

David Walker's *Appeal* and Everyday Abolition

by

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B.A., University of Vermont, 2007

A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Colorado in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree of
Master of Arts
Department of English

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David Walker's *Appeal* and Everyday Abolition
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The final copy of this thesis has been examined by the signatories, and we find that both the content and the form meet acceptable presentation standards of scholarly work in the above mentioned discipline.

ABSTRACT

Beck, Ben (M.A, English)

David Walker's *Appeal* and Everyday Abolition

Thesis directed by Assistant Professor Jordan Alexander Stein

Titled “David Walker’s *Appeal* and Everyday Abolition” this thesis uses book history methodologies to reconstruct the pamphlet’s overlooked uses. Where many scholars highlight radical and revolutionary tendencies, I explore archival evidence that seems unassimilable to these critical positions. Instead, this thesis mobilizes marginalia, gift exchanges, archival acquisitions, and printing records to paint a different reception history of *Walker’s Appeal*. I suggest that this evidence points toward a non-sensational, ordinary side of Walker’s pamphlet. By considering the variegated “situatedness” of *Walker’s Appeal*, the thesis probes a larger idea of “everyday abolition.” This capacious term gathers ordinary, minor, and non-sensational abolitionist practices. “David Walker’s *Appeal* and Everyday Abolition” argues that ordinary practices—gifting, preservation, private reading—constitute an understudied, undertheorized, and politically significant elements of antebellum literary history.

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations.....	v
1. Introduction.....	1
2. The Walker Effect; or, the Disappearance of Everyday Abolition.....	3
3. Everyday Abolition at the Margins.....	6
4. Everyday Abolition as Mementos.....	21
5. Everyday Abolition and Printing.....	30
6. The Futures of Everyday Abolition.....	42
Notes.....	46
Bibliography.....	52

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 2.1. David Walker, <i>Appeal</i> , 3 rd edition (Boston: 1830). Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.....	3
Figure 3.1. David Walker, <i>Appeal</i> , 3 rd edition (Boston: 1830). Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.....	9
Figure 3.2. David Walker, <i>Appeal</i> , 3 rd edition (Boston: 1830). Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.....	11
Figure 3.3. David Walker, <i>Appeal</i> , 3 rd edition (Boston: 1830). Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.....	13
Figure 3.4. David Walker, <i>Appeal</i> , 3 rd edition (Boston: 1830). Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.....	18
Figure 4.1. David Walker, <i>Appeal</i> , 3 rd edition (Boston: 1830). Courtesy of Kroch Library, Cornell University.....	23
Figure 4.2. David Walker, <i>Appeal</i> , 3 rd edition (Boston: 1830). Courtesy of Kroch Library, Cornell University.....	23
Figure 4.3. David Walker, <i>Appeal</i> , 1 st edition (Boston: 1829). Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.....	26
Figure 5.1. David Walker, <i>Appeal</i> , 3 rd edition (Boston: 1830). Courtesy of The Sheridan Libraries, Johns Hopkins University.....	34
Figure 5.2. David Walker, <i>Appeal</i> , 3 rd edition (Boston: 1830). Courtesy of The Sheridan Libraries, Johns Hopkins University.....	34
Figure 5.3. David Walker, <i>Appeal</i> , 3 rd edition (Boston: 1830). Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.....	34
Figure 5.4. David Walker, <i>Appeal</i> , 3 rd edition (Boston: 1830). Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.....	34
Figure 5.5. David Walker, <i>Appeal</i> , 2 nd edition (Boston: 1830). Courtesy, Massachusetts Historical Society.....	37
Figure 5.6. David Walker, <i>Appeal</i> , 3 rd edition (Boston: 1830). Courtesy of The Sheridan Libraries, Johns Hopkins University.....	37

Figure 5.7. David Walker, *Appeal*, 1st edition (Boston: 1829). Courtesy, Boston Public Library.....38

Figure 5.8. David Walker, *Appeal*, 3rd edition (Boston: 1830). Courtesy of The Sheridan Libraries, Johns Hopkins University.....38

1. Introduction

Not every abolitionist burned copies of the U.S. Constitution, raided ammunition depots in Harper's Ferry, or attended public protests. But scholarship as well as the public imagination privileges these major, sensational registries of antislavery sentiment in the antebellum United States. Consequently, the historiography of abolition tethers itself almost exclusively to events and revolutions, actions typically associated with "politics." This macroscopic perspective jettisons the minor registries of antislavery sentiment into the indiscernible background of wars, rebellions, and conventions.

David Walker's *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* offers a compelling test case to explore the chasm between sensational abolition and its opposite form, what I call "everyday abolition." Briefly, everyday abolition is a term that encapsulates minor, overlooked practices of antislavery sentiment. Since its publication in 1829 readers excerpt, editors anthologize, and scholars analyze the pamphlet in such a singular way that the *Appeal* becomes overwhelmingly sensational and revolutionary. Ironically, this reading-history microscope blurs the larger historical spheres in which the pamphlet circulated. At this extreme, *Walker's Appeal* becomes inescapably radical. But not everyone who read the *Appeal* became a militant abolitionist. Some annotated, some gifted, some printed.

These unheralded actions constitute the "everyday" reception-history of *Walker's Appeal*. Book history brings these overlooked actions back into the picture. By nominating these marginalized, overlooked actions as critical processes, the sphere of abolition politics widens. In turn, the historiography of abolition widens as well. Book history invokes the microscopic registers of *Walker's Appeal*—its marginalia, its

signatures and inscriptions, its gesturing manicules—in order to emphasize their importance for reconstructing a richer, fuller story of American abolition.

This essay asks how book history methodologies clarify the relationship between *Walker's Appeal* and everyday abolition. First, I examine the historiographical processes responsible for the disappearance of non-sensational readings of the pamphlet: periodical coverage, excerpting, and anthologizing make up the processes of the “Walker Effect.” Next, marginalia lays the groundwork for replacing the out-of-focus Walker Effect with an intensely focused example of how a Bostonian read the pamphlet. This reading history is the first manifestation of alternative, non-sensational, non-revolutionary uses of *Walker's Appeal*. Alternative uses of the pamphlet appear in its status as a memento, the third category. Various abolitionists and American politicians exchanged the *Appeal* as sentimental tokens and donated it to university collections. The gift exchange between givers' hands anticipates the forgotten role that the pamphlet's printers played in producing the *Appeal*. I suggest that in the small printing shop of Hooton and Teprell, abolition as a concept remained ancillary to job printing needs. I challenge the romance of the author by demonstrating that the pamphlet's famous typography bears indelible traces of the printers as well as marks of its author. Finally, this project asks how these variegated locations and practices constellate as “everyday abolition.” Because sensational histories of abolition restrict the field of political practices to major events and actors, this project also asks how abolition appears differently when everyday abolition widens political practices.

2. The Walker Effect: or, the Disappearance of Everyday Abolition

What accounts for the disappearance of the *Appeal*'s ordinary history? Since its publication in 1829, Walker's pamphlet has been subject to something I call the "Walker Effect." This term refers to an organizational and narratological trope that privileges the sensationally violent rhetoric of *Walker's*

Appeal and neglects the pamphlet's much more common passages. In turn, history has reduced *Walker's Appeal* to one repeated

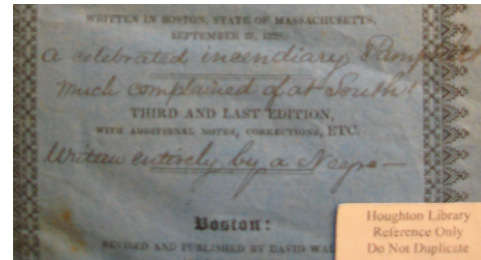


Fig. 2.1

phrase: "an incendiary pamphlet." Even FW Holland, whose marginalia undergirds the existence of this paper, inscribed this phrase on its cover page: "a celebrated incendiary Pamphlet / much complained of at South! // written entirely by a Negro—" (fig. 1).

Literary history routinely equates *Walker's Appeal* with the Walker Effect, literally in the case of Holland's note.

Ironically, one of the ways that the Walker Effect gained traction is through the pamphlet's saturation of antebellum American print culture. Newspapers and periodicals printed reviews and editorials about the pamphlet, and they all largely condemned its incendiary rhetoric. Pithy phrases, "kill or be killed," and longer passages, "O Americans! Americans!!...your DESTRUCTION *is at hand*, and will be speedily consummated unless you REPENT,"¹ stuck in the minds of readers and reviewers alike. Benjamin Lundy's review in his newspaper "Genius of Universal Emancipation" encapsulates mid-nineteenth-century assessments. Of Walker, Lundy says that he "indulges himself in the wildest strain of reckless fanaticism." This "inflammatory publication...is a labored attempt to rouse the worst passions of human nature, and

inflame the minds of those to whom it is addressed.” In turn, Lundy “can do no less than set the broadest seal of condemnation upon it.”²

Where the “Genius of Universal Emancipation” merely condemns the pamphlet’s language, some reviews stoked fear by forecasting imminent uprising. The *Boston Evening Transcript* ran this editorial in September 1830: “Since the publication of that flagitious pamphlet, Walker’s Appeal, for the consequences of which, if we mistake not, some fanatical white men will have to answer, we have noticed a marked difference in the deportment of our colored population...It is not that we do not treat the colored man well, but that he has been treated too well, both for his own interest and that of the community.—He has been made too much of.”³ Here, the editorial makes the fundamental move that comes to define the Walker Effect: it suggests that a rebellious call inheres in the pamphlet’s printed word, and “reading” unleashes this uprising. Lundy and the *Boston Evening Transcript* sought to connect the pamphlet irrevocably with violence. For Lundy, whose nonviolent sentiments predisposed this reaction, *Walker’s Appeal* threatened to replace the cultivation of “morality,” that would eventually make enslavement obsolete and immoral, with “active” overthrow. The editorial points to a more pernicious strain of the Walker Effect, in that it highlights the need to make life more difficult for “our colored population.” Political ideologies undercut the pamphlet’s contents in the drive to make it singularly incendiary and by extension unnecessary.

Even in the past thirty years, the Walker Effect still dominates much of the discourse. For example, the pamphlet briefly appears in *Lift Every Voice: African American Oratory 1787-1900* where it is described as calling for “armed self-defense and militant resistance to slavery and oppression.”⁴ *The American Reader: Words that Moved*

a Nation calls the pamphlet “one of the most notorious essays in American history.”⁵ Walker also makes brief appearances in Zinn’s *People’s History of the United States* as well as Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker’s *Many-Headed Hydra* where the latter authors mention that the pamphlet “quickly became the manifesto of pan-African freedom.”⁶ Yet Peter Hinks challenges the sweeping generalizations in these excerpts and anthologies: “Walker clearly intended a mutual white-black rule of the United States... Walker was filled with a radical egalitarian evangelicalism that postulated a universal equality and connectedness among all humans and races through God.”⁷ Armed self-defense, militant resistance, notorious, manifesto: these descriptions invoke an excitable, active, radical tenor for the pamphlet. Hinks’s caveat seems lamentably pragmatic, a position excluded from the sensationalizing practices of the Walker Effort.

What gets lost in the public affray over *Walker’s Appeal* is the non-sensational side of the pamphlet. I call this side “everyday abolition.” From reading, to indexing, to annotating, to “gifting,” to printing, these disparate actions constitute practices that engage with abolition for myriad reasons. Everyday abolition offers a behind-the-scenes view of the unsung heroes as well as the heroes who act in unexpected ways. *Walker’s Appeal* provides the connecting dots among this portrayal of everyday abolition. I trace these dots to establish a body of knowledge intricately connected to abolition yet paradoxically distant at the same time. Everyday abolition provides a discursive umbrella for thinking about the non-revolutionary “uses” of *Walker’s Appeal* that disappeared because of the Walker Effect.

