THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE SWAMP AND THE PLANTATION CONSTRUCTED AND DESTROYED: WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS' *WOODCRAFT* AND HARRIET BEECHER STOWE'S *DRED*

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To my parents,

Yoshiaki and Hiromi Haramiishi

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INTRODUCTION

Place or space can carry meanings from history, culture, society, and personal experience. Many places recall for us certain events or feelings. For example, Montgomery, Alabama, which was a capital of the Confederacy during the Civil War and which again became a center of the civil rights movement a hundred years later, recalls for us the long history of racial conflicts in the U.S. Also, even if a place does not have special features, it can be special for some people: home brings special feelings to many people's minds. The geographer, Yi-Fu Tuan, explores people's perceptions, attitudes, and values regarding their environment in his seminal work, *Topophilia*. Tuan argues that one's cultural attitude influences how he or she perceives or evaluates the environment and forms his or her "world" (4). Tuan explains, even if people look at the same landscape, each of them may perceive a different one. For example, when shopping, a golf club in the shop window may stand out and "other dissolve in a dreamlike haze" to a husband, while different shops stand out to his wife (62); although "the endless rows of gas stations, motels, 'dairy queens,' and hamburger stands" in the American West are eyesores to tourists, their owners "can be proud of his business and his modest role in the community" (64). Our perception of a landscape is always influenced by our attitude, which can be formed by various factors such as gender, culture, religion, nationality, social position, and personal experience. That Montgomery recalls for us a long history of racial conflicts and that home brings us special feelings are also the result of our biased perceptions. As Simon Schama calls landscape "the work of the mind," the landscape is,

therefore, a creation of our imagination (6).[1] If so, in the depiction of landscapes in literature, the author's mind should be reflected. My master's thesis will explore how Southern landscapes are presented differently in antebellum Southern works by two different authors: one is William Gilmore Simms' *Woodcraft, or, Hawks about the Dovecote: A Story of the South at the Close of the Revolution*, and the other is Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp*. Their novels were published only a few years apart and both of them depict plantation society in the South. The difference is that one author was a Southern advocate of slavery and the other was a Northern abolitionist. Their opposite opinions about slavery should be reflected in their depiction of Southern landscapes.

Harriet Beecher Stowe is a Northern abolitionist who is known for her anti-slavery novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, published in 1852. According to Joan D. Hedrick, Stowe wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin* out of anger about the enforcement of Fugitive Slave Act. Urged by her sister, Isabella Beecher, to take action against this evil law and "make this whole nation feel what an accursed thing slavery is," Stowe said, "I will write something, I will if I live" (C. Stowe145).[2] That she later also wrote to her husband, "[a]s long as the baby sleeps with me nights I can't do much at anything—but I shall *do it at last*. I shall write that thing if I live" also proves that the novel was specifically written for the purpose of defeating slavery. Her anti-slavery argument was strongly supported by her Christian beliefs. In the novel, she appeals the readers' Christianity believing it will cause them to realize the injustice of slavery. Also, based on her belief in God's love, Stowe showed "nonviolent resistance to the corrupting influence of slavery as the only hope for the permanent eradication of a system based on violence" in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. "She

insists that love is more important than power" (Ammons 160). One of the earliest reviews, which appeared in *The Congregationalist*, a journal of Congregational Church, on April 15, 1852 and was republished in *The National Era* a month later, values the novel as "the best missionary God has yet sent into the field to plead for his poor and oppressed children of the South" (*The National Era*, April 15, 1852). This anti-slavery novel sold 300,000 copies in a year and sparked great controversy throughout the U.S. Stowe's patient appeal to Christians as well as her detailed descriptions and lively episodes of slaves' lives moved a number of people in antebellum America. The novel was even said to have caused the Civil War. *Dred* is her second anti-slavery novel published four years after the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. This time, motivated by Kansas struggles, Stowe wrote to the Dutchess of Argyle, "[t]he book is written under the impulse of our stormy times [. . .] how the blood & insults of Sumner and the sack of Lawrence burn within us I hope to make a voice to say" (Letter to the Duchess of Argyle).[3] Although she weakened her emphasis on Christian sympathy, her strong claim for abolition is not changed. In *Dred*, Stowe became more realistic and focused on law, which legalized slavery. John Carlos Rowe argues, "[i]n *Dred*, Stowe repeatedly argues that emotional identification with African American slaves will do nothing positive and very often has tragic consequences, unless it is part of a specific program of political, legal, social, educational, and economic reforms" (40).

William Gilmore Simms is a Southern writer of the nineteenth century. He was a strong advocate of slavery and wrote several proslavery pamphlets as well as novels. One of the most famous among his pamphlets is the one titled "The Morals of Slavery," which is also known as "Slavery in America, being a Brief Review of Miss Martineau on that

Subject." This pamphlet was recognized as "good enough to deserve publication as a separate pamphlet" by the proprietor of the *Southern Literary Messenger* and was published in 1838 and republished as one of the articles in a compilation of proslavery arguments in the South in 1852 (Trent 115). Simms believed that the institution of slavery is

> not simply within the sanctions of justice and propriety, but as constituting one of the most essential agencies, under the divine plan, for promoting the general progress of civilization, and for elevating, to a condition of humanity, a people otherwise barbarous, easily depraved, and needing the help of a superior condition—a power from without—to rescue them from a hopelessly savage state. (178)

He argues that African Americans are inferior to white Americans, and thus for African Americans, slavery is "simply a process of preparation for an improving and improved condition, to work out their own moral deliverance" (263). He also rebuts abolitionists' cruel depictions of slavery by saying that Southern aristocrats generally treat slaves humanely and by rebuking the ones who "abuse" the system. To the 1852 edition he adds comments on Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. He states that Simon Legree, the cruelest slaveholder in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* who beats Tom to death, is the one who abuses the system and that Stowe herself proves that his cruelty is not applicable to all Southerners because his plantation is isolated from other plantations and thus other planters cannot respond to his abuse (217).

Simms' *Woodcraft* was first published under the title of *The Sword and the Distaff* only a few months after the publication of Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Although this

novel was written as one of his series of Revolutionary War novels, scholars have long discussed the possibility that it was written as a response to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The reason is that after the publication of *Woodcraft*, Simms stated in his letter to his friend that *Woodcraft* is "probably as good an answer to Mrs. Stowe as has been published" (*Letters*, III, 222-23).[4] Joseph V. Ridgely asserts that *Woodcraft* is the answer to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and that comparing Porgy's slave, Tom, with Uncle Tom, Simms presented a true relationship between master and slave in the South (430-1); James Meriwether opposes Ridgely's hypothesis stating that Stowe's book was published too late for Simms to read before he started writing *Woodcraft* and it is unlikely that he read it as a magazine serial (29); Patricia Okker argues that "*The Sword and the Distaff* may have been an 'answer' to Stowe not because one was written as a reaction to the other but because both were written in response to the Compromise of 1850" (161-2). It is not clear the degree to which *Woodcraft* was an answer to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Still, given the fact that he said the novel was an answer, it is certain that while Stowe attempted to present what she thought the "truth" by revealing the evil of slavery, Simms presented what he believed true about the institution of slavery. Therefore, *Woodcraft* and *Dred* respectively reflect their author's opinion on slavery and, thus, their contrasting opinions are also seen in their depictions of the Southern landscapes. To present their ideal societies, Simms constructs a boundary between the swamp and the plantations in his *Woodcraft*, and Stowe destroys it in her *Dred*.

II. SWAMPS AND PLANTATIONS IN THE ANTEBELLUM SOUTH

> Here, in this swampy, slimy, Louisiana, there is ugly dreariness, ugly wildness, ugly quaintness, and the country often struck me as absolutely ugly, and, with its alligators basking in the rivers, as almost revolting somewhat as if it were a country in a geological period not prepared for man's appearance.
>
> We were in New Orleans in 1858, and the state of society was not more pleasant than the natural scenery; the moral atmosphere was as offensive as the swamp miasma. Every day we heard of murders and assassinations in the streets, and crime ruled in society. ("A Dull Life" 47)

This travel account of an English contemporary of Simms' and Stowe's presents two important themes explored in this chapter: one is the negative image of swamps, and the other is the close connection between the South and the swamps. Swamps and swampy land are seen all across the South especially in the coastal low country. Although great numbers of acres of swamps in the South have disappeared from drainage since Simms' and Stowe's time, they are still regarded as characteristic landscapes of the American South: according to T. E. Dahl, about 30% of Louisiana and Florida is wetland, and in most of the other Southern states, wetlands occupy 12-25% of the land, while they occupy only 1-5% of the land in most of the other parts of the U.S. (7). One might picture the Great Dismal Swamp at the border of North Carolina and Virginia, the Okefenokee in Georgia, the Everglades in Florida, the bayous in Louisiana, or simply unspecified

wetlands as the scenery of the South in his or her mind. These swamps have long tended to carry negative images. Thomas Moore depicted a dreary swamp of "tangled juniper, beds of reeds" and "many a fen where the serpent feeds," into which a "man never trod before" (Moore 323). Harriet Jacobs compared the dreadful swamp full of snakes with her unendurable life of humiliation in slavery (Jacobs 91). Many people during the Civil War refer to the misery of swamp damps and fear of miasma in their letters from the battlefield, in diaries, and memoirs.[5] Swamps are described as nests of bugs, snakes, and alligators, "dark and gloomy, with moss hanging from tall, mournful pine trees, and not a sound to be heard in the wilderness" (Catlin 341). People today might soon be able to correct their own misconceptions once they see swamps as Louise E. Catlin, despite her preconception against swamps, expressed admiration for their beauty in her excursion to the Great Dismal Swamp (341). However, the situation seems to have been different in the antebellum era. The connection between the South and the negative image of swamps was so strong that according to Anthony Wilson, Southern writers of the time even tried to "de-emphasize swamps" in the imagery of the South (7). Wilson explains how Thomas Jefferson, a Southerner and the second president of the U.S., deliberately omitted the description of the Great Dismal Swamp and other swamps in the Tidewater region from his *Notes on the State of Virginia*. The problem was that the negative image of the swamp was closely knitted to the image of the South in people's minds. As is seen in the above excerpt from the English traveler's report, the swamp was identified with the South; in other words, the negative image of the swamp was the nature of the South itself in the minds of antebellum people. To see the whole picture of the image of swamps depicted in *Woodcraft* and *Dred*, we first need to explore the imagery of wilderness in Europe as the

origin of the negative image of swamps and then explore how swamps gained their unique images and how they were connected to the South in the antebellum period.

Long before Pilgrims reached the shore of the U.S., Europe was thickly covered by forests. As Robert Pogue Harrison states, "the forests were *first*" (1); forests were already there when the history of human beings began. When ancient Europeans first started to settle and organize society, they needed to clear the forests to make the place habitable and usable: the forests were what human beings had to conquer from the beginning. The need for deforestation and pains taken to carry it out probably contributed to the negative image of forests to a certain degree. However, when we think of its negative image in Christian mythology, the forest of dreadful monsters and dragons in *Beowulf*, or the forest of the seductive wolf in *Little Red Riding Hood*, the simple fact that the forests were an obstacle to building houses does not seem to be enough to explain the development of such rich imagery. In Christian mythology, as Harrison suggests, the forests are associated with "[b]estiality, fallenness, errancy, [and] perdition" (61). In *Beowulf*, the forest is the nest of monsters and dragons, that represent heathenism, or specifically Catholicism, while Beowulf represents "true" Christianity, or Protestantism.[6] In *Little Red Riding Hood*, the woods is the place where Little Red Riding Hood is seduced by a wolf and breaks her promise with her mother not to stray from the path on her way to grandmother's house. As seen in these works, the forest is the world of the antagonist of the ideal of society and its belief system, in other words, "civilization." Harrison explains the origin of the forest's standing against civilization with Giambattista Vico's *New Science*, written in 1744. Vico defines religion, matrimony, and burial as "the three 'universal institutions' of humanity" (Harrison 3) and in his exploration of their

origin he presents how forests stand against these. According to Vico, it was when they imagined a powerful creature who is in the sky beyond the cover of the branches and foliage and sends down his message through lightning, that the ancient people in the forest gained the notion of god. Assuming that human beings are bestial by nature, Vico understood that having god meant having law outside oneself to check his or her bestiality. Therefore, the forests, which shut down the message from god with its branches and foliage, are the adversary of the law of god, in other words, civilization (Vico 377-9). By clearing forests, human beings can settle down and lead "civilized" lives following god's order, which Vico believed is consummated by matrimony (Harrison 4-6). Thus the forests became the place for unenlightened people or creatures: sinful, lawless, or uncivilized. Although this is the personal theory of an Italian philosopher of the eighteenth century, his theory at least explains how Judeo-Christian Europeans, including Vico, understood the forest in the context of their belief system and how the forest came to stand against civilization in their minds.

The imagery of forests is not always as clear-cut as the imagery of the above mentioned monsters, dragons, and other cruel creatures. For example, among William Shakespeare's comedies, both *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *As You Like It* depict forests, but neither the fairies in the enchanted forest in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* nor the fleers in the Forest of Arden are sinful, lawless, or uncivilized people. To explain this complicated forest imagery, we need to adopt Harrison's idea of the forest as "the *shadow of the law*" (63). Harrison points out that although the forests were already the place for people who deviated from the law or society in the Middle Ages, the forests were not outside the law standing antagonistically as another law; rather, they were in its

"corruption, or bad faith, or imperfection" (64). Harrison explains, "[The shadow of law] lies beyond the law like a shadow that dissolves the substance of a body. [It] is not opposed to law but follows it around like its other self, or its guilty conscience" (63). If we follow Harrison's theory, outlaws in the forests do not necessarily mean bad people: outlaws are simply people who deviate—whether intentionally or not—from the rule of the place belong to. Aristocrats in England under the reign of William the Conqueror, are Harrison's examples of heroic outlaws. These English aristocrats, who were deprived of their property and privilege, ran away into the forest and conducted a guerilla war against the Normans. These aristocrats resisted subjugation by "plac[ing] themselves outside of the law—a law whose legitimacy they repudiated" (76-7). Thus the forest does not necessarily represent evil. If the law of society is corrupted, the forest holds up a mirror to society and shows its injustice as its shadow.

As seen in the monsters and dragons in the forest of *Beowulf* or witches in the forests in European fairytales such as "Hansel and Gretel," forests are often associated with heathenism in European literature. This association is certainly due to the development of the imagery of the forest as the place of outlaws, but it is also because they carry divine imagery in many non-Christian cultures. Judith Crews speculates that "deciduous forests and their seasonal cycles of falling and growing leaves, or new growth sprouting from the base of burnt or cut trunks, may have induced people to regard trees as symbols for an eternal and indestructible life force. / Trees and forests thus took on symbolic divine characteristics" (37). For example, in Shinto, the indigenous Japanese religion based on the ancient worship of nature, many trees are regarded as sacred, and the shrines often sit in a grove.[7] Crew provides other examples such as the sacred forest

of Australian aborigines and a sacred grove in Kenya (39). Not only in non-European cultures, but also in Europe, the forests carried sacred and divine imagery before Christianity pervaded. In Tacitus's *Germania*, the landscape of what is today Germany, is depicted as "either bristles with forests or festers with marshes" (*Agricola and Germany* 39).[8] In Germania, the forest was regarded as sacred, the place where gods lived, among many German tribes, and they believed that their sacred forest was "the origin of all the races" and gods (*Germania* 189 Translated by the present author). Also as Crew points out, in the Greek and Roman mythologies, many gods and fairies are related to the trees and woods, such as Daphne, who is transformed into the laurel tree (39). In this context, in Christian Europe where the forests are the place of anti-civilization and outlaws, the forests came to be regarded as "the last strongholds of pagan worship" (Harrison 61).

