Distribution Agreement

In presenting this thesis or dissertation as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree from Emory University, I hereby grant to Emory University and its agents the non-exclusive license to archive, make accessible, and display my thesis or dissertation on whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter known, including display on the world wide web. I understand that I may select some access restrictions as part of the online submission of this thesis or dissertation. I retain all ownership rights to the copyright of the thesis or dissertation. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or book) all or part of this thesis or dissertation.

Signature:

_____ _____

Lori A. Leavell Date

Imagining a Future South:
David Walker's *Appeal* and Antebellum American Literature

By

Lori A. Leavell
Doctor of Philosophy

English

Barbara Ladd
Advisor

Michael A. Elliott
Committee Member

Mark A. Sanders
Committee Member

Monique Allewaert
Committee Member

Accepted:

Lisa A. Tedesco, Ph.D.
Dean of the James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies

Date

Imagining a Future South:
David Walker's *Appeal* and Antebellum American Literature

By

Lori A. Leavell

M.A., University of Arkansas, 2003
B.A., Ouachita Baptist University, 2001

Advisor: Barbara Ladd, Ph.D.

An abstract of
a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in English
2011

Abstract

Imagining a Future South:
David Walker's *Appeal* and Antebellum American Literature

By Lori A. Leavell

"Imagining a Future South" traces the literary impact of a black-authored, revolutionary antislavery pamphlet, David Walker's *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (1829, 1830), on antebellum American literature. Scholarship by Peter P. Hinks, John Ernest, Herbert Aptheker, and Lacy K. Ford establishes the importance of the *Appeal* both to African American rhetorical traditions and to the antebellum South's legislative response to antislavery print. But the *Appeal* also left heretofore unrecognized marks on fiction. Foregrounding the pamphlet's rhetorical effort to catalyze white fear of black violence, my project charts the multiple—and often muted—ways in which antebellum literature registers awareness of the pamphlet, engages in dialogue with it, and borrows its rhetoric.

Addressing the *Appeal*'s impact on fiction by black and white writers, my dissertation makes two key interventions. First, it historicizes and theorizes appeals to fear, de-naturalizing the turn to rhetorical stridency evident in the slavery debates. Second, it challenges the ongoing tendency to treat American, African American, and Southern as distinct literary traditions, offering a model for recognizing submerged literary dialogues and attending to the ways in which black-authored texts have been generative for white authors. "Imagining a Future South" thus recalibrates our understanding of the issues—and texts—that have been generative for literary history.

Imagining a Future South:
David Walker's *Appeal* and Antebellum American Literature

By

Lori A. Leavell

M.A., University of Arkansas, 2003
B.A., Ouachita Baptist University, 2001

Advisor: Barbara Ladd, Ph.D.

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in English
2011

Acknowledgments

Over the course of graduate study and dissertation writing, the list of people to thank has grown long. My advisor, Barbara Ladd, is at the top of the list. While the rigor and excellence characterizing her own scholarship inspired and challenged me, it is her generosity, support, and patience for which I am especially grateful. I appreciate in particular her willingness to give me time and space to work through nascent and half-formed ideas. To know that your advisor has faith in you—even when you doubt yourself—goes a long, long way. In addition to Barbara, I have been fortunate to count three other stellar scholars and mentors among my committee. Michael Elliott's kindness, professionalism, and brilliance precede him, all of which served to guide me through this process. My interest in the nineteenth century and the chapter on Edgar Allan Poe began to take shape in one of his graduate seminars. He not only encouraged me to pursue those ideas but also proved willing and eager to help me do so. As for Mark Sanders, I cannot count the number of hours I spent in his office talking through African American literary history as I prepared for comprehensive exams and began writing the dissertation. His attentiveness and encouragement have been in no short supply. In Monique Allewaert I found a committee member whose sharp and perceptive reading of my work is unsurpassed; challenging me in ways that have made the dissertation stronger, she brings to all our conversations an intellectual intensity that I seek to emulate.

My final year of writing has taken place at Emory's Bill and Carol Fox Center for Humanistic Inquiry where I held a Dissertation Completion Fellowship. I would like to thank the Center's Director, Martine Watson Brownley, as well as the staff and fellows for a great year. My officemates—Davis Hankins and Emily Kader—made my time there memorable. In fact, I cannot imagine better people with whom to share an office, a steady flow of coffee and goldfish, and ideas. With these two in my presence, I routinely forgot that finishing a dissertation is supposed to be stressful.

I am indebted to many others at Emory. A number of faculty deserve mention for helping to shape me as a scholar; Patricia Cahill, Jim Morey, Deborah White, and Benjamin Reiss number among them. Sandra Still, subject librarian for the English Department, and Melanie Tipnis, Academic Degree Program Coordinator for the English Department, have been exceptional resources, freely sharing their time and expertise. Since 2006, I have had the opportunity to work on the T. S. Eliot Digitization Project, spearheaded by Ronald Schuchard, managed by Alice Hickox, and housed within Woodruff Library's Beck Center. What began as summer employment developed into a mainstay of my time at Emory for which I am grateful.

It has been a pleasure to engage in academic work with others, and I would like to thank my fellow graduate students in Emory's English Department, among them Jennifer Brady, Jennefer Callaghan, Paula Cook, Katy Hanggi, Jennifer Heil, Jennifer Hughes, James Howard, Emily Kader, Simon Kress, Guirdex Masse, Lauren Maxwell, Lynn Maxwell, Maureen McCarthy, Christine McCulloch, Irene Middleton, Marc Muneal, Laura Norman, Sarah Schiff, and especially Erin Sells—whose friendship has sustained me over the years.

As a master's student at the University of Arkansas, my interest in the South and southern literature first took root. My committee there—Robert Brinkmeyer, Susan Marren, and William Quinn—graciously guided me as I completed a master's thesis, many of the concerns of which carried over into the dissertation. I am glad that they encouraged me to pursue a doctoral degree.

It was as an undergraduate at Ouachita Baptist University that I developed a love of learning and scholarly work. The English Department—namely Amy Sonheim, Doug Sonheim, Johnny Wink, Susan Wink, Jay Curlin, and the late Tom Greer—helped me cultivate an intellectual curiosity that continues to drive my scholarship and enrich my life.

A week-long seminar at the American Antiquarian Society in 2010 proved a formative experience, and I look forward to incorporating more print culture scholarship and methodologies into future projects. I would like to thank the community that developed in that short week, including seminar leaders Lloyd Pratt and Jeanine DeLombard, Director of Academic Programs Paul Erickson, and fellow participants Bert Emerson and Rob McLoone for the academic exchange and friendship.

Friends old and new, too many to count, also deserve thanks for listening to me go on and on about "an old pamphlet." I'll list a few of them here: Franky Abbott, Brian McGrath Davis, Ibrahim Garba, Mary Goff, Alison Hodgson, Emily Knox, Catherine Neelly, Joel Palmer, Tricia Sandh, Stewart Varner, Dave Westbrook, and Jim Yates. Finally, my family has been nothing short of supportive and encouraging throughout my academic career. All my love and appreciation go to Beverly, Randy, Sybil, Lawrence, Jonathan, Lance, Christy, Paige, and Mallory. Thank you.

Table of Contents

Introduction

Something Other than Haunted: Fear, Futurity, and Literary History

"Imagining a Future South" restores to American literary history an antislavery, revolutionary pamphlet written and published in 1829 by a free African American. Fiery and bold in its language, deft and incisive in its argument, David Walker's *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* marks a departure from its antislavery predecessors by explicitly calling for a revolution that would overturn slavery. Addressing black and white readers, Walker sought to embolden the former while excoriating the latter. The pamphlet's immediate cultural impact has been documented if strangely neglected. In fact, historian Sean Wilentz asserts that at one time the *Appeal* was "the most notorious publication in America" (viii). Given that the pamphlet's appearance in southern states spurred legislative action to ban seditious literature and limit the freedoms of free blacks, Wilentz does not put too fine a point on the matter.[1]

Soon after Walker, the son of a free African American mother and a North Carolina slave father, began circulating his *Appeal*, it elicited strong reactions. First published in 1829, the *Appeal* saw three editions between 1829 and 1830, all of which circulated throughout the country. Having spent his early years in North and South Carolina before relocating to Boston where he published the pamphlet, Walker designated dissemination of the *Appeal* within southern states a primary goal. To do so, he utilized the postal service as well as relationships afforded by his Boston used clothing store, a place frequented by sailors, whom he solicited to carry the pamphlet to southern ports. Appearing in southern cities from Wilmington, North Carolina, to New Orleans, Louisiana, copies of the *Appeal* traveled far and wide, eliciting local attention whenever

it was discovered. But it was not only the southern legislative response that indicates the success of Walker's strategy of circulation: excerpts of and commentaries on the *Appeal* appeared in a number of periodicals as it gained notoriety within the white press.