3. Everyday Abolition at the Margins

The Walker Effect, I argue, is a trope that privileges a very particular and sporadic textual occurrence in *Walker's Appeal*: violence. Through this repetition, from the earliest newspapers to present-day scholarship, *Walker's Appeal* transforms into this violence-espousing radical monolith which eclipses any other uses, stories, and possibilities. Scores of readers, locations, and uses disappear. We would do well to relocate these disappearing places.

In the opening pages of *Unexpected Places*, Eric Gardner urges readers “to broaden our sense of nineteenth-century black literature.”⁸ By moving to include print cultures of Missouri and California in addition to usual suspects such as Philadelphia, *Unexpected Places* enlarges the physical locations in which literary history exists. When this project does answer Gardner’s challenge to broaden our archives, it does so counterintuitively. Rather than searching far across continents or oceans, I move across a few streets and neighborhoods in Boston. Rather than culling metaphysical markers among Walker’s black readers, I locate historical markers in a white man’s handwritten inscriptions in his copy of the *Appeal*.

Boston may not seem like an unexpected place for *Walker's Appeal*. After all, Boston remained an important center for abolitionism throughout the nineteenth century as well as other reform movements.⁹ Garrison published *The Liberator* in Boston, and the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was almost as prominent as the American Anti Slavery Society. As Robert Fanuzzi makes clear with his reading of Faneuil Hall, even Boston’s physical places remained powerfully connected to antislavery sentiments.¹⁰ Lest

we forget that Walker lived, worked, and participated in Boston's abolition cultures, the pamphlet's title page mentions the city as the place it was drafted, published, and revised.

But Boston is an unexpected place, because Walker scholarship focuses on the sensational circulation history outside of Massachusetts, a circulation history that spread rapidly within weeks of its September 1829 printing to Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, Virginia, and even Alabama. In the South, where emergency legislative sessions erupted and desperate letters passed between police chiefs, mayors, and governors all attempting to quell the pamphlet's influence, *Walker's Appeal* revels in a sensational reception history that resembles a political thriller. Comparatively, the pamphlet's reception history in its place of origin is provocatively non-sensational.

It is provocative because the pamphlet's Boston reception defies the usual narratives. It is unusual in its brazen singularity. One man, one pamphlet, one compelling test case to broaden the spheres of nineteenth-century black literature. The pamphlet *is* David Walker's fiery *Appeal*, but the man is *not* David Walker. Instead, it is Frederick West Holland, a man totally absent from the usual antislavery archive. He owned a copy of *Walker's Appeal* and in its margins left a record of his reading experience. In other words, this collaborative relationship between Holland and *Walker's Appeal* provides a template for thinking about the impact of the pamphlet on everyday readers, for reading the historical evidence with a discerning eye.

Lately, reading practices have garnered significant attention within both African American literature and early American literature. In particular, one important trend characterizes scholarship at the intersection of reading styles and African American literature: "collaboration." I use collaboration as a capacious term to cover various forms

of social interaction. From Joseph Rezek's recent work on orations and counterpublics, Heather Andrea Williams' monograph on African American education, to Elizabeth McHenry's work on African American literary societies, the field focuses on collaborative readings that create and strengthen communities.¹¹ All of this insightful work recreates the complex spheres of literacy, knowledge, and community formation, but Holland's marginalia seems very different. I argue that this solitary action of inscription actually constitutes another form of collaboration that can fit in with the above-mentioned scholarly trend. Visible, antislavery political events occurred at the New Year's Day speeches and performance that Rezek analyzes. But this paper argues that book history methodologies reveal abolition politics at work in a solitary reader's annotations as well.

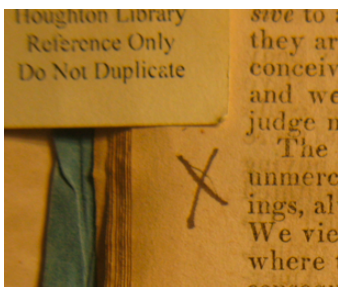
Holland's inscriptions and marginalia defy easy categorization. Where famous historical marginalists crammed full sentences and paragraphs into the margins—Coleridge¹² jumps to mind here—Holland manages only one full word within the pamphlet's covers: "false." The majority of the marks are underlines, parentheses, "X"s, or vertical lines beside passages. At a very basic level, Holland's marginalia points toward a different use value than what is usually assumed for *Walker's Appeal*, one of careful consideration and methodical reading which sharply counters the "rushed" radical tenor usually ascribed to the pamphlet. Meteoric adequately describes the assumptions of the Walker Effect and the imagined readers who read or who listened to the pamphlet and then inevitably planned imminent rebellions. This immediatist temporality and its connections to imminent revolution did find credence within *Walker's Appeal*. Eschatological proclamations such as "but I tell you Americans! that unless you speedily

alter your course, *you and your Country are gone!!!!!!*¹³ fed the meteoric temporality of the pamphlet's tone. Holland's marginalia, though, suggests a competing temporality for the "immediacy" that has gone previously unexamined.

Temporality, then, is the connection between all of Holland's marginalia: the lines and marks within the cover pages as well as the sentences and phrases on the cover pages. More specifically, temporality subdivides into two categories: indexing and commentary. On one hand, indexing suggests the sense that Holland would return to *Walker's Appeal*, that in addition to its immediacy, the pamphlet contains substantial rhetorical, exegetical, and theoretical components potentially useful to Holland in his later career as a Unitarian minister. These indexing marks *anticipate* a future utility. Indexing describes the marginalia on the front and rear cover pages. Commentary, on the other hand, refers to most of the marginalia within the cover pages, and it refers to the various ways that Holland's marginalia attends to specific cultural events and practices of the antebellum United States. Commentary is largely *indicative*, referring sometimes to a particular event that Walker addresses, referring other times to a cultural "moment" particularly resonant in the 1830s. Holland's marginalia, while certainly not endemic provides an archival foothold to challenge the dominant narrative of *Walker's Appeal* as an unabashedly revolutionary text. Exploring marginalia as indexing and commentary reveals a relentlessly complicated text that moves beyond the singular call for revolution.

The format of *Walker's Appeal* plays an unacknowledged yet important role when

Fig.
3.1



thinking about the ways that the commentary indicates—or gestures toward—antebellum cultural moments. This octavo pamphlet has one-inch margins surrounding the text on each

leaf. This margin does not offer a lot of room to inscribe reactions, thoughts, questions, and data, especially compared to the cavernous margins of larger format books. With just one blank leaf on the cover page verso, readers prone to inscription wielded their pens creatively. Over half of Holland's marks are "X"s (fig. 2). As a symbol, the X could be a place-marker: think of the spurious treasure map adage "X marks the spot." It also represents objection, symbolic of a reader who disagrees with the contents and crosses-out the offending material with an X. Yet the commentary X implies a historically nefarious aspect of the X: a mark of antebellum illiteracy.

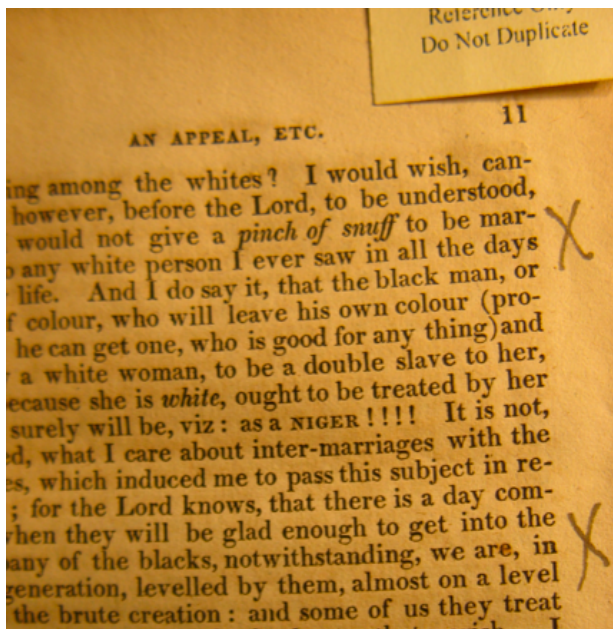
Historically, an X could legally stand as a signature for persons unable to sign their own name, though its validity could be challenged within court. The mark becomes a signifier of not only illiteracy but also the social structures which fought to preclude black Americans from literacy and its spoils.¹⁴ Michael Warner writes that "Black illiteracy was more than a negation of literacy for blacks; it was the condition of a positive character of written discourse for whites."¹⁵ The margins of *Walker's Appeal* invert "the negation of literacy for blacks" by yoking the historical symbols of legal invisibility to Frederick West Holland. Format circumscribes one way that X registers in the margins in this particular case. This shifty signification—what does the X "do"?—resonates within the fraught history of literacy among marginalized peoples.¹⁶

In the margins of *Walker's Appeal*, the complexities of "literacy" and its two-way relationship to marks becomes clear. Patricia Crain proposes that literacy contains reciprocal practices: "Literacy has often been treated as a marker and a maker of cultural, social, and national histories; it has also been seen as part and parcel of modern constructions of personality, subjectivity, and interiority." Crain then offers the study of

literacy as a location: “literacy is a rich site for exploring the hinge between and the interpenetration of the public and the private, the social and the personal, the large and national or global, on the one hand, and the small and local, on the other.”¹⁷ Heather Williams suggests a similar “spatial” register to literacy: “Access to the written word, whether scriptural or political, revealed a world beyond bondage in which African Americans could imagine themselves free to think and behave as they chose.”¹⁸ The X becomes a hinge between different conceptions and locations of identity. In turn, it is then possible to think about the movement of these embedded Xs within the margins of *Walker’s Appeal* as they erase then re-inscribe Holland.

In a passage emblematic of the *Appeal*’s irreverent tone and a spot where Holland’s X appears, Walker writes: “I would wish, candidly, however, before the Lord,

Fig.
3.2



to be understood, that I would not give a *pinch of snuff* to be married to any white person I ever saw in all the days of my life” (fig. 3). Perhaps Walker’s snarled italics startled Holland. More likely is the agitation over the Massachusetts anti-miscegenation law which had been established in 1705¹⁹ and went virtually unchallenged until

the era of the *Appeal* when Garrison impugned the 1705 law in the second issue of *The Liberator*.²⁰ He ranted that the law was “an invasion of one of the inalienable rights of every man; namely, ‘the pursuit of happiness’—disgraceful to the State—inconsistent

with every principle of justice—and utterly absurd and preposterous.”²¹ Legal challenges failed in 1831, 1832, 1839, 1840, 1841, and 1842 before finally overturning the statute in 1843. But Walker claims to not care about miscegenation later in the passage where Holland also inscribes another X: “It is not, indeed, what I care about intermarriages with the whites, which induced me to pass his subject in review; for the Lord knows, that there is a day coming when they will be glad enough to get into the company of the blacks, notwithstanding, we are, in this generation, leveled by them, almost on a level with brute creation” (fig. 3). Walker’s admission that he “only made this extract to show how much lower we are held” testifies to the prevalence of marital discourse as an indicator of institutional inequality. In particular, the pages of the first periodical printed and published by the black community, *Freedom’s Journal*, abound with discussions of marriage.²²

Walker was an active member of the periodical. He served as a contributor, subscription agent, and ardent reader during its run in the late 1820s. Marital discourse pervades the pages of *Freedom’s Journal* suggesting a preoccupation with the institution as a location of racialized inequality. One recurring article entitled “Marriage Customs, &c. of Various Nations” travels around the globe discussing marital customs from Lapland to China, Ceylon to Scotland.²³ The global survey anticipates the pamphlet’s global audience: *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World*. Another article from August 1, 1828 entitled “Affecting Incident” echoes in the novel *The Woman of Colour*, whose title character Olivia Fairfield navigates the English marriage world after leaving her father’s West Indian plantation. The article laments that, “In the British West Indies, the children of slaves by Europeans, although approaching near to the colour of the

fathers are still slaves, and so on for several generations.” These children’s “genteel manners, liberal education and pleasing appearance, would have entitled them to comfortable marriages in Britain.”²⁴ For *Walker’s Appeal* as well as *Freedom’s Journal*, the institution of marriage is a “place” where racialized inequality looms large.