In addition to the image of anti-civilization, outlaws, and heathenism, the forest conveys another image: the image of life. For example, in many European fairy tales, the forest presents the natural life cycle of birth, growth, and death through the heroines' sexual maturation. As Martin Hallett and Barbara Karasek explain, Little Red Cap loses her innocence in the woods through her experience with the wolf, who is actually not simply a wolf but a man who has sexual intentions toward her (1); Sleeping Beauty and Snow White, who are both naïve girls in the beginning, grow up sexually while they are sleeping (or in suspended animation) in the woods and become mature young women who are ready to marry their princes at the end (18, 57-8). One of the most important symbols among trees is the Tree of Life. Evergreen leaves give trees the imagery of immortality, like the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden, but what is significant here is the imagery of the life cycle of deciduous leaves. As Chevalier and Gheerbrant explain,

"their seasonal regeneration is an expression of the cycle of dying and rebirth and hence of the dynamism of life" (1028). In human beings, birth, growth, and death are the life cycle of one person, and rebirth is consummated by the procreation of a child. As seen in Adam's and Eve's gaining knowledge from the fruit of Tree of Knowledge, a tree tells us that it is unavoidable and natural to grow up and procreate and die. The sexual maturation of the heroines of the fairy tales happens in the forest, which presents such growth as a part of natural life cycle.

Europeans who came to America brought with them the image of the wilderness they developed in their home country and passed down to their posterity. In Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*, we can see the forest as the shadow of law. Hester leads a secluded life at the edge of the forest in the wake of committing adultery. As it is for Vico's ancient Europeans, the forest is the place for outlaws in the Puritan society of New England to which Hester belongs. At the same time, the forest is the shadow of the law, where Hester can be her true self and in which she decides to runaway with her lover, Dimmesdale. However, Americans also developed new imagery in this new environment. Frederick Turner claimed that "American democracy [. . .] came out of the American forest" with his so-called frontier thesis (293),[9] and Willa Cather depicted in her *O Pioneers!* the strength and success of Alexandra, who reclaims the wilderness at the frontier that she inherits from her father. When Europeans first landed in America, they saw the vast expanse of wilderness. Escaping from the corruption of the church in Europe, Puritans believed that America was the Promised Land given them by God. However, when the population grew and Benjamin Franklin stated that one's success could provide the proof of salvation, the American Dream changed its meaning from religious idealism

to economic success. In addition, while the Old World was strictly structured by class, the New World promised the equal opportunity of success to everyone. America's vast wilderness waiting to be reclaimed came to represent the "American Dream" and attracted many people to immigrate to the New World. At the same time, as seen in *O Pioneers!*, the reclamation of wilderness was not an easy job and life at the frontier was hard. Frontiers had to develop

> that coarseness and strength, combined with acuteness and acquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom, (Turner 37)[10]

which is the so-called "frontier spirit." Thus, while Americans kept the traditional image of the forests as the place for outlaws as seen in the Puritan society of *The Scarlet Letter*, new imagery was also developed in the New World: the wilderness as the symbol of the American Dream and frontier spirit.

As ambitious pioneers in the North cleared forests and proceeded westward, people who colonized the South also tried to alter its swamps. As Hubert J. Davis, who wrote the history of the Great Dismal Swamp, suggests, the many attempts at drainage and the collection of environmental resources in the swamp in the colonial period were those pioneers' "new adventure or exploration" (43). Some adventurers dreamed of draining swamps to gain access to their fertile soil or transform them into rich rice fields; some dreamed of building canals to establish water transportation systems and make a

fortune with trading swamps' valuable lumber. George Washington, who organized the Dismal Swamp Company, is one of the most famous among them. Reclamation was largely conducted by investing great number of slaves. However, unlike the wilderness in the West, the swamps in the South did not win the positive image of the American Dream and frontier spirit.

One of the reasons for this failure is the simple fact that swamps are unwelcoming to humans, which helped to elicit unpleasant feelings. As Davis explains, swamps are thick with huge trees and vines. Vines "become so densely entangled and intimately entwined with other swamp vegetation that they make the swamp an almost impenetrable jungle" (91). The dark and desolate image of the swamp that neither sunlight nor human beings can enter is seen in Thomas Moore's "The Lake of the Dismal Swamp" and in the aforementioned preconception of Catlin about the swamp. Also, swamps are rich in bugs and reptiles. Albert O'Connell Marshall, a soldier during the Civil War, describes a horde of mosquitoes in the Louisiana swamps as "thick enough to darken the sun even were it upon an open prairie," and he warns readers to "keep out of Louisiana swamps" (287). Davis describes a rich habitation of chiggers, ticks, and yellow flies in the Great Dismal Swamp. According to Davis, William Byrd II, who named the swamp "dismal," took his negative impression of the swamp from his great suffering from those bugs as well as other misfortunes he and his company experienced there (44). Davis also admits that the Great Dismal Swamp lived up to the common recognition of it as "a reptilian paradise" (127). The swamp in which Harriet Jacobs hides herself also is home to so many snakes that "[she and her friend] were continually obliged to thrash them with sticks to keep them from crawling over [them]" (Jacobs 91). Needless to say, as seen in the serpent that

seduced Eve, reptiles carry a devilish image in the Bible. In addition to simple unpleasantness, the biblical image of reptiles may have induced people to hold further negative impressions of the swamps.

The fact that swamps are full of mosquitoes adds another image to the swamps: malaria. Ann Vileisis explains, at first, malaria broke out frequently "only where large numbers of people settled in areas with many mosquitoes," that is, in a cities nearby the wetlands (43). The cause of malaria was not yet known in the nineteenth century, so antebellum Americans attributed the disease to swamps. According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, people associated malaria with swamps as early as Roman and Greek times. The Romans were the first who explained malaria as the result of "breathing 'miasmas,' or vapours, arising from bodies of stagnant water." People in antebellum America still maintained this misunderstanding, inherited from the Europe of two thousand years before. John Yates Beall, a Confederate soldier during the Civil War, writes in his diary that the country near both the James River and the swamps of the Chickahomy "is extremely unhealthy, being exposed to the malarious and miasmatic winds which every day blow between the rivers" (228). According to Jack Kirby, Edmund Ruffin, who lived in the low country in South Carolina, moved to higher land to avoid malaria and miasma (137). Thus this natural environment, unpleasant and inhospitable to human beings, prevented swamps from gaining positive imagery.

Another reason for swamps' failure to win the image of American Dream and frontier spirit is that the swamps were not altered as easily as the forests were. George Washington organized the Dismal Swamp Company to utilize the Great Dismal Swamp, which straddles the southern part of Virginia and the northern part of North Carolina. The

company constructed the Dismal Swamp Canal to transport lumber from the swamp to nearby cities and succeeded at helping surrounding cities to be prosperous through the lumber trade. Deep Creek, which was originally merely a spot for the hunting lodge for Indians, became the center of the water commerce from where lumber and lumber products were transported to the nearby seaport, Norfolk, after the building of the canal. The city soon came to be known as "a village of gaiety, hospitality and prosperity" (Davis 80). Although the project of the Dismal Swamp Company was one of the most successful examples of swamp utilization, and they succeeded at exploiting the swamp as a natural resource to a certain extent, still they, and many other people, were not successful at altering the swamp. As mentioned earlier, swamps are impenetrably thick with trees and vines. In addition to the thick vegetation, its floor is also unwelcoming to humans. The floor, "composed of bark, wood and juniper leaves," is like a "huge sponge" soaked with water. It "is so soft that horses, mules find it difficult to walk on, and it trembles under man's feet" (Davis 23). The thick vegetation and soft ground make work in the swamps slow. Even if they succeeded at draining the swamp, in some places "the surface soil cakes and hardens into a black mass resembling charred wood" after the drainage and there is no way to cultivate it for agriculture (Davis 23). George Washington also first tried to alter the swamp into a rice field, but he never succeeded. Thousands of acres of the Great Dismal Swamp were drained or cleared from many attempts. However, most of the land is untouched, and 751,000 sq. miles still remains as swamp land (Davis 23). Thus swamps' natural environment, unpleasant and inhospitable to human beings, and their uncontrollability prevented them from obtaining the status of the American Dream and frontier spirit in the New World.

Failing to join the wilderness in the New World, swamps in the South preserved the more traditional imagery of the forests. As the forests were the place for outlaws and heathens, the unaltered swamps were also the place for outlaws and heathens in the Old South. Native Americans had close relationship with swamps even before Europeans came. They hunted, fished, and gathered rich natural resources in swamps. According to Vileisis, the Chitamachas Indians who collected their food from the Atchafalaya Basin (23). Davis also states that there is evidence that the Dismal Swamp area was Native Americans' living area. Their everyday goods were excavated and their hunting lodges were found in the area (74). Native Americans also had cultural connections to the swamp. Thomas Moore's famous poem about the Great Dismal Swamp is based on the Native American legend of a young man who cannot believe in the death of his new bride and enters into the depths of the swamp and gets lost (Davis 53).[11] Also, Vileisis offers the example of the Bayougoula tribe, who regarded an alligator as their totem and the Houma tribe, who regarded the red crayfish as theirs (23). Since the lifestyle of Native Americans looked savage to white Americans and their belief system differed from Christianity, white Americans saw them as uncivilized. As Europeans left outlaws in the woods, conquering and reclaiming the land, they drove these "uncivilized" outlaws into the further depths of the wilderness.

Thus swamps in the New World had a similar role to the forests in the Old World, but for early Americans, they seemed to be a place for evil rather than a place for Wilson's "outlaws" in the European forests, whose moral status is not fixed. To try to understand Native Americans in their own belief system, early Americans often interpreted Native American's rituals as witchcraft and believed they were connected to

Satan. As a consequence, early Americans interpreted the close connection between Native Americans and swamps as "a sign that the landscape itself was evil as well" (Vileisis 34). As Vileisis suggest, there are many examples of early Americans' association of Native Americans and swamps with evil, including Roger Williams, who saw swamps as wicked, a place where he believed Native Americans received help from Satan (35). The aforementioned untamability of swamps contributes to the development of the imagery of evil. As Vileisis points out, in the expansion toward the West, to bring an order and civilize wilderness was believed to be providential mission. Therefore, for early Americans, swamps were "the ultimate evil to right" (36), and their difficult nature proved their evil nature (34).

Southern aristocrats also held special negative feelings as to the uncontrollability of swamps. Wilson explains it with what he calls their "Cavalier myth" and its reality (1, 7). According to Wilson, "ideas of control, purity, and dominion over nature" were important for the Southern aristocrats (1). Wilson explains that since civility and incivility were strongly connected to morality in the Victorian period, to distinguish uncivilized from civilized and control it was important for Southern aristocrats in living up to their ideal image of themselves (5, 7). In addition to their uncontrollability, swamps' ambiguity was also problematic. In his seminal work, *Topophilia*, Yi-Fu Tuan states that "[t]he human mind appears to be disposed to organize phenomena [. . .] into segments" and even "to arrange them in opposite pairs" (16). Tuan says that human beings also apply this antinomy to surrounding landscapes such as land and water, mountain and valley, north and south, and center and periphery (16). However, swamps do not belong to either land or water. David Miller finds the reason that swamps "ha[ve] always seemed

so threatening, the antithesis of civilization" in their ambiguity:

> As an ambiguous realm (neither land nor water), the swamp defies the pervasive logical distinctions at the basis of culture: the demarcation between life and death and poloarities such as good and evil, light and dark, male and female. That is largely why it has always seemed so threatening, the antithesis of civilization. (78)

That swamps defy demarcation must have been even more disturbing to these Southern aristocrats who emphasized "purity" and "distinctness" as well as control. Therefore, for Southerners, ambiguous, uncontrollable swamps were not only evil in agricultural use or in morality, but also defiant of the Cavalier myth's emphasis on purity and control. Thus swamps in the South developed their own imagery while they also inherit the tradition of the image of the wilderness in Europe.

As seen in the English traveler's depiction of New Orleans cited at the beginning of this chapter, swamps in the South not only conveyed negative imagery but were also associated with the nature of the South in the minds of people in the antebellum period. One of the reasons is that swamps were closely connected to the slaves and tension between slaves and planters in the antebellum South. As described earlier, reclamation and lumbering were largely conducted in the swamps in the South at this time, and their primary laborers were slaves. As Vileisis points out, slaves were assigned a certain quota in the swamps and their work was done for the day once they fulfilled it. Therefore, slaves had more freedom and some of their time was left up to their own discretion (39). Also, as Kirby describes, most employers in the swamp "were more interested in commodity production than the enforcement of slavery's discipline as conventionally

perceived" (165). Therefore, work in the swamp, which allowed slaves comparative freedom and autonomy, could be a threat to the institution of slavery. However, that the work in the swamps defied the disciplinary nature of slavery was not what caused the most tension regarding the institution of slavery. It was much more threatening to those invested in the institution that slaves "assert[ed] a utilitarian proprietorship over the swamps of the South, claiming those spaces as their own" (Cowan 45). Human beings cannot do without claiming their own space. They own their own homes, they make their offices look like them at work, or some people may even claim a certain table at the coffee shop as their own. Slaves also claimed their own space in the antebellum South despite the fact that they were not able legally to have their own space since they were not regarded as citizens but the property of white slave owners. They made a community in the area in which their huts were placed, they raised vegetables and poultry for themselves in the space next to their huts, and they worked in a gang in the cotton fields. Among these spaces, swamps were one of the most important for slaves. William Tynes Cowan explains that slaves stole livestock from plantations and hid them in the swamps (61). As Cowan also points out, slaves also held religious meetings in the swamps (62). Since masters usually tried to "civilize" slaves with Christianity and white Southerners' Christianity usually imposed on slaves the belief that slavery was just, slaves needed to practice their own beliefs in the place where masters would not come. Slaves were released from the oppression of masters and maintained their own lives by holding their own space in the swamps.

