

# THE BOOK

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## Histories of Print, Manuscript, & Performance in America Publishing God: Printing, Preaching, and Reading in Eighteenth-Century America

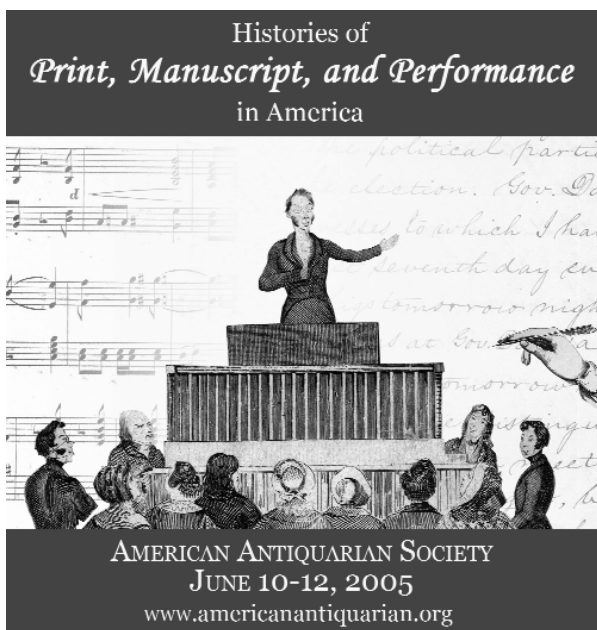
Two programs in the history of the book, back to back—a summer conference and the summer seminar—promise rich rewards for those able to participate in one or both in June 2005.

“Histories of Print, Manuscript, and Performance in America” is the first of a projected series of annual conferences. It will be held in Worcester from Friday, June 10, to Sunday, June 12, 2005, under the auspices of the American Antiquarian Society’s Program in the History of the Book in American Culture. The chair of the conference, Sandra Gustafson (English, Notre Dame), will deliver the twenty-third James Russell Wiggins Lecture in the History of the Book in American Culture. Her lecture, “The Emerging Media of Early America,” will serve as the conference keynote address. For a list of conference speakers and their topics, see below.

The summer seminar in the history of the book will convene under the leadership of Michael Warner and Peter Stallybrass, on Sunday evening, June 12, and conclude after lunch on Friday, June 17. “Publishing God: Printing, Preaching, and Reading in Eighteenth-Century America” is the topic for this year’s seminar. Guest faculty will include James N. Green (Library Company of Philadelphia), David D. Hall (Harvard Divinity School), and members of AAS staff.

### CONFERENCE PANELS

*Histories of Print, Manuscript, and Performance in America*, the June 2005 conference in the history of the book sponsored by the American Antiquarian Society, will include nine thematic panels each with three speakers. A listing of panels follows with a description of the themes that link their speakers.



### Benjamin Franklin and Communicative Media in the Atlantic World

Benjamin Franklin is a pivotal figure in Americanist thinking about book history. Michael Warner’s reading of Franklin as an avatar of republican print culture in *Letters of the Republic* has had a broad influence on understandings of both Franklin and republicanism. We need a new reading of Franklin that accounts for his multidimensional engagement with all the varieties of verbal media. The papers on this panel contribute importantly to this re-reading.

- Christoph Hunter (comparative literature, University of Pennsylvania), “‘Ashamed of No Origin’: The Cosmopolitan History of Benjamin Franklin’s *Autobiography*”
- Jesse M. Lander (English, University of Notre Dame), “Franklin’s ‘Disputatious Turn’: Reading Conversions, Rhetoric, and the Transatlantic Rise of Politeness”
- Carla Mulford (English, Penn State University), “Franklin and the Subaltern”

### Manipulating Media

The papers on this panel examine the successful manipulation of verbal media—and the failures that define success in print, manuscript, and performance.