Walker qualifies his “pinch of snuff” statement as an example of institutional racism within the United States. Indeed, his entire *Appeal* explores the various institutions whose very existence enacts “wretchedness” through racial enslavement. Its four articles attack enslavement as a historical phenomenon (Article I), enslavement through educational practices (Article II), enslavement as upheld in Christianity (Article III), and the Colonizing Plan of the American Colonization Society (Article IV). These institutions all transmit the necessity of keeping black Americans in “wretchedness” to maintain social order. Marriage, David Walker argues, employs the same normative practices. But Holland’s X catches Walker’s rhetorical move. Embedded within the politics of marriage, the marginal X indicates that Holland followed both the reasons for critiquing and the belittling of wider institutional oppression in antebellum American culture. Revolution did not overturn marriage and its exclusionary practices; it was political agitation, ballot measures, and legislative action that overturned the Massachusetts anti-miscegenation law in 1843. Crucially, abolition, *Walker’s Appeal* argues, requires the politics of both/and: both political processes and action, both white reader and black author. Abolition at the margins speaks to the importance of collaborative action.

Like the Xs that indicate awareness of embedded contexts, Holland’s marginalia

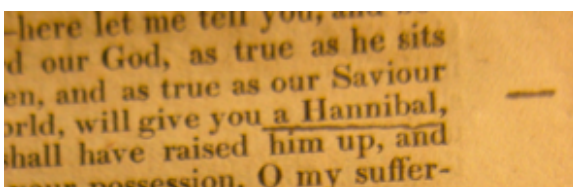


Fig.
3.3

croops up again when Walker draws upon a

different revolutionary heritage than the usual reference to the American Revolution: that of Haiti. The passage reads: “Beloved brethren—here let me tell you, and believe it, that the Lord our God, as true as he sits on his throne in heaven, and as true as our Saviour died to redeem the world, will give you a Hannibal” (fig. 4). Instead of an X, Holland underlines “a Hannibal” and inscribes a dash in the margins beside the Carthaginian general. The first inscription, ostensibly piqued by the millenarian rhetoric, highlights the tensions within Walker’s pamphlet, specifically the unsavory admission that *Walker’s Appeal* did not unleash revolution. Hinks soberly notes that “Walker’s revolutionary endeavor fell short. Although the *Appeal* was a dazzling analysis and narrative that inspired the thousands of African Americans who read or heard it, the very pervasive monstrosity it struggled to expose and overcome proved far too powerful, even for David Walker’s brilliant illumination.”²⁵ As much as the Walker Effect celebrates the pamphlet’s revolutionary zeal and fervor, Holland’s marginalia as well as the pamphlet’s own contents disclose another story. Hannibal’s presence represents a precarious tension at the heart of *Walker’s Appeal*.

Whether because of the Walker Effect or just general thoughts about rebellion, many scholars have concluded that *Walker’s Appeal*, like Hannibal, strove to use violence to effect political change.²⁶ In its place, a black nationalist party would rule the country. But David Walker was not Martin Delany. Too many phrases like “I do not think that [the whites and blacks] were natural enemies to each other”²⁷ contradict this absolutist position that swaps a white government for a black government. Hinks notes that “Walker clearly intended a mutual white-black rule of the United States... Walker was filled with a radical egalitarian evangelicalism that postulated a universal equality

and connectedness among all humans and races through God.”²⁸ Indeed, the theme of reconciliation seems far from violence and rebellion. Walker writes: “What a happy country this will be, if the whites will listen...Treat us then like men, and we will be your friends. And there is not a doubt in my mind, but that the whole of the past will be sunk into oblivion, and we yet, under God, will become a united and happy people.”²⁹

Hannibal, who repeatedly defeated Roman troops but failed to invade Rome, occludes the black nationalism that Walker scholarship repeatedly invokes because Hannibal failed to ever take over a sovereign nation.³⁰ Importantly, Hannibal was African and this choice coincides with the African history throughout much of Walker’s pamphlet. Whether prescient or eerily self-reflexive, Walker chose an antagonist *not* a successful revolutionary. Why not choose successful generals in the Haitian Revolution like Toussaint or Dessalines?³¹ Why Hannibal? Because Hannibal failed, and the American Revolution failed too.

The *Appeal* over and over stresses the incompleteness of the American Revolution because of racial enslavement’s continued existence. Haiti figures prominently in abolitionist discourse. After bringing up Hannibal, Walker beseeches his audience to “Read the history particularly of Hayti.” For *Walker’s Appeal*, Haiti, and *not* the American Revolution, represents the successful revolutionary event. This choice complicates the distinctly American Revolutionary nostalgia that figures so prominently in Robert Fanuzzi’s depiction of abolition’s public sphere.³² Walker repeatedly castigates American Revolutionary discourse as well as the famous documents of United States’ history because of racial enslavement.³³ Thus according to *Walker’s Appeal*, the American Revolutionary War and ensuing linguistic fiats were abject failures, a door-

shutting rather than a door-opening. When Walker writes “our God...will give you a Hannibal,” “will give” calls back to the period of waiting that still lingers after the American Revolution. Hannibal has yet to arrive, yet to effect the desired end to abolition. Furthermore, *Walker’s Appeal* makes it clear that Hannibal will be *part* of the movement, but not the entire movement.

The Walker Effect and other sensationalist views would pin the entire importance on Hannibal. But Holland’s marginalia nominates an overlooked portion of the population who reacted and engaged with the abolition’s material culture. Holland represents one component of everyday abolition, and his marginalia embeds itself within specific contemporary moments. This embeddedness indicates a reflexive relationship between Holland’s awareness of the cultural milieu by responding to the pamphlet’s deployment of these rhetorical strategies. Commentary interacts with abolition’s “print culture” by hailing contemporary events familiar to David Walker and Frederick West Holland. But the other temporality visible in the margins does not yoke itself only to specific discourses and events. “Future utility” contrasts the immediacy and relevance apparent in temporal embeddedness; it anticipates the future importance of the pamphlet. Indexing and commentary, in this case, challenge the monolithic reading that takes place in the Walker Effect, which suggests that revolutionary immediacy is the only way of reading the pamphlet. Indeed, indexing combats the “immediate rebellion aesthetic” that usually accompanies *Walker’s Appeal*. These indexical marks enable another reading history.

On the front cover, Holland’s inscriptions bridge the gap between commentary and indexing. By offering a succinct appraisal of its reception, Holland straddles the

particular reception history of the pamphlet in the 1830s. The appraisal reads: “a celebrated incendiary Pamphlet / much complained of at South! // written entirely by a Negro—” (fig. 1). Line by line, the cover page marginalia responds to three historical concerns surrounding *Walker’s Appeal*. The first line should be instantly recognizable as a manifestation of the Walker Effect. The second line places the pamphlet within a particular geography, the South, as well as gesturing toward the reception history there. The third line answers several newspaper articles, editorials, and general gossip which denied David Walker as the author of *Walker’s Appeal*. One such skeptical piece appeared on March 22, 1830 in the *Boston Daily Courier*. It makes the following claim: “[He] who believes it to have been written by David Walker, the dealer in old clothes in Brattle Street, must have more abundant faith than falls to our humble share. It is not, cannot have been, the work of that man.”³⁴ Holland denies the skepticism, going so far as to attribute authorship “entirely” to Walker. At the same time that these phrases indicate an awareness of the pamphlet’s specificity within the larger discourses of abolition, they also anticipate a future time when such a pithy summary proves useful and beneficial.

Indexing reveals another side of Holland as reader and marginalist. His cover-summary looks a lot like today’s book blurbs. Was Holland exposed to so much print material that he needed a brief reminder about the contents of the pamphlet and why its contents were important? I argue that through the index, Holland ascribes an importance and longevity to *Walker’s Appeal* that was contrary to its format. Through an inscribed index on the rear cover, Holland counters the “transiency” of ephemera, and in so doing, offers a template for thinking about the way that format and form can topple.

Pamphlets often fall under the form of “ephemera” defined loosely as “any printed material not in book form.”³⁵ Its etymology suggests a temporal transiency of “lasting only for a few days.” As a material form anything without a protective cover, especially of thick boards used when binding books, was susceptible to damage and an inevitably short life. Pamphlets, broadsides, playbills, forms, and countless other printed documents filled the perfunctory processes of life: they served a purpose external to the thing itself. But books, in all their bound glory, served an intrinsic importance as a stand-alone object. Fine, gilt leather often protected the leaves inside the book. Durability and pretense drove the book’s construction. Even today, people treat books as prized possessions by inscribing their names to show establish ownership, giving them as gifts or mementos, and storing them on specially built shelves. Book is to future as pamphlet is to now.

Tucked away in the upper-left corner of the rear cover, Holland’s index seems unremarkable at first (fig. 5). Like familiar indexes today, the function of an index suggests repetitive use stretched across time. These uses can differ, and indexes usually provide directions through “keywords.” Today’s indexes cater to the general reader – specificity occurs only to a certain degree. As a result, they are impersonal.

But Holland’s index has no words. Only numbers and two manicules exist. It is personal. It is specific. It is reflexive. His index turns conventional assumptions about form and temporality upside-down. First, the index is reflexive. Unlike today’s indexes,

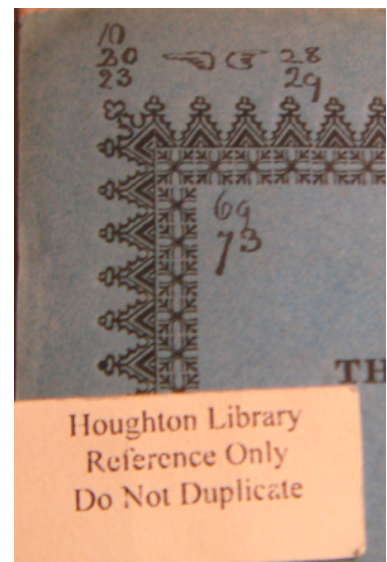


Fig.
3.4

Holland's numbers-only approach works because the numbers refer to pages on which he inscribed marginalia. As a citation strategy, the index cites what caught Holland's attention. In a way, it is a step beyond the index because it has already established what is relevant for Holland. Reflexivity also describes the manicules which lie scattered throughout *Walker's Appeal*. On the rear covers of both the second and third edition, the pamphlet states that "THE ADDITIONS, / WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE TO / THIS WORK, / WILL BE FOUND DISPERSED THROUOHT [sic] THIS BOOK, / ENCLOSED IN BRACKETS." In the text and on the covers, the pamphlet emphasizes the importance of the manicule—what Walker and the printers call "brackets." At one level, Holland plays on the "index finger" of the manicule, pointing to the "additions" that he makes on the rear cover. At another level, the index manicules signify the person of Frederick West Holland by pointing to his interests. Finally, these manicules take the guess work out of where to turn for passages that hold personal investment. If Holland were only interested in the immediate effect of the pamphlet, there would be little need to categorize important pages. *Walker's Appeal* invites an engaged and respectful reading style.³⁶ These rear-cover manicules gesture toward Holland as well as the pamphlet's typographical uniqueness. They also gesture between the present moment of the marginalia and the future. The index anticipates the future utility that *Walker's Appeal* offers to Holland.