Swamps were also used for the direct resistance of the institution. Slave truants often hid themselves in the swamps. Milton Meltzer explains that Frederick Law Olmsted,

who wrote a travelogue of the South in the nineteenth century, recounts that the hired-out slaves who were not satisfied with the treatment or amount of work hid themselves in the swamps until their year ended (222). Slaves also ran away from their masters and hid themselves in the swamps. As Harriet Jacobs hides herself in the Snaky Swamp in *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, some fugitive slaves hid themselves in the swamps temporarily on their way to the free states. Some fugitive slaves even made the swamps their dwellings and lived as maroons. These slaves drew more attention from the Southern planters because they were not only annoying but also threatening to them. As Cowan notes, planters were much more anxious about gathering up defiant slaves than individual truants or runaways (60). Needless to say, the planters were afraid of an attack from a group of slaves, or more specifically, a slave rebellion. Maroons were potential insurrectionists. According to Herbert Aptheker, maroon communities were already recognized as early as 1672 in Virginia. In the Great Dismal Swamp, there were about two thousand fugitive slaves and their descendants making a community (152). Maroons helped plantation slaves run away to the free states by sheltering them in their camps, carried out armed robberies against white planters, and "at times, supplied the nucleus of leadership for planned uprisings" (Aptheker 151). In 1711, people in South Carolina suffered frightening plundering by runaway slaves (Aptheker 152). In 1771, the Governor of Georgia was troubled by a number of robberies committed by fugitive slaves in his state (Aptheker 153). In 1792, a town in North Carolina was harassed by "a number of runaway Negroes, who in the daytime secrete themselves in the swamps and woods . . . at night committed various depredations on the neighboring plantations" (Charleston *City Gazette*, July 18, 23, 1795).[12] Armed robberies by maroons happened throughout the

Southeastern part of America. Out of fear, people in the South tried to destroy maroon communities. Many states even invested military force. In 1827, a maroon community in Mobile, Alabama, was annihilated. As many as 100 soldiers were sent for 25 days to capture maroons in North Carolina in 1821 (Aptheker 158). These expeditions were also reported in Northern newspapers, and some writers such as Frederick Law Olmsted and David Hunter Strother even introduced maroons in magazines. When the news of Nat Turner's Rebellion spread throughout the country in 1831, the connection between rebellious slaves and swamps widely prevailed in the public mind. Although neither Nat Turner nor his followers were maroons, people in the South, who had been suffering from attacks by defiant maroons, assumed they were also from the swamp. Richmond *Enquirer* guessed the rebels might be related to the maroons who had been committing depredations in North Carolina the year before (Aptheker 161). The *Richmond Constitutional Whig* reported that the insurrectionists were from the Great Dismal Swamp (Kirby 178-9). The rebellion was reported as if the slaves "had swarmed from the Dismal like plague crazed rats" (Kirby 178). The fact that the rebels ran away into the swamps and Nat Turner was also captured in a swamp reinforced people's suspicion. As several scholars point out, after the Rebellion, the fearful image that fugitive slaves planned rebellion in the swamps became common (Miller 90, Kirby 162, Vileisis 104).

In addition to the imagery of slaves' indirect and direct resistance to the institution, swamps convey the imagery of death. Several gothic stories of the nineteenth century such as Washington Irving's "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" are set in the swampy lands. According to Vileisis, Fanny Kemble, who was living in the South at that time, "figuratively associated the swamp landscape with death and decay" with her depiction of

Spanish moss and the baldcypress tree in her journal (60). The desolate environment of swamps, its thick woods and entangled vines, its mournful looking Spanish moss, and the connection with Satan as discussed earlier might have inspired this death imagery, but the swamps' connection with slaves should also be related to the imagery. As discussed earlier, many slaves were used to reclaim swampy lands. In those places in low country, landowners were commonly absent. They lived somewhere else and visited their lands only once in a while because of the unpleasant weather and the fear of malaria. As Vileisis mentions, when malaria spread, slaves had nothing but to suffer and die, being completely abandoned by their masters (43). Also, as discussed earlier, many attempts were made to destroy maroon communities, and a number of runaway slaves hidden in the swamps were killed in the struggle. There were also people who hunted runaway slaves as their profession since the law stated that a person or a party who catches fugitive slaves would be paid from the owner.[13] These hunters had trained dogs to capture runaway slaves, and the fugitives were often killed during the pursuit. According to Davis, nearby the Great Dismal Swamp, there was a house called the "Moore House," in which the owner kept a skeleton of a fugitive slave "who had been dragged down and killed by trained slave dogs in Dismal Swamp" (81). Not only did the swamps convey gloomy imagery that inspired death but also swamps were the places where a number of slaves were brutally killed.

The other reason that swamps are closely associated with the South is that poor whites often dwelled in or at the edge of swamps in the Old South. As *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary* defines "poor white," as "a member of an impoverished white underclass, especially in the southern US," poor whites are usually regarded as typical to

the South. Since wealthy planters occupied all the possible lands that were fertile to grow crops and agreeable to live, these poor whites usually found their place in less agreeable environment such as swamps. Olmsted describes poor whites as "born and reared in the miasmatic district of the coast" (485).[14] Alexander G. Downing, a sergeant of the Union during the Civil War, also writes in his diary that while his party was marching "through swamps and bayous and land heavily timbered," "[n]ow and then [they] noticed a field with a little log hut in it, occupied by a poor white family" (137). Swamps were the place not only for slaves but also for poor whites to claim their space in the plantation-masters-dominated Old South.

Although poor whites were usually too poor to hold either plantations or slaves, most of them supported the institution of slavery by working for slave owners. Some were hired by planters and supervised slaves on plantations as overseers. Some were hired by the states as patrollers and watched slaves' illegal activities such as leaving their plantations without a pass. Some caught runaway slaves as their side jobs. However, they were seen as an untrustworthy population by upper class white Southerners, since they were regarded as inferior not only in their economic standing but also in their character and abilities. Matt Wray describes more precisely what people mean by calling someone "poor white" in his explanation of the contemporary image of "white trash," which is a more derogatory form of "poor white": "poor, ignorant, racist whites: trailer parks and wife beaters, too many kids and not enough government cheese" (1).[15] The elite whites' disdain for poor whites resulted from both prejudice and the realities they saw or experienced. According to Jeff Forret, Southern slave owners "constantly disparaged overseers for their alleged shortcomings in character or management" (117). They also

always complained about poor white patrollers, who regarded the duty as "an opportunity for drunken revelry" to "torment and abuse slave property indiscriminately" (Forret 124).

Another reason for planters' distrust of poor whites was that some poor whites helped slaves' resistance to the institution of slavery. According to Forret, the most common help that poor whites provided slaves was to falsify passes or free papers (132). Forret explains that since the educational standard was not high in the South at the time even among the upper class population, there was a high chance for slaves to deceive patrollers with poor written documents (133). Also, according to Aptheker, the maroon community in the Great Dismal Swamp "carried on a regular, if illegal, trade with white people living on the borders of the swamp" (152). Kirby states that poor whites seem to have taken part in a slaves' conspiracy in Charleston, South Carolina (177). The slave plunderers in Virginia in 1782 that Aptheker describes also had "a white man" (153) as their leader and had "fifty men, Negro and white" (Conway 50-1)[16] although it is not clear whether they were "poor" white or not.

Although some poor whites did favors for slaves, poor whites and slaves were usually not cooperative with each other. As Forret describes, on a plantation, while poor white overseers tried to show the class difference based on race, slaves knew that they were different from their wealthy upper class white masters and that they had similar or even worse living conditions than they. Slaves often looked down on these lower class whites by calling them "poor white trash" (118). However, poor whites were not completely loyal to the plantation owners either. They were not happy that elite whites treated them contemptuously while they had them do their dirty jobs for a small amount of money. The comment of an ex-slave in South Carolina presents the conflict between

poor white patrollers and wealthy slave owners: "Rich folks stay in their house at night." "Poor white folks had to hustle 'round to make a living, so, they hired out theirselves to slave owners and rode de roads at night and whipped niggers if they ketched any off their plantation widout a pass" (Rawick 68-9).[17] Forret's interpretation of poor whites' revelry during their patrol duty explains their displeasure with both plantation owners and slaves: "A handful of vindictive poor whites surely did serve on patrol with depraved enthusiasm, taking advantage of the opportunity to project physically their resentment toward planters onto valuable slave property or to distinguish themselves from slaves in a way that economics did not" (125). What made them decide whether to help the masters or slaves seems to have been simply money. As a South Carolina ex-slave says, poor whites undertook patrol duty not to maintain the order of the institution but "to make a living." It did not matter for them, who did not own either plantations or slaves. Likewise, according to Forret, there were only a few poor whites who helped slaves intending to rebel against the institution: most of them aided slaves for an exchange of items they wanted such as chickens (141-2). As Forret suggests, neither poor whites' working for slave owners nor their aiding slaves "necessarily required any self-conscious ideological commitment to or against the southern social structure" (156). Therefore, the slave owners always looked at poor whites with distrust even if they were working for them. There were many upper class Southerners who proposed the enslavement of these poor whites at that time. William Goodell, a reverend and abolitionist, introduces an opinion in a newspaper in South Carolina of the time in his anti-slavery book:

> Slavery is the natural and normal condition of the *laboring man*, whether WHITE or *black*. The great evil of Northern *free* society is, that it is

> burdened with a *servile* class of MECHANICS and LABORERS, *unfit for self-government*, yet clothed with the attributes and powers of citizens. Master and slave is a relation in society as necessary as that of parent and child; and the Northern States will yet have to introduce it. Their theory of free government is a delusion. (8)

No matter how they justified the master-slave system, if the above-discussed relation between the two white classes is considered, it is clear that the slave masters' proposal aimed to maintain the order of the institution of slavery. To maintain the social order of slavery, everyone must be in the system, either as a master or a slave. Poor whites, who were neither of them, were always the potential deviates from, and therefore a threat against, the institution. Thus swamps were the obvious place for rebellious slaves and poor whites, who were both deviants within the slave system.

While swamps represented uncontrollability and outlaws, plantations represented the order of the institution. Slavery, of which the plantation functioned as a part, was itself a highly structured system. The slave trading system of the time presents how highly the institution was structured and how orderly it was. Since people in Africa were already trading slaves inside their continent long before they started to export them, Europeans gathered African slaves efficiently using the existing trading system. Slaves were gathered and transported to the Atlantic coast by Africans and appraised by European buyers. Slaves who met the required standards of quality were branded and shipped to America, packed in a space as small as 5.5 ft. long and 1.3 ft. wide per person (Hine, Hine, and Harrold 36). Slaves from Africa were often "seasoned" in the West Indies before they came to North America. Planters on the islands disciplined

newly-arriving slaves by teaching them the routines of plantation work, suitable attitudes and the mindset for slaves, and European languages in order to make them suitable to resell to planters in North America (Hine, Hine, and Harrold 44-5). Accompanying westward expansion, a domestic slave trade system was also developed. For Slaves being shipped from the East coast, New Orleans became the center of the slave market in the Southwest. Although Atlantic slave trade was stopped in 1808 in North America, slave trade flourished inside North America. The developed trading system supplied the demand for slaves and supported the growing institution of slavery.

Once slaves reached North America, a highly structured plantation life awaited them. Dell Upton points out in his article about plantations in eighteenth century Virginia that many travelers of the time saw a plantation as similar to a village (362). There were usually a main house of the white planter, a kitchen, a stable, slaves' quarters, and a school building. The planter was the governor and the main house was the town hall (361). In their quarters, slaves had small gardens around their cabins where they could grow provisions in their precious spare time (361). School was for the planter's own and neighboring white children (362). The plantation was like an autonomy in which each building and individual was functioning orderly. However, the difference between the normal villages and these village-like plantations was, as Upton states, that "the economic activities of this village were intended to enrich a single individual" (362).

John W. Blassingame presents the effectively developed routine of slaves on plantations. "[M]ost field hands rose before dawn, prepared their meals, fed the livestock, and then rushed to the fields before sunrise" (155). On the fields, under the supervision of overseers, they worked with the system most suitable for the plantation. On rice

plantations in the coastal low countries, each slave was usually assigned a quota to fulfill for the day (Hine, Hine, and Harrold 62). On cotton plantations, slaves usually worked in a group (Hine, Hine, and Harrold 68). After they worked until sunset, they "had to care for the livestock, put away tools, and cook their meals before the horn sounded bedtime in the quarters" (Blassingame 155). At harvest, they often worked after dark.

In addition to routines, the law also kept the order of the plantations. In the early years of the colonial period, Africans were working as indentured servants like other white laborers. However, they were soon treated differently based on race, and as early as the 1640s, black people were not allowed to bear arms, and in the 1660s servitude was assumed as "the natural condition of black people" in the statute of the Chesapeake colonies (Hine, Hine, and Harrold 57). In colonial America, where white masters' sexual exploitation of African American women was common, the government cleverly assumed that a child should inherit the status of his or her mother, which is different from the custom in England (Hine, Hine, and Harrold 57). Serial slave codes were enacted from 1660 to 1710 to establish a further solidified slave system: "[s]laves could not testify against white people in court, own property, leave their master's estate without a pass, congregate in groups larger than three or four, enter into contracts, marry, or, of course, bear arms" (Hine, Hine, and Harrold 58). As Thomas D. Morris points out, in addition to public law, slaves were governed by masters whose authority was permitted by the law (1). Since the slave was recognized as property by law, the owner had discretionary power over him or her. For example, the owner had the right to use force against his slaves and also had the right to sell or transfer them (Morris 1-2). These laws to enslave African descendants were understood to be justified by race and the Bible. People in

England had a long tradition of discriminating against someone who was physically or culturally different, such as the Irish. Since Africans were further different by color, feature, and culture, English colonists assumed that Africans were even more inferior to them and that an inferior black race should be placed under the care of a superior white race. One of the passages in the Bible commonly cited to justify the enslavement of Africans was Noah's curse of his grandson Canaan, whose father, Ham, learns Noah is sleeping naked and reports this to his other two brothers: "[Noah] said, A curse on Canaan! / He will be a slave to his brothers. / Give praise to the Lord, the God of Shem! / Canaan will be the slave of Shem. / May God cause Japheth to increase! May his descendants live with the people of Shem! / Canaan will be the slave of Japheth" (Gen. 9.25-7). Since Ham's descendants were assumed to be Africans, Christians of the time believed that Africans were destined to be enslaved forever by God. By governing slaves doubly—police and master—and justifying this with race and the Bible, America established a strong system of slavery.

Slaves were not deprived of everything humane on a plantation. Masters usually let slaves have a personal life to a certain degree. However, this was also not out of sympathy, but for the efficiency of the slave system. For example, gatherings, playing music, singing, and dancing after work or on Sundays, refreshed slaves after their intense work. As Blassingame suggests, preservation of their own culture also kept slaves from complete submission to their masters and helped them mentally (44). As long as their activities did not turn to rebellious conspiracy, recreation kept life on the plantation healthy. Another example is slaves' having their own families. Family provided a great support for slaves in surviving the hard life on the plantation, but as Blassingame points

out, it was also good for masters in that by having a family, slaves became more obedient for fear of separation from their family (80). By mating slaves on his own plantation, the master also augmented his holdings. Although in their inner life, slaves were of course different from what masters expected, life on the plantation was elaborately structured such that the order was maintained at least on a surface level.

As the slave's life was highly structured, the master's life was also structured in the Old South. Upton explores in his article how carefully masters placed the buildings on the plantation. According to Upton, the main house was often placed on a small hill to show the hierarchy on the plantation. The driveway also carefully led to the main house so that the white master's space was connected to outside society (362). The landscape was carved carefully to follow the order of society. Masters also cared a lot about how the plantation looked to other people, since as Kenneth Greenberg explains, the society of man of honor in the Old South was a society of appearance (3). Visitors from outside the plantation were, as Upton notes, the "audience" for the master (364). The long driveway was the opportunity to show the visitor the spectacle of the main house. According to Upton, the slaves' cabins were often hidden from the visitors; otherwise the outside of the buildings had decent paint so that they would not spoil the scenery (Upton 361). Also, as Blassingame describes, house slaves, who had opportunities to show themselves to their masters and visitors in the main house, were given nicer clothing than field slaves (155).

