New Evaluation of A Forgotten American Woman Writer

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Caroline Lee Hentz was a best-selling author. All of her books enjoyed a wide popularity, 100,000 copies being sold in a three year period over her life time. Furthermore, her books continued to sell following her death in 1856. Publishers kept some of the titles in print until the last decade of the century, which indicates that they continued to be in demand. A Philadelphia house, under the successive names of Carey and Hart, A. Hart, and Perry and MacMillan, was Hentz's original publisher. After her death the stereotype plates of all her volumes were purchased by T.B. Peterson and Brothers, also of Philadelphia, who then issued "Peterson's Uniform Edition of the Complete Works of Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz" guaranteed to be printed on better paper than before. The last discoverable imprint of this edition was in 1889. 1

Hentz's writing were much appreciated in her day. A reviewer in Arthur's Home Magazine wrote in May, 1954: "The popularity of the various novels and nouvellets by Mrs. Hentz rests upon a firmer, purer and altogether superior basis to that of many of her contemporaries". 2 The Literary World reviewers admired Hentz's novels because their high moral aim was "implied rather than forced on the readers mind". 3 they even approved of Hentz's novels because the lessons she "inculcates are not delivered in a dictatorial, self-sufficient manner, but ingeniously woven in with the story imparting to it force and reality, without diminishing its romance or interest". 4

Hentz, however, did not receive fair judgement from modern critics. On the contrary, her novels were condemned to oblivion as sentimental prototypes. Leslie Fiedler wrote generally of 19th-century women writers:

Neither inwardness, nor character .... interested the scribbling ladies at all. They sought, however, unconsciously, the mythical beneath the psychological and rendered the myth in sub-literary or pre-literary form, degraded it to the stereotype. 5

Fiedler frequently reveals his distaste and disapproval of women novelists. He calls them "lady purveyors of genteel sentimental fiction". 6 He designates the sentimental trend: a blight, a universal influence which was also,
a universal calamity". He asks sarcastically: "What, then was the nature of this achievement? What did the Sentimental Love, Religion and the novel of analysis become in their hands?" His point is that "lady epigones" have corrupted and misused the novel. Fiedler simply makes large condemnatory generalization about women novelists. Likewise, Richard Chase and Todd Lieber exclude women's works from their studies as atypical. Fiedler, Chase and Lieber build their argument on "sexual stereotypes", rather than upon sound critical judgement.

Alexander Cowie, not only condemns Ernest Linwood, Hentz's major book, as sentimental but also approaches it with a view distorted by prejudice. First he allows that "Despite the sensational nature of the plot, Ernest Linwood is not only readable but in many respects well worked out". But rather than let Ernest Linwood exemplify the best of the genre, Cowie considers its strengths exceptions to the rules of domestic fiction:

The characterization is unusually good for the domestic novel, many of the scenes are well developed (instead of being dealt with scrappily as often in the novels of the time), and author's frequently figurative language is considerably more finished than that of the average popular writers of her day.

The final insult to Hentz's skill comes when Cowie attributes the artistry of Ernest Linwood to others: "Rather skilful imitation of other writers is obvious".

Hentz does not fare much better at the hands of Fred Lewis Pattee, who, like Cowie, refuses to attribute her considerable proficiency to talent. Pattee gets it all wrong when he notes that Hentz "was forty six" when she began writing short fiction and "fifty" when her "first novel Linda appeared". Before she began her career in fiction, Pattee claims, she had "a successful run as a result of Hentz's efforts or growth or determination, her novels "had plot and movement and dramatic atmosphere". Moreover, he attributes her "Literary finish and style" in part to "her husband's French scholarship and French Library".

Helen Papashvily finds that Hentz's works "had little plot, less suspense and no humor" and ascribes "a certain life and intimacy" in Hentz's work to
her "undeniable talent for self dramatization". Papashvily totally ignores the point of Hentz's fiction when she charges that "few whole men appeared in Mrs. Hentz's novels". Papashvily fails to consider that perhaps Hentz's purpose was to explore certain aspects of male psychology and domination with respect to their influence on women. Instead of dealing with the novel itself, Papashvily belittles Ernest Linwood by labelling it "thinly disguised autobiography". Papashvily however was not able to discuss the novel with an awareness of the seriousness of Hentz's intent because she measured her works against the critical theories which impose "essentially male standards" upon literature.