Holland's path through the *Appeal* manifests in the index as he turns back and forth between the cover and pertinent passages. This path also moves between the leaves where the reading history appears in the commentary, recalling embedded cultural concerns: anti-miscegenation laws, the lingering effects of the Haitian Revolution, and

the continuing struggle for racial equality in the early United States. At the level of the page, *Walker's Appeal* appears highly mobile because of these various references. The references engage the reader in critical acts of associative readings and idea mapping. At the level of form, it appears mobile in another sense. From the first edition to the third edition, the *Appeal* gains twelve new leaves—more than ten percent of its content. As a material document, it is dynamic. As an intellectual document, it is dynamic.

Where the Walker Effect renders these non-sensational readings invisible, Holland's marginalia resuscitates the everyday reading practices that have long since disappeared from the discourse surrounding *Walker's Appeal*. At the literal and figurative margins, everyday abolition assumes the form of ink and manicules. For Frederick West Holland, the *Appeal* offered a relationship between the written word and reader's intellect. Here, the *Appeal* engendered connections between a reader and reading material. The *Appeal* also existed between people, but how it existed—what status it assumed—invokes another use and aspect of everyday abolition, that of the “memento.” Manicules represent the annotator's hand; they can also represent the outstretched hand of the gift-giver.

4. Everyday Abolition as Mementos

From the margins to the covers, from Xs to indexes, Holland's inscriptions make up some of the ways in which everyday abolition functions in unexpected ways. In addition to encouraging us to rethink how *Walker's Appeal* was read, the marginalia encourages us to rethink *who* read it as well. Holland presents an interesting case because he remains a relatively unknown figure in most circles. Conversely, well-known abolitionists used the *Appeal* unexpectedly too. William Lloyd Garrison, Samuel J. May, and Edward Everett all gifted the *Appeal* either to each other or to libraries in their name.

They saw *Walker's Appeal* as a collector's item loaded with sentimental and representative value. These "exchanges" seem pretty far from the rebellious and revolutionary tenor usually ascribed to the pamphlet. Furthermore, the pamphlet-as-gift, as special-collections-item, as enduring material presence complicates the claims that scholars make about *Walker's Appeal*.³⁷ Some scholars suggest that the pamphlet was sewn into sailors' clothing, a view consistent with the sensationalist rhetoric of the Walker Effect. But a closer look at the archival evidence accentuates the importance of reconsidering how and where the *Appeal* circulated.³⁸ The *Appeal* enjoys a remarkable lifespan because of mobility "through [its] close association with social movements or [its] production in highly motile shorter forms."³⁹ Despite what book history implies about "value" and "form," the *Appeal* asks us to revise these assumptions, to consider the situations when form and value are not synonymous.

In one third edition of *Walker's Appeal*, Garrison's and May's inscriptions suggest that the pamphlet holds some sort of value as a memento or a representative document of abolitionist efforts.⁴⁰ Garrison's name should not be surprising, especially

considering the pamphlet's presence in *The Liberator*. Within the newspaper's first six months, nine articles on *Walker's Appeal* appeared. Where Lundy inveighed against the methods of *Walker's Appeal*, Garrison remained more equivocal: "we have repeatedly expressed our disapprobation of [the *Appeal*'s] general spirit, nevertheless, it is not for the American...to denounce it as bloody or monstrous. Mr. Walker but pays them in their own coin...if any people were every justified in throwing off the yoke of their tyrants, the slaves are that people."⁴¹ Certainly non-resistance would come to dominate Garrisonian abolition by the end of the 1830s, but his early views on the pamphlet refuse to come down in either camp. Hinks notes a strategy behind his equivocation: "Garrison unquestionably used [*The Liberator*] partly as a way to establish his understanding of and sympathy for the sensibilities of the black community. No doubt it earned him much credibility."⁴² An 1833 letter from Garrison to nineteen black Bostonians uses the phrase "pledge of your friendship."⁴³ Whether Garrison's early coverage of the *Appeal* led him to establish these networks is unknown. It is more than apparent that within a few years of establishing *The Liberator* in Boston the city's black community counted him as a member.

May too, is an unsurprising figure in the history of American abolition. The author of the 1832 antislavery pamphlet, *A Discourse on Slavery in the United States*, most of May's life revolved around various reform movements. His involvement with abolition ties him to Garrison and Walker. With Garrison, May helped to establish the New England Anti-Slavery Society, the American Anti-Slavery Society, and the New England Non-Resistance Society.⁴⁴ His memoir, *Some Recollections of Our Antislavery Conflict*, emphasizes Garrison's disapproval of the *Walker's Appeal*'s passages on

resistance. It seems that May did not read *The Liberator* too closely.⁴⁵ And nowhere in the *Recollections* does May mention owning a copy nor does he mention receiving a copy from Garrison.

Neither May nor Garrison's awareness of the pamphlet should be surprising.

What is surprising is that they saw the *Appeal* as particularly representative of either their relationship or abolition

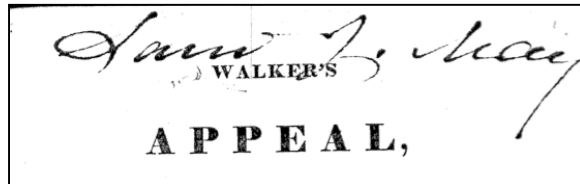


Fig.
4.1

in general. These men saw sentimental value in this pamphlet. Two autographs point toward this value. On the cover page, May's Hancockian signature looms large in the

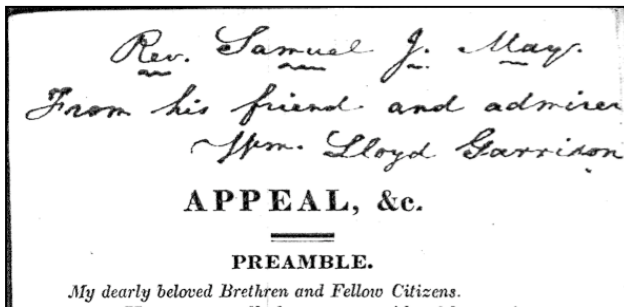


Fig.
4.2

margins (fig. 6). On the next page, William Lloyd Garrison wrote the following message in the margins just above the "Preamble:" "Rev. Samuel J. May. / From his friend and admirer /

Wm. Lloyd Garrison." (fig. 7). No letters between Garrison and May mention the pamphlet. No date on the pamphlet offers any clue to the exchange. What matters is that the inscription contains adulatory language and that the inscription appears in *Walker's Appeal*. As the phrase "from his friend and admirer" makes clear, Garrison thought himself indebted to May. What better way to make up this debt—or at least acknowledge the imbalance—than with a representative gift that encapsulates the larger structures in which these men forged their alliance? But *Walker's Appeal*?

In his *Recollections*, May mentions that Garrison was quick to distance himself from the pamphlet's core message of physical resistance. In its capacity as a gift, the

discordant aspects of the pamphlet seem ancillary to a constructed symbolic status where *Walker's Appeal* stands as a representation of abolition *zeitgeist*. In this capacity May and Garrison essentially overlook the pamphlet's contents when they use it as a canvas for their friendship. Either the men willingly overlook their earlier feelings toward *Walker's Appeal*, or this imbued sentimentality trumps divisiveness. This unusual exchange seems to gloss over the contents of the pamphlet in favor of a particular appropriateness that *Walker's Appeal* embodies in the minds of these two abolitionists.

How exactly can we categorize this event between Garrison and May? Is it a true gift? Leon Jackson offers the following definition of a true gift: "it is a thing of value, bestowed freely and unilaterally upon another of equal social status, given from feelings of esteem and goodwill, and presented with no conscious expectation or explicit demand for repayment."⁴⁶ *Walker's Appeal* was a "thing of value," no doubt. Newspaper records show that the *Appeal* was available for purchase. One such advertisement alerted interested consumers that they could purchase the pamphlet from Hosea Easton's shop, No. 66, South Main Street in Boston.⁴⁷ May and Garrison were friends from their first meeting in the autumn of 1830, abolitionists and social reformers of equal status.⁴⁸ Feelings of "esteem and goodwill" certainly characterize Garrison's inscription in which he describes himself as a "friend and admirer" of May. Without evidence of any particular gift or repayment that either resulted in or resulted from *Walker's Appeal* as memento, any speculations remain inconclusive at this point. Even if it is impossible to date the exchange or trace the methods by which Garrison came to own a copy of the *Appeal*, what is possible is thinking about the reason why Garrison offered the *Appeal* instead of another antislavery document, such as a copy of his periodical *The Liberator*.

Without more evidence, Jackson's "true gift" definition might be too far-fetched. Enough evidence does exist to assert that the pamphlet played a particularly important role because of its place within the cultural moment that both men understood.

Essentially, the gift argues that the *Appeal* is "relevant:" relevant for the time, relevant for its overall position within antebellum abolition, relevant because its margins allow for a concurrent story to be written. Writing about "relevance," Elisa Tamarkin states, "Whenever we make a claim for a text's relevance, we are not just signaling our belief in the significance of our reading, but also registering a faith in its utility and timeliness within an economy of knowledge that demands constant novelty and shifting sites of interest."⁴⁹ Though Tamarkin relates relevance specifically to the rise of news and "newsworthiness," relevance as a category helps unpack what role *Walker's Appeal* plays for Garrison and May. What is substantially different in the gift exchange is the denial of "novelty and shifting sites of interest." *Walker's Appeal* stands as an intransigent representation of a particular moment; it is embedded within abolition and within the local geographical and ideological spaces of Boston's antislavery sentiment. The gift is relevant because it elicits a constellation of micro-histories for the two men. It is highly personal and yet abstract at the same time. The margins of the pamphlet, where another story can be told, remain crucially important to exploring these unexpected locations and unexpected uses of *Walker's Appeal*. Garrison and May, through inscriptions and signatures, ink their friendship and admiration into the margins. No doubt, the emotional disclosure between the two abolitionists resonates with the intensely emotional contents of the pamphlet. They chose a relevant source for a relevant friendship. Luckily, May's

literary estate wound up at Cornell University, where this copy of the pamphlet resides in the Samuel J. May Antislavery Collection.

As Matthew Brown reminds us, archives are actively constructed.⁵⁰ The copy of *Walker's Appeal* held in the Samuel J. May Antislavery Collection represents a fairly straight-forward version of archive construction. Andrew Dickson White, Cornell University's first president, convinced his close friend Samuel J. May to donate his collection of abolition print culture to the university in 1870.⁵¹ The Houghton Library of Harvard University holds a donated first edition of *Walker's Appeal*.