Despite this sensational and well-documented history, the *Appeal*'s cultural impact has been underestimated. When Walker's pamphlet does appear in discussions of the history of abolition, it regularly takes up the space of a footnote, while William Lloyd Garrison is credited with initializing and sustaining the movement.[2] In fact, it is not infrequent for the *Appeal* to be omitted altogether. As a case in point, Trish Loughran's *The Republic in Print* (2009), in distinguishing between gradual and immediate abolition, designates the rise of immediate abolition as occurring "after 1830," acknowledging that it frequently is connected to the launch of Garrison's *Liberator* in 1831. Loughran reminds us, however, that immediatism predates Garrison: Elizabeth Heyrick coined the phrase "immediate abolition" in her pamphlet *Immediate, Not Gradual Abolition*, which went to press in Britain 1824 and subsequently circulated in the U.S. Considering that the *Appeal* first appeared in 1829 and that Garrison, while distancing himself from its militancy, published lengthy excerpts along with extensive commentary on it in the *Liberator*, Loughran's omission of David Walker and his *Appeal* is conspicuous but representative.

Scholarship that does attend to the *Appeal* (by Peter P. Hinks, John Ernest, Elizabeth McHenry, Jacqueline Bacon, Herbert Aptheker, and Lacy K. Ford) generally falls into one of two categories: approaches within the discipline of History that foreground its impact on southern legislation regarding antislavery print and those within the discipline of African American studies that situate it within African American

rhetorical traditions.[3] Building on these veins of scholarship, this study begins with a set of questions: Given the immediate cultural and legislative response to Walker's pamphlet, did it also leave literary marks? Did texts that both signify as "literary" and imagine southern futures—novels and other works of fiction—bear a relationship to it? How did the presence of the *Appeal* alter the cultural and rhetorical landscape within which writing about the South—by blacks and whites, northerners and southerners—took place? By analyzing four novels and a short story, this study charts the multiple—and often muted—ways in which antebellum literature registers awareness of the pamphlet, engages in dialogue with it, and borrows its rhetoric.

The Burden of Being a Ghost

Before attending to the literary impact of Walker's pamphlet, however, this introduction considers why it has been overlooked. Critics' failure to recognize how Walker's text proved generative for other authors indicates the lack of a suitable framework for thinking about the relationship of nineteenth-century black-authored texts to white authors. We need to conceptualize American literary history as something other than haunted by black authors. In order to understand how the prevailing method of reading nineteenth-century literary engagements with race positions white writers as haunted by black ghosts, I turn to the book that codified this method of reading, Toni Morrison's *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (1992).

When *Playing in the Dark* appeared in 1992, it garnered immediate attention. Based on ideas articulated in 1988 in her contribution to the University of Michigan's Robert C. Tanner Series and subsequently published in *Michigan Quarterly Review*

(Winter 1989) as well as on talks delivered at Harvard University as part of the William E. Massey Sr. Lecture series, *Playing in the Dark* makes the case for the relevance of race to the study of American literature. Judging by the frequency with which the book is positively referenced, Americanists have found the proposition convincing.[4] Calling *Playing in the Dark*'s implications "paradigm-shattering," Shelley Fisher Fishkin credits Morrison with "mapping a new critical geography for American literary study," one invested in identifying race as central to American literature, even when it appears to be absent (629). In his review, Michael Awkward underscores that an understanding of race's significance for American literature already had begun to mark the critical landscape when Morrison's book went to press; nonetheless, he foresaw that its "impact…[would] no doubt be great" (270).[5] Testifying to the book's staying power, Leslie Bow in 2008 remarks, "The slim volume both came at a moment and helped produce a moment in which disavowing race's relevance to the American canon could no longer serve as a proper alibi" (555). In short, "the elder statesman of American letters gave worth to the project of reading race," a project that could be applied not only to investigations of an "Africanist presence" but also other racial formations (Bow 564).[6]

Morrison offers a methodology for illuminating the significance of race—and specifically the construction of whiteness—to white-authored texts primarily by attending to the seemingly peripheral and muted black characters and by arguing for the racial coding of metaphorical blackness and whiteness. Even silence—a conspicuous lack of attention to race within a text—can be telling. Indeed, as Morrison sees it, race operates in American literature "as both a visible and an invisible mediating force," for "the shadow hovers in implication, in sign, in line of demarcation" (47). What the shadow reveals is that the "subject of the dream is the dreamer. The fabrication of an Africanist

persona is reflexive; an extraordinary meditation on the self; a powerful exploration of the fears and desires that reside in the writerly conscious" (17). She offers brief analyses of fiction by Cather, Poe, Melville, Twain, and Hemingway. Demonstrating how writers' wrestling with race shapes the texts, she arrives at insights into authorial interiority. Although at the end of the book Morrison claims to have little interest in exposing the racial attitude of any particular author and, instead, promotes interrogations of "the literary uses this fabricated [Africanist] presence has served," the line demarcating the two is difficult to maintain (90).

To be sure, analyses generated by Morrison's critical apparatus primarily have sought to uncover the submerged racial attitudes of authors. Along with claims—expressed by Awkward, Bow, and others—that *Playing in the Dark* overestimates its own originality, the most incisive criticism of Morrison's paradigm addresses its narrow application. Indeed, identifying "the general critical tendency to reduce the multiple agendas of Morrison's project to a singular hunt for figures of blackness," Teresa A. Goddu argues that the field of Poe studies has been "constrained" as a result. Goddu takes issue specifically with the mode of analysis that presumes to forge "a clear path back to Poe's authorial consciousness," ultimately culminating in insight into his "racial psychology" ("Rethinking" 15). But Morrison's mode of reading has shaped not only Poe studies but literary engagements with race in nineteenth-century white-authored literature more broadly.

The call for attention to African American literature in Morrison's earlier published essay, "Unspeakable Things Unspoken: The Afro-American Presence in American Literature," gets omitted from the subsequently published *Playing in the Dark*,

perhaps because the essay engages with the canon wars, which had become less of an issue by 1992. With few exceptions, scholars have not responded to the part of the essay in which Morrison makes the claim that "the presence of Afro-American *literature* and the awareness of its culture both resuscitate the study of literature in the United States and raise that study's standards" (3-4 emphasis added). Instead, scholars mine white-authored texts for references to blackness and black characters in order to expose authorial anxiety. In other words, unearthing how an "Africanist presence" impinges on and shapes nineteenth-century white-authored narratives constitutes a signature critical move of scholarship concerned with race. The focus on how white-authored literature responds to the presence of African descendants within the nation has occluded, in fact, other modes of reading race in this literature. Even more, it has hampered our intellectual imaginations in specific ways.

In pursuit of instances of "exorcism and reification and mirroring" indicative of an Africanist presence, Americanists have been preoccupied with what presumably must have haunted white authors (Morrison *Playing* 39). "Haunted" subsequently has become a key term for describing the effect of the black population on the white literary imagination. That white authors might have read black-authored texts—much less have engaged with them—rarely has entered discussion among literary scholars. As Russ Castronovo puts it: "Literary critics have long shown how African-American cultural productions countered racist representations, but this argument also suggests that African-American writers are influenced but do not influence, that African-American writers respond but do not provoke response" (240).

This dissertation considers the critical handling of race and slavery in antebellum literature set in motion by Morrison. Making the case that *Playing in the Dark* has occluded other avenues for analyzing the impact of African Americans on nineteenth-century literature, I model an alternative method for reading literature of the period—one that replaces speculation about authorial psychology with attention to rhetorical formulations and their circulation in print culture among black and white authors. Shifting the focus from the ghostly presence of African Americans to circulation of an African American's text, I illuminate the significance of Walker's *Appeal* for American literature. Thus, while "Imagining a Future South" is about the circulation of the *Appeal* within literary texts, it is more broadly about exploring the repercussions of our prevailing critical reading praxis.

Walker's message and language is both of and *ahead of* its time—fitting into a genealogy of antislavery speakers and writers dating to the eighteenth century while also markedly unique, audacious in its forthright call for violent resistance. In fortifying the resolve of African descendants everywhere but, "in particular, and very expressly," those living within the United States, the *Appeal* calls for a collective self-consciousness. Epitomizing the form of the jeremiad, it reassures black readers that divine justice will prevail and put an end to oppression. But it combines the rhetorical form of the jeremiad with explicit calls for collective physical resistance, maintaining that African Americans themselves have an obligation to "throw off" enslavement (75).[7] While blacks constitute the primary audience, the *Appeal* explicitly addresses whites, implementing a rhetorical strategy that hinges on generating fear of collective black violence. Attending to

Walker's bifurcated readership enables a clearer understanding of how seemingly discordant elements within the text fit together.

In the preface to the third and final edition of the *Appeal,* Walker articulates what he seeks from readers: "All I ask is for a candid and careful perusal of this the third and last edition of my Appeal." Given that the *Appeal* is most known for its call to arms, Walker's stated desire for mere "perusal" (careful and thorough reading of his pamphlet) might strike 21st-century readers as disingenuous in light of his call for revolution. After all, in seeking an end to slavery, Walker calls upon African Americans—both the free and enslaved—to bring it to pass via revolution if necessary. In fact, focusing on his militancy, scholars routinely place him in the same category as those who plotted or executed acts of physical resistance—namely, Gabriel Prosser and Denmark Vesey. But the preface's focus on careful reading as constituting "all [Walker] ask[s]" from readers comports with the pamphlet's delineation of the relationships among print, affect, and futurity. For Walker's rhetorical strategy centers on the idea that reading his pamphlet could catalyze the affects necessary to render revolution *unnecessary*.

