one of her sisters at the beginning of her career as a writer, she expressed convictions that were to govern the rest of her life. Noting that she had received forty dollars for a “piece,” she related that, “Mr. Stowe says he shall leave me to use [it] for my personal gratification.” That she should do so she thought ludicrous—“as if a wife and mother had any gratification apart from her family interests.”<sup>22</sup>

Before she wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Stowe's literary endeavors were restricted to occasional short stories submitted to newspapers and magazines. So peripheral was her writing to her major involvement with wifehood and motherhood that she was surprised by Sarah Josepha Hale's request for biographical material to be used in *Woman's Record* and actually doubted that she ought “to rank among ‘distinguished women.’” Appropriately, Stowe read Hale's letter “to my tribe of little folks assembled around the evening table to let them know what an unexpected honour had befallen their Mama.” Her reply to Hale's request indicates the choices made and the proportionate energies expended. Reminding Hale of the “retired and domestic” life she had chosen, she told her that she was devoted to her family rather than to her writing: “I have been a mother to seven children—six of whom are now living—and . . . the greater portion of my time and strength has been spent in the necessary but unpoetic duties of my family.”<sup>23</sup>

Stowe's career as a writer changed radically with the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Abraham Lincoln's witticism that she was “the little lady who made this big war” was a fitting characterization in the eyes of many. She quickly became a prominent figure. Her literary production increased and included nine additional novels along with innumerable essays. But her perspective on the importance of being a wife and mother remained the same. Despite her newly acquired prominence, the demands of her family still came first—sometimes to the extent that she was forced to curtail her writing. At one point she wrote to her publisher's wife, Annie Adams Fields, that she had temporarily ceased writing; in fact, she had “not been able to write a word, except to my own children.” Writing metaphorically, she stressed that the varying needs of her children required that she “write chapters which would otherwise go into my novel.”<sup>24</sup> Yet another time her writing was restricted by the care given her husband during the long illnesses that preceded his death. That she considered his need legitimate and did not resent its impact upon her literary activities is revealed in a letter to their doctor: “I have him in my room nights and watch over him as one time in our life he used to watch over me. ‘Turn about is fair play’ you know.”<sup>25</sup>

Whatever earnings Stowe derived from her writings were used to meet the monetary demands of her family, and, as familial circumstances changed, those earnings became more crucial. Only a supplement prior

to the early 1850s, her royalties provided major support for the family after the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. As early as 1853, Stowe's husband, Calvin, informed her that "Money matters are entirely in your hands, and no money is spent except in accordance with your judgment and that saves me a great deal of torment and anxiety."<sup>26</sup> Having relieved himself of the obligation to manage the family's resources, Calvin had no qualms about transferring the duty to support the family. Throughout the 1850s, he reminded his wife to "think of your responsibilities—an old man and six children."<sup>27</sup> Although it would have been equally superfluous, he could have added that she was also obliged to contribute to the support of her father and his third wife. Stowe's earnings became even more critical from the mid-1860s onward. Calvin retired from teaching in 1864 and became completely dependent upon his wife. With the exception of Georgiana, all of their children who survived to adulthood continued to rely upon their mother for support. The twins, Hattie and Eliza, who remained unmarried, lived at home; Fred who became an alcoholic required institutionalization and then support during his unsuccessful attempts at rehabilitation; and Charley who entered the ministry needed substantial aid after beginning his career.

Stowe's correspondence with various members of her family reveals her continuing need to juggle the private and public, the domestic and literary, to accommodate the needs of her family. Never questioning the legitimacy of their demands, her letters indicate her unwavering commitment to serve them—and they indicate, as well, the cost of that commitment. Stowe's letters to Calvin are replete with allusions to her dual responsibilities and with admonitions to him: "You must not expect very much writing of me for it drinks up all my strength to care for and provide for all this family—to try to cure the faults of all—harmonize all."<sup>28</sup> She also pleaded with him "to try to be considerate and consider how great a burden I stagger under."<sup>29</sup>

Alternating between sentimental effusions of affection and graphic descriptions of her financial difficulties, Stowe's letters to her children document her attempt to fulfill both roles simultaneously. Beginning one letter with the comment, "Let me tell you first how heavy is the weight which lies upon me," she hastened to inform Hattie and Eliza that she was providing daily income from her writing and also attempting to arrange the family's finances in order to secure "a higher income from our property so that we may have a solid and certain basis of two thousand a year to go on." That these were wearying challenges was obvious, but they seemed insignificant before the threatening prospect that "if my health fails all will fail."<sup>30</sup> A later letter to the twins bemoans the fact that illness had interfered with her attempts to provide needed income from writing. Fully recognizing that "*all* the income that supports the family comes from my ability to labor at my pen," she found it particularly frustrating to be suffering from poor health when she was "beset with offers" for her fiction: "Mr. Ford who has sent me 300 for

two stories in the *South's Companion* wants me to promise him another for the same sum. The *Western Home* sent a cheque for 100 and begs for an article—In short you see that my health just now is gold for my family.”<sup>31</sup> Just as Stowe dedicated herself to her daughters, she expected and received whatever aid they could offer. Together Hattie and Eliza became her housekeeper, secretary and amenuensis.