- David Shields (English and history, University of South Carolina), “Poor Performance: Failure in Print, Manuscript, and Speech”

- Joan Radner (literature, American University), “Speaking Our Way to Improvement: Orality, Literacy, and Manuscript Traditions in Northern New England Villages”
- Susan Williams (English, Ohio State University), “Forwarding Your Literary Interests’: James Redpath and American Literary History”

### Print, Manuscript, and Performance and the Public Sphere

These three papers make important contributions to public sphere theory, using analysis of the relations among verbal media to do so.

- Carolyn Eastman (history, University of Texas at Austin), “Making American Audiences in an Eighteenth-Century Commercial Republic”
- Lloyd Pratt (English and African American studies, Yale University), “Racial Democracy and the Uses of the Semiprivate in Antebellum America”
- Oz Frankel (historical studies, New School University), “The State between Orality and Textuality: Government Reports as ‘Orature’”

### Mediating “Race”

The symbolic and social meanings of print, manuscript, and performance were constituted dialectically with concepts of “race.” The papers on this panel explore complementary dimensions of the interaction between racial identities and verbal media.

- Thomas L. Doughton (interdisciplinary studies, College of the Holy Cross), “‘Long Wide de Grande Folkes’: Slave Literacy and African Participation in the World of Social Communication in Colonial New England”
- Phillip H. Round (English, University of Iowa), “Authors and Indians: From Performance to Print in Nineteenth-Century Indian Country”
- Heather S. Nathans (theater, University of Maryland, College Park), “‘Chaos is come again’: Othello, Amalgamation, and the Destruction of Pennsylvania Hall”

### Gendered Histories of Print, Manuscript, and Performance

All three papers on this panel challenge key historiographical assumptions about verbal media, with gender as the fulcrum.

- Hilary E. Wyss (English, Auburn University), “Native Women and Writing in Colonial New England”
- Granville Ganter (English, St. John’s University), “Is It Oratory? Women and Public Speech in the Mid-1820s”
- Joycelyn Moody (English, St. Louis University), “Silenced Women and Silent Language in Early African- and Anglo-American Newspapers”

### Subjectivity and Form

The papers on this panel explore the constitution of subjectivity through acts of reading, writing, and performance from the Puritans through the nineteenth century.

- Matthew P. Brown (English, University of Iowa), “Hand Piety: Devotional Steady Sellers and the Conduct of Reading”

- Angela Viétto (English, Eastern Illinois University), “Sarah Wentworth Morton, Revolutionary Salonnière to Isolated Romantic Thinker: Changing Values of Verbal Performance and Women’s Authorship in the Early Republic”
- Thomas Augst (English, University of Minnesota), “Scripting the Inner Voice: Diaries and the Performance of Individuality”

### Between Stage and Page

This panel examines the dynamic interaction between written or printed and performed theatrical works.

- Jeffrey Richards (English, Old Dominion University), “Theater’s Deep Well: Drama and Dissemination in the Eighteenth Century”
- Lucy Rinehart (English, DePaul University), “Between Stage and Page: The Publication of Plays in the United States, 1785–1830”
- Katherine Wilson (theatre, CUNY), “The Path of a Script: Louisa Medina’s 1838 Melodrama ‘Nick of the Woods’”

### Lyric Enactments

The circulation of musical and poetic performance—geographically as well as between printed and vocal form—is the shared focus of these three papers.

- Philip Gura (English, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), “The Print Revolution and the Recording, Transmission, and Performance of American Vernacular Music”
- Coleman Hutchison (English, Northwestern University), “Of Song and Songsters: The Civil War Song in Print and Performance Publics”
- Ingrid Satelmajer (English, University of Maryland–College Park), “Print Poetry as Oral ‘Event’ in Nineteenth-Century American Periodicals”

### Visual Texts and Performances

These three papers explore the ideological and symbolic functions of visual texts and the dynamic interaction between the visual and the performed.