It is the text's effort to elicit fear as a persuasive strategy along with its rumination on the relationships among print, affect, and futurity that subsequent writers would take up. In the chapters to follow, I make the case that Walker's language was a major force in the circulation of the rhetoric of fear—and rumination on it—that produced novels and fiction of the 1840s and 1850s concerned with slavery. Vincent Harding makes clear that "for over a century, Walker's *Appeal* remained a touchstone for one crucial genre of black radical analysis and agitation….David Walker's heirs, both conscious and unconscious, have been legion" (89). As I show, however, that legion

includes white authors, anti-abolitionists among them. The *Appeal*'s strategy of eliciting what I term "functional fear" served as a model for subsequent fiction penned amidst the slavery debates (including novels by Caroline Hentz, Martin Delany, and Harriet Beecher Stowe). Even while working to generate fear, Walker and these novelists ruminate on the merit of fear-based suasion. In doing so, they participate in conversations about rhetoric and affect underway during the first half of the nineteenth century. Attributable in part to the growing dominance of the New Common Sense Rhetoric, these conversations are evident in Protestant culture's debates about revivalism's fear-rousing tactics. I demonstrate that the *Appeal* also surfaces obliquely in the fiction of Edgar Allan Poe and Robert Montgomery Bird, fiction in which commentary on the South and slavery is less explicit.

Because the *Appeal* circulated clandestinely, charting its reverberations proves challenging. For this reason, one might ask, "Why Walker's *Appeal*?" That is, why make claims for the literary impact of a particular pamphlet that threatens slave revolt when there were several actual revolts and conspiracies that clearly played upon the white imagination—the Haitian Revolution from 1791-1803, Gabriel Prosser in 1800, Denmark Vesey in 1822, Nat Turner in 1831. Part of my argument is to foreground Walker's affective-focused rhetorical strategy so that we can conceptualize Walker as a writer, one whose rhetorical strategies were read, ruminated on, and implemented by subsequent writers. While it certainly makes sense to categorize Walker as a proponent of black militancy, it is worth maintaining a distinction between militant writing and other types of militant action. For treating the *Appeal* as textual and literary allows us to see the wider range of cultural work it performed. Although contemporaries suspected that the

Appeal influenced Nat Turner's strike for freedom in Southampton, which may or may not be true, it had a literary impact that gets lost if we fail to pay attention to its textuality.[8]

Theorizing Influence

"Imagining a Future South" draws on the growing field known as history of the book and print culture studies.[9] What the field of book history offers this project is a set of questions and concerns for conceptualizing literary networks, the following foremost among them: As we make claims about the impact—literary or otherwise—of a text, we need to consider whether the print history bears out those claims from the ground. That is, would Hentz, Stowe, Delany, Poe, and Bird have had the opportunity to know about the pamphlet? Would they be able to acquire access to it? The difficulties posed by a text that circulated surreptitiously and somewhat outside the realm of the literary market as it typically is understood, however, are formidable. Besides a general understanding of Walker's distribution strategy, we know very little about the specifics of the *Appeal*'s circulation and its availability. The foremost study of Walker's *Appeal*, Peter J. Hinks's *To Awaken My Afflicted Bretheren: David Walker and the Problem of Antebellum Resistance,* is primarily focused on the pamphlet's circulation among black southerners, but Hinks indicates the difficulty of determining its general availability to the larger public:

> Thus Walker's *Appeal* made appearances in the United States from New Orleans to Boston. The scale of its identifiable circulation is impressive, but it still leaves open questions about how much further it penetrated into Southern slave

> society and just what the impact of that penetration was. Gauging the breadth of circulation beyond the incidents that were clearly substantiated, and determining just what happened to copies of the pamphlet that were not retrieved by authorities in the South or were simply never discovered, is extremely difficult. (152)

While the difficulties attendant on any study of reception are compounded in the case of Walker's *Appeal* due to its unconventional and surreptitious circulation, we have reason to believe that it roused public curiosity. According to an article originally published in the *New York Journal of Commerce* and republished in the *Cherokee Phoenix and Indians' Advocate*, "[The *Appeal*'s] character was represented to be highly inflammatory and very naturally excited universal alarm. Every one became impatient to see and know the full purport of its contents."[10] Further demonstrating public interest in the pamphlet, James Stuart's *Three Years in North America* (1833) documents the efforts of Stuart—a visitor from England—to obtain a copy in Richmond: "I was anxious to see the anti-slavery pamphlet [previously identified as Walker's *Appeal*], which was making so much noise, and went into a bookseller's store of the name of Scaraway, or some such name, as I think, but I found his prejudices were as strong as those of any of his countrymen. 'Any man that would sell it should (he said) be gibbeted'" (2: 110). Although Stuart does not indicate whether he ever succeeded in tracking down a copy, his narrative demonstrates that the pamphlet was sought, even in the South.

A number of scholars in recent years have drawn attention to the underestimated wide-ranging circulation of abolitionist print culture in the antebellum period. Pointing to South Carolina politician James Henry Hammond as a case in point, Castronovo writes:

> Despite injunctions against the circulation of abolitionist material below the Mason-Dixon line, historical evidence reveals that Southern audiences, especially writers who saw themselves at the forefront of the proslavery crusade, were acquainted with slave narratives. One of the foremost theorists of the "peculiar institution," J. H. Hammond, censured "learned old maids, like Miss Martineau" for spreading "scandalous stories" but nonetheless saw it as his political duty to read radical Northern publications and went so far as to write abolitionists requesting antislavery material so that he could better refute its arguments. (253)

Hammond's interest in "radical Northern publications" is evident in his *Remarks of Mr. Hammond, of South Carolina, on the Question of Receiving Petitions for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia* (1836). In making his case that the House of Representatives should refuse to receive abolitionist petitions, Hammond argues that antislavery activity, including the circulation of antislavery texts, is on the rise. Listing a number of antislavery publications, he announces: "Here is a pamphlet written by a '*Man of Color*,' and here are a quantity of Sermons, Essays, Reports, Letters, &c. &c. all intended for the same incendiary purposes" (6). One wonders whether the pamphlet mentioned is Walker's, especially when we take into account that Walker was referred to as a "free man of color" in articles reporting on the *Appeal*.[11]

It is just as likely, however, that it is James Forten's *Letters from a Man of Color* (1813). Published over twenty years prior, Forten's pamphlet contested Pennsylvania's consideration of legislation that would prevent free blacks from moving to the state and would require those already within the state to register with local authorities. If referencing Walker's pamphlet, Hammond's remark constitutes further evidence not only

that white southerners read antislavery texts but also that they read the *Appeal* in particular. If alluding to Forten's pamphlet, Hammond's commentary provides an example of a white southerner returning to a black-authored text several years after its publication.

Echoing Castronovo, Goddu proposes that antebellum American literary scholarship in general and Poe scholarship in particular have perpetuated "a misreading of the cross-fertilization of pro- and antislavery discourse and the availability of antislavery pamphlets in the South in the 1830s" ("Rethinking" 16).[12] While scholarship acknowledges that Walker's pamphlet circulated widely, the possibility that anyone other than black—and a few white—radicals read it is not considered.

The authors considered in this study likely had the desire and means to encounter Walker's pamphlet. Insofar as Hentz, Stowe, and Delany penned polemical novels about slavery that depict the effects of abolitionist ideas on the South, we can assume that they would be interested in the *Appeal*. Hentz was living in North Carolina when the *Appeal* began surfacing—and generating attention in local newspapers—there and in other southern states.[13] Moreover, her advocacy while in Chapel Hill for the manumission of the enslaved poet George Moses Horton, a project in which David Walker from his home in Boston also was involved, further increases the chances that she would have encountered Walker's writing. While mutual advocacy for a slave poet potentially links Hentz and Walker, in the case of Stowe it is a text that increases the likelihood of her having known Walker's pamphlet. The year before publication of *Dred*, she wrote an introduction to William Cooper Nell's *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution* (1855), which includes an entry on Walker and his *Appeal*. And as an abolitionist whose

politics align more closely with Walker's than Stowe's did, Delany most certainly knew Walker's *Appeal*. Without citing a source, Dorothy Sterling claims that he owned a copy of Walker's pamphlet (40).

In the case of Hentz, Stowe, and Delany, the republication of the *Appeal* together with Henry Highland Garnet's *Address to the Slaves* in 1848 would provide further opportunity to become familiar with Walker's text. Charting the circulation history of this publication also proves difficult, but we do know that the State Convention of the Colored Citizens of Ohio passed a resolution in January of 1849 to purchase and distribute 500 copies (18).[14] But long before Garnet's republication, excerpts of the *Appeal*—some quite lengthy—appeared in wide-ranging sources right after it began to circulate, among them Garrison's *Liberator*, the *Boston Centinel*, and the Milledgeville, Georgia, *Statesman & Patriot*.

Poe was still alive for the republication of the *Appeal* (he died in October of 1849), but "The Gold-Bug" had appeared in 1843, rendering Garnet's republication irrelevant for considering the *Appeal*'s possible relationship to the story. But as the previous chapter outlines, Poe lived in Baltimore when news of the pamphlet first began circulating in southern papers in December of 1829. He then moved to Richmond in early January of 1830 and stayed through spring (when southern newspapers most heavily reported on the *Appeal*) before moving to New York for about a year.[15] Given the pamphlet's sensationalism and Poe's predilection for the sensational, it is difficult to imagine a text in which Poe would have been more interested. Thus, in the case of the writers here considered the historical evidence suggests that their familiarity with the *Appeal* was probable.