For whatever justification they offer, critics have often ignored, suppressed or ridiculed works by 19th-century women writers. Critical biases have frequently caused women's works to be relegated to the category of "popular" - therefore unimportant fiction. Another major effect of critical biases against women's writing has been that when works by women are accepted into the literary canon, they have been generally measured against male standards and required to engage male interests - as though at least half or more of the reading population were not female with feminine interests and standards to which a novel might legitimately make its appeal. The tendency has been nevertheless, to define traditional literature or good literature with respect to masculine interests and values, Nina Baym puts it:

> Women's experience.... seems to be outside the interests and sympathies of male critics whose judgements have largely determined the canon of classic American literature .... I cannot avoid the belief that "purely" literary criteria, as they have been employed to identify the best American works, have inevitably had a bias in favor, of things male - in favor, say, of whaling ships, rather than sewing circles as a symbol of the human community; in favor of satires on domineering mothers, shrewish wives, or betraying mistresses, rather than tyrannical fathers, abusive husbands, or philandering suitors; displaying an exquisite compassion for the crises of the adolescent male, but altogether impatient with the crises of the female.

If Fiedler, Cowie and other modern critics had looked closely into Hentz's fiction, they would have seen it as a part of a larger movement away from
the complacencies of domestic fiction toward the cynicism of late nineteenth century women's fiction. They also would have seen the futility of their condemnation. Hentz's books are, more than probably, anti-romantic, and anti-sentimental. Her heroine is usually "active and defiant". She is a creature whose desires must be met but who can both fulfill her desires and remain conventional only through dishonesty and affectation. In Hentz's works, we see more forcefully the heroine's expressed anger which lay potentially beneath domestic good manners.

Hentz, like the other women writers of the day, formed a beginning, a beginning in which it was enough to outwit or outmanoeuvre men to meet a feminine goal but in which, too, simply because the need to outwit existed, the structure of society is called into question. Caroline Hentz like Harriet Beecher Stowe often broke with the convention of domestic and sentimental formula. She demonstrated her use and eventual defiance of women's literary tradition in the best possible way when she employed domestic means for revolutionary ends. Yet in considering Hentz's fiction, the critic should recognize the trappings of her fiction. Home is the setting; family is the source of conflict, comfort and energy. But while the heroine resolved her conflicts, and made her way either with or without threatening the power of her male relatives in particular or calling into question masculine privilege in general, these heroines pose serious threats to the institutions which seek to repress them. They maintain the weapons, dishonesty, domesticity and secret action to control their destiny.

Though Hentz was not a declared feminist, yet she populated her world largely with female figures who are rebellious, active, dynamic and superficially feminine, but who can manipulate men according to their own wishes. Excepting characters in the proslavery novels, men did not interest Hentz very much except as foils for female superiority. Hentz not only omitted the romantic courtship scenes of the sentimental novels but she also caricatured them repeatedly in her novels. She demonstrated that extreme sentimentality and passion or complete conformity to domesticity were totally destructive to both male and female. Hentz warned her readers against the dangers of romantic and passionate attachment as "a travesty of marital harmony".

Hentz's women sometimes use the moral suasion of example and mild pre-
cept to turn men to more humane ways. But when they fail, women di-
rectly oppose men, no matter how patriarchal, strong or brutal they might be. Eoline tries to convince her father of the futility of her marriage to Horace Cleveland, when she fails, she runs away. Likewise, Linda tells Robert that she does not love him and will not marry him and run away secretly without delay. Unless given in to their demands, women in Hentz's novels do not accept the decisions of their inferior males and act most defi-
antly, independently and collectively.