This adherence to appearances made the social life of masters highly structured, or almost ritualistic. Greenberg explains, for a man of honor, appearance was the reflection of what he wanted other people to believe him to be. Since they cared about appearance so much, truth did not matter to them as long as they succeeded at wearing

the mask of their ideal selves and made other people believe it to be true. Although putting on a mask itself did not degrade one, what was dishonorable was having the mask removed. Therefore, a man of honor meant a man who had the power to prevent other people from unmasking him (Greenberg 24-31). In this society of appearances, communications were exchanged ritualistically at the level of appearance even when the appearance was obviously not the truth. To an extreme, as Greenberg presents in the example of John Randolph, one could even meet the visitors and persuade them that he was not at home (32). This adherence to appearances was also applied in the master's relationship with his slaves. Slaves obeyed their master outwardly and the master was satisfied with this superficial government because the appearance would have been regarded as truth in the society of a man of honor. While this formality of masters kept their lives on plantations in strict order, as Greenberg suggests, the ritualistic relationship between masters and slaves also ironically gave slaves space to preserve their personal lives. "African Americans carved out a semi-autonomous space on slave plantations; the language of honor may have deflected the masters' attention away from that space" (Greenberg 50). Although this inner freedom could have been a threat to the order of the institution of slavery, most slaves, who were elaborately chained to the bondage in this highly structured institution, had nothing but to follow their masters and presented their obedience to them in their ritualistic relationship, even if they did not obey them inwardly.

Thus swamps and plantations developed their unique imagery in the peculiar institution of the Old South. Unlike the wilderness of the West, which gained the positive imagery of the American Dream and the frontier spirit of the New World, swamps in the

South preserved the imagery of the forests in the Old World. Unable to be tamed, they induced negative imagery in people and remained the place for the uncivilized and outlaws. However, this negative imagery was closely connected to the institution of slavery peculiar to the South. Swamps were home to rebellious slaves and poor whites, both of whom deviated from the system of slavery. Since plantation aristocrats emphasis on control in their Cavalier idealism, uncontrollable swamps, where deviants might have been planning a conspiracy against the institution, were the great threat to masters. In contrast, while swamps represented the threat of disorder, the plantation represented the order of the institution. A village-like plantation was orderly functioning autonomously. Both slaves and masters led orderly lives in the highly structured system, which chained African Americans to bondage. Life on the plantation represented the elaborate structure of the institution. In the following chapters, how these two landscapes, which represent the peculiar nature of the Old South, are depicted in two antebellum novels, whose authors had opposite opinions from each other about slavery will be examined. As each of these writers understood the institution differently, they understood its landscapes differently.

III. THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE SWAMP AND THE PLANTATION CONSTRUCTED: SIMMS' *WOODCRAFT*

William Gilmore Simms' *Woodcraft* is set in South Carolina right after the Revolutionary War. Like other swamps in the Old South, the swamp in *Woodcraft* is presented as a place for uncivilized, evil outlaws, who are threats to the order of the institution of slavery. However, what is characteristic of this novel is that it establishes a close connection among the swamp, poor whites, and evil by amalgamating them into one character, Bostwick. As it was in the Old South, the swamp in *Woodcraft* is a place where poor whites, who cannot find their space anywhere else, are pushed away. One poor white family squats on the corner of Mrs. Eveleigh's land at the edge of the swamp. The novel presents a typical image of the dwelling of the poor white: a small, decayed building of logs with gaps and a thatched roof, under which a thin, sickly wife and little children live a poor, miserable life; the husband is a violent drunkard and gambler, and the wretched wife weeps over how her husband has changed since they married (215-20). Bostwick is the husband and the father in this poor white family.

Bostwick and the swamp are closely connected in this novel. Although the proximity of his house to the wetland already proves his close relationship with it, he rarely appears even out there. Instead, he spends most of his time in the further depths of the swamp making it his dwelling. He knows how to get around in the swamp better than anyone else. He moves in the mire "with the ease of one who had never walked on freer or firmer ground," and "[h]e had short cuts through swamp and thicket, known to few

besides himself, and in half the occupied by our partisans [Porgy and his men] on horse, he made his way, on foot, to the swamp margins of the plantations of Mrs. Eveleigh and Captain Porgy" (214). The treasure box, which he stole from Mrs. Eveleigh and hid in the swamp, is also hidden so well through his familiarity with the swamp's geography that Porgy and his friends, who searches the swamp both in the morning and afternoon, never discover it (208, 211). The swamp is the nest of Bostwick.

Bostwick is also one of the two most evil characters in the novel. It is he who steals slaves from the hero and heroine, Porgy and Mrs. Eveleigh, before the novel begins and ambushes the party of Mrs. Eveleigh at the beginning in order to recapture her slaves, whom she has just rescued from Bostwick's hirer. He commits this misdeed despite the fact that his family owes many obligations to Mrs. Eveleigh, who has let them squat on the corner of her estate and even taken care of them for years. In addition to his antagonistic position to the novel's hero and heroine, other minor episodes and subplots also present his evil nature. He is so selfish villain as to kill his company out of fear of his crime being revealed (159). His dreadfully persistent blackmail of his hirer M'Kewn about the relationship between them is one of the most unpleasant truths about him. Because of Bostwick's evil nature and close connection to the swamp, the swamp becomes the place of evil. In the depths of this wetland, Bostwick's friend, Drummond, another poor white scoundrel whose name is symbolically the same as the lake at the center of the Dismal Swamp at the border of Virginia and North Carolina, keeps a tent called "swamp castle" (239). When Bostwick and his villainious friends gather in the "swamp castle" drinking and gambling, and M'Kewn, their hirer, appears there, the swamp becomes the axis of evil.

Bostwick even repeatedly reminds M'Kewn that they both sold their souls to the devil. It is natural that the two villains are associated with the devil, since, as discussed in chapter two, the imagery of the devil was common to the swamp in the Old South. However, Bostwick's remarks on the devil raise more complicated issue and thus closely connect poor whites and crime. Bostwick is obviously conscious of his immoral job: pangs of conscience as a Christian make him assume that he is dealing with the devil. In fact, when his daughter, Dory, tries to read from the Bible to her father, he stops her by saying, "The Bible! no, none of that now; for I've got dealings with the devil to-night, or one that's a born brother of the devil, and I don't want any good lessons when I've got to deal with such sports of persons" (479). Bostwick feels the profitlessness of undertaking a dirty job for wealthy whites. He says, "I have nothing to show! M'Kewn kin show, and Moncrief kin show; they've got money and the goods; they're great men in the world and rich; but I—I've got nothing but the danger, and the cold, the *re*sk and the exposure, the empty pockets, and the swinging limb!" (212-3) Still, to raise Dory out of their social and economic status and "make [her] a lady [. . .] so that [she] shall be able to marry a fine great gentleman some day" (480), Bostwick commits crimes for M'Kewn and keeps blackmailing him about them. When he is "up to his neck in water" in the swamp, his situation symbolically represents the situation of poor whites who sink in a morass of corruption keeps committing crimes for a living and therefore are strongly connected to crimes as well as the profoundity of class problem (212).

While poor white squatter Bostwick thus embodies the swamp and evil, Mrs. Eveleigh, the first planter introduced to readers, embodies the plantation and righteousness. Her plantation "[is] one of the finest and best kept along the Ashepoo"

(335). While Bostwick is from a humble background, Mrs. Eveleigh is a lady, who "was born in the purple chamber of aristocracy" (*Woodcraft* 33). Although there are not any direct depictions of slaves' work on her plantation, it is easy to assume that her plantation is effectively structured and organized. At the beginning of the novel, she succeeds at recovering her and her neighbor Porgy's slaves from a Tory officer with her bravery and cleverness. She goes to meet him and claims the recovery of the slaves stolen and kept in a ship under his name without hesitation. When he tries to parry her by saying that it must be Hessians who conducted the theft behind his back, and therefore he is not sure if there are such slaves either, and even if there are, Hessians might hide the slaves elsewhere, Mrs. Eveleigh silences the officer by answering with complete calm and dignity that she saw the slaves in the ship by herself and she already set watches for the ship. Her astuteness makes the officer say to his men, "We are handsomely bedeviled, i' faith, and by a woman. But such a woman! In truth, she *is* a woman, and worth half the men I know" (23). The opening scene proves that Mrs. Eveleigh is a highly competent woman as the head of a plantation. A few introduced in the novel among people working on her plantation prove the orderliness of her plantation too. For example, the overseer, Fordham, is described as a man of honesty and benevolence as well as a decisive and earnest manliness (23). He is not only a man of good character but also competent as a servant. He keeps vigilant watch while he is waiting for his mistress's meeting with the loyalist officer and sees Bostwick, whom he suspects of dealing with the slave plundering, going into the office without being seen by him (24). The opening scene also presents the goodness and righteousness of planters. Mary Ann Wimsatt asserts that following the tradition of a romance that confronts heroism with villainy, Simms set "plantation

aristocrats who have become partisan leaders" as heroes and "enemies of the plantation and the patriot cause" the villains (2). Mrs. Eveleigh is presented as a heroic character who bravely challenges injustice in this scene. The Tory officer, his partner, M'Kewn, and his inferior, Bostwick are the villains. Commanded by M'Kewn, Bostwick surprises Mrs. Eveleigh's party in the following scene. The novel succeeds at identifying planters as right and swampers as wrong at the beginning of the battle between them.

Although the novel thus presents a clear dichotomy of right and wrong or good and evil between people on the plantations and poor white swampers, the boundary between the plantations and the swamp is not so clear. The novel describes a desolate land after the war: all the wild animals in the woods are gone; "not a vestige of horses, cattle, hogs or deer, &c., [is] to be found"; all the property on the plantation including slaves, live stocks, and furniture are carried away too; some houses are even set on fire (174, 175). Mrs. Eveleigh's plantation seems to be almost the only one functioning. For the rest of the lands, there is no difference between reclaimed land and wilderness. Besides, the country right after its independence has not yet established its government, which generally defines social structure. Given the chaos after the war and before establishing a government, the boundary between the plantation and the swamp dissolves. Although Porgy is the owner of a fine plantation, Glen-Eberly, and twenty-five slaves, he is close to falling into the state of the poor whites at the edge of the swamp: his plantation was destroyed in the war as well; he is also saddled with heavy debt, and his creditor, M'Kewn, is willing to seize all of his property. Pondering his destroyed plantation and debt, Porgy even dreams of living like a poor white who once lived at the border of his property and a small swamp "turn[ing] to killing 'de leetle bird and de leetle beast,'

squatting on some great man's property" (117). On the other hand, M'Kewn, who has been stealing and reselling slaves using Bostwick during the war and has Bostwick and his friends surprise Mrs. Eveleigh's party, is as much villain as his poor white swampers. However, he buys a plantation in the vicinity of Mrs. Eveleigh's and Porgy's, deceives neighbors about his connection with the loyalists during the war by saying that he was a revolutionaliary spy, and with his cleverness, dirty money, and the status unlawfully obtained, successfully joins the respected plantation owners. He is now seeking even more prosperity by taking over Porgy's plantation. Eventually, not only M'Kewn but also Bostwick tries to get out of the swamp and become a plantation and slave owner by blackmailing M'Kewn about his illegal conduct. The South in *Woodcraft* is in chaos, a place where people on the plantations can easily become people in the swamp and vice versa.

As discussed in chapter two, control was an important idea for aristocrats in the Old South, and thus the swamp, which was not easy to alter for agricultural use, defied aristocrats' ideal. In *Woodcraft*, the uncontrollable nature of the swamp is represented by poor whites and their hirer, villains in the swamp who roam around the plantation and disturb the order of plantation society. A clear line that separates the plantations from the swamp and control over the swamp is needed for the sake of order in society. How Simms has Porgy and his men revive his plantation is a popular theme among Simms scholars. They may vary in its interpretation; some say it is a presentation of a new model of Southern manhood,[18] and some say it is a supporting argument of the Fugitive Slave Act;[19] but they commonly understand that Porgy's plantation is presented as "a model establishment in peace and prosperity" (Cecil 476). Through Porgy's restoration of his

desolate plantation, we can see how the author separates the swamp from the plantation and how he controls the swamp to construct his ideal South.

What is clever about Simms in his drawing the line between the swamp and the plantation is that he removes truant or fugitive slaves from the swamp. As discussed in chapter two, there were two kinds of threats to the institution of slavery in the swamps of the Old South: poor whites and truant or fugitive slaves. As for poor whites, they are not be a threat to the institution as long as they are separated and controlled, since they are not part of the economic system of slavery. However, as for slaves, they cannot be separated from the plantation. They are labor force and property in the system—they are supposed to belong not to the swamp but to the plantation. In the novel, there need be no worry about rebellious slaves. The author made this possible by interpreting the relationship between a planter and his slave as that of a military commander and his man, which is modeled in the relationship between Porgy and Tom. Tom has been serving Captain Porgy during the Revolutionary War. He has been fighting under Porgy's command and serving as a war cook in his band. Therefore, although Tom is a slave, he is also Captain Porgy's military subordinate as much as sergeant Millhouse is. Seeing Porgy depressed after the war, Millhouse also says to Tom, "Tom, old boy, we'll have to work for the cappin" (104). This Millhouse's remark suggests his recognition that he and Tom are equally serving Porgy as his subordinates whether he is free or slave. Millhouse also presents the nature of their service in his answer to Tom, who asks him what he can do with only one arm: "[I only have one arm,] But I'm got a h—l of a big heart for my friend, Tom, by thunder; and when there's heart enough in a man's buzzum, Tom, he kin always find arms enough to sarve his friend, even if so be both hands are chopped off" (104).

Millhouse calls his military commander "friend." They are serving Porgy not because of the forced obligation of bondage but out of spontaneous feelings of love and loyalty for their superior. With this logic, which assumes a strong connection between love and hierarchy, Millhouse even justifies Porgy's letting them work for him: "[Captain Porgy] can't do much, Tom, for himself, seeing that there's to be no more fighting, which is the only work that a gentleman kin do, without s'iling his fingers. [. . .] He's born gentleman, by thunder; and we'll work for him, Tom, more hard than any nigger he ever had" (104-5). In *Woodcraft*, Simms transforms a slave's service from servitude to loyalty and presents slavery as an orderly hierarchical institution in which each class plays their own role with sincere feelings.