At the same time, it is not necessary to adopt the conceptual framework of direct influence to describe the relationship between Walker and these authors. Rather than documenting influence in the traditional and most literal sense, I instead call attention to Walker's pamphlet as a text whose impact on the national, including literary, discourse has been underestimated. Given that the *Appeal*—as many scholars have noted—circulated widely and generated attention in periodicals with commentators especially interested in discussing its infamous method of circulation, it only makes sense that it would have garnered the attention of writers invested in the slavery debates generally and concerned about the circulation of abolitionist rhetoric in particular. As the following chapters will address, the plotlines of novels by Hentz, Stowe, Delany, and Bird explicitly address the circulation of abolitionist rhetoric while Poe's "The Gold-Bug" does so indirectly.

I submit that Walker's pamphlet—perhaps indirectly or obliquely—shaped the trajectory of how literature would imagine southern futures and would work to persuade audiences of the writer's vision. In the case of Hentz, Stowe, and Delany, not only do their narratives depict the circulation of abolitionist rhetoric, but also they ruminate on the relationships among persuasion, fear, and futurity in ways that recall Walker. Along with their efforts to instill fear of the future into their audiences, the novelists, like Walker, draw attention to the potential and risks that they believed threatening language to carry. At the very least, novels by Hentz (*The Planter's Northern Bride* [1854]), Stowe (*Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp* [1856]), and Delany (*Blake; Or, the Huts of America: A Tale of the Mississippi Valley, the Southern United States, and Cuba* [1859-62]) that traditionally have proven troublesome to analyze in terms of their

rhetorical and narrative strategies benefit from being placed in conversation with Walker. For example, scholarship on Stowe's *Dred* attempts to reconcile the author's well-known investment in sympathy with the novel's contemplation of violent resistance. If we read Stowe's second antislavery novel in light of Walker's *Appeal*, however, we can perceive that *Dred* is most concerned with the persuasive potential of rhetorically-generated fear, evident in its depictions of Protestant revivalists' commitment to fear-based persuasion alongside its representation of slave conspiracy. I contend that Walker's influence on subsequent imaginings of futures for the South would materialize as these novelists would implement his rhetoric of fear, rather than—in the case of Hentz and Stowe—merely be frightened by it.

As for Bird and Poe, both address the history of the impact of abolitionist print culture on the South, Bird's *Sheppard Lee, Written by Himself* (1836) more explicitly than Poe's "The Gold-Bug" (1843). Whether or not either had the *Appeal* in mind cannot, of course, be determined. Nonetheless, by reading their fiction in light of the history of the *Appeal*'s circulation and the South's legislative response to it, we can recognize that Walker's pamphlet is central to the histories that inform their texts. In short, by emphasizing that the *Appeal* is first and foremost a text and that Walker's method of circulating it did not go unnoticed, I illuminate the *Appeal*'s relationship to antebellum literature that imagines southern futures.

Southern Futurity

"Imagining a Future South" contends that "the South" as a concept in general and literature invested in southern futurity in particular became venues for rumination on matters of rhetoric and affect. Each of the literary texts here considered imagines the future, and many of the authors explicitly saw their literary production as instruments for shaping the South's future, which they recognized was interlinked with other futures—of people of African descent, of the nation, and beyond (South America and the Caribbean). My method involves shedding the endemic classification common to traditional studies of southern literature and culture: rather than particular to a certain type of people in a particular location, appealing to fear of black revolution is a rhetorical formulation particular to a literary creation—the imagined future South. This conceptualization allows me to ask questions regarding literary projections of southern futurity: How and why has literature functioned as a venue not only for imagining the future but also for convincing others to accept one's vision for the future? How and why have literary efforts to imagine southern futures served as opportunities to ruminate on suasion and affect?

As Walker makes clear, the future of "the southern and western states" was intertwined with that of the rest of the nation. As a text that, in imagining futures for the South, turns to the persuasive power of fear even as it ruminates on its own strategy, Walker's *Appeal* spurred antebellum considerations of suasion, affect, and southern futurity. Though my focus on fear within the *Appeal* would seem to suggest that I privilege its relationship to a white readership, I contend that appealing to fear involves negotiating a racially-mixed and geographically-dispersed audience. My ultimate focus is on how the *Appeal* affected subsequent writers'—blacks' and whites'—imaginings of

future Souths as they would caution against, ruminate on, and even deploy appeals to fear of collective black violence.

The *Appeal* at times forecasts future slave revolt and destructive divine intervention as well as, to a lesser degree, violence among southern whites and even racial harmony born of egalitarianism, but the relationship between them is not limned out.[16] These possible futures uneasily mingle within the text. Levine speculates on the historical causes of Walker's emotional orientation in order to explain why Walker vacillates between "wax[ing] utopian in imagining [racially] harmonious possibilities" and "offer[ing]… denunciations": "While Walker may convey a hopefulness about the harmonious possibilities that would ensue should whites treat blacks like human beings, he has considerable doubts about whites' capabilities of acting in such a way at this particular historical moment…." (102). This approach to the *Appeal*—analyzing the text in terms of the author's affect and attributing the affect to the political climate of the 1820s and 1830s—is common.

By shifting the focus from the author's emotion to the emotions it sought to elicit from readers, I offer an alternative model for analyzing the *Appeal*. In terrifying white readers with a number of possible violent futures as well as providing a vision of a racially harmonious and violence-free future, Walker hopes to persuade them to recognize immediately black Americans as full citizens, which was the only means of averting the violent futures his text imagines. Not only does this affect-focused rhetorical formulation reflect the form of the jeremiad as the first chapter will address, but also it demonstrates how imaginings of Southern futurity came to be associated with rhetorical efforts to elicit strong emotion during this period.

To be sure, Walker's articulations of optimism for a future South—("Treat us like men, and there is no danger but we will all live in peace and happiness together")—were echoed by others but with a significant distinction (70). Whereas Walker envisioned a slavery-free South, expansionists sought to cultivate national enthusiasm for a southern-based slave-holding empire. John O'Sullivan's "The Great Nation of Futurity" (1839) epitomizes the chorus of optimistic nationalistic rhetoric advocating expansion that dominated public discourse in the antebellum period. It constructs a nation too young to have a history or, consequently, prior transgressions, one that could anticipate, instead, a "future history." If "future" was the buzzword, "the South" was the subtext. Though it goes unnamed, the South is the subtext of "The Great Nation of Futurity," the glaring omission.

By the late 1830s understandings of "the South" as a more or less cohesive entity occupied a central role in these discussions**.** Indeed, whether debating the prospect of expanding west or further south into Mexico and the Caribbean or the role of African slaves, rhetors circled back to the South. For white southerners of the slaveholding class, it became commonplace to think of their region as an expanding empire. As Anna Brickhouse reminds us, "the confederacy in fact imagined itself quite beyond the territorial borders of the nation: in relation to and as the potential seat of a Greater South, a slaveholding empire that might encompass Cuba, the Caribbean, the southern hemisphere in its entirety" (7). If it was only members of the confederacy who imagined themselves as part of a Greater South, the enthusiasm for and capacity to imagine an expanding nation in which southern slavery would continue to have a role was not limited to southerners. O'Sullivan, as a New Yorker, not only coined the phrase "Manifest

Destiny" in a later essay ("Annexation," 1845) to encapsulate his vision of an ever-expanding United States, but also he sided with the Confederacy (Widmer 23).

Contrasting such unfettered optimism, doomsayers who underscored the South's (and nation's) transgressions and stressed that they would take their toll also could point to Walker as a model. They anticipated a grim future. Two European visitors to the South—Alexis de Tocqueville and Harriet Martineau—articulated this view. De Tocqueville's two-volume *Democracy in America* (1835-1840) predicted a pending race war as many scholars have noted. Although the travel narrative of British visitor Martineau has received less attention, her *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838) circulated widely. Martineau refers to "the curse by which their native region is blighted," describing the South as "hell" marked by "the universally allowed evil," slavery (236). Although Martineau expresses hope that in time all will recognize the evil, she cannot ignore the "anxiety" permeating southern society (238). Characterizing southern cities as marked by dread for the future, Martineau catalogues the confessions of fear she has heard from the slaveholding class. By including an excerpt from a letter penned by southern expatriate and abolitionist Angelina Grimké, Martineau shows that it is a fear not limited to those who dwell within the geographic space of the southern states. The excerpt also demonstrates the specificity and depth of that dread, for in expressing her anticipation both of violent persecution for her abolitionist views—even in a free state—and of race war, Grimké believes that large-scale violence, beginning in the South and spreading throughout the nation, looms.