Stowe's obligations extended beyond those children who continued to share a home with her. Hoping that Fred's stay in an institution would end his alcoholism, she willingly bore the expenses. That failed attempt notwithstanding, she then proceeded to arrange various positions for her son. Investing \$10,000 in Florida's Laurel Grove Plantation, she insured that Fred would be made overseer of the thousand acres devoted to the production of cotton. But she could not guarantee the cure of a son whose drunkenness remained habitual. Her final and equally unsuccessful effort involved an arrangement in which Fred helped in the management of her own orange groves in Mandarin, Florida. Stowe's unswerving commitment to her son, her continuing attempts to aid him were testimony to her devotion; her son's failure to rehabilitate himself was the most enduring sorrow of her life. Stowe also helped her son, Charley, and his wife, Susy, establish themselves in Charley's first parsonage in Presque Isle, Maine. When Charley considered moving for financial reasons, she offered to send them “\$500, rather than have you make any change—or try any other place—I will back you up.”<sup>32</sup> Even after Charley had taken another position in Saco, Maine, Stowe advised them that “you may count on \$300 a year from me a sum I calculate equal to house-rent and fuel.”<sup>33</sup> At a later date, she gave them the \$7,000 necessary for the purchase of a parsonage after they had settled permanently near Stowe's own home in Hartford, Connecticut. In contrast to Fred, Stowe's other son, Charley, was able not only to return her devotion but also to fulfill her desire that at least one son enter the same profession as her father, husband and seven brothers.

Through prescription and protest, Stowe, as a writer, performed in the service of improving woman's self-and-social image, and yet, as an individual, she was less a professional writer than she was a woman in the nineteenth century. Stowe did come to provide the primary financial support for her family, but her career as a writer remained secondary to her role as a wife and mother. Her family always came first, her fiction second. In fact, her struggle to succeed as a writer became part of a larger struggle to succeed with a marriage that brought alternating suffering and satisfaction. Unlike the majority of her female contemporaries, she assisted her husband in his prescribed obligation to support the family. Her success in this endeavor was obvious. But Stowe's needs and expectations made her less successful in meeting the responsibilities of her role as a wife and mother. Calvin's demands came into conflict with her own desire to protect her sexual and emotional autonomy, and she found it necessary to deny her husband physically and emotionally. Her



attempt to provide a model for her seven children, to mold and control human development, met with equally mixed success. Her efforts acquainted her as much with failure as with achievement, with grief as with joy. This is not to say that Stowe lacked sincerity and conviction in her attempt to promote the role of wife and mother as the ideal for woman. The zealous tone and didactic thrust of her prescriptions speak to that. It is to say that Stowe internalized her prescriptions, only too well.

Separated during nearly a third of the first fifteen years of marriage, Stowe's and Calvin's correspondence tells a story of a relationship continually beset by crisis. The separations themselves were a relatively minor part of the crisis—and at times proved to be beneficial. More important was the fact that each brought differing expectations to the marriage. Stowe was not content merely to achieve a satisfactory relationship with a husband. What she sought was an idyllic one in which both husband and wife shared intimately but acted autonomously. Unfortunately, she achieved far less. In contrast, Calvin, who had been left a childless widower little more than a year before his marriage to Stowe, sought to fulfill much more specific, more pragmatic needs. Initially drawn to Stowe because she had been the closest friend of his first wife, Calvin hoped that she would provide an end to his desperate loneliness, satisfy his sexual and emotional needs, and give him the children denied him in his first marriage. Rooted in disparate needs and desires, exacerbated by differing temperaments, their conflicts were inevitable. Stowe wanted to actualize the ideal relationships portrayed in the pages of her fiction, but Calvin's sexual and emotional demands were so intense and unremitting that her own autonomy was continually threatened. Again and again, she found herself hoping that the end of each separation would find him "indeed renewed in spirit," yet she wrote that she feared "that may not be so, and that we may again draw each other earthward."<sup>34</sup> Letter after letter of Calvin's points to the impossible demands that would dash Stowe's hopes. Writing to her prior to their marriage, he foretold the immensity of his demands: "I will react upon all you have given me thus far, I will keep asking for more as long as I live (the fountain of that which I want is in you inexhaustible)."<sup>35</sup>

The problem, of course, was that Stowe's reserves were *not* inexhaustible. To try to meet Calvin's physical demands meant not only disregarding the need to protect her health but also yielding her desire to control her reproductive function. To attempt to fulfill Calvin's emotional demands involved the risk of setting her own self adrift in the turbulence of Calvin's continually vacillating, volatile temperament. The problem, too, was that Calvin found it practically impossible to curb his demands. His loud and angry complaints reverberated through their correspondence, his emotional demands continued unabated. Faced off as if soldiers in combat they struggled to maintain both their own positions *and* their marriage.