According to Aptheker, after the Revolutionary War ended, many slaves who hoped to be emancipated and fought for the loyalists ran away from their masters and kept conducting guerilla war in the woods and the swamps to resist their bondage (154). However, as for Porgy's slaves, who have such strong bonds with their master, there is little possibility that they will become rebellious maroons in the swamp. In fact, some of Porgy's slaves actually escape into the swamp in the war, not to resist the institution of slavery but to support it. Soon after Porgy and his men come back to Porgy's estate, they find out that eighteen of Porgy's slaves, whom they thought to have been carried away by enemies, are in the swamp. The slaves protect themselves from being carried off by hiding in the swamp (313-5). When Porgy mentions to Tom the danger that M'Kewn would intercept him, he also answers, "I tek' de swamp fuss!" (406) When the sheriff comes to seize Porgy's property, his slaves again hide themselves in the swamp to avoid being seized. For the slaves in *Woodcraft*, the shelter of the swamp does not encourage

them to claim their own space and resist their bondage, but lets them play their role as a part of the institution and prove their loyalty to their master. Besides, for them, not the swamp but their master's estate is their home. When Porgy comes back to his plantation after several years at war, his slaves welcome their master by saying, "T'ank de Lord, here's maussa *g*it to he own home at last!—*Bress* de Lord, Maussa, you come! We all *b*erry glad *for* see you, maussa—glad *too* much!" (175). Although they have been traveling with Porgy, they welcome their master as if they have been at the plantation. Their sense of belonging to their master's estate is so strong that it is impossible for them to think about seeking their own space in the swamp.

Here, their military-commander-and-his-subordinate-like relationship almost assumes the idyllic relationship between the master and their servants in the medieval age as idealized in legend and literature. Although military relationships usually end at the end of the war, their relationship does not disappear even after the war, and they keep it at home like a life-long relationship between a master and a servant in the medieval age. In fact, the narrator calls Porgy "feudal lord" and agrees that "such [is] really the sort of relation between the parties" (422). If their relationship is like that of medieval feudal system, the unlikely ending of Tom's refusal to become free is understandable. When Porgy offers Tom a "free paper," Tom rejects it by saying, "I kain't t'ink ob letting you off dis way. Ef *I* doesn't b'long to *you*, *you* b'longs to *me*! You hab for keep dis nigger long as he lib; and him for keep you. You hab for fin' he dinner, and Tom hab for cook 'em. Free nigger no hab any body for fin' 'em he bittle [victuals]" (509). The medieval master-servant relationship is a mutual, complementary relationship; a master needs servants who serve him, but a servant also needs a master who provides him with

food, clothing, and shelter. Likewise, Tom needs a master who "fin[ds] h[im] dinner" and Porgy needs a slave who "cook 'em" for him. Thus in *Woodcraft*, Simms succeeds at confining the slaves to the plantation by establishing a strong relationship between slave and master. By doing so, the author can expel only poor whites from the plantation when he draws a line between it and the swamp.

Porgy's restoration of his ruined plantation has two aspects: to reclaim the field and repair the building and to clear the debt he owes M'Kewn. By connecting the battle with M'Kewn and his poor white swampers with Porgy's restoration of his plantation, Simms has his protagonists construct a boundary between the plantation and the swamp in the process of restoration. What is important here is that the swamp, to which M'Kewn and his poor whites belong, is presented not as a part of the South but as something "non-South," which not only Porgy but also the entire South needs to stand against. Given the discussions in chapter two, it seems to have been a common attitude among Southerners to see the swamp and its inhabitants as not a part of their society. As referred to earlier, Thomas Jefferson did not include the swamps in his depiction of Virginia (Wilson 7). Poor whites were described as "born and reared in the miasmatic district of the coast" as if they were a contaminated group of people and were different from white elites (Olmsted 485).[20] Given that people tend to seek the origins of a significant illness in a foreign place, Susan Sontag observes a connection between disease and foreignness:

> there is a link between imagining disease and imagining foreignness. It lies perhaps in the very concept of wrong, which is archaically identical with the non-us, the alien. A polluting person is always wrong, as Mary Douglass has observed. The inverse is also true: a person judged to be

wrong is regarded as, at least potentially, a source of pollution. (136)

By connecting poor whites with disease, planters in the Old South also alienated poor whites. This class of Southerners' alienation of poor whites is attributable to their strong belief in the institution of slavery. As discussed in chapter two, poor whites, who are marginalized in planters-dominated society of the South, are the paradox of the plantation society. The misery of people of the same race defies planters' ideal image of the South and more importantly, nullifies the "justness" of the system of slavery, which is based on race. Therefore, to establish his ideal South, the proslavery author should not simply have his protagonists control poor whites but first should alienate them and their place, the swamp. In *Woodcraft*, the swamp and its inhabitants are also identified with disease. Tony, one of the villains who surprises Mrs. Eveleigh and her party, becomes fatally ill after the battle in the swamp (237). Bostwick also dies from smallpox at the end of the novel (503). Although planters are also in the swamp when they fight with these poor whites, none of them suffer from the disease. The poor white swampers are clearly distinguished from elite whites on the plantations. Simms enforces the foreignness of the swamp and its inhabitants with the relationship between Porgy and M'Kewn, his creditor and Bostwick's hirer. M'Kewn is literally a foreigner: he is a Scot who joins the loyalists and fight for the British during the Revolutionary War—he is a foreigner for the Southern planters in the novel even before the War. As Sontag further states that "[i]llness is a species of invasion" (136), for Porgy, who protects America as a patriot during the war, M'Kewn is literally a foreign invader, the South's, or America's in this case, adversary. Thus Simms presents the poor whites, their hirer, and their place, the swamp, not as conflicts inside the South but as non-Southern enemies to the Southern plantation society.

This relationship of the South and non-South between the plantations and the swamp becomes more specific in the process of Porgy's restoration of his desolate plantation: the South and non-South turn to the South and the North. Simms wrote *Woodcraft* right before the Civil War. Many scholars see this conflict between the North and the South of the time in the novel. Particularly, Charles S. Watson seeks to prove that Simms compares the Revolutionary War with the conflict between the North and the South examining the text and historical events. The South of the time could not avoid the influence of the wave of industrialization in the North. The level of conflict between Northern abolitionists and Southern apologists also escalated year by year. As Jan Bakker states, the South needed to know how to face this wave and survive in a new era to compete with the North (88). As most Southern planters did, Simms believed in the South of agriculturalism, which he called in 1841 a "divine institution" (12).[21] As Bakker describes it, Southerners believed that Northern industrialism and its resultant materialism "were not only making the United States restless but were also responsible [. . .] for the sectionalism that was isolating, frightening, antagonizing the South in the 1840s and 1850s" (87). By identifying the villains in the swamp with Yankees, Simms transplants the conflict between the North and the South in the conflict between the swampers and the plantation in the novel. M'Kewn's cunning in mortgaging Porgy's plantation and getting along with other planters represents Yankee materialism. Simms' suspicion about Yankeeism is presented in an ultimate form in the relationship between M'Kewn and Bostwick. Unlike the relationship between Porgy and his men, there is no friendship or loyalty between them: all that concerns M'Kewn is the profit that Bostwick brings by performing his task, and Bostwick the money M'Kewn pays. Their

complementary relationship seems to work at first, but it evolves into a hopeless mess towards the end. Bostwick starts to harass M'Kewn by asking him to pay more than the hirer wants; M'Kewn orders his men to assassinate Bostwick in return; failing to do so, he learns that he will be blackmailed by Bostwick forever (251-278, 461-3). By identifying the swampers with Yankees, Simms succeeds in alienating the swamp even more. The swamp, which represents the paradox of, and thus the threat to, the institution, turns to the threat that came from outside the South.

However, although Simms suggests strongly negative attitude toward the North in his depiction of the conflict between the planters and the villains in the swamp, he was also aware that to completely exclude and ignore the Northern element was not realistic. Bakker also explains that although "[Simms] locates America's Golden Age in the Revolutionary era, when the nation was unindustrialized and united against a common foe," he knew "the Jeffersonian-agrarian Southern dream for a self-sufficient, rural America" already belonged to the past, and "prosperity [. . .] belonged to disruptive, inevitable, destructive change" (81). Simms then brings the conflict between the North and the South to Porgy's plantation to examine this matter more closely and explores how Southerners should deal with it. The two regions are represented by Porgy and Millhouse on Porgy's plantation. While Porgy is a man of aristocratic nature—a generous epicurean, who loves poetry and music, Millhouse, the overseer, is a man of Northern materialism, who makes no bones about stating that "the great business of men on this arith is eating," and "what don't bring in bread and meat and drink, or the money to buy it, is *on*reasonable, *on*natural, and *on*respectable ockypations" (279-86, 292). Unlike the swamp and the plantation, the two regions do not represent the moral contrast on Porgy's

plantation. While Millhouse's advice to Porgy based on his philosophy of materialism—especially his suggestion for Porgy to marry the wealthy widow, Mrs. Eveleigh, to clear him of debt—is fulsome, it is also true that Porgy's aristocratic prodigality and carelessness result in a mortgaged plantation; while Porgy's love for art is praised in the novel in comparison to Millhouse's lack of ability to appreciate it, it is Millhouse's Northern practicality that revives the plantation fields to bring full crops again. The two regions are struggling with equal power on Porgy's plantation.

Simms' realistic model is Mrs. Eveleigh. James Meriwether states that she is presented as superior to Porgy:

> It should be clear that Simms saw her as superior to Porgy, in this novel, in nearly every way—in every way, indeed, except for sheer physical strength and military skill. She has the cooler head, the quicker wit, the better judgment. She is farsighted and stable, a good administrator, and a good politician. She has in abundance the qualities that the former colony of South Carolina requires if it is to make a successful transition from war to peace, build up its shattered economy, and learn to get along with its neighboring states in the new federal relationship. (27)

What Mrs. Eveleigh succeeds at is the amalgamation of the two regions. Her hospitality presents a virtue typical of the Southern woman. Beginning with rescuing the slaves of her neighbor from the British, she keeps giving necessities to Porgy, who has nothing at his plantation after coming back from war, offers to finance him, and also frequently invites him to dinner at her own plantation. She is also so generous and good natured that she does not take offense at Millhouse's rude implication about the possibility of

marriage to Porgy. She is even the one who eases the tension when Porgy gets upset at Millhouse's absurdity. While she exhibits such virtues of the Southern woman, she also displays Northern practicality. As she explains herself, the reason that her plantation survives the plunder during the war is that she befriends people on both sides: while her husband's position among the loyalists secures her peace, she also makes friends with Whigs personally. She makes a fortune selling her crops and livestock to the British army for a good price in the wartime shortage (355). She shows not only the Southern woman's hospitality but also Yankee shrewdness in not refusing the enemies so that she can secure her property.[22]

By having Porgy work with Millhouse, Simms has Porgy too combine the North and the South on his plantation. But what is important here is "Porgy's mastery of himself" (Cecil 482) in his combining two different attitudes. Although Porgy lets Millhouse speak and practice his Northern philosophy on his plantation without offering any objection most of the time, he never loses his control. Sappho's episode presents Porgy's being in control very well. When Sappho, Porgy's African American nurse, suddenly appears and reveals that some of the slaves who were thought to be carried away by the British are alive in the swamp, Porgy is annoyed by the selfish excitement of Millhouse, who simply counts the slaves as labor force. When Millhouse gets up in the morning and asks about Sappho, Porgy plays a joke on him and replies that he has never even heard of her and he must be dreaming. The slaves join him, and Millhouse believes his joke and becomes greatly disappointed. When Sappho reappears with the slaves from the swamp at the end of the chapter, Millhouse becomes so excited that he even hugs her. L. Moffitt Cecil observes that Porgy's mastery of himself proves his qualification as a

plantation master (482). Cecil assumes Porgy's mindset derives from his stature as a soldier; however, it would be more natural to understand that it derives from his aristocratic nature as a Southern gentleman and therefore he is qualified to be a Southern plantation owner. As mentioned in chapter two, the power to control both others and himself was important for Southern aristocrats of the time, which was also the reason they detested the uncontrollable swamps. The ideal of the Southern man of honor was a man "always in control, [and] never in a subservient position" even when he was confronted by death (Greenberg 93). As seen in the above example of Porgy's reply to Millhouse at the reunion with Sappho, confronting the tide of new attitudes, Porgy neither completely denies it nor surrenders to it. Instead, he embraces it with the humor of a Southern gentleman. Porgy's attitude is Simms' ideal attitude of the South: even if the South sometimes needs to yield to Yankee practicality, there is always Southerness in control at the base. While, as Bakker suggests, Simms was aware of the necessity for change in the South, it was also impossible for him, who believed in "the South as a unique and ordered society" (Ridgely 432), to have his protagonist completely surrender to Yankeeism, which could lead to the denial of the institution of slavery. Thus on Simms' plantation, the North and the South are combined, having the South in control at the base.

Bostwick's and M'Kewn's crimes are symbolically disclosed at Bostwick's dwelling at the border of the swamp and the plantation. Informed that Bostwick and M'Kewn are meeting in Bostwick's house by Lance, who has been having slaves watch them, Porgy, his men, the sheriffs and the lawyer depart to Bostwick's dwelling. They find Bostwick and M'Kewn fighting over Mrs. Eveleigh's box, which contains the document that proves their plundering of the vicinal slaves. By the sheriff's arresting

Bostwick and M'Kewn, villains who belong to the swamp are excluded from plantation society. The boundary between the swamp and plantation is established.

However, what is notable here is that Porgy and his men are not the ones who establish the boundary between the swamp and the plantation. Instead, juristic authority establishes it. One of the reasons is Porgy's and his men's strong attachment to the cause of the Revolutionary War. When they learn that the sheriff comes to seize the plantation, not knowing how to behave after the war, Porgy's men arms themselves and fight against the sheriff just as they protected the country from the loyalists in the Revolutionary War. When the sheriff asks Lance, who is trying to seize his master and property, he even answers him: "I don't know; but they are enemies, and varmints, sheriffs, and such like tory people!" (423). About Porgy and his men, who cannot end the war inside them, Meriwether observes:

> [In the post-war period,] the most crucial problem of all may be that of the reabsorption of the returned veterans into a peacetime, civilian society. Fredom was a very simple goal to fight for, in wartime; or to fight for it was very easy and natural for a man like Captain Porgy. He had rendered his society significant service, as a soldier. But what are we to do in time of peace, Simms asks in *Woodcraft*, with veterans who seem able to consider only simple—i.e., military—solutions to the complex problems of the post-war period? (24)

Although Porgy is wiser than his men in knowing that the sheriffs are not Tories and this is not the Revolutionary War, as Meriwether fears, and as Porgy's men believe, he also believes that he can fight for freedom—he can play a joke on juristic authority and

prevent him from enforcing laws. The idea of fighting for freedom is a dangerous idea in the South in peacetime as it can justify the resistance of slaves. Their freedom needs to be restrained with the simple logic that "If Tom must obey the laws that govern the institution of slavery, with the loss of freedom that involves, the same is true, though to a lesser extent of course, of his master, for Porgy too must learn to obey the law, giving up some of his freedom to act in an irregular and individualistic manner" (Meriwether 31). Otherwise, they deviate from the rule of society and become outlaws in the swamp.