European critics of the institution of slavery and outspoken southern abolitionists were not the only ones talking about a pending race war. Though scholarship tends to

underscore that white southerners repressed their racial anxieties in public discourse, Alfred N. Hunt notes the centrality to their conversations dating to the Haitian Revolution of the possible outbreak of race-war. Most interestingly, it undergirded the argument utilized by proponents of any and all persuasions. White southerners—regardless of their attitudes toward the future of slavery—all pointed to the events of St. Domingue as justification for their respective arguments. As the southern states began to fall in step with a more rigid ideology in the 1830s, the Haitian Revolution remained prominent in the rhetoric of the South's new united front (Hunt 126-46). As these examples suggest, during the antebellum period the South could at once signal unbridled optimism and profound anxiety. The rhetorical strategy of eliciting these dual affects is at work in Walker's *Appeal* as the first chapter will demonstrate.

As abolitionists and slavery apologists via their doomsday rhetoric sought to cultivate fear, the Second Great Awakening ushered in a national dialogue on the ethics and efficacy of fear-based rhetoric. Although they launched a number of criticisms of revivals—from the disruption of the goings-on of local churches to the predictable format of revivals themselves—anti-revivalists were concerned primarily with the "emotional excesses" of revivalism (Bratt, "Religious" 72). The revivalists employed measures that critics considered "wild" and "shocking," which allegedly set in motion ever mounting desire among revival-goers for emotion-pricking spectacle: "As a result, revival meetings grew 'coarse and vulgar'….and God finally became a familiar toy to be wound up for the crowd's amusement" (Bratt, "Religious" 73). Cultivating in converts this desire for the shocking could lead to unintended results; to be sure, critics accused revivals of failing to generate among converts the long-term change of heart that they sought. At its worst, the

strategy of pushing for immediate, emotion-based conversion could result in newcomers' ultimately leaving the Protestant church either for other sources that might quench their newly instilled thirst for the sensational—perhaps an extremist sect—or, in an act of rebellion against revival sensationalism, for Catholicism.[17] Thus, the anti-revivalists had the same misgivings about revivalist methods of suasion that David Walker, as I will show, had with fear-based political rhetoric: though powerful, a rhetoric of fear could move the audience in ways contrary to the rhetor's intention.[18]

National conversations about suasion were underway during the antebellum period not only because of the Second Great Awakening but also because the early nineteenth century marked a shift in rhetorical education in American colleges. The change can be traced to the widespread influence of the Scottish Enlightenment (roughly 1740-1790) on philosophies of rhetoric. Common Sense Realism, a philosophical school that emerged in reaction against the skepticism of David Hume, grew out of it. This philosophy ushered in a new approach to rhetoric known in the U.S. as Baconian Common Sense, a rhetorical style intended to appeal to regular folks, that presumed truth to be "objective" and "practical," and, most relevant to my study, that foregrounded the value of appealing to emotion.[19] Primarily interested in sympathy as a mode of suasion, Scottish philosopher Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) claimed that eloquence results from the rhetor's creating clear images in the hearer's/reader's mind that would activate the emotions.

The impact of the new rhetorical philosophy on rhetorical education in the United States was significant. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783), based on the new rhetorical philosophy, became the

most widely assigned textbook for rhetoric in American colleges. And Caleb Bingham, signaling his investment in the new rhetorical theory, includes in his *The Columbian Orator* (1797) selections authored by Blair. Bingham's *The Columbian Orator* appears to have been the elocution manual to which Americans during the nineteenth century, regardless of their geographic location, had the most access. A collection of excerpts and full-text selections of speeches, dialogues, and poetry from ancient Greece and Rome, biblical texts, and the contemporary moment, *The Columbian Orator* demonstrates an interest in appeals to fear. Not only does Bingham's introduction recognize the value to oratory of emotional appeals, including fear, but also several of the selections hinge on biblical appeals to Divine vengeance and apocalyptic warnings, a few in the context of promoting abolition.

It is against this backdrop that my dissertation employs the methods of historical, literary, and rhetorical analysis to chart a dialogue among nineteenth-century texts about rhetorical appeals to fear. Indeed, "Imagining a Future South" situates Walker's *Appeal* along with novels by Hentz, Stowe, Delany within a vibrant print culture whose conversations about the ethicality and efficacy of fear appeals, most visible in Protestant debates about revivalism's fear-rousing tactics, have gone unrecognized.

If this cultural climate is less relevant to the fiction by Bird and Poe addressed in chapter four, the antebellum period's concern about the circulation of incendiary ideas—whether via black bodies or abolitionist print culture—informs both their texts as well as novels by Hentz, Stowe, and Delany. To be sure, in addition to Walker's pamphlet and subsequent legislation to limit the ingress and egress of free blacks, antebellum commentary on a number of texts and events demonstrates the period's concern with

circulation. As Levine demonstrates, commentators blamed print culture's circulation of speeches regarding the Missouri Compromise for Denmark Vesey's plot for slave revolt.[20] Likewise, the abolition mail campaign of 1835, in which the American Anti-Slavery Society mailed unsolicited antislavery literature to white southerners across the South, caused a fury across the region.[21] National conversations carried out in print culture reveal a concern with rhetorical appeals to fear as well as actual fear about the implications of freely circulating bodies and texts. Restoring Walker's *Appeal* to American literary history enables us to see how these concerns play out in the period's literature. In this way, "Imagining a Future South" recalibrates not only how we read the *Appeal* but also calls attention to its impact on subsequent fiction. In other words, as much as Walker belongs in histories of African American resistance and histories of white southern counter-resistance, so too does he belong in literary history.

Chapter Overview

The first chapter, "'But if they do not have enough to be frightened for yet, it will be': Functional Fear in David Walker's *Appeal,*" lays the groundwork for considering the *Appeal*'s impact on fiction produced by writers black and white, northern and southern. The *Appeal*'s heightened focus on catalyzing fear combined with its rumination on the ethics and efficacy of eliciting this affect for persuasive purposes marks a significant development in the trajectory of the slavery debates, one most visible in the period's polemic fiction. The chapter thus corrects analyses of the *Appeal* that locate its significance exclusively within an African American rhetorical tradition. Framing the chapter with questions both from the history of the book (concerning circulation and

access) and from the recent affective turn in the humanities enables me to consider together the pamphlet's circulation, heightened focus on affect, and what I call its "strategic fanaticism."

In chapter two, "'Strong Language': Caroline Hentz's Dialogue with Militant Abolition in *The Planter's Northern Bride*" (1854), I contend that this anti-abolitionist plantation romance answers Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) only by going through David Walker. Analyses of plantation romances routinely expose authorial anxiety. Employing symptomatic reading, this scholarship foregrounds the role of sentimental conventions so that depictions of rebellious slaves signify the author's repressed racial fears. Alternatively, I focus on the fear that Hentz seeks to elicit from white readers, illuminating her dialogue with the *Appeal* and the ends to which plantation romances were put. Although Hentz contests abolitionist fear-based rhetoric, she nevertheless implements it. It is not sympathy for the white South, I argue, that Hentz seeks to elicit from northern abolitionists but rather fear of white suffering, North as well as South.

Chapter three, "'Preaching up Terror': Abolitionist Rhetorics of Fear in Stowe's *Dred* and Delany's *Blake*," contends that these two novels reflect the influence of Walker's *Appeal* as they work to convey to readers the terrors that slavery holds for the future—not for the slaves but for the slaveholders and their sympathizers. Scholarship on *Dred* (1856) attempts to reconcile Harriet Beecher Stowe's investment in sympathy with the novel's contemplation of violent resistance. Instead, I demonstrate that *Dred* is most interested in the persuasive potential of fear, evident in its depictions of revivalism's fear-rousing tactics alongside its representation of slave conspiracy. Likewise, while Martin

Delany's *Blake* (1859-62) stages and espouses transnational revolution, I underline that this endorsement of violent resistance does not signal Delany's forfeiture of print as a tool for persuasion. Representing slave resistance as vengeance, *Blake* strategically deploys a particular version of white Americans' fears of black revolution; in doing so, he builds on but modifies a strategy at work in the *Appeal*.

The fourth chapter, "The Circuitous Literary Routes of an 'Unlucky Pamphlet': Locating Walker's *Appeal* in Poe's 'The Gold-Bug' and Bird's *Sheppard Lee*" aligns with recent efforts to read race in Poe's canon as it suggests that his literary engagement with abolitionist texts was more direct than previously thought. Despite scholarship by Teresa Goddu correcting the misguided assumption that antebellum white southerners lacked access to abolitionist texts, studies of Poe have yet to incorporate the insight. I demonstrate that "The Gold-Bug" (1843) includes plot details recording Louisiana legislation regulating free blacks that was passed as a result of the *Appeal*'s circulation. Once alerted to this embedded local history, we can reconsider Poe's exploitation of a national racialized literary convention—the steadfast servant—as staging how print enlists readers' affects in envisioning the future. In fact, Poe's redeployment of an image central to the *Appeal*—slaves digging gold for their masters—works to transform regional fears of a growing free black population into national laughter but not without acknowledging that the laughter it provokes stems from the racial fantasy underpinning the steadfast servant. Robert Montgomery Bird's *Sheppard Lee, Written by Himself* (1836), a novel that Poe reviewed and whose plot elements he borrows for "The Gold-Bug," depicts the circulation of an incendiary pamphlet within a Virginia slave community. While described as having been addressed to slave owners, rather than

slaves, the pamphlet nonetheless evokes Walker's *Appeal* in its content and method of circulation; the narrator thus drives home the point that regardless of authorial intent, appeals to fear circulated in print could catalyze slave revolt.