Calvin's letters harp upon his sexual needs. An extremely sensual

person, Calvin repeatedly lamented that “my arms and bosom are hungry, hungry even to starvation.”<sup>36</sup> He recalled the times that he had “lain on the same pillow with you, your face pressed to mine, and our bare bosoms together,” and practically cursed the celibacy enforced by their separations. His desire to “just step into your bedroom . . . and take that place in your arms to which I alone of all men in the world ever had a right or ever received admission,” nearly drove him into a frenzy.<sup>37</sup> A devoted but markedly more restrained Stowe did not respond with the same passion. Determined to control the number and spacing of her children, Stowe saw their separations from a different perspective. Certainly she was sincere in writing that “I have thought of you with much love lately—a deep tender love—and I long to see you again.”<sup>38</sup> But she was also aware that the most effective method for controlling fertility, abstinence, was inherent in separation.

Stowe’s and Calvin’s differing perspectives, their conflicting needs and desires, were brought into sharpest relief during their times together. Calvin was not willing to deny himself in his own bedroom, while Stowe remained bent upon serving her own interest through restriction of their sexual involvement. Their sexual relationship provides a means for the examination of various hypotheses concerning the decline in fertility during the nineteenth century. These hypotheses have pointed to either the female or the male as the primary determinants. Daniel Scott Smith has argued that the female tended to be the controlling party. Women, as Smith has termed it, were practicing “domestic feminism” and thereby exercising significant power and autonomy within the family.<sup>39</sup> In contrast, Gerda Lerner has noted that the lowered birth rates can be attributed just as easily to the male’s desire, motivated by economic considerations, to limit the number of children in his family.<sup>40</sup>

The evidence from Stowe’s and Calvin’s correspondence suggests not only the complexity of sexual relationships but also the tenuousness of broad generalizations about the most intimate of human experiences. In their unabating sexual tug-of-war, neither Stowe nor Calvin emerged unscathed, or victorious. Clearly, Stowe wanted to engage in domestic feminism. But just as clearly her struggle to control her fertility was only partially successful: she gave birth to seven children and suffered at least two miscarriages. The cost was great for both of them. Theirs was an irresolvable conflict in an age in which sexual relations were always shadowed by the threat of pregnancy. Sexual denial limited intimacy; sexual gratification led to child after child. For them at least the conflict heightened the tensions between them—and not only fueled Calvin’s resentment and anger but was also an important factor in Stowe’s decision to escape from him (and the hostility) by spending an entire year away from her family.

Stowe’s decision to try the water cure in Brattleboro, Vermont, in the mid-1840s, was determined by a growing invalidism. Her sickness was hardly unique. The high incidence and variety of female invalidism in

the nineteenth century has led a number of historians, Kathryn Kish Sklar and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, in particular, to interpret sickness as a response, albeit a negative one, to the role of wife and mother.<sup>41</sup> The woman who became an invalid effectively shed a role that demanded unremitting concern for others. In turn, she became the center of attention. Her individual needs became dominant. Simultaneously, she made herself unavailable sexually. She no longer had to act to restrict her sexual relationship or bear the responsibility for that act.

Stowe's invalidism was fed from manifold sources, physical and psychological. She no doubt sought to rest a body battered by at least two miscarriages, drained and worn by the demands of family chores. Her journey away also promised a retreat from the tension engendered by psychological conflict, as well as sexual, by the psychological demands associated with bearing and rearing children. And it offered the opportunity to contemplate in relative repose unfulfilled ideals. Most certainly, Stowe would have agreed with her husband that their conflicting needs were "Bringing us both to the grave by the most lingering and painful process."<sup>42</sup> Recalling that Stowe had been "so feeble, and the prospect of permanent paralysis [had been] so threatening" during the winter prior to her departure for Vermont, Calvin admitted that he was resigned to their separation. Nevertheless, he informed her that he himself had fallen into a species of invalidism, had been in "a sad state physically and mentally" that winter, but the cure he proposed for himself meant the end of their separation and promised a recurrence of Stowe's invalidism: "If your health were so far restored that you could take me again to your *bed and board*, that would be the surest and safest, and indeed the only infallible way."<sup>43</sup> In the end, they could not help each other: one's needs clashed with the other's; one's cure brought the other's illness.