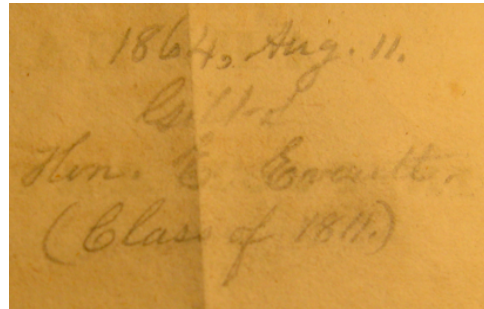


Fig.
4.3

On August 11, 1864, Everett's first edition of *Walker's Appeal* was donated to the Houghton Library at his alma mater, Harvard University. Written neatly in pencil, the acquisition note reads "1864, Aug. 11. / Gift of / Hon. E. Everett / (Class of 1811.)" (fig. 8). Much better known as an orator than an abolitionist, why was Everett's copy of the *Appeal* donated?⁵² Here, relevance can connect the dots when evidence remains scanty.⁵³

Everett had a spotty, uneven relationship with abolition. Case in point: after delivering a salvo against the Kansas-Nebraska debate in 1850, Everett abstained from voting. Keenly aware of the importance of textile manufacturing to his constituency and the corollary slave economy, Everett maintained a public ambiguity toward the antislavery movement. This brief biographical point raises two issues: oration and public service.⁵⁴ Everett was a famed orator. *Walker's Appeal* was famous for its tenor and style, and many scholars point to pamphlet's performative language.⁵⁵ Though not entirely

convincing, perhaps Everett found purchase in analyzing Walker's oratorical skills. The other issues, public service, offers another reason for Everett owning a copy.

For almost fifteen years, Edward Everett refined a public persona based on his oratorical skills. When he joined the U.S. House of Representatives in 1825, Everett had already spent the better part of the decade in various public offices: as minister to the Unitarian Brattle Street Church, as Eliot Professor of Greek at Harvard, as editor of the *North American Review*. From 1825 until 1835, Everett represented the Middlesex Congressional District in Congress. In 1835, Everett was elected governor of Massachusetts and served until 1839.⁵⁶ It is unknown when Everett first came across *Walker's Appeal*, but its 1829 and 1830 printings overlapped with his role in public life. As one of the state's congressmen, Everett had an incontrovertible, albeit abstract, connection to *Walker's Appeal*. Perhaps Everett read the pamphlet because he needed to answer fellow congressmen who sought details on the publication and dissemination of *Walker's Appeal*. This is another aspect of relevance, one that comes to bear because we only know about Everett's ownership because of his gifted copy to the Houghton.

Walker's Appeal floats around in the background of Everett's life. Otherwise an assiduous journal keeper, the entry for August 11, 1864 makes no mention of a trip to the Houghton to deliver the pamphlet. Perhaps he sent someone else. But still, the peculiar absence of the *Appeal* from letters, journals, and memoirs helps us adumbrate the unusual role that Walker's pamphlet played for Edward Everett. Perhaps Everett flipped through the pamphlet in the 1830s only to have an answer to his Southern congressional colleagues who were irate over the pamphlet's circulation among their districts. His

interest in *Walker's Appeal* stemmed also from his public service in addition to studying the rhetorical savvy of the pamphlet.

Despite the inconclusive background, Everett did gift the copy to the Houghton Library. Interestingly, the bulk of his literary estate was donated to the Massachusetts Historical Society *not* to Harvard. Even more intriguing, most of the estate was donated to MHS in 1930, more than sixty years after Everett's death.⁵⁷ What then can be made of this aberrant donation of *Walker's Appeal* to the Houghton Library? Perhaps Everett sought to mitigate his equivocal public response to abolition by retroactively associating his legacy with an important antislavery document. By 1864, the year that the Houghton Library acquired the pamphlet, Everett strongly supported the Union during the U.S. Civil War as well as publicly voicing his support for the reelection of President Abraham Lincoln. The pamphlet became an apology, a coxer, a testament that resonated within a fraught historical period. But Everett's silence on the pamphlet rings much louder because it flouts the usual affray of *Walker's Appeal* especially as a manifestation of the Walker Effect. That a prominent U.S. statesman owned the *Appeal* yet leaves only speculative trails for reasons why he gifted a copy proves that more unexpected locations exist. As a document *Walker's Appeal* served a functional relevance for Edward Everett's public office persona.

Where the first section asks how marginalia constructs a non-sensational reception history of *Walker's Appeal*, this second question asks how other book history methods offer ways of exploring other everyday practices. As one recent essay states, "Authorship is one part of this story, to be sure; but it no longer seems necessary to insist that it is the only intellectually exciting or politically meaningful aspect of that story."⁵⁸

From the overt gift-exchange between Garrison and May, to the vexing donation of Everett's copy, to the archivists and reference librarians who duly recorded and preserved their famous acquisitions, these politically meaningful aspects ensure the lifespan of *Walker's Appeal*. Many hands, many more than just David Walker's, make up the processes that led to the pamphlet's preservation and its material existence that enables current book history scholarship. The same manicules that reveal the annotator's hand and the gift-exchange between hands also gesture toward the forgotten hands which produced the *Appeal* as a printed document.

5. Everyday Abolition and Printing

No one knows precisely who printed *Walker's Appeal*. That an “incendiary” pamphlet has no identified printer should not be entirely surprising especially given the historical precedence of printers looking to save face.⁵⁹ But Peter Hinks proposes evidence that two Boston printers, David Hooton and Matthew Teprell, printed the pamphlet. Hinks makes two points about their likely association: first, Hooton had in 1828 printed an address by John T. Hilton to the Grand African Lodge of Boston, and second, “both printers were cited on the list of Walker’s debts in his probate records.”⁶⁰ Pretty compelling evidence no doubt, but this paper is interested in disproving nor proving that these two men absolutely printed the pamphlet.⁶¹ Instead, the archival evidence of these two printers points toward another manifestation of the unusual circumstances of everyday abolition: that taking part in antislavery sometimes paid the bills.

Hooton and Teprell worked as a team for a period somewhere between 1828 and 1832 during which time they printed three editions of the pamphlet in under a year (1829-1830). During the months from 1830-1831, Hooton and Teprell also worked together on the short-lived periodical “Workingman’s Advocate.”⁶² Their relationship to the journal seems to be all-encompassing; various imprints list them as editors, printers, and proprietors. Notably, Hooton’s name appears on all of the imprints while Teprell’s name appears most but not all of the time. It is possible that Hooton and Teprell owned separate printing shops and the documents that contain both names were “shared job” printings. Shared jobs can account for the imprints bearing both Hooton and Teprell as well as only Hooton during a time when the records show that both men were printing. Aside from the

Hilton address and the “Workingman’s Advocate,” the print records are sparse.⁶³ Of the two men, Matthew Teprell’s name appears one time by itself. Teprell printed an 1825 bible that seems famous only because Horace Mann’s family listed their genealogy between the Apocrypha and the New Testament.⁶⁴ Five years later, Teprell joined Hooton to print R.L. Jennings’s “Address Delivered Before the First Society of Free Enquirers” in mid-summer 1830. If these two men indeed printed *Walker’s Appeal*, then their run of Jennings would have occurred very close to the third and last edition of Walker’s pamphlet, printed before his August death.

On the other hand, David Hooton seems to have been a more active printer at least according to archival evidence. As Hinks mentions, Hooton likely had met David Walker when Walker arranged the printing and publication of Hilton’s speech in mid-summer 1828. In addition to Hilton’s address, David Hooton printed a wide variety of documents: theater playbills, broadside advertisements, contracts, local constitutions, and likely *Walker’s Appeal*. As such, Hooton represents a typical job printer from the mid-nineteenth century. In 1832, Hooton printed *Fourth Night of the Reengagement* for the Warren Theater. Continuing his streak of non-radical printing, Hooton printed a Veteran Association Constitution for the Boston Fire Department in 1833, and in 1834 he printed a broadside advertisement for “Dr. Ward’s Vegetable Asthmatic Pills.”⁶⁵ Hooton continued printing sporadically from 1834 until 1842 when another flurry of activity appears in the archival record. From a two year period in 1842-1844, over twenty theater printings survive just at the Massachusetts Historical Society. With so many theater productions and different theaters, printing playbills and performance advertisements

could be a printer's bread and butter. For David Hooton, this popular theatrical work seems to have paid the bills later in life.

This variegated archival record tells us a few things, specifically what they were *not* printing.⁶⁶ First, with so many items from so many different cultural spheres, the absence of other abolitionist work is striking. Hooton's connection to the Grand African Lodge seems even more confusing because of his glaring absence from the burgeoning Boston antislavery printing world. Between Garrison's *The Liberator* and the Massachusetts Antislavery Society, Boston printers had their presses more than full in addition to the non-institutional documents such as Lydia Maria Child's *An appeal in favor of the class of Americans called Africans* which was printed by Allen & Ticknor in Boston, 1833. With such a prodigious amount of antislavery material, it is even more surprising that Hooton and Teprell's names appear nowhere in connection to the antislavery movement.

Second, the paucity is especially meaningful because Hooton printed both before and after the lacuna. It is highly unlikely that Hooton underwent two different, unrelated jobs as a printer. Printing equipment was too expensive and too unwieldy to start a venture, abandon it, and then start again. How then, do we explain the absence of historical material? What if we nominate absence as an archival preservation issue and not as an ideological issue related to Hooton? In other words, Hooton kept printing but what he printed was not preserved. All of this bibliographic evidence—and missing evidence—points toward Hooton and Teprell as “job printers.”

Essentially, job printers printed whatever offered a steady income: blanks, forms, playbills, bills, etc. Precisely because of the sheer number of ephemera, the job printers'

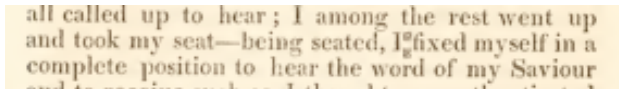
world is “hard to reconstruct, especially since many [of the documents] did not identify their makers.”⁶⁷ For literary historians combing through records and archives, unless a particular collector valued broadsides or blank forms it is unlikely that libraries would choose to store several hundred pages of ephemera instead of an early copy of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* or other “notable” books. Nonetheless, enough typographical signposts—read errata—exist to construct the particular job printing that resulted in *Walker’s Appeal* appearing in late fall 1829.

All of the mistakes and highly-variable inconsistencies manifest a “job printing” mentality that was more concerned with finishing the job as quickly as possible than it was concerned with any amount of reverence or esteem for *Walker’s Appeal*. These print signposts disclose a hurried tempo that is different from Holland’s “meticulous futurity;” in job printing, temporality is always immediate. What I am suggesting is that the typographical evidence testifies to the printing shop environment where the *Appeal* was another task for these everyday printers. I specifically want to suggest that the relationship was politically significant, that the politics of abolition needs to expand to include these job printers even if they were not devoted abolitionists.⁶⁸ To Hooton and Teprell, the *Appeal* was just another pamphlet to print.

And they printed quickly. In less than two months the *Appeal* went from manuscript to pamphlet in the presses of Hooton and Teprell. On the cover page of the first edition, a subtitle reads “*Written in Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, Sept. 28th, 1829.*” On December 8, 1829, David Walker sent a letter to Mr. Thomas Lewis in Richmond, VA, along with thirty copies of the *Appeal*.⁶⁹ Hinks records that “The *Appeal* appears to have first surfaced publicly in Savannah. On December 11, 1829, the

Savannah police department seized sixty copies.”⁷⁰ In roughly two months, the *Appeal* was printed, bound, then made its way from Boston to Georgia, a distance of about 950 nautical miles which would take about five days in favorable conditions.⁷¹ Of that first

Fig. 5.1

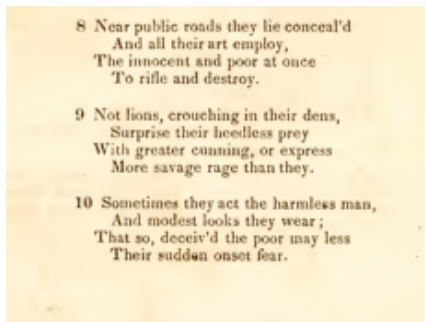


edition, at least ninety copies made their way quickly through the post

from Boston to various locations down the Eastern seaboard. Evidence shows that it was more important for the *Appeal* to circulate than it was for the *Appeal* to have no printing mistakes.