Problematizing the binary that pits "resistant" literatures against "dominant" ones, I address the shortcomings of literary history to account for the impact of a black-authored text, but I also demonstrate the power of literary history to structure the intellectual imagination. With a focus on affect as well as imagined southern futures, I offer a framework for restoring Walker's *Appeal* to literary history, but my project, more broadly, contends that there is a largely overlooked generative power in antebellum African American writing. The implications, however, extend beyond literary history. While recent work in American studies turns to the transnational, I demonstrate the need for concomitant renewed attention to the relationships among the local, regional, and national. Indeed, in antebellum literature the South becomes a site for ruminating on the role of affect in subject and community formation as well as the ethics enabling these formations. Antebellum literary renderings of southern futures, then, are never exclusively about the South but, instead, take up issues that exceed region.

End Notes

[1] See Clement Eaton's "A Most Dangerous Pamphlet in the Old South" and Hasan Crockett's "The Incendiary Pamphlet: David Walker's *Appea*l in Georgia." Georgia,

Lousiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina passed laws against seditious literature; Virginia considered but did not pass any laws.

[2] Although Robert Fanuzzi explains that "the appearance of a single copy of a newspaper across state lines could constitute a patently illegal attempt to foment insurrection among the enslaved," he does not indicate that this history begins with Walker's *Appeal* (xx). And while Walker does get mentioned in another context, Fanuzzi conceptualizes "abolition's public sphere" as more or less synonymous with Garrison. See Robert H. Abzug's *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination*, which gives some space to discuss Walker but merely so as to better understand Garrison. Jacqueline Bacon, in contrast, works to show the significance of Walker's anti-slavery writing for the larger abolitionist movement; see *The Humblest May Stand Forth: Rhetoric, Empowerment, and Abolition* [2002].

[3] See Hinks's *To Awaken My Afflicted Brethren: David Walker and the Problem of Antebellum Slave Resistance* (1997), John Ernest's *Liberation Historioagraphy: African American Writers and the Challenge of History, 1794-1861* (2004), Elizabeth McHenry's *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost Histor of African American Literary Societies* (2002), Jacqueline Bacon's *The Humblest May Stand Forth: Rhetoric, Empowerment, and Abolition* (2002), Herbert Aptheker *One Continual Cry: David Walker's* Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, Its Setting, and Its Meaning* (1965), and Lacy K. Ford's *Deliver Us From Evil: The Slavery Question in the Old South* (2009) .

[4] See, for example, the collection edited by J. Gerald Kennedy and Liliane Weissberg, *Romancing the Shadow: Poe and Race* (2001), the contributing essays of which directly take up Morrison's project. See also Teresa Goddu's *Gothic America: Narrative, History, and Nation*, which explicitly "takes up Morrison's call" by historicizing the blackness of gothic literature (75).

[5] Awkward's point is a good one; in fact, *Playing in the Dark* is derivative, owing much to another writer of fiction who also penned literary criticism—Ralph Ellison. His essays in *Shadow and Act,* but especially "Twentieth-Century Fiction and the Black Mask of Humanity" (1953), address the role of African Americans in the white literary imagination.

[6] Bow specifically finds Morrison's paradigm relevant to Asian American studies.

[7] Despite the harsh language, African American deployments of the jeremiad need not accompany endorsements of violent resistance and, in fact, as a literary tradition that dates to the late eighteenth century, the African American jeremiad has a history of going hand-in-hand with calls for black patience and long-suffering; see, for example, Robert Alexander Young's "Ethiopian Manifesto" (1829).

[8] Virginia Governor John Floyd made this connection in November of 1831 in a letter (held in the Library of Congress Manuscripts Division) to South Carolina Governor

James Hamilton. The letter is published in *The Life and Diary of John Floyd: Governor of Virginia* (89-91).

[9] The work of Jeannine DeLombard, David Hall, Lloyd Pratt, Immanuel Wallerstein, and Michael Winship include some of the book history scholars whose work has influenced this dissertation.

[10] See "Walker's Pamphlet in the South." *Cherokee Phoenix* 21 April 1830: 3.

[11] See the letter from Virginia Governor William Branch Giles to Harrison Gray Otis, Mayor of Boston, published in the *Richmond Enquirer* on February 23, 1830: 3.

[12] Chapter four will address in more detail the ways in which Poe's fiction has been analyzed for its engagement with race.

[13] For accounts of the *Appeal*'s appearance in southern states, see Hinks, Clement Eaton's "A Dangerous Pamphlet in the Old South," and Hasan Crockett's "The Incendiary Pamphlet: David Walker's *Appeal* in Georgia."

[14] See *Minutes and Address of the State Convention of the Colored Citizens of Ohio, Convened at Columbus, January 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th, 1849*. Columbus, 1849.

[15] For tracking Poe's whereabouts, see Thomas and Jackson's *The Poe Log*.

[16] In the Preamble, Walker speaks with confidence that "the destruction of the oppressors" will occur. It "may not be effect[ed]," however, "by the oppressed." Nonetheless, "the Lord our God will bring other destructions upon them—for not unfrequently will he cause them to rise up one against another, to be split and divided, and to oppress each other, and sometimes to open hostilities with sword in hand" (3). The bulk of the text, however, goes back and forth between envisioning black militancy and violent divine intervention. Though the *Appeal* concludes with a threat of divine vengeance, the final article imagines a future of racial harmony: "…we ask them for nothing but the rights of man, viz. for them to set us free, and treat us like men, and there will be no danger, for we will love and respect them, and protect our country—but cannot conscientiously do these things until they treat us like men" (66).

[17] Some of the anti-revivalists include John Williamson Nevin, *The Anxious Bench* (1843); Tryon Edwards, "On Hasty Admission to the Church," *The Biblical Repertory and Theological Review* 5 (July 1833): 306-22; Lyman H. Atwater, "Dr. Woodbridge on Revivals: the Influence of the New Divinity on Religion," *Princeton Review*, 14 (1842): 31-41.

[18] Bratt footnotes that Stowe's novel *Oldtown Folks* (1869) depicts two approaches to conversion—one "a calm, sober affair," the other in keeping with Edwardsean theology's fiery method. Neither approach, however, succeeds in winning over the intended

converts; instead, it is through "the ministration of what Stowe clearly depicts as the female principle of love" ("Religious" 98). Her 1869 novel, then, seems to suggest that Stowe continued to ruminate on the ethics of suasion after the Civil War.

[19] As Jacqueline Bacon and Glen McClish underscore, Smith's emphasis on emotion's role in persuasion marked the new rhetoric: "Although logical argumentation is discussed in the treatises of Blair, Campbell, and Smith, all three theorists teach that successful eloquence ignites the passions in order to move the will" (24).

[20] See Levine's chapter "Circulating the Nation: David Walker, the Missouri Compromise, and the Appeals of Black Literary Nationalism" in his *Dislocating Race and Nation: Episodes in Nineteenth-Century American Literary Nationalism*.

[21] See Lacy K. Ford's discussion of the abolition mail campaign in *Deliver Us From Evil: The Slavery Question in the Old South*.

Chapter One

"But if they do not have enough to be frightened for yet, it will be": Functional Fear in David Walker's *Appeal*

Accounts of the relationship of David Walker's *Appeal* (1829, 1830) to the South tend to center on how white southern authorities responded to its perceived threat to the region and on its possible role in inspiring subsequent acts of slave resistance, most famously Nat Turner's revolt. The invaluable charting of these histories, evident in the work of Peter P. Hinks, Herbert Aptheker, and others, demonstrates the *Appeal*'s significance with respect to black resistance and southern legislative response to such resistance.[1] Hinks, specifically, highlights the impact that Walker's long residence in the South—North Carolina and South Carolina—had on his ability to imagine the forms black resistance could take, for it was in these states that Walker gained knowledge of the extensive "communication networks" utilized by southern African Americans (198).[2] With respect to a rhetorical tradition extending beyond the South, David Howard-Pitney and William Jeremiah Moses place Walker's text within a long line of African American jeremiads.[3] Robert H. Abzug and Linda M. Grasso each notes Walker's impact on abolitionist discourse, with Abzug addressing his eventual influence on William Lloyd Garrison and Grasso pointing to correspondences between Walker's and Maria W. Stewart's rhetoric.

What has received less attention is the *Appeal*'s relationship to a literary tradition, one that exceeds both African American and abolitionist history. In underscoring the *Appeal*'s conspicuous interest in suasion, particularly its rumination on its own rhetorical strategies, this chapter makes two interventions: it corrects overly determined analyses of

the text when read strictly within an African American literary tradition, and it lays the groundwork for establishing how the *Appeal* proved generative for a range of writers black and white, northern and southern. With regard to the first, I offer a framework for understanding Walker as invested in the rhetorical discussions of his time—conversations, delineated in the introduction, about rhetoric and affect related to the growing dominance of the New Common Sense Rhetoric and evident in Protestant culture's debates about revivalism's fear-rousing tactics. Concerning the second, I attend to the affective-focused strategy of the *Appeal*—a strategy that hinges on catalyzing white fears of black violence—to illuminate how the text shaped subsequent conversations about rhetoric that would play out in literary texts that imagine futures for the South. This chapter makes the case that placing emphasis on its affective-based rhetorical strategy not only recalibrates how we read the *Appeal* but also elucidates its heretofore unacknowledged place in literary history.