Inevitably, the separation had a different effect upon each of them. Stowe had sought the water cure only after her condition had worsened. She could therefore envision absence from husband and children not as abandonment but as separation necessary for her eventual restoration to them. She could rationalize that she was continuing to serve them rather than herself. Her psychological conflicts resolved, the water cure brought relief from the burdens of domesticity, a supportive environment that was predominantly female, and physicians sympathetic to her maladies. It also brought a welcome respite from Calvin's demands.<sup>44</sup> The separation intensified rather than assuaged Calvin's sexual longings, and it re-introduced loneliness.<sup>45</sup> Letter after letter written by Calvin refers to their sexual relationship and his desire for her. Brimming with anger and frustration, he recounted the one week that he had joined her in Vermont. Their separation had made him all the more eager to see her; yet he still had to deny himself during this interlude. He had enjoyed their visit, had been satisfied to "see that you do love me after all." But that satisfaction had been severely limited by the "mean business of sleeping in another bed, another room, and even another house, and being

with you as if you were a withered up old maid sister instead of the wife of my bosom." He concluded that "of all contemptible things the most unutterably intolerable is *having the love of marriage and denying the power thereof.*"<sup>46</sup>

Other letters indicate that Calvin almost preferred separation to the practice of abstinence when with his wife. In one letter written after Stowe had been away for ten months, he told her that "much as I suffer from your absence, I should suffer still more from your presence, unless you can be in a better condition than you have been for a year past." Why would the presence of someone to whom he was devoted bring pain and frustration? Calvin bluntly reminded his wife that "It is now a full year since your last miscarriage, and you well know what has been the state of things both in regard to yourself and me ever since."<sup>47</sup> A few months later he had changed his mind and stated emphatically "I want you to come home." Why the reversal? What would he expect with her return? A sentence or two later he revealed his hope that her return would bring an end to his celibacy: "It is almost in fact eighteen months since I have had a wife to sleep with me. It is enough to kill any man, especially such a man as I am."<sup>48</sup>

Stowe did return shortly. She would write to Calvin that she was "better but not well." She would compare herself to "a broken pitcher that has been boiled in milk, that needs very careful handling, or it will come to pieces again."<sup>49</sup> Inevitably, the conflict between them would continue. Calvin no doubt continued to lament any restrictions on their sexual relationship. And Stowe, her devotion to her sons and daughters notwithstanding, must have had some misgivings about the two children that crowded the end of her child-bearing years.

Forced to curb his sexual demands, Calvin openly advanced others. Freely admitting that "my good feelings are quiet and silent and my ill ones urgent and obtrusive,"<sup>50</sup> Calvin's temperament alternated between an irritating excitability and an equally trying despondency. He relied upon Stowe to help him achieve a more stable, calmer state. Her absences made him "go bamboosing about like a hen with her head cut off, because you are not here to be a balance wheel to my emotions."<sup>51</sup> That Stowe found it difficult to cope with Calvin's mercurial temperament is obvious from her letters to him. Pointing to his "hypochondriac morbid instability" in letter after letter, she anguished about the unhappiness he caused her and begged him to try to relieve this source of strain in their marriage.<sup>52</sup> Calvin might not be able to control either his moodiness or its toll upon his wife but his absences did provide at least temporary relief. Unlike Calvin, Stowe admitted to a certain ambivalence about the end of their separations. Her description of the typical reconciliation made that ambivalence understandable: "You will love me very much at first when you come home and then, will it be as before all passed off into months of cold indifference [?]"<sup>53</sup>

Stowe was also very conscious of the pain, suffering and burdens

entailed in the rearing of children. She freely gave of herself and suffered much as a consequence of her attachments. Her approach to Hattie and Eliza, was both affectionate—and efficient. Perceiving herself as a model, she did not hesitate to advise and instruct them in a self-confident manner exuding strength and expecting the same from them. They would never know, she wrote, how much she loved them “*till* you love someone as I do you—you have educated me quite as much as I you—you have taught me the love of God—by awakening such in me.”<sup>54</sup> The devotion of parents was “all giving—the child can neither understand nor return it—but the parent is learning by it to understand God.”<sup>55</sup> Yet she was also conscious of the trials of parenthood. Writing to Calvin, she noted that Hattie’s and Eliza’s “tempers are very trying to me.” She and Calvin “must bear with all the impatiences, excrescencies and disproportions.”<sup>56</sup> Of course, Calvin’s frequent, lengthy absences while engaged in professional activities meant that Stowe bore most of the burden herself.