- Peter Stallybrass (English, University of Pennsylvania), “Rewriting ‘K’: Monarchy, the Alphabet, and the Calendar in Colonial and Revolutionary America”
- Martin Brückner (English, University of Delaware), “Wall Maps, Dramas, and Metaphors: Symbolic Practice in Early Anglo-American Society”
- Laura Schiavo (American studies, George Washington University), “Reading the Image: Visual Culture as Print Culture and the Performance of the Bourgeois Self”

### Workshop on Research Materials at AAS for the Study of Histories of Print, Manuscript, and Performance

- Georgia B. Barnhill, Andrew W. Mellon Curator of Graphic Arts
- Thomas G. Knoles, curator of manuscripts

Further details about the conference (fees, accommodations, and registration materials) are available on the Society’s website, [www.americanantiquarian.org](http://www.americanantiquarian.org). Preregistration will be required for the conference, but the Wiggins Lecture itself, to be delivered on Friday, June 10, at 7:30 p.m., in Antiquarian Hall, will be open to the public at no charge.

## 2005 AAS Summer Seminar in the History of the Book

Focusing on the eighteenth-century Anglophone colonies, the readings and discussions for the 2005 seminar will track the interplay between religious cultures and the circulation of print. Part of the aim of the course will be to defamiliarize the concept of “religion” and to correct the presentist assumption that religion plays a marginal or secondary role in

the genesis and structure of the public sphere. The seminar will pay particular attention to how publicly circulated materials helped to inculcate habits of piety, and how rhetorics of piety elaborated public cultures among strangers. The leaders anticipate that this will bring scholars and librarians working in a variety of fields, including history of the book, public sphere theory, religious history, music history, art history, anthropology, literary studies, and cultural history into dialogue.

Drawing on the treasures of the AAS collection, the seminar will concentrate on practical case studies to open up major theoretical questions for each of the following topics:

- ☞ the Bible in colonial culture
- ☞ new histories of reading
- ☞ evangelism, the so-called “Great Awakening,” uses of print, and the rise of an evangelical public
- ☞ transformations of the *New-England Primer* in its long career
- ☞ the circulation of Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* as a Protestant classic and icon
- ☞ Benjamin Franklin, in his complex relation to religion and religious markets

Discussion of these topics will be accompanied by general readings in the secondary literature and hands-on examination of materials from the collections of the American Antiquarian Society. For example, discussion of the cultures of the Bible and scripture reading will focus on specific psalms and passages from Genesis and Revelation, tracking their production, reproduction, and circulation in textual and visual forms.

The co-leaders of the seminar are Michael Warner and Peter Stallybrass. Warner is Board of Governors Professor of English at Rutgers University. His most recent books include *Publics and Counterpublics* (Zone Books, 2002), and *The Portable Walt*



*Whitman* (Penguin, 2003). He is also the author of *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Harvard University Press, 1990), which stemmed from his 1986-87 AAS-National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship. Stallybrass is Walter H. and Leonore C. Annenberg Professor

in the Humanities, Director of the History of Material Texts, and Co-Director of the Penn Humanities Forum at the University of Pennsylvania. His most recent books are *O Casaco de Marx (Marx’s Coat)*, published in Brazil in 1999, and *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, written with Ann Rosalind Jones, winner of the MLA’s James Russell Lowell Prize in 2001. During the 2004-5 academic year, he holds a Guggenheim Fellowship to work on the material culture of reading, writing and note-taking in early modern England and colonial America and to prepare an exhibition with James N. Green on “Benjamin Franklin and the Book” for 2006, the 275th anniversary of the Library Company and the tercentenary of Franklin’s birth.

Hall teaches at Harvard Divinity School and in the History of American Civilization program. He serves as general editor of the Society’s multivolume *A History of the Book in America*, and co-edited, with Hugh Amory, the initial volume in this series, *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge University Press, 2000). He has written widely on popular religion, witch hunting, literacy, and culture in early America.