For chapters one, two, and three, I situate a number of texts within the context of discussions about how best to persuade that became predominant during the 1820s and would continue to occupy the attention of orators and writers. Conversations about rhetoric unfolded in a number of spheres—rhetorical theory, Protestant, abolitionist, and pro-slavery—and these conversations gained a heightened visibility due to the rise of print culture.[4] Moreover, as the nation became increasingly polarized over slavery and the South's future grew increasingly uncertain during the 1830s and through the Civil War, the stakes for choosing the right approach to suasion were ratcheted up, a sentiment not lost on writers who imagined futures for the South. Thus, writing about the South often carried with it meta-commentary on one's (and others') rhetorical maneuvers.

Just as articles appearing in newspapers and journals of the period sought to persuade readers of the importance of literary production (for the purposes of consolidating U.S. nationalism and assisting African Americans' work for equality, for example), so too did literary texts that imagined futures for the South demonstrate an interest in suasion. As a text that, in imagining futures for the South, turns to the persuasive power of fear even as it ruminates on its own strategy, Walker's *Appeal* spurred antebellum discussions about suasion, affect, and southern futurity. I approach the *Appeal* as a text authored by someone immersed not only in the ideological debates but also the rhetorical debates of the day, for doing so allows us to see the ways in which the text seeks to shape audiences in specific and mutually-reinforcing ways.

Walker warns whites of a number of possible violent futures, namely slave revolt and divine intervention. This element of uncertainty structures Walker's fear-based strategy: In terrifying white readers with a number of violent futures, Walker hopes to persuade them to recognize immediately black Americans as full citizens, which is the only means of averting the violent futures his text imagines. Walker warns black readers, likewise, that none would be entirely free until southern slavery was eradicated. In galvanizing African Americans in both the North and South to seize citizenship, Walker painstakingly demonstrates that the futures of the southern states, the nation, and African descendants throughout the world are interlinked. "Your full glory and happiness, as well as all other coloured people under Heaven, shall never be fully consummated," he asserts, "but with the *entire emancipation of your enslaved brethren all over the world*" (29). In order to ensure that black Americans will be able to "be thankful to the Lord for… the future," Walker advises, "I say unto you again, you must go to work and prepare the way

of the Lord" (29). Analyzing how Walker seeks to elicit specific emotions from multiple audiences so as to ensure an end to slavery that does not involve the violence his text threatens is one of the goals of this chapter. The chapter thus lays the groundwork for considering the impact of Walker's text on subsequent antebellum imaginings of futures for the South.

Militancy, the Jeremiad, and the Gothic

As "one of the most well publicized and controversial texts of the era," the *Appeal* has been recognized as signaling the turn to militant abolitionist writing (Bacon, *Freedom's* 25). But Jacqueline Bacon reminds us that the turn to increasingly vehement African American antislavery rhetoric occurred prior to the publication of Walker's text. *Freedom's Journal*, the first African American journal, helps contextualize the *Appeal* and reminds us that its "harsh jeremiadic language" was not "atypical of its time" (*Freedom's* 25).[5] Bacon underscores that Walker's text, along with other African American abolitionist writings appearing in the late 1820s and thereafter, "intensif[ies] resonant themes" of earlier black anti-slavery writing (*Freedom's* 25). Likewise, Peter P. Hinks shows that in depicting a God bent on vengeance against the United States for its participation in slavery, Walker builds on a jeremiadic tradition of antislavery rhetoric dating at least to the late eighteenth century.[6]

Due to the repeated questioning of Walker's sanity, Hinks finds it important to emphasize Walker's connection to "mainstream antebellum black culture" so as to establish that "the pamphlet was not a product of a deranged mind or a hopelessly fringe political activism" (195). Similarly, Bacon's intent is to connect Walker to a long-established African American rhetorical tradition. While this approach has real merit, it

risks overemphasizing continuities between Walker's text and its predecessors. A close reading and contextualization of Walker's text, I argue, reveals a rhetorical strategy that, while clearly linked to a literary tradition, marks a significant departure from earlier writings in terms of rhetorical style and content.

Hinks, in fact, grants the *Appeal* a modicum of distinction from its predecessors, highlighting its "intensity":

> Most of the principal themes Walker undertook in his work did not originate with him and had been mined by previous authors, although they were rarely expressed with the high-pitched intensity so common in his rhetoric. Walker could have been influenced by some of these writers and orators, and if such a determination could be made it would be an important one. But whether he was influenced or not, he was not certainly the first to address these topics. (180)

Along with "intensity," Hinks repeatedly uses the word "vehemence" to mark the uniqueness of Walker's rhetoric. Identifying a speech by William Hamilton, a New York orator, as offering a precedent for the *Appeal*'s critique of Thomas Jefferson, Hinks writes, "…no African American prior to Walker had attacked the Virginian's hypotheses with anywhere near as much vehemence or scope" (178).[7] Although Hinks draws attention to the unprecedented intensity of Walker's tone and calls the *Appeal* "the most imaginative and courageous effort to marshal [a threat against slavery]," he underscores that, "thematically or structurally," the *Appeal* contains nothing new (195).

Whereas Hinks underscores Walker's indebtedness to several traditions (African American, revolutionary, and evangelical), Eddie S. Glaude emphasizes the newness of

Walker's rhetoric, proposing that we "read Walker's strategy as an attempt to offer African Americans a new way of engaging in public conversation" (38). For Glaude, this "new way" consisted of foregrounding African American suffering and terror in order to counter with emotional intensity the cold logic that Thomas Jefferson and others put to the service of claiming black inferiority.

While Walker does offer a new approach to abolitionist discourse, the *Appeal*'s emphasis on the terrors experienced by blacks due to slavery can be found in earlier antislavery texts. Prince Hall, for example, addressed an audience of black Freemasons, encouraging them to remember that God knew that they suffered and that his justice (and vengeance) ultimately would prevail.[8] Hall refers to the suffering of free blacks in the urban North, ranging from "the daily insults you meet with in the streets of Boston" to the more life-threatening abuses experienced on "public days of recreation" when they are subjected to the violence of mobs (47). He also asks his audience to remember the sufferings of the enslaved, "our friends and bretheren," foregrounding and describing that suffering: "…first, let us see them dragg'd from their native country, by the iron hand of tyranny and oppression, from their dear friends and connections, with weeping eyes and aching hearts, to a strange land and strange people, whose tender mercies are cruel; and there to bear the iron yoke of slavery & cruelty till death as a friend shall relieve them" (45). Similarly, Russell Parrott's "An Oration on the Abolition of the Slave Trade" (1814), while advising that forbearance and self-improvement among free blacks ultimately would bring about slavery's end, foregrounds the suffering experienced by slaves on the middle passage.[9]

The innovation in Walker's rhetoric came not in its attention to black suffering, but in the way in which the text privileges fear as a central rhetorical strategy. What Hinks identifies as a matter of tone constitutes, I contend, a distinction from its predecessors in *both* tone and content.[10] Specifically, the *Appeal* blends warnings of a vengeful God evident in these early texts with an *explicit* articulation of the willingness of—and call for—slaves to mete out their own vengeance. There were forerunners of the *Appeal* that warned of God's pending judgment of the U.S., including Prince Hall, Robert Alexander Young, and "Othello." And there were antislavery commentators who articulated fear of a divinely inspired slave revolt, including John Kenrick in his pamphlet *Horrors of Slavery* (1817), as well as slavery apologists who counter this type of commentary, such as Whitemarsh B. Seabrook. But it is Walker who explicitly calls for a slave revolt that would accompany God's work.[11] Though addressing the *Appeal* to "the coloured citizens of the world" and singling out African Americans in particular as the primary audience, Walker embeds direct addresses to whites in which he threatens them with these repercussions of continued slaveholding. In terms of attempting to persuade the country to terminate slavery, Walker proffers a new rhetoric for engaging white America: He explicitly warns of divine retribution (the jeremiad) while calling for widespread slave rebellion (the militant), invoking intense apocalyptic language in calling forth both.

Distinguishing between the jeremiad and the militant is crucial to my argument, so it is important both to define the jeremiad and to note in brief the relationship between the two modes that scholars of the African American jeremiad have delineated. Sacvan Bercovitch classifies the American jeremiad at its most basic level as "a mode of public

exhortation" (xi). Readily utilized by New England Puritans who used the term "political sermon," the mode offered a means to invoke the language of spiritual commitment in launching social criticism. In its denunciation of society's wrong-doings, the jeremiad recalls English sermons of the fifteenth century and even of the early medieval period, while the term itself refers to the lamentations of the Old Testament's Jeremiah (xiv). It is a mode of "declension and doom" that often "express[es] a profound disquiet" and "betray[s] an underlying desperation" and "a fear of the future" (Bercovitch xiv). The speaker of the jeremiad functions as one relaying God's warnings to the addressees—a group that carries a special status as God's chosen people—that they have veered off course. Exhorting listeners to confess their waywardness, beseech God for forgiveness, and renew their commitment to pursue God's plan, the jeremiad relies on warnings of God's vengeance for its persuasive punch.