There was as much love and pain involved in the raising of her sons. Despite a distaste for liquor inherited from a father who had been a prominent agitator for temperance, Fred’s alcoholism elicited a deep and tolerant sympathy in his mother. Replying to their criticisms of Fred, Stowe wrote to Hattie and Eliza, “If God had not meant us to pass through exactly this form of trial there were many ways for him to prevent it—but *just this and no other is our cross.*” Instead, she urged her daughters to adopt the more heroic, demanding posture, prescribed in the pages of her novels and short stories: Hattie and Eliza “should remember how young men are tempted and tried [and] feel that instead of casting them off you who lead pure and sheltered lives ought to try to rouse their noble natures and influence them to good.”<sup>57</sup> Henry Ellis’ death at the age of nineteen led her to write that “between him and me there was a sympathy of nature a perfect union of mutual understanding.” He was “the *lamb of my flock* [and she] *rested* on him as on no other.”<sup>58</sup> His death also reminded her that she loved her children “with such an *overwhelming* love.”<sup>59</sup>

Written a few days before their eleventh wedding anniversary, a letter of Stowe’s to Calvin is indicative of her marital experiences, symbolic of her hopes and disappointments. Recognizing that she was “a very different being” at the outset of their marriage, she recalled her total desire “to live in love, absorbing passionate devotion to one person.” The first time she and Calvin were separated was her “first trial.” Comfort came with the prospect of motherhood: “No creature ever so longed to see the face of a little one or had such a heart full of love to bestow.” That experience, however, proved to be agonizing: “Here came in trial again sickness, pain, constant discouragement—wearing wasting days and nights . . .” In all of Stowe’s marital experiences there was much disappointment, much agony. She noted retrospectively that hers and Calvin’s very different characters made “painful friction inevitable.” After eleven years, the damage had been done and the cost counted in Stowe’s admission that,

“I do not love and never can love with the blind and unwise love with which I married.” Stowe’s love was blind because it knew little of human inadequacy; unwise because it asked too much. Had she the choice of a mate to make again she would choose the same, but she would love “far more wisely.” Hers was the comment of a matured, chastened individual who had come to recognize the disparate needs and expectations brought to the marriage by each of them. Stowe’s attitude toward motherhood suggested greater regret. She had wished for much, but felt she had received little: “Ah, how little comfort I had in being a mother—how all that I proposed met and crossed and my way ever hedged up!” In despair, she was even brought to thank God for teaching her “that I should make no family be my chief good and portion.”<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, for the remaining half century of her life her family remained her primary and fundamental concern.

Not only does Stowe herself serve as a case study of the tension engendered between an ideal and a less felicitous reality, but her experience sheds light upon important questions concerning women in the nineteenth century. For example, in addressing themselves to the implications of the nineteenth century’s glorification of woman’s nature and role, historians have sought to determine not only the benefits women might have derived from being considered different from men in more than a biological sense, but also what difficulties they might have encountered in striving to fulfill the role as the creator of a family utopia.

Stowe located the idea of female distinctiveness in the context of self-sacrifice. In a woman’s selflessness was her superiority and means for her fulfillment. In *Pink and White Tyranny*, Stowe told her female readers that, “Love, my dear ladies, is self-sacrifice; it is a life out of self and in another. Its very essence is the preferring of the comfort, the ease, the wishes of another to one’s own for the love we bear them. Love is giving, not receiving.”<sup>61</sup> The efficacy of such a doctrine was obvious. As the major practitioner of self-sacrifice, woman was the logical candidate for spiritual and moral leadership. The embodiment of selflessness, she should be its primary teacher. In one sense, the doctrine served Stowe well. It rationalized her denial of self for husband and children and gave her a sense of purpose. That she perceived her role as a writer as secondary and supportive is thoroughly documented in her writings and reflected in her own life. She firmly believed that it was the duty of woman to devote herself to her husband and children, and she was gratified that she could meet their monetary as well as emotional demands. Simply, the role of wife and mother provided the focus for her life. Envisioning herself as a model, she strove to actualize the selflessness preached in the pages of her fiction. The members of her family were the primary beneficiaries.

But while Stowe subscribed to the ideal set forth in the sentimentalists’ fiction, and to a certain extent fulfilled that ideal in her life, her personal papers indicate that her own experience as a wife and mother

was riddled with the same tensions, ambiguities, and conflicts that characterize the negative strains in the novels and stories. Her commitment to wifehood and motherhood made her captive to an ideal that in many respects she was unable to realize in her own life. Her hopes that Calvin would become an ideal partner were doomed to disappointment. Her children were as much a burden as a source of satisfaction. Neither Calvin nor the children were transformed into models of selflessness. And the family together struggled not so much for perfection as survival. Stowe also confronted the limitations inherent in her doctrine of self-sacrifice. If she wished to stand as a model of selflessness, she simultaneously wanted to act as an autonomous individual. But frequently she had to place the needs and desires of her husband and children first, rather than her own. Rather than develop an autonomous identity she had to merge hers with theirs. In this dilemma, too, she symbolized the plight of nineteenth-century womanhood. Dartmouth College

## footnotes

This essay was drawn from papers presented at the annual meeting of the History of Education Society, sponsored by Radcliffe Institute and Harvard University Graduate School of Education, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, October 24, 1976 and at the University Seminar for Feminist Inquiry, Dartmouth College, November 10, 1977. Both Stow Persons and Linda K. Kerber contributed insightful suggestions at an earlier stage of research and analysis. I received invaluable aid in the preparation of this essay through two Faculty Research Awards from the Research Foundation of the City University of New York.