Green, librarian at the Library Company of Philadelphia, is a twenty-two-year member of its staff. He has been a member of the council of the Bibliographical Society of America and of the editorial board of the American Antiquarian Society’s five-volume work *A History of the Book in America*, as well as a contributor to its first and second volumes.

Doctoral candidates and mid-career scholars, who are college faculty, librarians, and curators of rare book collections are encouraged to apply. Further information about the seminar, fees, and how to apply may be found on the Society’s website: [www.americanantiquarian.org/sumsem05.htm](http://www.americanantiquarian.org/sumsem05.htm).

**The priority deadline for application is March 10, 2005.**

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## Gura Delivers Wiggins Lecture A Review of Scholarship in the History of the Book

**P**hilip F. Gura, Newman professor of English at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, was invited to deliver the twenty-first annual Wiggins Lecture as a retrospective of the series to date. Starting in June 2005, this program will become part of a series of conferences on the influence of the history of the book in differing areas of scholarship. Gura marked the occasion of the last, fall, stand-alone presentation in the fall by reflecting on the emergence of the field and the Society's leadership in it.

The title of his lecture, "Magnalia Historiae Libri Americana; or, How AAS Brought the History of the Book into the New Millennium," was intended to pay homage to Cotton Mather's account of the Puritan settlement of America. "As I sought a talisman for my assignment," Gura noted, "Mather the historian, evangelist, and, not least, bibliophile, immediately came to mind, for the enthusiasm and dedication with which he studied history and wrote prophecy from the books around him."

Gura found his inspiration in the documentary account of the establishment of the Society's Program in the History of the Book in 1983, the formation of the first of the advisory committees, and the invitation to David Hall to present the program's first James Russell Wiggins Lecture. Hall believed that the history of the book would lead quite simply to a new understanding of American history. His selection as the first chair of the Society's program and as the inaugural Wiggins lecturer was, in Gura's view, both fortuitous and ideal, as through his subsequent lectures



*Three Wiggins lecturers pose for the traditional photograph of past and present speakers. From left: Philip F. Gura (2004), Robert A. Gross (1988), and David D. Hall (1983).*

and publications he quickly emerged as the most prominent and articulate advocate, theorist, and practitioner of the history of the book in America. "Indeed," noted Gura, "if you read all the lectures, seriatim, as I recently have, you will see that most of his successors have, in their own ways, simply addressed, admittedly with high degrees of imagination and sophistication, versions of his agenda. Anyone who wishes a speedy yet sophisticated way to think about history of the book can do no better than to become familiar with David Hall's pioneering essay."

The annual summer seminars, offered since 1985 and which Gura himself led in 2004, are also part of the Society's impact on the field. "These classes have introduced hundreds of participants—graduate students in history and literature, bibliographers, public librarians, advanced scholars seeking to revitalize their scholarship and teaching, collection curators, and AAS staff—to the latest scholarship in history of the book and given them ways to integrate such knowledge with their own scholarly and pedagogical interests."

Gura's review of the Society's program was rounded out by discussions of fellowships in the history of the book and publications—the Society's own, those by scholars involved in the program, and his own eclectic bookshelf of publications. Creative reading and writing of history and literature describes the ongoing cultural harvest, Gura concluded. "Rigorous and imaginative exploration of print culture can indeed bring us to a deeper understanding of the *lived experience* of Americans at different points in their history."

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## Research Note

# Poems by Charlotte Forten and Frances Watkins Harper Found in AAS Collections

During my tenure as an AAS-NEH fellow in the fall of 2003, I discovered in the AAS catalogue the existence of broadsides announcing the first in what would become a series of events held on the anniversary of the Boston Massacre. In 1858, eighty-eight years after Crispus Attucks died on the streets of Boston, a group of antislavery activists gathered in Faneuil Hall to protest the Dred Scott decision. The evening was devised by William C. Nell as an occasion at once celebratory and monitory. The program for the evening noted with care that King Street had become State Street, and that the monarchy had been reformed as a republic. Such detail warned that names may have changed on the streets of Boston, but despotism was still alive in the United States. In the evening's "exercises," men engaged in militaristic and dramatic reenactments; women's contributions were poetic and vocal. The songs for the evening give the air of a prayer meeting in their joining of poetry to song and patriotic song to hymn-like expectation for national and human betterment.