Quick printing lends itself to mistakes, and *Walker's Appeal* is filled with printing mistakes. At a basic level, these compositional errors reveal that a “make-ready” was

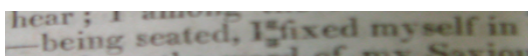
Fig. 5.2



likely *not* printed, but proof copies were printed. The more valuable the document, the more important it was to catch errors at the imposition and proof stage, before printing and especially before distribution. It is

highly unlikely that the copies I examined

Fig. 5.3



were all proof copies, because proofs would

be a single sheet, not cut and bound leaves. Case in point: a third edition housed at Johns Hopkins has visible spacers on page forty-four (fig. 9), while a stanza section at the end has correct enumeration (fig. 10). At the American Antiquarian Society, a third edition has the visible spacer on page forty-four (fig. 11), but its numbered stanzas are out of order (fig.

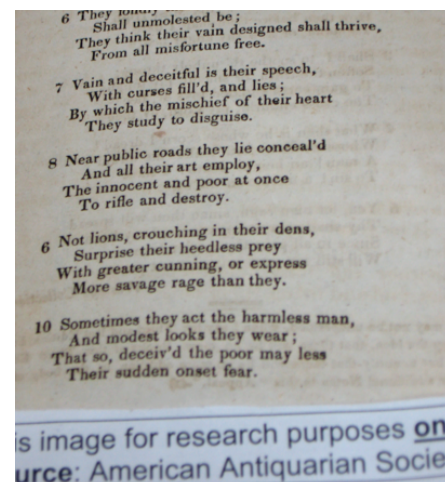


Fig. 5.4

12). Another third edition at the Houghton has the same typographical fingerprint as the Johns Hopkins third edition.

Correctors or compositors caught some errata yet missed others. The process of proofing and correcting discloses important information for reconstructing the culture of abolition's job printers. These highly variable typographical errors confirm the suspicion that Hooton and Teprell ran a small operation, focused on printing whatever came across their desk in a timely fashion. Mistakes were ineluctably part and parcel of job printers.

Large printing houses had numerous steps to ensure a clean final product, and "proof copies" played an integral part in finding and fixing composition errors. The definitive guide to bibliography, Gaskell's *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, says this about proof copies:

Proofs—trial prints—of newly-imposed formes were made so that any errors that had crept into the text in the process of setting the copy in type (and there were always some) might be discovered and rectified before the sheet was printed...Having imposed a forme, the compositor carried it to the press room, where a press crew was required to pause in its work and pull a proof for him, often on an old press kept for the purpose...The corrector then settled down with his 'reader' to check the proof for errors...Finally [the corrector] handed the marked proof—but not the copy—back to the compositor for correcting in the metal.⁷²

The exact work-force of Hooton and Teprell is unknown, but the absence of any major documents—remember that *Walker's Appeal* had no imprint, and it was far from a best-seller—account books, or various ledgers suggests that Hooton and Teprell operated

small presses. Someone, whether a paid corrector or an in-house compositor, certainly caught some of the miscues. But the number and frequency of mistakes tells us that no “make-ready” preceded the full runs.

“Make-ready was a lengthy process,” consequently expensive, and a regular practice among prominent printing firms, not small operations like Hooton and Teprell.⁷³ Often, only books that expected to sell thousands of copies benefitted from make-ready precision. Neither expecting to sell thousands nor able to spend the extra day waiting when their livelihood as job printers required quick turn-around, Hooton and Teprell had no reason to scrutinize type. Furthermore, Walker seemed content to recoup expenses for some of the pamphlets but not all of them. In the letter to Thomas Lewis Walker notifies Lewis that he should write back to Walker requesting more pamphlets which are priced “Twelve cents pr Book,—to those who can pay for them,—and if there are any who, cannot pay for a Book give them Books for nothing.”⁷⁴ Did David Walker trade an accurate, typographically correct manuscript for speed, cost-efficiency, and local market knowledge?⁷⁵ Possibly. But Hooton likely knew that without his shop’s imprint he remained relatively safe from prosecution and thus willing to take on *Walker’s Appeal*. This hypothesis is borne out by a February 1830 letter in which Boston mayor H.G. Otis tells the mayor of Savannah that Walker is the author and responsible for the pamphlet. There is no mention of printers, even though Mayor Williams of Savannah asked that “enquiries may be instituted respecting the parties concerned in a transaction fraught with such dangerous consequences to the peace and even to the lives of the people of the South.”⁷⁶ In the public eye, without an identifiable fingerprint, printers fade between the lines.

Recently, book historians have worked to bring the “print” of print culture back into view. And for good reason. Between the changing editions and the unconventional typography, *Walker’s Appeal* is a trove for thinking about the “print” and “print culture.” Marcy Dinius notes that “analyzing the graphic appearance of the pamphlet reveals the interaction of print and oratory (or visibility and orality), literacy and performance, and emotion and reason in this complex and powerful text.”⁷⁷ One of the elements in the pamphlet that Dinius sees as emblematic of these competing categories is the pointing hand fonts that litter the editions; William Sherman calls this font a “manicule.”⁷⁸ The manicule operates uniquely in the *Appeal* according to Dinius: “What is untraditional—even shocking, if only subconsciously—about the many manicules in *Walker’s Appeal* is that they allow the author to point a visible, not just rhetorical, finger at those (such as Jefferson) willing to enslave others and those (much of his intended audience) willing to remain enslaved.”⁷⁹ Indeed, William Sherman mentions that manicules “have an uncanny power to conjure up the bodies of dead writers and readers.”⁸⁰ Dinius’ incisive analysis connects Walker’s hand, the *authorial* hand, to the manicules throughout the pages and their varied indictments and accusations. But the manicules point elsewhere, somewhere beyond the author-function.

These “pointing hands” also evoke the printers whose hands plucked the

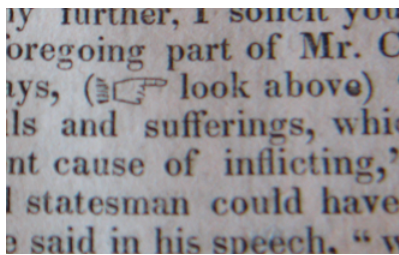


Fig. 5.5, 2nd
edition.

manicules
from the case,
then
deposited

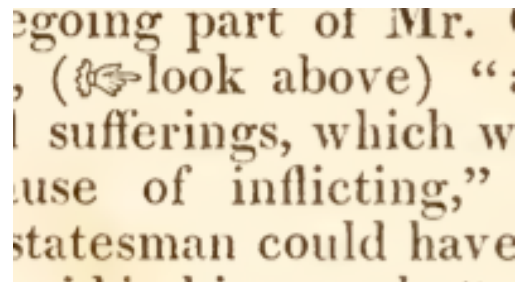


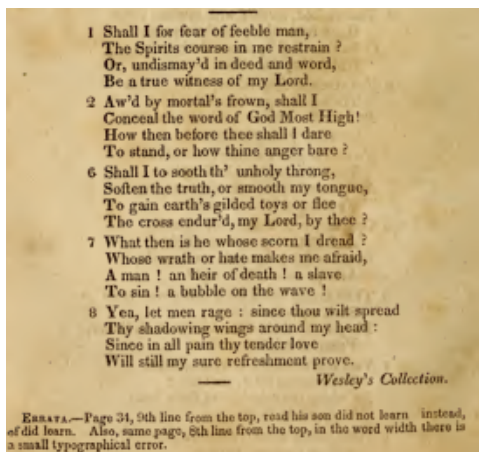
Fig. 5.6, 3rd
edition.

them in the forme. From edition to edition, these

manicules change in appearance, literally representing the different hands that set the *Appeal*. From the second to the third editions, the manicules change noticeably. In the second edition, whose manicules match the first edition, the index finger figures prominently (fig. 13). Conversely, the third edition manicule has a less prominent pointing finger. Its stylized cuff and narrow wrist defy anatomical proportions (fig. 14). Many hands, not just David Walker's brought the *Appeal* from *manuscript* to pamphlet. Even within the third edition of *Walker's Appeal*, different stylized manicules appear. In the third edition, the manicules have narrower wrists than others, and these slight differences nonetheless *manifest* the actual printers whose role—synecdochically represented by the manicules—often disappears from their printed products. The pamphlet's complex categories, “print and oratory (or visuality and orality), literacy and performance, and emotion and reason,” make an arresting appearance, and perhaps David Walker first saw the performative impact of his *Appeal* in the printing house of Hooton and Teprell. The printers of the pamphlet had to perform, literally read aloud, the words when printing new editions.

A homonymic misspelling on the last page clues us into the performative aspect of setting the type of *Walker's Appeal*. In the first edition, in the second stanza of *Wesley's Hymns*, the last line reads “To stand, or how thine anger bare?” (fig. 15).⁸¹ In

Fig. 5.7



the third
edition, the
same line
reads “To



Fig. 5.8

stand, or how thy anger bear?" (fig. 16).⁸² What makes this misspelling significant? Had the new editions been compiled by eyesight, then this type of mistake would be unlikely. But most of the checking and composition done during the machine-press period was done aurally: "The head reader (who was normally responsible to the management, not to the overseer of the composing department) distributed proofs and copy to his staff, which until the early years of the [twentieth] century continued to be organized in teams of readers and reading boys, who corrected the proofs by the method of reading the copy aloud."⁸³ According to the *OED*, bare/bear both existed in the English language for hundreds of years prior to David Walker's pamphlet. Only optical collation, a silent activity, would catch the slip between "bare" and "bear." It would be difficult for the correctors to find the original word in *Wesley's Collection of Psalms and Hymns* because it seems that Walker fabricated these passages.⁸⁴ Furthermore, the switch from "thine" to "thy" is an even more apparently aural transmission problem especially with the first syllable of "anger." Without a diacritical mark for a pause "thine anger" *sounds* remarkably close to "thy anger." "Bare" sounds absolutely identical to "bear." These subtle changes remind attentive readers that the manicules also manifest the printers whose hands were literally all over every letter.

It's worth pausing to consider these editorial events and their consequences for our assumptions about performance and printing. I argue that the pamphlet's first performance occurred in Boston by the printers before it was performed anywhere in the South.⁸⁵ Imagine this scene: David Walker, David Hooton, Matthew Teprell, and a few other workers stand around the type cases. It is cold outside, and the men huddle quietly as David Walker reads the printed copy of his first edition: "But we, (coloured people)

and our children are *brutes*, and of course are, and ought to be *slaves* to the American people and their children, forever—to dig their mines and work their farms; and thus go on enriching them, from one generation to another with our *blood* and our *tears!!!!!!*⁸⁶ He pauses, and decides to emphasize new words, breaking the famous cadence of the *Appeal* at new places: “But we, (coloured people) and our children are *brutes!!* and of course are, and *ought to be* SLAVES to the American people and their children forever!! to dig their mines and work their farms; and thus go on enriching them, from one generation to another with our *blood* and our *tears!!!!!!*”⁸⁷ Hooton and Teprell scratch new punctuation and corrector’s notes on their copies of the first edition as they listen to Walker’s tenor, pace, and volume peak then soften. They confer with Walker, who nods that this new typographical representation works better than the first at conveying the aural emphasis on words and emotions.