1. This essay stems from a manuscript, tentatively entitled, "The Crisis of Domesticity: Women Writing of Women in Nineteenth-Century America." The manuscript focuses upon the twelve most prominent sentimentalists of the century and delineates their perspective on woman's role and status. It is based upon the novels and short stories and the letters, diaries, and journals of the following sentimentalists: Maria Cummins, Caroline Howard Gilman, Caroline Lee Hentz, Mary J. Holmes, Maria McIntosh, Sara Parton, Catharine Maria Sedgwick, E.D.E.N. Southworth, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Mary Virginia Terhune, Susan Warner, and Augusta Evans Wilson.

2. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The Minister's Wooing* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1896/1859), 567-568. Throughout the rest of this essay the original publication date of the novel or collection of short stories is noted following the virgule.

3. Critics of the sentimentalists' fiction have stressed either the conservative or the radical elements and thereby have failed to recognize the intricate, at times contradictory, complex of attitudes expressed by the writers. Among those emphasizing the conservative morality have been Alexander Cowie, Herbert Ross Brown, Henry Nash Smith, Frederick Lewis Pattee, and John T. Frederick. In pointing to the moralistic strain running through the fiction, these evaluations fail to note the conflict as well as the critical thrust of the moralism and its implications for woman's role and status in society. Also Barbara Welter's examination of literature by and about women published between 1820 and 1860 emphasizes a similar support of a status quo in which women were seen as inferior, albeit necessary, helpmates to men. Welter's analysis is not wholly applicable to the sentimentalists. The suggestion that woman was inferior was anathema to them, and the notion that she was always submissive and her role a passive one was countered by the writer's portrayal of the strong, righteous heroine dedicated to the inculcation of values. In direct contrast, Helen Waite Papashvily argued that the fiction presented a thinly-veiled assault upon a male hierarchy. Papashvily's interpretation is paralleled by Ann Douglas' as presented in her article based upon Sara Parton in which she saw Parton's work as a "litmus test" for all of the sentimentalists. Douglas also stressed that Parton urged women to remove themselves from the traditional sphere of the home. Both Papashvily and Douglas overlooked the fact that sentimentalists' criticism is directed solely

toward those males selfishly intent upon personal aggrandizement and the pursuit of wealth. The "ideal male," when he appears, embodies the "feminine" value of selflessness and service to others. Douglas disregarded as well the writers' unremitting demand that women remain in the home. Since her article on Parton, Douglas' perspective upon the sentimentalists has changed so much that it parallels Cowie and Welter more than Papashvily. A subsequent article presents the sentimentalist heroine as more of a conservative in the guise of the familiar stereotype of a woman scorned. She is a woman who in retaliation for being restricted to the home seeks to deny man full access to the feminine sphere. Nevertheless, Douglas asserts, woman still desires liberation from the domestic realm. In her most recent work, *The Feminization of American Culture*, Douglas completes her swing back to a conservative interpretation. In the section devoted to the sentimentalists, not only is the fictional heroine back in the home to stay, she has become a "symbol of expenditure" or a mirror image of the middle-class woman who has become the primary "consumer" in a nation that was shifting from a productive to a consumer economy. The heroines' heroes are "Those who pamper her delicate needs. . . . The truth is that luxuries are by definition her needs. She is to be decked out and adored." In short the sentimentalist heroine is pictured by Douglas as impractical, leisured, and pampered. Douglas' interpretation ignores the fact that the "fashionable woman," a highly visible figure in the fiction who embodies these characteristics, is, in fact, an object of derision and scorn. To the sentimentalists she was not only the antithesis of their "ideal woman," she was the product of all the worst in the nineteenth century's social and economic climate. Engendered in part by a base imitation of aristocratic, European manners and morals, the writers perceived her, as well, as a loathsome embodiment of the twin forces of individualism, in her self-love, and of spreading, encrusted materialism, in her display of wealth. For an elaboration of my analysis of the fiction, see along with my manuscript already cited, Mary Kelley, "The Sentimentalists: Promise and Betrayal in the Home," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Forthcoming, IV (Spring 1979). See Alexander Cowie, "The Vogue of the Domestic Novel, 1850-1870," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XLI (October 1942), 416-424; Herbert Ross Brown, *The Sentimental Novel in America, 1789-1860* (Durham, N.C., 1940); Henry Nash Smith, "The Scribbling Women and the Cosmic Success Story," *Critical Inquiry*, I (September 1974), 47-70; Frederick Lewis Pattee, *The Feminine Fifties* (New York, 1940); John T. Frederick, "Hawthorne's Scribbling Women," *New England Quarterly*, XLVIII (June 1975), 231-240; Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly*, XVIII (Summer 1966), 151-174; Helen Waite Papashvily, *All the Happy Endings* (New York, 1956); Ann Douglas Wood, "The 'Scribbling Women' and Fanny Fern: Why Women Wrote," *American Quarterly*, XXIII (Spring 1971), 3-24; Ann Douglas, "The Literature of Impoverishment: The Women Local Colorists in America 1865-1914," *Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, I (1972), 3-45; Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York, 1977).

4. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *We and Our Neighbors or, the Records of an Unfashionable Street* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1896/1873), 399.

5. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *My Wife and I or, Harry Henderson's History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1896/1871), xi.

6. For particularly insightful analyses of attitudes toward roles and family structure, see William E. Bridges, "Family Patterns and Social Values in Victorian America," *American Quarterly*, XVII (Spring 1965), 3-11; Kirk Jeffrey, "The Family as Utopian Retreat from the City," *Soundings*, LV (Spring 1972), 21-41; Rowland Berthoff, *An Unsettled People: Social Order and Disorder in American History* (New York, 1971), esp. 204-217.

7. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Pink and White Tyranny: A Society Novel* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1896/1871), ix-x.

8. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Pogonuc People: Their Loves and Lives* (Cambridge Massachusetts, 1896/1878), 262.

9. Stowe, *The Minister's Wooing*, 53.

10. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The Pearl of Orr's Island* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1896/1862), 391.

11. Stowe, *We and Our Neighbors*, 87.

12. Stowe, *My Wife and I*, 40.

13. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Henry Ward Beecher, Undated, Beecher Family Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

14. Daniel Scott Smith, "Family Limitation, Sexual Control and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America," *Feminist Studies*, I (Winter-Spring 1973), 40.

15. Gerda Lerner, "Placing Women in History," in Berenice A. Carroll, ed., *Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays* (Urbana, Illinois, 1976), 362. I do not mean to imply that the fiction of the sentimentalists is without value in attempting to assess the personal perceptions of reality of the writers. On the contrary, I believe it to be a primary and significant source for this purpose.

16. The following collections have been consulted in the preparation of this essay. Most of Harriet Beecher Stowe's letters to members of her family are deposited with either the Beecher-Stowe Collection, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women



in America, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts or the Joseph K. Hooker Collection and Katherine S. Day Collection, Stowe-Day Memorial Library and Historical Foundation, Hartford, Connecticut. Other letters are found in Miscellany, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts; Clifton Waller Barrett Collection, Manuscripts Department, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia; Beecher Family Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut; Miscellany, Manuscript Department, New York Historical Society, New York, N.Y.; James T. Fields Papers, Manuscript Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. A few of Calvin Stowe's letters to his wife are deposited in the Beecher-Stowe Collection, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, but the major body of Calvin's correspondence has only recently been found and made available by the Stowe-Day Memorial Library and Historical Foundation. Particular gratitude for their aid is extended to two of Stowe-Day's librarians, Diana Royce and Ellice A. Schofield. The letters of the Stowes' children are deposited in the Beecher-Stowe Collection, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America. For a perceptive discussion of the opportunities (and the pitfalls) involved in analysis of the interaction between prescription and behavior, see Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The New Woman and the New History," *Feminist Studies*, 3 (Fall 1975), 185-198. See also my analysis of the private correspondence of another of the sentimentalists, entitled, "A Woman Alone: Catharine Maria Sedgwick's Spinsterhood in Nineteenth-Century America," *New England Quarterly*, LI (June 1978), 209-225.

17. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Calvin Stowe, July 1844, Beecher-Stowe Collection, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts (hereafter referred to as SCH).

18. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Calvin Stowe, [July 1844], Beecher-Stowe Collection, SCH.

19. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Calvin Stowe, [May 1844], Beecher-Stowe Collection, SCH.

20. Calvin Stowe to Harriet Beecher Stowe, 16 October 1836, Acquisitions, The Stowe-Day Memorial Library and Historical Foundation, Hartford, Connecticut (hereafter referred to as S-DF).

21. Harriet Beecher Stowe, Undated Memorandum, Beecher-Stowe Collection, SCH. Quoted in Edward Wagenknecht, *Harriet Beecher Stowe: The Known and the Unknown* (New York, 1965), 63.