The other reason for Porgy's and his men's failure to establish a boundary between the swamp and the plantations is that the swamp conveys the imagery of the battlefield in the novel. The novel begins right after the Revolutionary War ends. The scene in which Porgy first appears opens with the dissolution of companies of Whig soldiers who fought under the command of Francis Marion. In history, Marion's troops are well known for guerrilla tactics in the swamps, that the British nicknamed him the "Swamp Fox." Porgy is a captain in his brigade. Although there are not many direct mentions of Porgy and his men having fought and camped particularly in the swamp, Francis Marion was well known enough among antebellum readers to suggest their battle in the swamp. In addition, there are several mentions of the foods Porgy and his men eat at the camp, all of which rely upon natural resources in the swamp such as terrapin, raccoons, and opossum (51, 294). The swamp is the place in which Porgy and his men both fought and stayed during the war. Besides, it is in the swamp that Bostwick and his men surprise Mrs. Eveleigh's party. When both sides hide in the thicket and start exchanging fire, the swamp almost returns to a battlefield, even after the war. Wimsatt points out Porgy's enjoying a feast at the army camp in Simms' other Revolutionary War

novel, *Partisan*, and interprets it as his reestablishment of a plantation in the woods (3, 5). She observes that the plantation represents Porgy's aristocratic nature and the forests represent soldier-like nature Porgy cultivated in army life, and they coexist inside of him (9). As Porgy brings a plantation into the woods in *Partisan*, he and his men also bring the swamp into the plantation in *Woodcraft*. As seen in the scene of their confrontation with the sheriff, Porgy and his men, who cannot end the war in themselves, bring the battlefield into the peaceful plantation with their full armament. The scene in which Porgy and his men have dinner with the sheriff in full armament, including weapons on the table can be juxtaposed with the feast in the woods in *Partisan* (431-2). As stated earlier, the swamp conveys the imagery of the battlefield in this novel. Therefore, when they bring the battlefield into the plantation, they also automatically bring the swamp, which reminds us of the threat of poor white scoundrels. Their soldier-like nature is important in interpreting the relationship between master and slave as the commander and his subordinates in the army to remove the threat of the rebellious slaves in the swamp, but this soldier-like nature of them becomes an obstacle to establishing the boundary between the swamp and the plantation. It is impossible for Porgy and his men, who bring the swamp to the plantations and cause chaos in the South, to draw a line between the swamp and the plantation.

What finally establishes the boundary between the two spaces is juristic authority. As discussed in chapter two, the law is the key to order in plantation society. It is the law that chains slaves in bondage and keeps the institution in order. The domination of juristic authority at the end of the novel presents not only the end of after-war chaos and establishment of the new government but also the ideal plantation society as a highly

structured institution. Porgy and his men symbolically yield to the power of law at the arrest of the criminals. Learning that Bostwick is infected by smallpox, they run away from Bostwick's dwelling while the sheriffs and the lawyer remain there (500). Order is established under the initiative of juristic authority: the sheriffs and the lawyer seize the villains legally, have Bostwick confess about the crime following the judicial process, and work to maintain the security of the vicinal area by taking care of Bostwick's disease properly.

Simms not only establishes the boundary between the swamp and the plantations but also establishes the planters' control over the swamp. The swamp in *Woodcraft* carries the imagery of the forests of old Europe in addition to the imagery of the swamps in the antebellum American South. As Beowulf or knights in the romances in the Middle Age meet monsters and villains in the woods, the swamp in *Woodcraft* is also the place where the hero and heroine meet danger. Bostwick and his men surprise Mrs. Eveleigh and her party and capture her. Porgy rescues Mrs. Eveleigh with his men like a knight in medieval romance rescues a princess. The battle in the swamp also presents the swamp as a place of growth like the forests in fairy tales in which their heroines experience sexual maturity. Mrs. Eveleigh's son, Arthur, learns woodcraft—in this case, tactics in the woods/swamps—from their overseer, Fordham, in the battle. He also experiences mental growth in his learning from his servant. Young Arthur has too much confidence in himself at first and ignores Fordham's advice. However, making this mistake, he learns that "he ha[s] a great deal yet to learn" (82). Arthur's mental growth is symbolically presented when he shoots the second time and finds out later that he hits the enemy right this time. Porgy also experiences mental growth in the swamp. At the beginning of the novel, Porgy,

a Whig soldier in the Revolutionary War, is fretting on his way back home about how he can live and feed his men with his destroyed, and even worse, mortgaged plantation. As Porgy says, long before the novel begins, his prodigality and complete carelessness ruin his plantation. Once the war begins, Porgy leaves his plantation and spends a few years in the swamp to fight in the war. By the time he gets out of the swamp to go back home at the beginning of the novel, he has grown up enough to feel responsibility for managing the plantation.

The planters' forest's imagery of the swamp contrasts with Bostwick and M'Kewn's swamp of villains. But to understand this forest's imagery as planters' control over the swamp, we need to examine Harrison's medieval knight in the forest. Porgy in the swamp reminds us of Harrison's medieval knight in the forests—a knight in the shadow of the law (66). Providing Chrétien de Troyes' romance, *Yvain*, as an example, Harrison explains that knights in the Middle Ages and wild men in the woods are the same by nature in their prowess and bravery. The only difference between them is whether or not they are restricted by law (65-6). The reason that the knights in medieval romances often go into the woods is that they "must periodically return to the forests in order to rediscover within themselves the alienated source of their prowess, the wild man's prowess" (66). When the wild man comes out of the forest and is civilized, he becomes a hero in society (66). If we follow Harrison's theory, Porgy, who "ha[s] been little more than a savage," as he says himself, in the camp life at the war, which "makes sad havoc in the tastes of a gentlemen," is also a knight who recently comes out of the wilderness and has not yet been completely civilized (354). Stating that the inner wildness of knights is also seen in kings, Harrison develops this argument into the

argument of the forest law. Harrison observes that a king holds savage wildness inside him to exercise control over all the natural world and its inhabitants. Preservation of certain forests for a king's private use by ordaining them as royal forests was the privilege of a king, and hunting in the royal forests was a ritualistic activity, which "reaffirms the king's ancient nature as civilizer and conqueror of the land" and therefore proves his "savagery that is greater and more powerful than the wilderness itself" (74). When Arthur, Porgy and Lance, whose relationship, as discussed earlier, is similar to the one in the medieval feudal system, go hunting in the swamp, they also look as if a king and his knights are hunting in the royal forest. Porgy and Lance, who have just come back from war, might be reaffirming their nature as conquerors; Arthur, who has just learned woodcraft, which is "largely a skill based on social class among white men" (Cowan 252), needs to show his power of control as a future plantation owner as does Porgy, who is a plantation owner.

When Arthur, Porgy, Lance, and Arthur go into the swamp to hunt, the swamp conveys the imagery of the forest of medieval Europe and becomes a ritualistic place for the plantation aristocrats to reaffirm their power of control; when Bostwick goes into the swamp, it conveys for him the imagery of the swamp of the time and becomes an axis of evil. The two contrasting images present the aristocratic ideal and the reality of the Old South. Against the reality of the swamp of uncontrollable villains, the medieval forest imagery in *Woodcraft* is the projection of the Southern planters' ideal of controllable swamps. By destroying the villains at the end, the novel completes "forest-rizing" the swamp. It transforms the uncontrollable swamp of poor white villains into the forest of knights to confirm their control. Thus Simms' ideal plantation society is accomplished by

building a boundary between the swamp and the plantation and having planters control the swamp. The plantation society of Ashepoo has only peace and order in its future.

IV. THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE SWAMP AND THE PLANTATION DESTROYED: STOWE'S *DRED*

Harriet Beecher Stowe's second anti-slavery novel, *Dred*, is set in the Virginia and North Carolina of her time. The plantation society presented at the opening of the novel is a century later than that of Ashepoo, South Carolina, which Simms leaves in peace and order at the end of *Woodcraft*, a novel published only a few years before *Dred*. As Simms draws a line between the swamp and the plantation in his novel, *Dred* presents a society of peace and order in which the swamps and the plantations have been clearly separated for a long time. The opening scene presents the novel's heroine, Nina, looking for her bills in her room with piles of her purchases such as a scarf, an opera hat, and bonbons (7, 11). She hands her servant her love letters taking them for the bills. She finally finds the bills, but one of them is discovered to be lost because she has used it to curl her hair (11-2). The innocent Nina suggests that the plantation society depicted here has been peaceful so long that people almost forget the time that their ancestors strove to bring order out of chaos after the Independence. There is also no need to worry about the management of this plantation with its spendthrift and careless young girl for a mistress, since she has an honest, competent servant, Harry, who does not forget to ask Nina to hand him her bills and gives her sincere and pointed advice, for example when she faces the crisis of receiving the three gentlemen all at once to whom she is engaged at the same time (71, 77). Nina's uncle, John, is the next planter introduced in the novel. His plantation, on which the planter is always cheated by his overseers and slaves, enjoys a

similar idyllic atmosphere to Porgy's, on which the overseer, Millhouse is quite free to speak to his master and act as he will on the master's behalf. Although Uncle John does not have the strong mastery over his servants Porgy does, his slaves do not seem to rebel against their master even if they do cheat him. Uncle John's plantation is depicted rather comically with its generous and good-natured master.

The third plantation introduced in the novel is Magnolia Grove, owned by Clayton's sister, Anne. Magnolia Grove, which is also governed by a mistress as is Nina's Canema, is the embodiment of peace and order. All slaves on her plantation including field hands keep themselves tidy, encouraged by their mistress. Her slaves are taught literacy, which is unusual and also illegal at the time, and are allowed to experience some autonomy given that they are permitted to resolve their own conflicts with a jury trial system. Anne says that she does not use locks for her personal property, but slaves never betray their mistress since they are bound to her by her trust. Anne governs the plantation with love, and her slaves obey her with love and respect. When her slaves are excited at Clayton's coming home and voluntarily perform an opera that praises him, Anne, and his fiancée, Nina, in a beautiful grove at the back of the plantation, Magnolia Grove proves the perfect order and prosperity of a developed Southern plantation society.

As it is in *Woodcraft*, the swamp in *Dred* is presented as a place for marginalized people who can be a threat to the order of the institution of slavery. In contrast to the splendid plantation houses, the novel presents the small miserable hut of the Cripps in the woods, in which the poor little children are always hungry and their sickly mother lies on a bed waiting for her good-for-nothing husband who is always traveling, coming home once in a while with a bunch of rubbish he buys from swindlers. The novel depicts how

these poor whites exist completely outside of plantation economy. As Harry explains to Nina, since all the lands suitable for living and agriculture are occupied by planters, these poor whites "are scattered up and down in between" (107). As planters want their own servants to do all the jobs on their plantation, they do not have any jobs for the poor whites, and their scattered way of living also prevents them from going to school to gain education necessary to get a job (107). Besides, as seen in Aunt Nesbit's objection to helping the Cripps in the poor wife's funeral and Old Hundred's unwillingness to go to "what he call[s] a 'cracker funeral'," poor whites are discriminated against both by white planters and plantation slaves (106, 127). As Stowe puts it through Harry, "there don't seem to be any place for them in society" (107). As discussed in chapter two, that poor whites are not part of the structure of the institution was a threat to the planters in the Old South because they, who had no stake in the institution, were always potential betrayers and enemies of the planters. However, unlike in *Woodcraft*, *Dred* does not present them as "the threat in the swamp" who stand against the interests of the aristocratic protagonists. What Stowe presents through contrasting two groups of whites, one on the plantation and the other at the edge of the swamp, is the paradox of the prosperity of slavery. Aunt Nesbit's remark presents the fundamental problem of poor whites in the South. Asked if she knows a specific example of the Cripps' iniquities, she answers Nina, "I know the whole race. These *squatters*—I've known them ever since I was a girl in Virginia" (106, my emphasis). What defines the social status of poor whites here is Southern planters' emphasis on possession. Although pioneering history and acquisition of lands that has not belonged to anyone before is not confined to the South but belongs to the whole nation, the South's concentration on agriculture connected one's estate and

his social standing: a person who owned larger fields raised more crops and thus belonged to higher class. Society in the Old South was built on such strong desire for possession of land that people tried to obtain anything not yet possessed, which even allowed Southerners to believe they could also possess human beings. The South not only consigned poor whites to a wretched life because of this economic system, but rendered them outcasts ideologically because they did not possess and were not possessed. While the swamp and its poor white residents are differentiated and converted into evil enemies of the South in *Woodcraft*, in *Dred*, poor whites represent the paradox of the prosperity of slavery pushed away to the swamp and thus render the love and peace of the plantation quite superficial and ironic.

Instead, the swamp in *Dred* emphasizes its other threat to the antebellum South, which Simms, in *Woodcraft*, cleverly removes even the possibility of—maroons. Stowe depicts them not only as another group of people who present the irony of the "love and peace" of the plantation. As Simms avoids maroons and confronts the slaveholders with poor whites in order to apologize for slavery, she confronts the slaveholders with enslaved people to squarely address the evil of slavery. The novel presents the swamp of the maroons and the plantation as two contrasting worlds. The central figure of the maroon community, Dred, who is "a tall black man, of magnificent stature and proportions" and whose "skin [is] intensely black" and whose body shows "herculean strength" and "the muscles of a gladiator" (198), contrasts with a white plantation mistress, Nina, of "little figure, scarce the height of the Venus, rounded as that of an infant" (7). While the scenes at Nina's Canema are always presented in the light of day, slaves gather in the swamp in the darkness of night. While people on the plantation "sleep

in a curtained bed" and "eat the fat of the land," maroons "sleep on the ground, in the swamps" and "have what the ravens bring [them]" (199). As seen earlier, the plantations in *Dred* represent love and peace—though ironically. Then, what this contrasting world of the swamp that hides maroons represents is violence and vengeance. Dred, a fugitive slave who dwells in the swamp, is presented as an embodiment of the swamp in *Dred.* He builds his character in the swamp and has even "come into sympathy and communion with nature" (274). As Miller points out, Dred's mind is even identified with the swamp:

> It is difficult to fathom the dark recesses of a mind so powerful and active as his, placed under a pressure of ignorance and social disability so tremendous. In those desolate regions which he made his habitation, it is said that trees often, from the singularly unnatural and wildly stimulating properties of the slimy depths from which they spring, assume a goblin growth, entirely different from their normal habit. All Sorts of vegetable monsters stretch their weird, fantastic forms among its shadows. (*Dred* 496)

Miller observes, Stowe merges inner and outer realms by juxtaposing Dred's mind and the swamp (96). Symbolically, this embodiment of the swamp always carries weapons and is depicted as the very image of the warrior. He says to Harry, "'*I* am a free man! Free by this,' holding out his rifle" (199). While Nina practices love for others on her plantation, the maroon in the swamp protects his freedom resorting to arms.

Dred is a prophet whose mental state borders between the sane and insane. He sometimes even slips into a trance and sees visions. His mysterious power of prophecy renders his belief in God's vengeance on the evil of slavery likely. In the novel, angry at

the death of a slave who flees into the swamp severely injured by a hunter, Dred goes to the camp meeting at the clearing in the swampy woods where Nina and her friends and servants are also gathered. He predicts that the wrath of God will fall upon the sinful institution of slavery, and the break of a cholera epidemic follows shortly. Through Dred, cholera epidemic is converted into God's avenge. Although the plague comes from outside the South, it is strongly associated with the swamp in the novel because of Dred's deep association with the swamp. Richard Boyd also points out the connection between Dred and the plague: Dred's "emerg[ing] from the swamp during a terrible thunderstorm" "[m]irror[s] the cholera" which "descend[s] . . . like a cloud on a neighborhood" (Boyd 56, *Dred* 360). As Jekyll, Tom's lawyer, sighs over "the amount of property that's lost in that swamp" (437), in addition to Dred, there are a number of slaves who literally become part of the swamp by shedding their blood or returning to the soil there, wounded by slave hunters or dying from hunger or severe weather. The swamp therefore contains the suffering, grief, and anger of slaves. As discussed in chapter two, the swamp has long been believed to exude unhealthful vapor from its stagnant water and thus been associated with disease. Therefore, there is a haunting image in *Dred* that the vindictive urge of maroons, being sucked up by and nurturing the swamp, rises up from it and attacks the institution of slavery taking the form of a cholera epidemic.