But David Walker did not have to be there. Perhaps Hooton and Teprell hold a corrected first edition with Walker’s additions and emendations, reading aloud to their compositors whose hands dart over the cases, fingers extended like the manicules placed throughout the leaves. Hooton’s voice rises and falls with the cadence. He sneers the italicized words, bellows out the capitalized words, pierces the biting winter air with exclamation points. Between all of the workers of the printing house, some who read, some who set type, some who paid attention to the finicky typography, *Walker’s Appeal* took shape. When the line “To stand, or how thine anger bare” was read, perhaps a passing affray muffled the enunciated syllables, or maybe the in-house reader turned his head, thus eliding “thine” and “anger.” “Thy anger” appears in the third and final edition.

Whatever did happen on that ordinary business day, the printers of *Walker's Appeal* left indelible traces on the paper even as their vocal performance has long since disappeared.

Errata, emendations, and additions enable a reevaluation of the printers' influence in shaping not only the material production *Walker's Appeal* but also its typographical uniqueness. The pamphlet's manicules do point rhetorical fingers at both the enslavers and the enslaved, synecdochically symbolizing David Walker's castigating finger. I suggest that these manicules also gesture toward the manual production of the pamphlet, and the slightly-different manicules invoke the different hands that transformed the manuscript into print. Walker's hand was central to part of the process, and the printers' hands were central to another part.

Everyday abolition makes room for many actors at the site of print production and preservation, from authors to printers, friends to archivists. The production and preservation of print culture is a "collective endeavor, whose collaborations for better *and* for worse, work across the color-line."⁸⁸ The case study of the printers reveals the extent to which unacknowledged historical practices actually played a central role in producing the document known as *Walker's Appeal*. Everyday abolition recognizes the important collaborations that not only shaped the influence of *Walker's Appeal* during the nineteenth century but also recognizes the conditions that affect Walker scholarship today.

6. The Futures of Everyday Abolition

For this nascent analysis of everyday abolition, book history provides a particularly productive methodology because *Walker's Appeal* contains substantial book history concerns. David Walker thought hard about circulation. He himself “travelled over a considerable portion of these United States.” He implored “all coloured men, women and children, of every nation, language and tongue under heaven [to] try to procure a copy of this Appeal and read it, or get some one to read it to them.”⁸⁹ Keenly aware of the circulation of ideas through print, both destructive and constructive, *Walker's Appeal* sought a place within the traffic of print and ideas in the antebellum United States. The *Appeal* repeatedly “thinks in print.” Not only does *Walker's Appeal* reflexively encourage its own readerly consumption, the pamphlet encourages its audience to purchase and read other books: “[I] solicit each of my brethren, who has the spirit of a man, to buy a copy of Mr. Jefferson’s “Notes on Virginia,” and put it in the hand of his son... We, and the world wish to see the charges of Mr. Jefferson refuted by the blacks *themselves*.”⁹⁰ The *Appeal* challenges print with print. Notice too, the reiteration of “hands.” This time, the pamphlet anticipates the legion of readers waiting with outstretched hands for copies of Jefferson and copies of Walker. As much as the above sentence emphasizes the refutation “by the blacks *themselves*,” print circulation is no respecter of categories. Annotators, memento-givers, and printers prove that *Walker's Appeal* circulated much wider than scholars have assumed. And more importantly, its circulation intertwined with unexpected uses.

Everyday abolition enables the recovery of these overlooked practices. This paper argues that unusual practices such as annotation, gifting, and printing, deserve

scholarly attention because everyday abolition constitutes a substantial amount of the literary-historical archives. While voting, fighting, and speaking are more closely associated with “political action” than marginalia and printing, this exclusionary view of abolition politics can run dangerously close to historical erasure by repeating the same stories and focusing on the same figures, monograph after monograph, lecture after lecture. Furthermore, as the section on Garrison and May argues, even familiar figures have unfamiliar sides. Book history methodologies help to relocate the spheres of abolition politics within abolition’s history. Sure, Garrison burned copies of the Constitution, but he also employed print exchange to maintain friendships and build a community of antislavery advocates. Everyday abolition does not move *beyond* antislavery politics; it urges literary historians to broaden our understanding of what else could be considered as political practices.

Everyday abolition aligns itself with recent work on *other* registers of antislavery. In “Black Anglophilia; or, The Sociability of Antislavery,” Elisa Tamarkin asks about the imaginary contributions and social practices that “are political only by way of a peculiar and involving fascination with “Englishness” itself.”⁹¹ Playfully provocative yet deeply resonant with everyday abolition, Tamarkin explores the “pleasurable activities” with which “such an Anglophilia underwrote the American antislavery movement as both an ideological mission and a cultural project, and, at the same time, supplied abolitionists with an available symbology of a country worth emulating, far beyond the mere adoption of emancipationist politics.”⁹² While abolitionists’ rabid concerns with Queen Victoria’s slipper material—velvet or satin?—might seem frivolous even patently apolitical, Tamarkin deftly connects this sociability with another side of antislavery politics. What

could be construed as *impolitic* actually appears strikingly *politic*. Everyday abolition makes a similar case: that minor registries of antislavery practices not only inform but actually buttress major registries. *Walker's Appeal* undoubtedly circulated among southern plantations and fugitive slave communities, but it also circulated among white Bostonians whose material annotations manifest alternative uses, visions, and revisions. Far from impolitic, everyday abolition actually casts a wider net that encourages scholars to move abolition politics out of “abolition’s public sphere” and into everyday abolition’s unexpected places.

Everyday abolition recognizes those historical persons who interacted with *Walker's Appeal* in non-sensational ways. Perhaps they read it; perhaps they exchanged it; perhaps they donated it; perhaps they printed it. All of these practices and many more yet to be uncovered, make abolition accessible to a wider section of American culture. Unexpected, yes, but crucially important.

My conclusion focuses on the future directions of this project as well as everyday abolition. Book history necessarily focuses on printed documents that fill the shelves, cabinets, and underground, temperature controlled vaults throughout the country. Realizing that this project offers stepping stones—methodologically as well as theoretically—for more work, I am keenly aware of the filtration work that assesses literary-historical archives. Derrida reminds us of the complex temporality of the archive: “As much as and more than a thing of the past, before such a thing, the archive should call into question the coming of the future.”⁹³ The coming of the future, what Holland anticipates with his indexing and annotations, implores a careful construction and mediation of the past. In the same way that *Walker's Appeal* mobilizes historical events

to envision a coming future, the literary-historical historical archives enable a similar project. Everyday abolition seeks to bring back the disappearances and oversights buried within our archives. It strives to sort out future possibilities and future interpretations, not only of *Walker's Appeal*, but the processes by which we mediate and construct our own understanding of abolition's political practices.

NOTES

¹ David Walker, *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World*, ed. Peter P. Hinks (University Park: The PSU Press, 2000), 28, 45. All references to the text of *Walker's Appeal* will be further identified by the year of publication.

² Walker (2000), 107. Contemporary newspaper reviews of *Walker's Appeal* also followed Lundy's lead. The Norwich, CT *Courier*, in December 1829 names it as the "inflammatory Walker pamphlet;" the *Connecticut Mirror* in April 1830 said that the pamphlet's "character was represented to be highly inflammatory;" the *Rhode Island American* in September 1830 blames a Boston riot on "this incendiary pamphlet;" the same newspaper in February 1832 again classifies the *Appeal* as an "incendiary pamphlet." The *Providence Patriot* in April 1830, after excerpting the eschatological last lines of the pamphlet's third article, rhetorically asks "Does this require comment?"

³ Walker (2000), 109-10.

⁴ Robert Branham and Philip S. Foner, *Lift Every Voice*, 126.

⁵ Diane Ravitch, *The American Reader*, 175.

⁶ Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*, 299.

⁷ Peter P. Hinks, *To Awaken My Afflicted Brethren: David Walker and the Problem of Antebellum Slave Resistance* (University Park: The PSU Press, 1997), 250. For a concise assessment of the pamphlet's contradictions, see Hinks, *To Awaken My Afflicted*, 237-58.

⁸ Eric Gardner, *Unexpected Places: Relocating Nineteenth-Century African American Literature* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009), 10.

⁹ See Bruce Laurie, *Beyond Garrison: Antislavery and Social Reform* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2005).

¹⁰ Robert Fanuzzi, *Abolition's Public Sphere* (Minneapolis: U of M Press, 2003), 129-65.

¹¹ Joe Rezek, "Orations on the Abolition of the Slave trade and the Uses of Print in the Early Black Atlantic," *Early American Literature*, 45.3 (2010): 655-82; Heather Andrea Williams, *Self-Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2005); Elizabeth McHenry, *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African American Literary Societies* (Durham: Duke UP, 2002).

¹² See H.J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2001) for general thoughts on marginalists. For Coleridge specifically, see the enormous six volume set of his annotations and inscriptions, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Marginalia*, ed. George Whalley and H.J. Jackson, *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1980 –).

¹³ Walker (2000), 42. Sort of related, Teresa Toulouse brought up the possible connections with different media technologies and their relationship to revolution e.g. Twitter and the Revolutionary Spring of 2011. It's possible, and I think productive, to think about the long intertwined history of print, print culture, and revolution, especially in the United States. *Walker's Appeal* seems to have undergone a similar "romanticization" as Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*. Trish Loughran offers a relentless and nuanced rejoinder to Paine's self-propagated claims about his pamphlet's material saturation; see Loughran, *The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation Building 1770-1870* (New York: Columbia UP, 2007), 33-103.

¹⁴ For an insightful reading of the struggle over literacy in the American South, both before the Civil War and after, see Heather Andrea Williams, *Self-Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2005).

¹⁵ Michael Warner, *Letters of the Republic* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1990), 12.

¹⁶ See Williams, *Self-Taught*, for the best treatment of the drive to acquire literacy among African Americans. See Hilary E. Wyss, *Writing Indians: Literacy, Christianity, and Native Community in Early America* (Amherst: UMass Press, 2000) for an excellent study of literacy among Native communities.

¹⁷ Patricia Crain, "New Histories of Literacy," *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 477.

¹⁸ Williams, *Self-Taught*, 7.

¹⁹ Charles F. Robinson II, *Dangerous Liaisons: Sex and Love in the Segregated South* (Fayetteville: U of Arkansas Press, 2003), 4.

²⁰ Louis Ruchames, "Race, Marriage, and Abolition in Massachusetts," *The Journal of Negro History*, 40.3 (1955): 250-73.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 250-51.

²² A keyword search lists 92 hits in the weekly periodical's two year run.

²³ See *Freedom's Journal*, September 21, 28, and October 5, 1827.

²⁴ See *Freedom's Journal*, August 1, 1828. See *The Woman of Colour*, ed. Lyndon J. Dominique (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2007).

²⁵ Hinks, *To Awaken My Afflicted Brethren*, 257-58.

²⁶ For example, Marcy J. Dinius writes that "violent revolutionary action is a necessity in *Walker's Appeal*." See Marcy J. Dinius, "'Look!! Look!!! at This!!!!': The Radical Typography of David Walker's *Appeal*," *PMLA* 126.1: 67. Philip Lapsansky sees another side of the *Appeal*, a side closer to the equivocalness that I see: "For one thing, it is both strongly worded and yet vague on details. It is written for black as well as white eyes... Walker's ultimate message about violence is ambiguous. Did he really encourage a mass uprising of the black masses or did he say an uprising would occur only if slavery persisted?" See *Pamphlets of Protest: An Anthology of Early African-American Protest Literature, 1790-1860*, ed. Richard Newman, Patrick Rael, Philip Lapsansky (New York: Routledge, 2001), 90.

²⁷ Walker (2000), 63.

²⁸ Hinks, *To Awaken My Afflicted Brethren*, 250. For a concise assessment of the pamphlet's contradictions, see Hinks, *To Awaken My Afflicted Brethren: David Walker and the Problem of Antebellum Slave Resistance* (University Park: The PSU Press, 1997), 237-58.