22. Harriet Beecher Stowe to one of her sisters, [1838], Beecher Family Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

23. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Sarah Josepha Hale, 10 November [1850], Miscellany, Manuscripts Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

24. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Annie Adams Fields, 27 July 1868, James T. Fields Papers, Manuscripts Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

25. Harriet Beecher Stowe to family physician, 22 December 1882, Joseph K. Hooker Collection, S-DF.

26. Calvin Stowe to Harriet Beecher Stowe, 11 July 1853, Acquisitions, S-DF.

27. Calvin Stowe to Harriet Beecher Stowe, 22 July 1853, Acquisitions, S-DF.

28. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Calvin Stowe, 6 November 1850, Acquisitions, S-DF.

29. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Calvin Stowe, 4 April [1860], Beecher-Stowe Collection, SCH.

30. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Hattie and Eliza Stowe, 5 October 1863, Beecher-Stowe Collection, SCH.

31. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Hattie and Eliza Stowe, 1 August 1869, Beecher-Stowe Collection, SCH.

32. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Charley and Susy Stowe, 10 September 1879, Beecher-Stowe Collection, SCH.

33. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Charley and Susy Stowe, 8 March 1882, Beecher-Stowe Collection, SCH.

34. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Calvin Stowe, September 1844, Beecher-Stowe Collection, SCH.

35. Calvin Stowe to Harriet Beecher Stowe, 24 May [1835], Acquisitions, S-DF.

36. Calvin Stowe to Harriet Beecher Stowe, 7 August 1836, Acquisitions, S-DF.

37. Calvin Stowe to Harriet Beecher Stowe, 20 June 1836, Acquisitions, S-DF.

38. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Calvin Stowe, 4 September [1842], Beecher-Stowe Collection, SCH.

39. See Smith, "Family Limitation, Sexual Control and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America," 40-57.

40. See Gerda Lerner, "Placing Women in History," 357-367.

41. See Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1973); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Hysterical Woman: Sex Roles and Role Conflict in 19th-Century America," *Social Research*, XXXIX (Winter, 1972), 652-678.

42. Calvin Stowe to Harriet Beecher Stowe, 1 November 1846, Acquisitions, S-DF.

43. Calvin Stowe to Harriet Beecher Stowe, 30 June 1846, Acquisitions, S-DF.

44. For interesting speculations about the importance of water cure establishments to women, see Sklar, *Catharine Beecher*. Stowe's experience provides evidence for some of Sklar's hypotheses. Sklar, however, speaks only of the benefits to women. It should be noted that Calvin's

sickliness rivaled Stowe's, and he spent as much time at the water cure as his wife. Perhaps differing needs were served, but for both the water cure provided freedom from familial responsibilities.

45. Calvin found it nearly intolerable to deny himself sexually. Reminding Stowe that she knew "how exceedingly excitable and irritable is my temperament in all respects," he asked her: "What but the most deep-seated love could ever, in such a temperament as mine, have curbed the sexual instinct, as it has been curbed in me to spare you?" He was convinced that Stowe appreciated neither his devotion nor his denial: "You have not, and cannot, have the least idea of the sacrifice it has been to me." Calvin Stowe to Harriet Beecher Stowe, 19 May 1842, Acquisitions, S-DF.

46. Calvin Stowe to Harriet Beecher Stowe, 20 August 1846, Acquisitions, S-DF.

47. Calvin Stowe to Harriet Beecher Stowe, 22 November 1846, Acquisitions, S-DF.

48. Calvin Stowe to Harriet Beecher Stowe, [1847], Acquisitions, S-DF.

49. Calvin Stowe to his mother, Hepzibah Stowe, 7 February 1847, Acquisitions, S-DF.

50. Calvin Stowe to Harriet Beecher Stowe, 22 December 1837, Acquisitions, S-DF.

51. Calvin Stowe to Harriet Beecher Stowe, 10 June 1837, Acquisitions, S-DF.

52. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Calvin Stowe, 1 January 1847, Beecher-Stowe Collection, SCH.

53. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Calvin Stowe, 31 August-3 September 1844, Beecher-Stowe Collection, SCH.

54. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Hattie and Eliza Stowe, 10 April 1859, Beecher-Stowe Collection, SCH.

55. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Hattie and Eliza Stowe, 8 March 1859, Beecher-Stowe Collection, SCH.

56. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Calvin Stowe, 14 February 1851, Acquisitions, S-DF.

57. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Hattie and Eliza Stowe, November 1867, Beecher-Stowe Collection, SCH.

58. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Eunice Beecher, 26 July [1857], Beecher Family Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

59. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Hattie and Eliza Stowe, 27 July 1857, Beecher-Stowe Collection, SCH.

60. Harriet Beecher Stowe to Calvin Stowe, 1 January 1847, Beecher-Stowe Collection, SCH.

61. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Pink and White Tyranny: A Society Novel* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1896/1871), 366. Kathryn Kish Sklar's biography of Catharine Beecher points to the same emphasis on selflessness in the writings of Stowe's sister: Beecher also called upon women to serve as guardians of virtue and urged them to find fulfillment in serving others. See Sklar, *Catharine Beecher*.