In addition to this plague, the slaves in the swamp also try to take revenge on the institution in the form of insurrection. Nightly, slaves escape from their masters' plantations and join the maroons in the depths of the swamp where no planters can find them, to plan an insurrection. As discussed in chapter two, people in the South had been suffering plundering by maroons, and fears of slaves planning insurrection in the swamp

were strengthened after Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831. Although it was more than 25 years after the rebellion when Stowe published *Dred* in 1856, there was continuous theft and plundering, and people were sending forces to the swamps assuming that these plunderers were from the swamp (Aptheker 161-3). As for insurrections, Boyd introduces the discovery of a large-scale slave insurrection in which the slaves "expected to act in concert with various others in the surrounding counties and States" (Boston *Liberator*, November 28, 1856).[23] The fear aroused by the discovery was so great that it was later named by a historian the "slave insurrection panic of 1856" (Wish 206).[24] Considering the continuous fear of maroons among people and the recent panic that the discovery of conspiracy caused, when Stowe published *Dred* in 1856, her depiction of slaves planning insurrection secretly in the swamp and its imagery of violence and vengeance must have been vivid to readers. To render the maroon even more impressive, Stowe even has Milly, who is a slave mammy of Aunt Nesbit's but embodies the principle of the love and peace of the plantation, tell Harry, "Keep clear on [Dred]! He's in de wilderness of Sinai; he is with de blackness, and darkness, and tempest" (201).

As several scholars observe, to frighten planters was not Stowe's purpose in depicting rebellious slaves. Dred represents violence and vengeance, while Uncle Tom, the protagonist of Stowe's previous anti-slavery novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, opposes violence and vengeance upon slavery and suffers a martyrdom, always believing in love and forgiveness. Of this transformation of Stowe's earlier African American protagonist, Lawrence Buell states, "One suspects that [Stowe] sensed that to make a willing martyr out of Tom, and of Eva too, was not an adequate solution even to the problem of right conduct, white *or* black, much less to the challenge of charting a path to national

salvation from the curse of slavery" (196). Joan D. Hedrick, a biographer of Stowe, attributes her depicting African Americans' intention of violent protest, to the bloody struggle escalating during the 1850s created by the Kansas-Nebraska Act (258-9). In the summer of 1856, setting fires, the destruction of buildings, and murder were actions taken by both sides in Lawrence and Pottawatomie in Kansas. One of the most famous incidents in the struggle, that Charles Sumner, an antislavery senator from Massachusetts, was beaten up by a colleague from the South in the Senate, also happened during this time. According to Hedrick, Stowe wrote in a letter to the Duchess of Argyle about Sumner's attack, "The book [*Dred*] is written under the impulse of our stormy times [. . .] how the blood & insults of Sumner and the sack of Lawrence burn within us I hope to make a voice to say."[25] In fact, Stowe also mentions the bloody struggle in her preface to *Dred*: "In the near vicinity of modern civilization of the most matter-of-fact kind, exist institutions which carry us back to the twilight of the feudal ages, with all their exciting possibilities of incident" (3). As Boyd observes, in the escalation of violence in both pro-slavery and anti-slavery movements, "the hope for a victorious abolitionist movement sustained by the 'atmosphere of sympathetic influence [which] encircles every human being' (*Uncle Tom's Cabin* II: 317)[26] seemed ever more distant, ever more remote" when Stowe started to write *Dred* (Boyd 53). The depiction of violence presents her realization that the depiction of the sentimental martyrdom of a slave would no longer solve the problem that had started to show a new phase.

While Uncle Tom identifies himself with the plantation by practicing, love, peace, and forgiveness, represented by a daughter of his master, Eva, in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, in *Dred*, Dred and thus his domicile, the swamp, contradicts the plantation. While Southern

plantation society in general presumes enslavement of African American people, slaves in *Dred* defy it claiming their human rights. In *Woodcraft*, the swampers also oppose the planters; however, the dichotomy between the swamp and the plantation in *Dred* is different in nature from the one seen in *Woodcraft*. Although the scoundrels in the swamp deceive the planters and steal from them, for the system of slavery itself both of them share the same idea. The ideal for Mrs. Eveleigh, Porgy, M'Kewn, and Bostwick is to have a large estate, make a good crop, own a considerable number of slave laborers, and be respectful plantation owners. They are all aiming to succeed inside the system. The difference between the plantation aristocrats and the swampers is that the former exploit the system with good morals and the latter with bad morals; in other words, in *Woodcraft*, the swamp and the plantation present two morally opposing spaces based on one ideology, while in *Dred*, the plantation and the swamp present two spaces standing on different ideologies.[27]

As Karafilis states, the swamp in *Dred* "questions the very logic of 'possessioning'" (29), which is, as described earlier, fundamental to the ideology of plantation society. She explains the relationship between the swamp and the society as it is implied in Michel Foucault's idea of "heterotopia" (25-6). Although how close the swamp in *Dred* is to Foucault's heterotopias is arguable, they are comparable in some fundamental ways. What Foucault calls "heterotopias" are similar to the places usually known as utopias, which "have the curious property of being in relation with all of the other sites, but in such a way as to suspend, neutralize, or invert the set of relationships designed reflected, or mirrored by themselves" (11).[28] The difference between utopias and heterotopias is that heterotopias are places that "constitute a sort of

counter-arrangement of effectively realized utopia, in which the real arrangements, all the other real arrangements that can be found within society, are at one and the same time represented, challenged, and overturned: a sort of place that lies outside all places and yet is actually localizable" (12).[29] Karafilis asserts that the swamp in *Dred* is also a heterotopia, which "poses a profound challenge to [the dominant order]" (26). As heterotopia "lies outside all places" and is subversive to the ideology of dominant society, the swamp in *Dred* also lies outside the slave system and asserts an ideology which contradicts the one of plantation society. Here, it should be noted that the plantations support the ideology of the institution of slavery throughout the novel even when they are governed by the novel's moral models, Nina, Anne, and Clayton. Nina's and Anne's plantations present the ideal plantation model, one governed by love. Clayton also believes in a guardian-and-dependent-like relationship between master and slave until he loses a lawsuit and finds that the law does not recognize the rights of slaves. Even after that, his plan is to educate slaves first and gradually emancipate them. Their idea, that presumes slaves' dependent status, opposes the idea of slaves, who believe their freedom to be a natural right and claim immediate emancipation. It is presented as a strong irony and thus sharply represents the nature of the difference in the ideology of the swamp that no matter how benevolent they are as masters, they support the ideology of the institution of slavery as long as they are on the plantation and holding slaves.

Slaves prove the righteousness of their claim for human rights and their plan for rebellion using the Declaration of Independence, with which white Americans justified their revolution against England: Harry asks Clayton why the principle of the declaration that "all men are created equal" does not apply to African Americans; plantation slaves

and maroons read the Declaration at the secret meeting for the insurrection in the depths of the swamp (455). In *Woodcraft*, the Revolutionary War establishes a strong, loyal relationship between slaves and their master, but it is clear that Simms was also aware of the conflict between the principle of the War and the order of the institution. The author removed the conflict by leaving Porgy wifeless and childless and thus suggesting his plantation's discontinuance at the end. In *Dred*, the swamp reveals the reality of slaves, which is inconvenient to Southern planters. The conflict revealed by the slaves in the swamp is even subversive since it not only challenges the ideology of the plantation but also challenges the principle upon which the whole U.S. stands.

As stated earlier, the plantation and the swamp are separated in *Dred*. The ignorance of people on the plantation about people in the swamp and their lives presents how clearly the two groups of people are separated:

> The aristocratic nature of society at [sic] the South so completely segregates people of a certain position in life from any acquaintance with the movements of human nature in circles below them, that the most fearful things may be transacting in their vicinity unknown or unnoticed. The horrors and sorrows of the slave-coffle were a sealed book to Nina and Anne Clayton. They had scarcely dreamed of them; and Uncle John, if he knew their existence, took very good care to keep out of their way, as he would turn from any other painful and disagreeable scene. (*Dred* 280)

When a poor white comes to sell fish at Canema and informs them that his family lives on Uncle John's estate, being ignorant about poor whites' living situation, Nina says to him, "Why don't you get a place of your own to stay on?" (217). Also, Nina, her uncle

and aunt, and Anne do not know much about slave catchers, who are the greatest threat to fugitive slaves: they "had heard something of negro-hunters, and regarded them as low, vulgar people, but troubled their heads little further on the subject" (280). Protagonists on the plantation are not completely unfamiliar with nature. Rather, Nina, Clayton, and Anne are depicted as nature lovers. Nina likes to go into the woods and pick flowers (15); Clayton says, he is "almost a tree-worshipper" (114); Anne has a beautiful grove at her plantation, and her plantation is also called Magnolia Grove, named after this. However, they do not know life in the depths of the wilderness. They only see artificial nature as it belongs to their estates or at the entrance of the woods, assuming this to be the entire wilderness. The swamp is transformed into the "garden"—or the royal forest to compare with *Woodcraft*—in the planters' minds. However, their transformation of the swamp is different from that in *Woodcraft*. While the planters in *Woodcraft* know about the swamp and transform it into the "forest" intentionally out of their desire to control it and its inhabitants, the planters in *Dred* do so unintentionally simply because of their ignorance. As mentioned earlier, Nina on her plantation is symbolically depicted only under the light of day, while Dred in the swamp is depicted in the darkness of the night. Since the plantation aristocrats only look society under daylight, they do not know about the swamp in the darkness of the night.

Like day and night are not completely separate worlds, the plantation and the swamp in *Dred* are not two worlds completely independent. If the forests are the shadow of civilization as Harrison states, the swamp in *Dred* is the shadow of the plantation. Tiff is an African American mammy for the children of the Cripps, the poor whites who squat at the edge of the swamp. He serves Sue, the children's mother, and takes care of her

children, pouring into them selfless love. Nina's remark on Tiff's selflessness presents the nature of the swamp as the shadow of the plantation: "Tiff seems to me just like those mistletoes that we see on the trees in the swamps. He don't seem to have any root of his own; he seems to grow out of something else" (285). As Nina senses, the swamp and its inhabitants depend on the plantation for their fundamental identity; in other words, they are the creation of the plantation.

Although violence and vengeance as represented by the swamp contrasts with the love, peace, and order represented by Nina's and Anne's plantations, as Judie Newman states in her introduction to *Dred*, "[Stowe] lays the responsibility for Southern violence squarely where it belongs," the violence and vengeance of the swamp also derive from the plantation (23). Slavery is violence that deprives innocent people of their human rights, and violence of the swamp is the reflection of, or production of, it. The character who embodies violence of slavery is Nina's brother, Tom. After Nina dies and Tom becomes the master of Canema, the plantation starts to present its true nature. Tom sets his eyes on Harry's wife, Lisette, for her beauty and tries to own her (143). Insisting on the illegality of Harry's sister's becoming free and owning a plantation, he seizes her, her children, and her plantation as his property (165-8). Disliking the anti-slavery movement in his plantation's vicinity, he finally leads lynch mobs and beats an armless preacher, who plans to raise an anti-slavery organization (478-84). Being stopped and blamed by Clayton, who happens to pass by the preacher's house with his friends, Tom again leads the mobs, attacks defenseless Clayton from behind and beats him into unconscious (493). As Newman describes, "Clayton finds, not a black mob baying at his door, but one composed of his own neighbours. Stowe therefore does not avert the threat of

insurrection from conciliatory motives, but to portray the violence of the South as it actually is" (23-4). To oppose the violence of this institution, the slaves in the swamp also resort to violence. Into this relationship between the swamp and the plantation, Boyd's notion of "mimesis" offers a profound insight. Boyd points out the mimetic nature of Dred, who "is the self-proclaimed instrument of divine retribution who will return blood for blood, affliction for affliction, in a paroxysm of vengeance that is the most perfect form of mimetic violence" (56). He also points out that Dred's idea, which is based on the Old Testament, is also the mimesis of white European culture (57). Although Boyd focuses only on Dred, his argument for mimesis is applicable to the discussion of the entire swamp. The Declaration of Independence, which the slaves in the swamp read in planning them the insurrection, is also written by white Americans, whom they are opposing. The swamp is the shadow of the plantation, an upside-down mirror that mimes the opponent and presents the paradox. While it opposes the plantation, its identity depends on its adversary.

Since the swamp is the mimesis of the plantation, these two contrasting spaces are in fact the same by nature. They present two different ideologies, but both of them are reactions to one thing—slavery. Theodore R. Hovet's argument about Dred and Nina in his seminal work, *Master Narrative*, provides an insightful viewpoint for the argument about the relationship between the swamp and the plantation. That Nina is a replica of Eva in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and represents the New Testament of love, forgiveness, and femininity, and Dred represents the Old Testament of violence, vengeance, and masculinity is commonly understood among scholars. Hovet assumes there is a comparable relationship between Nina and Dred and the Messiah's different images in

two scriptures (47). The Messiah is depicted as a king in the Old Testament, while he is depicted as a servant in the New Testament. Likewise, Dred and Nina are both Christ-like figures who become martyrs to the evil of slavery, but each of them conveys a different image. Dred, who speaks God's words of retribution on the evil of slavery, plans a vengeful insurrection, and is killed by slave-hunters, is depicted as a king of the swamp; Nina, who nurses and encourages panicked slaves at the outbreak of the cholera epidemic and dies from the disease, becomes like a servant to her slaves in a more limited sense and to God in a larger sense. Although Hovet does not provide a detailed description of how Dred and Nina and the two images of the Messiah are comparable, if I guess correctly, the discussion leads us to conclude that Dred and Nina are the incarnation of the two different images of the Messiah, and thus the two characters are the same by nature. Also, although Dred conveys a king's image, he is a slave (or more accurately a fugitive slave) in real life. Likewise, although Nina conveys a servant's image, she is a king, or a queen in this case, on her plantation within the institution of slavery. Between Dred and Nina, the opposite status of the master and the slave becomes different aspects of one person like the Messiah in the two scriptures; in other words, Nina's and Dred's different images present different aspects of slavery. Hovet also points out that Stowe transforms the difference between these two scriptures into the conflict between moral constitutions, one which inspires in one the desire for justice, and heart, the other which inspires in one the urge to forgive, inside one person (47-8). The day after the slaves' secret meeting to plan the insurrection, where Milly appears and remonstrates with them on their vengeful thoughts, Dred agonizes over the conflict between his vengeful desire and what Milly tells him about God's love and forgiveness (496-7). Like two forces in

conflict inside one body, the swamp and the plantation present two conflicting reactions to the one system of slavery.