The crucial help and care received by rebellious women in Hentz's fiction is offered to them by other women. Eoline's successful escape from an arranged marriage, imposed by her father, is effected by Miss Manly's sup-
port when she offers her a job as a music teacher at Magnolia Vale. Rena's final happiness is secured through of Aunt Debby. Helen's refuge from Clinton's advances, Mittie's jealousy and the instability of their brother, Lousis, has been the home of Arthur's mother. Gabriella's deliverance from the passionate tyranny of Ernest has been effected by Mrs. Linwood. On another level, Hentz's men often do damage, as demonstrated by Robert Graham Ernest Linwood, Bryant Clinton, and many others. Work, both practical and spiritual, originates from and is carried through by women. Women help each other for the same reason the slaves do. They-are mem-
bers of the same oppressed group and feel the necessity for a collective help to reach their goals or simply to make their lives bearable.

It is very important to note, however, that Hentz had endeavored consist-
tently to guide women readers through a changing dangerous world, to provide them with examples of safe conduct and to admonish them with illustrations of foolish behaviour.27 Hentz was aware from personal experi-
ence that women live two lives: the inward life which question and the out-
ward life which conforms. Hence, she intended to save women readers from experiencing anxiety and role conflict with respect to the confines of womanhood. These tensions as well as some of the strategies for relieving them were projected into her characters. Her focus had been therefore the heroine - both the woman who succeeds because she has learned her les-
sons well and the woman who fails or nearly fails because she has been too resistant, conforming or foolhardy.

As the heroine is projected to into the centre of action and characterized by
a sense of independence, the male antagonist is hardly recognized. Or if he is there at all, he is endowed with tragic flaws such as ineptitude and fickleness. Both Leslie Fielder and Helen Waite Papashivily believe that the domestic novel was essentially a fantasy of revenge perpetrated by women against the injustices - social, legal and economic - imposed on them by the opposite sex, therefore they condemned it and ignored its importance.  

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the female audience and the female writers pledged to an almost intolerable gentility .... a mythic proto-literature in which women eternally suffer not from sexual assault but from their weakness, their cowardice, lack of moral firmness, insufficient intelligence, proneness to get drunk or ill, or to die when most needed....

Papashivily who pointed to the methods used by Hentz: "Mrs. Hentz maimed the husband" ignored the point of Hentz's fiction when she charged that "few whole men appeared in Mrs. Hentz's novels" Papashivily, like most contemporary critics, failed to consider that perhaps Hentz's purpose was to certain aspects of male psychology with respect to their influence on the female. Probably Hentz's low evaluation of the male is to make the female heroic pattern sound plausible in a society which punishes heroic females and exalts the upper-class white males regardless of his weaknesses.

Therefore, it is axiomatic in Hentz's fiction that males, however handsome, clever or well meaning they may be, all have serious character flaws which are ruthlessly exposed, usually through their dealings with women. Moreover, men are hardly major characters in Hentz's fiction. The action and the plot lines usually follow the heroine while the male character is often secondary. Even the good male characters are shown ridiculous or inept in one or another occasion. They are usually and completely at the mercy of women. And finally when the leading male wins the heroine's hand in marriage, he is suitably chastened and purified through all the emotional breakdowns and problems from which he is usually delivered by the heroine herself.

In Linda, Robert Graham is tragically flawed, jealous, possessive, blasphemous and very emotional. He seems like a teenage boy desperately seeking for the love of Linda or else death for both. Robert, an undisciplined, self-absorbed, morbidly erratic and passionate has no idea how to treat the
gentle Linda who is only fourteen at the time and who honestly admits that she is too young to think of love and marriage. He badgers and bullies her into demonstrating her love for him, which the poor girl is incapable of doing. The exceptional and morbid possessiveness of Robert is clearly evident when he threatens Linda:

When Robert then realizes that Linda loves the young pilot Roland Lee, he becomes tragically furious and ruptures a blood vessel: Robert Graham's possessive and passionate nature invites his destruction.

It is very important in Hentz's fiction that the male falls from power because of hubris, an excess of pride, jealousy, selfishness, ambition or any others innate weakness so that the heroine might triumph over the man, her weakness is stronger than his strength. And she smiles at being able to support his weak manliness. The reader, however, will turn to admire the female heroine in her new quite and unexceptional struggles for freedom and appreciation. Ernest Linwood suffers from the same tragic flaw of Robert Graham. But his passionate character is rather, superbly developed. His possessiveness and wild passion border on the psychopathic.