The American Antiquarian Society collections include printed programs for four of these commemorative events: 1858, 1862, 1863, and 1864. They provide insights into the ways in which history was celebrated and interpreted in the light of contemporary events by abolitionists and some of the great black activists and writers of the nineteenth century, such as William Nell. Nell led the fight to desegregate schools in Boston, achieved in 1855; he worked as a journalist for the *Liberator* and authored histories of black revolutionary war heroes: his *Colored Patriots of the American*

*Revolution* was introduced by Harriet Beecher Stowe. In 1861 he became the first black man to hold a federal government post.

Nell's evening was held every year throughout the 1870s, always with an accompanying program; Charlotte Forten and Frances Watkins (later, Harper) published some of their first poems on the pages for 1858: "Parody on 'Red, White and Blue'" and "Freedom's Battle," respectively. After 1858, Forten's "Red, White and Blue" was the only unchanged set piece for the evening. It parodies the patriotic song of the same name, also known as "Columbia, Gem of the Ocean," itself a response to the British patriotic song, "Britannia, Pride of the Ocean."

Forten's poem takes part in the tradition of replacing heresies of false nationalism with antiphonal, antipathetic voices. Parody sounds out these songs as false notes. "Red, White and Blue" turns the assurance of patriotism into a provisional and testing voice; this is a nationalist poem for a nation that doesn't yet exist. "When," "would," "if," and "may" all sound out a wish for moral might, a desire to join in, keyed in a dissident tone. Her poem widens the scope of combatants: freedom is not just a problem for United States nationality but for many nations and for Christianity; this song to boost unity turns on itself in order to describe the plurality of suffering under a single crime.

Forten's "revision" is the provisionality carried by a parodic voice that is hopeful, expectant, and lacerating; it snaps back on the voice it stems from. The redoubled satiric voice counterpoints the status quo, attempting to needle fellow human beings into a

The following Poetic Offerings from the Bards of Freedom will impart inspiration to her chosen Orators.

### Freedom's Battle.

Written for the occasion by Miss FRANCES ELLEN WATKINS.

Sung by Misses HESTER and PHEBE WHITEST, MISS ARIANNA COOLEY, Mr. JOHN GRIMES.

(AIR, GREENVILLE.)

Onward, O ye Sons of Freedom,  
In the great and glorious strife;  
You've a high and holy mission,  
On the battle-fields of life.

See Oppression's heel of iron  
Grinds a brother to the ground,  
And from bleeding heart and bosom  
Gapeth many a fearful wound.

On my blighted people's bosom  
Mountain loads of sorrow lay;  
Stop not, then, to ask the question,  
Who shall roll the stone away?

O be faithful, O be valiant,  
Trusting not in human might,  
Know that in the darkest conflict  
God is on the side of right.

### Parody on "Red, White and Blue."

Written for the occasion by Miss CHARLOTTE L. FORTEN.

Sung by the "Northern Vocalists," ELIJAH SMITH, JAMES HENRY, JAMES TITUS, B. F. ROBERTS, and Miss AMANDA E. SCOTT.

My country, Oh! when wilt thou triumph  
Over Slavery, that terrible sin?  
I'll freed from this curse, thou canst never  
Hope blessings from Heaven to win.  
Oh, when shall each child of our Father,  
Whatever his nation or hue,  
Be protected throughout thy dominions,  
'Neath the folds of the red, white and blue.

CHORUS.

'Neath the folds of the red, white and blue,  
'Neath the folds of the red, white and blue,  
Be protected throughout thy dominions,  
'Neath the folds of the red, white and blue.