That the swamp and the plantation are the same by nature is the reason Nina often sees not only the swamp but also the entire South with the imagery of wilderness:

> Everything is so unformed, so wild, and so lonely! I never saw anything so lonesome as these woods are. Here you can ride miles and miles, hours and hours, and hear nothing but the swaying of the pine-trees, just as you hear it now. Our place [. . .] stands all by itself, miles from any other [. . .]. I can't help thinking things look rather deserted and desolate, here. (113-4)

Nina has just come home from finishing school in the North. After she spends awhile in the North, the South looks to her like a wilderness: unformed, wild, lonely, a deserted place. She has a clearer notion when she later refers to the place again:

> Did you ever see such a direful place? What is the reason, when we get down south, here, everything seems to be going to destruction, so? I noticed it all the way down through Virginia. It seems as if everything had stopped growing, and was going backwards. Well, now, it's so different at the north! (151)

In addition to the dichotomy between the plantation and its shadow, the swamp, through Nina's eyes, in *Dred* presents another dichotomy: the North and its shadow, the South. Nina is aware of what makes the South the shadow of civilization by declaring right after the above statement that "[She] do[es]n't believe in slavery!" before Clayton verbalizes and makes concrete Nina's thoughts that slavery barbarizes the South (152). The South is wilderness in the shadow of the civilization of Northern freedom.

Because of this imagery of the wilderness for the entire South, Nina's coming from the North to the South can be compared to the heroines in European fairy tales who go into the woods. As the heroines in fairy tales experience maturation in the woods, Nina also grows mentally in the South. After she comes to the South, she becomes more serious about her life. When she is in the North, she is a coquette without serious thoughts who gets engaged to three men at the same time for a "trial" (8). Her coquetry seems to be so famous among Southern planters that even Clayton's friend, Russell, calls her "that princess of little flirts" when he asks him about her (19). However, as soon as she comes to the South, she realizes her foolishness in New York: "In the comparative solitude of her present life her mind began to clear itself of some former follies, as water when at rest deposits the sediments which clouded it" (41). She breaks up with her fiancées, seeks a serious relationship with Clayton, and supports him intellectually in his difficulties. Her clear mental growth even makes Russell remark, "Nina will keep Clayton awake!" when Clayton wins a difficult case for Milly at the court (304). Nina also grows as a plantation mistress. Learning that Harry is suffering in the wake of Tom's intention to purchase his wife, Lisette, out of slavery, Nina quickly goes to Lisette's owner and concludes a sales contract by herself (147-50). She also learns the truth of her plantation's financial condition, which Harry has been hiding from her (156). When she sees Anne's plantation, she feels a responsibility for her slaves and learns the power of love as well (331). Also, Nina grows spiritually after she comes to the South through her reading the Bible to Tiff and the Cripps' children everyday. Stowe compares Nina's becoming religious to waking up from sleep (345). Just as the heroines in fairy tales who sleep in the woods experience the process of sexual maturation and wake up at the kiss of

Prince Charming, Nina also grows in the South and is awakened by Clayton. Last but not least, Nina begins to think about slavery and the South after she comes home. She learns of the living conditions of poor whites through her interaction with the Cripps' children; she also feels the evil of slavery and learns about abolitionism from Clayton. Her decision to stay at her plantation at the outbreak of the cholera epidemic is the culmination of her maturation. Despite Aunt Nesbit's invitation to leave the plantation, Nina remains there to nurse and encourage her slaves and, upon her death, becomes a martyr. In *Woodcraft*, Porgy and Arthur also experience mental growth in the swamp. The difference between them is that while Porgy and Arthur grow in the swamp that they intend to "forest-ize," Nina grows in the South, which is presented as the swamp as a whole. For Porgy and Arthur, growth means to become competent plantation masters who have the power to control the swamp, i.e., the threat to the institution of slavery, in addition to their estates and slaves. For Nina, growth means to learn the evil of slavery, the reason that the South is recognized as the swamp as a whole. Since she becomes a Christ-like figure at the outbreak of the epidemic on her plantation, it is suitable for her to die and become a martyr of the evil of slavery at the culmination of her growth.

Since the swamp is a mimesis, or upside-down mirror of the plantation and they are the same by nature in *Dred*, its moral status is not fixed as it is in *Woodcraft*. The outbreak of the cholera epidemic is a catalyst to reverse the moral status of the two spaces. After Nina dies, her brother Tom becomes a master of Canema. The plantation, which represents love and peace under the reign of Nina in the first half of the novel, falls into a place of violence, tyranny, and adultery representing the true nature of the institution under the reign of Tom. On the contrary, the swamp, which first represents violence and

vengeance, turns out to be a beautiful, orderly, and peaceful place after Nina's death. The swamp kindly provides shelter to runaways. There, Dred, Tiff, the Cripps' children, Harry, Lisette, and other fugitive slaves live together peacefully, men going out to hunt or gain food from the slaves of vicinal plantations, women and children picking grapes and Tiff hoeing potatoes. It is not only the poor whites and African American slaves for whom the swamp provides a shelter. The swamp, the upside down mirror of the plantation, defies the racial and class discrimination of plantation society. Clayton also heals his wounds made by Tom's mob in the beautiful natural world of the swamp. While the plantation corrupts, reflecting it in its upside down mirror, the swamp becomes an ideal, utopian space.

This reversal of the moral status of two spaces does not only present different aspects of each space. About the Messiah's image's transformation into a servant in the New Testament, as referred to earlier, the theologian Rosemary Radford Ruether argues as follows:

> The messianic age will not be a time when Israel will defeat its enemies and be installed in possession of a great Near Eastern empire through which it will rule its former masters. Rather it will be a time when all structures of ruler and ruled are overcome. In line with this interpretation of the Reign of God, Jesus resymbolizes the messianic prophet (and, by implication, God) not as king but as servant. The messianic person and those who follow him must not seek a new situation in which they will dominate others, but they must become servants of all. By adapting the word *servant* (slave) in this way Jesus drastically reverses the social

> references of divine redemptive activity, identifying redemption with the lowest persons in society (slaves) rather that the highest (kings). (120-21)[30]

As Dred also foretells, the outbreak of the cholera epidemic and the following reversal of moral status proves that "the day of the Lord"—the last day of the world, or, the ending of the novel—has come (263). In other words, this reversal of moral status works for Stowe to provide an answer to the evil of slavery that she has been pursuing to close this novel, if not for God to provide judgment. The rebellious slaves and abolitionists face a dead end in the latter half of the novel: Harry cannot betray his half sister, Nina; insurrection does not seem the appropriate answer to the evil of slavery because if slavery is violence, other acts of violence cannot bring peace to society; Father Dickson, an anti-slavery preacher, is physically attacked by pro-slavery mobs; Clayton loses Milly's case, cannot obtain cooperation from other people, and is also physically attacked by mobs. However, the outbreak of cholera and the reversal of moral status break the stalemate. Following Nina's death, Harry joins the camp in the swamp with his wife, Lisette. Tiff also joins with the Cripps' children, and Clayton happens to join too. That all the main characters leave the plantation and gather in the swamp renders the plantation marginalized and the marginalized swamp comes to be the center of the story. Becoming a center, the swamp seems to obtain the power of creation or regeneration necessary to allow the story to proceed. Clayton recovers not only from physical damage but also from frustration in nature:

> Life began to look to him like a troubled dream, forever past. His own sufferings, the hours of agony and death which he had never dared to

> remember, seemed now to wear a new and glorified form. Such is the divine power in which God still reveals himself through the lovely and incorruptible forms of nature. (509)

Although he gets bogged down in his antislavery action by opposition from others and attacks from Tom, gaining nourishment for the body and the soul in the swamp, he gives more importance to carrying through his antislavery actions even if he has to leave the South. As for Harry and his companions who lose Dred, the encounter with Clayton in the swamp allows them to avoid the violent solution. They all break the stalemate and go to Canada or the free states of the North to pursue their desire for freedom.

What Stowe had her abolitionist protagonists choose at the end is to abandon both the swamp and the plantation and leave the South altogether. No matter how benevolent and idealistic the plantation looks, as long as it holds slaves, it supports the ideology of the institution of slavery. And since the swamp is the mimesis of the plantation, no matter how it looks like a utopia, these two spaces are the same by nature. Therefore, Stowe had to have her abolitionist protagonists find a new place that has neither the swamp nor the plantation. Stowe's equation of the two spaces and her abandonment of the South can be explained through the strong notion of law she develops in this novel. Many scholars, such as Newman, John Carlos Rowe, and Lisa Whitney, observe Stowe's emphasis on law in this novel. Stowe particularly seems to emphasize the legal case of Milly, as she even refers to Judge Ruffin, who is a model for Judge Clayton (Clayton's father) in Milly's case, in the preface (4). As Newman argues, through his judgment, "Clayton Senior decrees that no reform is possible unless the institution of slavery is given up" (17). Whitney refers to Stowe's *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, in which the author takes up

the case Judge Ruffin decided, and observes, "Stowe's praise of Ruffin's determination 'not to call a bad thing by a good name' is especially instructive in light of her later revision of a familial ideal of slavery, an ideal that obscures the evil of the institution" (561-2). Stowe concludes that the ideal cannot be established inside the institution of slavery and therefore her abolitionist protagonists need to break out of the structure of slavery and find an ideal place outside the institution, outside the South, outside the nation.

CONCLUSION

William Gilmore Simms, the Southern apologist, constructs the boundary between the swamp and the plantation to establish his ideal Southern society in *Woodcraft*. Harriet Beecher Stowe, the Northern abolitionist, destroys this boundary and abandons both the swamp and the plantation in *Dred* concluding that her ideal society cannot be established inside the institution of slavery. In the Old South, while the plantation represented the prosperity of the institution of slavery, the swamp was the place for people marginalized from the institution. Poor whites, who were excluded from the economic system of the institution, and fugitive slaves, who ran away from the bondage in the institution, claimed their space in the swamp. For the planters, these marginalized people of the swamp were potential betrayers and insurrectionists, and therefore a threat to the institution. To maintain the order of planters-dominated Southern society, Simms separates the swamp from the plantation and has planters control it in *Woodcraft*. Although the swamp is part of the Southern landscape, it is alienated and presented as an adversary to the South. The swamp is represented by the most villainous character, Bostwick, and presented as the dichotomy of the righteousness of aristocrats on the plantation and evil of poor whites in the swamp. This antagonistic relationship is reinforced by identifying it with the North: the inhabitants are identified with the Northern materialism that opposes the values of Southern aristocrats. This separation is consummated through the corruption of the swampers. By establishing a strong relationship between master and slave when constructing a boundary between the swamp and the plantation, Simms succeeds at

separating only poor whites while confining the slaves to the plantation. For a society in which the planters exercise control over the swamp, Simms transforms the swamp into the forest of the medieval knights. In Simms' ideal society, the swamp no longer represents a threat to the institution anymore. It is, rather, a ritualistic place for planters to present their power of control as the royal forest was for a medieval king.

To the Northern abolitionist, the marginalized people in the swamp represented the paradox of the institution. In *Dred*, the peaceful plantations of good-natured protagonists and the swamp of violent and vengeful maroons look like two worlds completely separated. However, Stowe presents these violence and vengeance of maroons as the reflection of the violence of the institution of slavery; in other words, the swamp is a mimesis of the plantation and therefore the same as the plantation by nature. The boundary between the swamp and the plantation dissolves in *Dred*. While Simms identifies the South with the plantation of good aristocrats and the North with the swamp of evil poor whites, this equation of the swamp and the plantation allows Stowe to identify the entire South with the swamp, which traditionally conveys negative imagery, and contrast the retrogressive South of slavery and the progressive North of freedom. The protagonists' escape from the South to the free states in the North and Canada at the end reflects Stowe's realization that an ideal society cannot be established as long as slavery exists. Since the swamp and the plantation both represent the different aspects of slavery, they are both destined to be abandoned as she pursues her ideal society of freedom.

The swamp and the plantation, both landscapes typical of the Old South, looked different as such to the two authors who had opposite opinions on slavery. Just like the motels and fast food restaurants in the West are an eyesore to the tourists expecting the

Old West but proudly boasted of by the owners, the swamp represented the threat to the institution for the Southern apologist and the paradox of the institution for the Northern abolitionist. Landscapes are in part creations of our minds. If we explore someone's perception of the landscape, we may reveal some truth about his or her ideas. William Gilmore Simms' *Woodcraft* is a novel about the retired Revolutionary soldier who restores his ruined plantation. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Dred* is a novel about young lovers who pursue abolitionism in the South. However, if we look at the landscapes depicted behind the story lines closely, there appear the other stories: the stories of constructing and destroying the boundary between the swamp and the plantation, which are, in the end, the authors' attempt to present their own ideal societies.

NOTES

[1] Qtd. in Wilson 3.

[2] Qtd. in Hedrick 207.

[3] Qtd. in Hedrick 258.

[4] Qtd. in Ridgely 423.

[5] For example, see Woolsey 56, Beall 227, and Abbott 507.

[6] Although *Beowulf* is originally an oral folk narrative in German society before Christianity pervaded, Christian coloring was added when it was later recorded.

[7] Since Japan is a mountainous country, mountains, rather than forests or woods, are the primary sacred nature. Still, many groves, woods, and forests are regarded as sacred as constituents of these sacred mountains.

[8] I borrowed Anthony R. Birley's English translation of Tacitus's *Germania* published by Oxford UP here, but I used Izui's Japanese translation for full reference.

[9] Qtd. in the entry for "Frontier" in *The Concise Oxford Companion to American Litearature*.

[10] Qtd. in the entry for "Frontier" in *The Concise Oxford Companion to American Literature*.

[11] Davis presents this legend of Native Americans with the recognition that there are several other versions of the tale. Which version Moore specifically refers to is not clear.

[12] Qtd. in Aptheker 154.

[13] For example, see Alabama's 1952 slave code No.1025.

[14] Qtd. in Forret 117.

[15] To be more accurate, Wray differentiates the word "poor white trash" from "poor white" (see p. 17). However, I will ignore the subtle difference between the two here, since "poor white" is already a derogate word as marked in *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, and therefore people usually say "poor white" meaning "poor white trash."

[16] Qtd. in Aptheker 153.

[17] Qtd. in Forret 124.

[18] See John Mayfield.

[19] See Charles S. Watson.80-3.

[20] Qtd. in Forret 117.

[21] Qtd. in Bakker 87.

[22] John Mayfield observes that for Simms, Southern manhood is "something that could be simultaneously settled and mobile, decorous and rebellious, refined and rough" (485). Mayfield considers the combination of Southernness and Yankeeism as one of the combinations.

[23] Qtd. in Boyd 51.

[24] Qtd. in Boyd 51.

[25] Qtd. in Hedrick 258.

[26] Qtd. in Boyd 53.

[27] Karafilis also points out the swamp's ideological difference, but in comparison to Anne's plantation and Clayton's settlement in Canada, which she sees as one of the possible sites where true democracy can be practiced. See Karafilis 38.

[28] Qtd. in Karafilis 25.

[29] Qtd. in Karafilis 26.

[30] Qtd. in Hovet 47.

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