If the romantic Gabriella represents the extremes of passion which rob a woman of self determination and will in 19th century America, Ernest represents those powers which precipitate this disintegration of personality. If Gabriella is passive before her passions, Ernest is demanding and overbearing before his. If Gabriella must give all to the beloved object. Ernest must take all and require yet more. Ernest's jealous and demanding nature, Attractive and destructive to Gabriella is a result of his own sense of inferiority. On the surface, he is arrogant, brilliant, cultured and accomplished. However, he admits of Gabriella:

The truth, is Gabriella I have no self esteem. A celebrated German phrenologist examined my head and pronounced it decidedly deficient in the swelling organ of self-appreciation. 34

In other words, Ernest is insecure about his manhood. Ernest's insecurity manifests itself in a deep distrust of women, whom he finds "false and worldly", 35 for "suspicion and jealousy were the twin phantoms of (his) soul".36 In his paroxysms of madness, Ernest confesses:
I am no more master of myself than the maniac who hurls his desperate hand in the face of Omnipotence. Reason has no power, - love no influence,...... My heart freezes as in a wintery storm.  

With these tragic flaws, no wonder one eruption follows another in Gabriella's home. Gabriella, passionate and flawed as she is, rises above the male for she is able to control her emotions. Gabriella relates after an incident her sense of pride and superiority to her unjust and morbid Ernest:

Coldly and proudly my eyes met his, as we stood face to face in the light of midnight moon. I, who had looked up to him with the reverence due to a superior being, felt that I was above him now. He was the slave of an unjust passion, the dupe of a dis­tempered fancy, and such unworthy of my respect and love. As I admitted this truth, I shuddered with that vague horror we feel in dreams when we recoil from the brink of something, we know not what ....  

By juxtaposing the independent, self willed heroine with the innately flawed male who is ruled by his passions, Hentz's message is quite clear. Romance and passion uncontrolled by reason and by the patriarchal antebel­lum society, on the part of the male invites the destruction of culturally based idea of male superiority. On the contrary, women's qualities are su­perior men.

Hentz held back from full-fledged participation in the nascent feminist movement in her prime, but evidently became less conservative as she aged. Yet, in her novels, she advocated a forceful public role for women. Moreover, she engaged in correspondence with Elizabeth Peabody so as to keep abreast of events. Thus, the larger political implications of Hentz's and of her life are manifest. She held up images of female competence and the worth of the home while exhorting women to activity outside the home, especially in her long novels, in which she projected the woman teacher into the centre of action. Furthermore, in the characters of Eoline, Linda, Miss Manly, Mrs. Reviere, Miss Thusa, Aunt Patty Rena and Aunto Debby, Hentz tried to show that women could partake in the making of civilization. And in glorifying the sacrificing qualities of the Southern mistress of
the plantation in her proslavery novels, Hentz gave a concrete demonstration of the redemptive capacity of a loving home. After all, Hentz was the product of her contradictory age and as thus she possessed also an epic vision of domesticity which she projected into her proslavery novels.

Even though Hentz refused to endorse the women's movement, she was hardly apolitical. The pages of her only feminist article "The Sex of the Soul" contained denunciations of male behaviour together with characterizations of female behaviour as sublime. If one examines the themes of Hentz's best-selling novels, one again encounters, to a certain extent, polarized values, with the female characters representing all that is positive and the male characters all that is negative. Hentz's domestic feminism became overtly political when she began to launch attacks in her on aspects of male culture in the name of women's own higher virtue. More or less these attacks were the reflections of the sexual politics that found full-blown expression in the moral reform movements of the mid-nineteenth century. Given her own personal experiences and conflict over domesticity, it is not surprising to find Hentz displaying sensitivity to the political uses of domesticity in her long novels. In her writings as well as in her personal life, there was a great tension between the assertion of autonomy and the assertion of conventional views of woman's sphere. There was much uneasiness and frustration coexisting in her writing and in her person.