If thou, O Columbia, my country,  
Wert truly the home of the free,  
How gladly the hearts of thy children  
Would offer their homage to thee!  
Thy mandates would make tyrants tremble,  
If Liberty's form stood in view;  
And summon brave men to assemble  
'Neath the folds of the red, white and blue.  
Cho.—'Neath the folds, &c.

Should War rage its wide desolation,  
And threaten the land to deform,  
We'd rally the men of the nation,  
And laugh at the threatening storm;  
With freedom, and hope and brave ardor,  
We'd battle the miscreant crew,  
And proudly aloft raise our banners,  
With cheers for the red, white and blue.  
Cho.—With cheers for, &c.

The pure crystal nectar bring hither,  
And a bumper fill up to the brim!  
To a wreath that never will wither,  
And a glory that cannot grow dim;  
The wreath of the Goddess of Freedom,  
The glory to Justice e'en due;  
When these shall adorn fair Columbia,  
We'll hurrah for the red, white and blue.  
Cho.—We'll hurrah for, &c.

*Two of the poems—those by Charlotte Forten and Frances Watkins (Harper) — printed in the program of the event organized by William C. Nell that included spoken and musical elements. Among the speakers were Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Charles L. Remond, and the Reverend Theodore Parker. The music included these songs and others performed by "various musical clubs," piano selections, and Bond's Full Quadrille Band, which also played "the remainder of the evening after the Speeches." Commemorative Festival at Faneuil Hall, March 5, 1858 (Boston: E.L. Balch, 1858). Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.*

moral position. Parody's semi-dependent state also exemplifies the disenfranchisement, marginality, and reliance of the voice on the majority expression.

Forten composed the poem at Nell's request, and noted in her dairy she was very homesick at a time. The source of the double voice is also collaboration: "Sunday, February 7. Mr. [Joseph] P.[utnam] and I spent the morning in writing a Parody for Mr. N.[ell] on the 'Red, White and Blue.' *His* share of it is very good, — mine miserable." Her witness of the event itself is likewise listless and dissatisfied: "Friday, March 5. Went to Boston, to Mr. N.[ell]'s 'Attucks Celebration.' For me the greatest attraction was hearing Phillips and Garrison once more, perhaps for the last time. Old Faneuil Hall presented quite a gay scene after the meeting. There was a large crowd of finely dressed dancers, of whose movements, I was, for some time an amused spectator. But after I grew terribly tired and was glad to leave."

Watkins's "song" is composed of slightly revised versions of the first, second, ninth, and final (eleventh) stanzas of her poem "Be Active," retitled "Freedom's Battle." An example of a revision is the replacement of the original assonance "Mountain weights of sorrow lay" in favor of alliteration, "Mountain loads of sorrow lay" in what is now the fourth stanza. The longer

poem was first printed in *Frederick Douglass's Paper* on January 11, 1856. (For the full text, see *The Complete Poems of Frances E. W. Harper*, ed. Maryemma Graham [New York: Oxford University Press, 1988], 202.)

In this revised version, Watkins excerpts the most martial stanzas from her uncharacteristically militaristic and hymn-like poem; narratives of suffering from "Be Active" are removed to suit an evening celebrating Attucks's death—wounded in the heart—on a "battle-field." Watkins may have adjusted her poem to history, but it also replays familiar iconographies of Christian suffering: each slave is Jesus. The last word of the poem, "right," is a ghost-rhyme to "light," called into being by the preceding "darkest conflict." At the last, a directly moral quality outshines the physical imagery that the poem evokes. Though a call to arms and moral arms, the poem abnegates human agency: God will carry out justice, in the end; literally it takes faith to march with him in aid of his ends.

These previously unpublished poems by Forten and Harper give a vital insight into the developing voices of two of America's most important black women poets and place their creation within the context of antebellum politics and abolitionist action.

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