²⁹ Walker (2000), 73.

³⁰ Hinks sees Martin Delany as a more appropriate historical architect for black nationalism because of Walker's belief in co-racialized government rule. For a concise evaluation of Walker's relationship to black nationalism, see Hinks, *To Awaken My Afflicted Brethren*, 249-50.

³¹ For the classic account of the Haitian Revolution, see C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York: Vintage, 1989).

³² Fanuzzi, *Abolition's Public Sphere*, XI-XL. Trish Loughran has some major problems with Fanuzzi's arguments; see Trish Loughran, *The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation Building, 1770-1870* (New York: Columbia UP, 2007), 305-06, 343. Fanuzzi's public sphere has major players like Douglass and Garrison – this is antithetical to my emphasis on the everyday abolitionists who worked behind the scenes without the fanfare of publicity and fame.

³³ Walker excoriates the *Declaration of Independence* by reprinting it, then subsequently modifying its message through typographical changes. Scholars have paid attention to the relationship between Walker and Jefferson. For an assessment of Jefferson and Walker, see Gene Jarrett, "To Refute Mr. Jefferson's Arguments Respecting Us': Thomas Jefferson, David Walker, and the Politics of Early African American Literature," *Early American Literature* 46.2 (2011): 291-318; for an assessment of the *Declaration of Independence* in the *Appeal*, see Marcy J. Dinius, "'Look!! Look!!! at This!!!!': The Radical Typography of David Walker's *Appeal*," *PMLA* 126.1: 55-72.

³⁴ Qtd. in Hinks, *Afflicted Brethren*, 117.

³⁵ Nicolas Barker and John Carter, *ABC for Book Collectors*, 8th ed. (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2004), 90.

³⁶ This index also suggests a reading style that displays "cross-referencing and nonlinear habits," habits that usually exist within the domain of books. Again, these habits usually correlate with books, not ephemera. But *Walker's Appeal* and Holland's marginalia challenge the book history norms, requiring new approaches to thinking about how readers unexpectedly interacted with the pamphlet. One of these approaches mirrors the traditional views of literacy habits that Matthew Brown challenges in *The Pilgrim and the Bee*. The traditional literacy model, proposed by David D. Hall, explains that between hand-press technology and limited print runs, readers in the early modern era "owned fewer copies of books and read them deeply, linearly, and repeatedly." These readers practiced "intensive reading." Matthew Brown sees problems with this intensive reading habit, and suggests that we should "leave behind the rubrics of 'intensive' and 'extensive' reading for 'continuous' and 'discontinuous' paths through a text."

³⁷ In March, 2011 Special Collections at UVA purchased a 1st edition of *Walker's Appeal* for \$95,000. <http://www2.timesdispatch.com/news/2011/mar/03/uva-acquires-rare-antislavery-manifesto-ar-880254/>

³⁸ http://www2.lib.virginia.edu/small/collections/recent_acquisitions.html

³⁹ Joanna Brooks, "The Unfortunates: What the Lifespans of Early Black Books Tell us about Book History," *Early African American Print Culture in Theory and Practice*, ed. Lara Langer Cohen and Jordan Alexander Stein (Philadelphia: Penn Press, forthcoming).

⁴⁰ Currently housed at Cornell University Special Collections, in the Samuel J. May Antislavery Collection.

⁴¹ *The Liberator*, January 8, 1831.

⁴² *Afflicted Brethren*, 113. The full last sentence reads: "No doubt it earned him much credibility, just as Lundy's bitter condemnation of the *Appeal* in April 1830 must have further sunk his journal's hopes." Hinks's supposition is not far off. For a nuanced material treatment of Benjamin Lundy, see Trish Loughran, *The Republic in Print*, 303-61.

⁴³ *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison, 1822-1835, Vol. 1.*, ed. Walter M. Merrill and Louis Ruchames (Cambridge: The Belknap press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 216-17. J.T. Hilton is one of the addressees on the letter. Walker and Hilton were members of the Massachusetts General Coloured Association, and Walker helped secure the publication and printing of Hilton's 1828 address by Hooton and Teprell; see below for more on Hilton, Walker, and the printers Hooton and Teprell.

⁴⁴ From May's *American National Biography* entry.

⁴⁵ May writes: "So soon as this attempt to excite the slaves to insurrection came to the knowledge of Mr. Garrison, he earnestly deprecated it in his lectures, especially those addressed to colored people. And in his first number of the *Liberator* he repudiated the resort to violence as wrong in principle and disastrous in policy. His opinions on this point were generally embraced by his followers, and explicitly declared by the American Antislavery Society in 1833" (*Recollections*, 134). Remember that Garrison said that the enslaved were "justified" in throwing off the yoke of their tyrants.

⁴⁶ Leon Jackson, *The Business of Letters: Authorial Economies in Antebellum America* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2008), 89.

⁴⁷ *The Rhode Island American*, December 8, 1829. I'm not sure why the Providence paper would list a Boston store without an address. Easton lived in Boston from 1829 until 1833 when he moved to CT to take over a church. See Eds. George R. Price and James Brewer Stewart, *To Heal the Scourge of Prejudice* (Amherst: UMass Press, 1999), 9-22. For general reprinting practices in antebellum America, see Meredith L. McGill, *American Culture and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834-1850* (Philadelphia: Penn Press, 2003). For colonial American newspaper reprinting see Loughran, 1-32.

⁴⁸ Henry Mayer, *All on Fire: William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition of Slavery* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1998), 103-04. I'm a bit skeptical of Mayer because he mentions that "Walker had his pamphlet printed clandestinely in New York" (109). His notes refer to sources with which I'm familiar, so I'm just not sure where Mayer came up with this hypothesis. Nonetheless, the passage on May and Garrison reads, "At the end of the lecture, an irresistible emotion propelled Samuel J. May to the front of the hall, where he embraced Garrison as a prophet. 'I am sure you are called to great work,' May told him, 'and I mean to help you.' The men talked until midnight at Alcott's lodgings, and May felt his ministry had gained new purpose. 'That night,' May liked to say, 'my soul was baptized in his spirit, and ever since I have been a disciple and fellow-laborer of William Lloyd Garrison'" (104).

⁴⁹ Elisa Tamarkin, "Reading for Relevance: Keeping Up with the News," *Common-Place* 10.4 (2010). <http://www.common-place.org/vol-10/no-04/reading/>.

⁵⁰ Matthew P. Brown, *The Pilgrim and the Bee: Reading Rituals and Book Culture in Early New England* (Philadelphia: Penn Press, 2007), 202.

⁵¹ <http://dlxs.library.cornell.edu/m/mayantislavery/collection.html>

⁵² I can't find evidence that Everett actually donated the copy himself to Harvard. His diaries make no mention of the trip in August, and he was a fastidious diary-keeper. At any rate, the connection between Everett and *Walker's Appeal* is puzzling and worth thinking about because of its unusualness.

⁵³ The Houghton Library staff could not locate any particular acquisition information for the pamphlet. What else did Everett donate in August, 1864? That's a substantial question that needs to be answered at some level.

⁵⁴ See the major study, Paul Revere Frothingham, *Edward Everett: Orator and Statesman* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925). Note the subtitle. Daniel Walker Howe points out that Frothingham was "an uncritical descendent and amateur historian." Howe's own *The Unitarian Conscience: Harvard Moral Philosophy 1805-1861* (Cambridge: HUP, 1970), contains a few passages on Everett.

⁵⁵ Most recently, Marcy J. Dinius argues that the "the voice and the emotion in the text are visible and thereby audible in its typography—in the printed form of words that Walker speaks through the text and wants voiced to those who cannot read." See Dinius, 57.

⁵⁶ See Everett's entry from *American National Biography* for a brief overview and major dates.

⁵⁷ <http://www.masshist.org/findingaids/doc.cfm?fa=fa0264>

⁵⁸ Lara Langer Cohen and Jordan Alexander Stein, "Introduction," *Early African American Print Culture in Theory and Practice* (Philadelphia: Penn Press, forthcoming), 19.

⁵⁹ Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 1995), 317.

⁶⁰ Hinks, *Afflicted Brethren*, 116. Hinks also points out that Walker had known Hooton because Walker, along with Thomas Dalton, oversaw the address's publication.

⁶¹ Though I think that I'm getting closer to being able to prove this through precise textual analysis.

⁶² Issues are held at the American Antiquarian Society. Call number: News MA BostM Work.

⁶³ All of this archival evidence refers to research I undertook at the American Antiquarian Society, Boston Public Library, and Massachusetts Historical Society in March 2011. There are many gaps, but I'm going back to Boston this winter to explore more libraries and records.

⁶⁴ Call number: OFFSITE STORAGE SH 18UB 9 (Horace Mann Coll. 90)

⁶⁵ These documents are held at the American Antiquarian Society. For the Veteran Association Constitution, call number InMaL Bost F523 Cons 1833. For the Dr. Ward broadside, call number BDSDS. 1834 F.

⁶⁶ Of course, there is the problem of "archive." Clearly, someone valued the playbills and theater broadsides to save them and then donate them. I'll need to examine these on my next trip to see if there's a connection between all documents that suggests a reason for preservation.

⁶⁷ David M. Henkin, "City Streets and the Urban World of Print," *The History of the Book in America: Volume 3, The Industrial Book: 1840-1880*, ed. Scott E. Casper, Jeffrey D. Groves, Stephen W. Nissenbaum, and Michael Winship (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2007), 339.

⁶⁸ Hinks, *Afflicted Brethren*, 116n1: "the potentially significant relationship of these two printers to Walker and the Boston black community."

⁶⁹ Walker (2000), 92.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 118.

⁷¹ *Distance Between United States Ports*, 10th ed., Department of Commerce (Washington D.C.: National Ocean Service, 2009), 4, 45. At an average speed of 8 knots, which is a steady light to gentle breeze, the trip is estimated to take 4 days, 17 hours from port to port.

⁷² Gaskell, 110-12.

⁷³ Ibid., 294-95.

⁷⁴ Walker (2000), 92.

⁷⁵ This is of course commensurate with Hooton and Teprell as the printers. Within a week, I should have access to Walker's probate records to check how much Walker was in debt to H & T. Working backward, I should be able to figure out how many copies were printed and then calculate some estimates for labor, supply costs. I'll need to confer with some experts to figure out if Walker had enough money as a clothes dealer to make a down-payment or some sort of credit to H & T.

⁷⁶ Walker (2000), 98-99.

⁷⁷ Dinius, 56.

⁷⁸ William Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: Penn Press, 2008), 29-52.

⁷⁹ Dinius, 65.

⁸⁰ Sherman, 29.

⁸¹ Walker (1829), held at Boston Public Library.

⁸² Walker (1830), held at Johns Hopkins University. Without access to a second edition, I'm not sure if the "bear" or "bare" appears here. I'll hopefully know by January.

⁸³ Gaskell, 294.

⁸⁴ Walker (2000), 131n108.

⁸⁵ I am not at all trying to suggest that this first performance was the most important or anything like that – I do argue that the pamphlet likely underwent most of its changes because Walker would have heard the printers reading the pamphlet aloud as it was composed and proofed.

⁸⁶ Walker (1829), 9.

⁸⁷ Walker (1830), 2nd ed., 9.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Walker (2000), 2, 3.

⁹⁰ Walker (2000), 17.

⁹¹ Elisa Tamarkin, "Black Anglophilia; or, the Sociability of Antislavery," *American Literary History* 14.3 (2002): 444.

⁹² Ibid., 445-46.

⁹³ Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: The U Chicago Press, 1996), 33-4.

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