Evidently, Hentz never lost her faith in domesticity and feminine values even while she chafed under the restrictions they placed on her freedom. She craved however for independence and the home at the same time. She could, occasionally, especially in her proslavery novels, display maudlin sentimentality and an adoration of domestic and pious women. The duality of Yankee and Southerner in Hentz's character was very clear in her writer of the Shad to be committed to a set of patriarchal values at issue with those expressed in other of her novels. Late in her life, she rejected all sentimentality and domesticity and left her husband for her career. Yet deep in her heart of hearts, she felt her responsibility toward her home and family. Hentz's concept of herself, of the family, of the world itself was changing radically. She was awakening to her status in society as a piece of property. At first she was docile, then angry and finally resigned and cynical.
What makes the corpus of her work so valuable for the study of the impact of domestic feminism is the fact that she felt and expressed both reverence for and resentment of the home, domesticity and female standards with much intensity and literary artistry. At a time when the home empowered women to make large claims for cultural influences, Hentz evidently found it difficult to attack domesticity, yet she did it with so much tact and wisdom as not to frighten away her 19th century readers. Hentz acted out her rebellion through her rebellious, double dealings, but lovable and beautiful heroines who used domesticity as their chief weapon to undermine 19th century male dominated society.

While it is true that heroines in Hentz's fiction mostly behave conventionally, they do defy convention and by their defiance call convention into question. But they do so covertly. In this respect, Hentz cannot be accused of exercising an enormous influence on her society for her heroines represent the beginning of a long line of women who, more or less, secretly defy society. Because of Hentz, to have advocated freedom of action in a heroine would have been destructive to the society which supported both he, and, in fiction, her heroine; to have indulged in an exploration of her heroine's psyche in a research for psychological freedom would have been unseemly. The best she could do was to advocate a superficial conformity while suggesting a covert individuality. In a way, each of Hentz's rebellious heroines was a sister to the feminists of the period who confronted the status quo most subversively.

Not unlike Elizabeth Cady Staton, Hentz believed in and fought for women's independence through her strong-minded and dynamic heroines who represent the revolt of nineteenth century women against the tyranny of man. In short, her books and her novels are useful and subtle weapons in our understanding of women's undeclared war against a male-oriented society. In a broader sense, Hentz's fiction was a literature of protest and deep resistance against a male dominated technological society which was isolating, ignoring and crippling its women. Hentz's fiction could be seen as a part of a larger movement away from the complacencies of domestic fiction toward the realism of late nineteenth century American fiction.
Notes


3. October 9th, 1847, Ibid., p. 126

4. April 3rd, 1852, Ibid.


6. Ibid., p. 83

7. Ibid., p. 75.

8. Ibid., pp. 83-84

9. Ibid., 83


13. Ibid.

14. Ibid. Cowie believes that Hentz imitated Richardson and Charlotte Bronte who are recalled by the analogy between Jane Eyre and Gabriella as well as by Rochester-like traits in the hero Ernest.

15. Fred Lewis Pattee, *The Feminine Fifties* (New York : D. Appleton Century Company, 1940), p.120. Hentz started writing long novels in her thirties and not in her fifties as Patee assumed.

16. Ibid., pp.120-121


18. Ibid., p.91

19. Ibid.


28. Fiedler, *Love and Death*, pp.63-64; see also Papashvily, *All The Happy Endings*, p.24

29. Fiedler, *Love and Death*, p. 219

30. Papashvily, *All The Happy endings*, p. 115. For a complete discussion of the American hero, see Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*
31. Papashvily, All The Happy Endings, p. 91. Papashvily's conclusion on Hentz's fiction was condemnatory: "Those women who were not fortunate enough to get a bad husband had to make one", p.94.


33. Hentz. Linda, p. 109

34. Caroline Lee Hentz, Ernest Linwood Or The Inner Life of the Author (Boston : John P. Jewett, 1856) pp. 268.

35. Ibid., p. 230

36. Ibid., p.265

37. Ibid., p.296.

38. Ibid., p.333.