The language accordingly tends to be dramatic, harsh, excoriating, even violent, but the message, as voiced by American Puritans, also communicates faith that the listeners will right themselves in time and that God's grace, consequently, will be demonstrated. For this reason, Bercovitch underscores that, adapted by American Puritans, the mode carries with it an underlying "unshakable optimism," which sets it apart from its predecessors (7). Bercovitch locates the jeremiad in seventeenth-century sermons (by John Winthrop, Increase Mather, and others) and in the sermons of the first Great Awakening (such as Jonathan Edwards). A mode adaptable to a number of genres, the jeremiad has not been limited to sermons, appearing in personal narratives and poetry.

Bercovitch identifies the jeremiad as central to the evolution of rhetorical practices in the United States' public sphere but primarily as a northeastern, white-

authored phenomenon. Wilson Jeremiah Moses expands the purview of the jeremiad by demonstrating that nineteenth-century African Americans readily utilized this rhetorical mode to direct warnings to whites of "the judgment that was to come for the sin of slavery"; although some black writers in the early republic turned to the jeremiad, its use became more prevalent during the antebellum years (30-1). Though he does not make the distinction, Moses implies that while black writers of the early republic are explicit in relaying God's disapproval of slavery, they make use of subtlety when alluding to black resistance. For example, Moses interprets Prince Hall's reference to the Haitian Revolution in his address to the African Masonic Lodge as a way of embedding thinly veiled threats of slave revolt to the white audience that would later have access to the speech once it was circulated in print. In fact, Moses suggests that black writers, though ostensibly addressing fellow African Americans, typically intended their jeremiads for white audiences. Moses writes: "For obvious reasons most black writers did not wish to be identified as inflammatory pamphleteers. But this did not mean that early black writers consistently eschewed the rhetoric of violence, confrontation, or racial chauvinism" (32).

Early nineteenth-century writers' references to the Haitian Revolution, as Moses claims, would have worked to stimulate anxiety for white readers, and black writers most certainly would have reflected this knowledge in their rhetorical strategies. However, I want to underscore the difference—rhetorically speaking—between discussing a violent historical event so as to generate anxiety and directly threatening one's audience that they, too, will be victims of a violent revolution. Moses's characterization of David Walker as deploying a rhetoric similar to that of early black writers fails to acknowledge this significant rhetorical difference. In Walker's direct threats to whites not only of

God's vengeance but also of slave revolt, he seems to seek the very title of "inflammatory pamphleteer" that his predecessors sought to avoid (35-9). Walker, in other words, employs a rhetorical strategy that has little room for subtlety. Prince Hall utilizes the jeremiad; Walker combines the jeremiad with calls for militancy. By placing calls for militancy within a text that directly addresses the adversaries—the imagined recipients of the violence—Walker signals a heightened investment in the persuasive power of fear that sets the *Appeal* apart from its predecessors.

Walker combines two modes that hinge on threatening language: appeals to militancy and to divine vengeance. Moving back and forth between these types of threats, the document betrays a theory of suasion: in order to persuade, catalyze fear, and in order to catalyze fear, threaten the reader directly. At times Walker identifies a vengeful God as the doer of the action, invoking biblical language common to the Calvinist tradition and the American jeremiad, though with added vehemence: "but I tell you Americans! That unless you speedily alter your course, *you* and your *Country are gone!!!!* For God Almighty will tear up the very face of earth!!!" (39). Similarly, he warns "Americans! Americans!!": "I call God—I call angels—I call men, to witness, that your DESTRUCTION *is at hand*, and will be speedily consummated unless you REPENT (43). At times, however, he makes clear that the oppressed will be responsible for the reckoning: "The whites shall have enough of the blacks, yet, as true as God sits on his throne in Heaven" (32). In this way, the *Appeal* refuses to pinpoint exactly who or what whites have to fear.

In threatening two sources of pending violence, the *Appeal* does more than make a departure from its predecessors: it works to intensify fear for white readers. For in

threatening white readers with two sources of retribution—God and southern slaves—the text refuses to clarify the relationship between the two, a maneuver for heightening fear. He purposefully clouds readers' understanding of who will take revenge, blurring the distinction between human (black insurrectionists) and supernatural (God) catalysts. In characterizing white readers as destined to experience violent repercussions, while refraining from pinpointing the source, the text in effect hems white readers in with fear on all sides.

It thus makes sense to consider Walker's use of fear in relation to the gothic mode, which, in Walker's hands, operates with remarkable versatility. As Richard Gray puts it, the gothic is a useful mode for writers of suppressed populations, for it captures the psychological experience of those denied power by presenting a world in which "causes and effects are veiled" (97). Walker characterizes slave society in these terms, painstakingly delineating how slave society manages and manipulates black Americans, especially southern slaves, via "deceptions." In fact, he titles one section of the pamphlet "Our Wretchedness in Consequence of Ignorance" (28). Walker uses the gothic, in other words, to represent black victimization.

At the same time, Walker utilizes the gothic to turn this dynamic on its head, for his text seizes the power to unveil cause and effect by exposing the underpinnings of slavery ideology. While threatening whites with violent repercussions, he also undermines assumptions about blackness perpetuated to justify slavery. Specifically, he articulates for black readers a correspondence between the condition of enslavement and claims of African inferiority and barbarity disseminated by white culture. Walker writes: "Ignorance and treachery one against the other—a groveling servile and abject

submission to the lash of tyrants, we see plainly, my bretheren, are not the natural elements of the blacks, as the Americans try to make us believe" (21). Rather, "Ignorance, as it now exists among us, produces a state of things" (21). Immediately after contesting notions of blackness strategically disseminated by white America, Walker describes scenes from "the southern and western states" to illustrate the point:

> He may see there, a son take his mother, who bore almost the pains of death to give him birth, and by the command of a tyrant, strip her as naked as she came into the world, and apply the cow-hide to her, until she falls a victim to death in the road! He may see a husband take his dear wife, not unfrequently in a pregnant state, and perhaps far advanced, and beat her for an unmerciful wretch, until his infant falls a lifeless lump at her feet! Can the Americans escape God Almighty? (21)

Though Walker periodically chides black Americans for their "servility," this passage depicts scenes of black servility in order to expose and condemn white Americans.

We might expect to encounter similar scenes of suffering in slave narratives and other genres that rely heavily on sentimental conventions to generate sympathy for the slave. The description of Aunt Hester's whipping in Frederick Douglass's *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* constitutes one of the most well-known examples. Walker's passage offers a union of sentimentality and fear that readers of sentimental literature should recognize, for the pain of separation from loved ones, especially via death, is the foremost fear expressed in sentimental literature. If the passage illustrates just how readily the sentimental could tip into the gothic, however, it does not stop there. Having described the terrors of slavery experienced by the slaves, the passage

immediately shifts gears—from representing fear to inducing it—warning whites of pending divine vengeance: "Can the Americans escape God almighty?"

In this way, both sympathy and fear structure the passage, and I briefly turn to recent work on affect and emotion to limn out the relationship between the two. For Philip Fisher, Aristotle's *Rhetoric* is the point of departure: "'the people we pity are: those whom we know, if only they are not very closely related to us—in that case we feel about them as if we were in danger ourselves'" (qtd. in Fisher 135). Fisher provides an example that explains why Aristotle's claim is so compelling:

> One implication is that we would feel pity for a young soldier being led out to be shot for desertion, but not if the soldier were our brother. Then fear would be felt. And when we found ourselves feeling either one of the two—pity or fear—in less predictable cases, the actual closeness of our relation to another person would be, only in this way, disclosed and revealed to us and to others observing us. (135)

For Walker's white readers, then, the depictions of slave suffering constitute deployments of sympathy, whereas warnings of future white suffering constitute appeals to fear.

Recognizing this distinction is crucial to understanding why the *Appeal* elicited such a strong response from white southerners. To be sure, though Glaude insightfully underscores that "Walker believed that any discussion about race required that the interlocutors confront the true terror the subject called forth, not only the physical pain but the psychic violence of slavery and racial discrimination," the *Appeal*'s use of terror goes further still (38). Walker demands that white interlocutors not only confront but also *experience* terror, a terror different from that which marks the slave's and free African

American's suffering. As the passage cited above describing slave sons and husbands forced to beat their mothers and wives illustrates, depicting the terror experienced by slaves is subordinated to making whites the subject of terror.

In another deployment of the gothic, Walker depicts whites as vampires gorging on the blood of blacks, an image he posits only after defying whites to remove blacks from the United States, a homeland they have earned with their "*blood and tears*":

> Will any of us leave our homes and go to Africa? I hope not. Let them commence their attack upon us as they did on our brethren in Ohio, driving and beating us from our country, and my soul for theirs, they will have enough of it. Let no man of us budge one step, and let slave-holders come to beat us from our country. America is more our country, than it is the whites—we have enriched it with our *blood and tears*:--and will they drive us from our property and homes, which we have earned with our *blood*? They must look sharp or this very thing will bring swift destruction upon them. The Americans have got so fat on our blood and groans, that they have almost forgotten the God of armies. But let them go on. (65)

This passage too demonstrates the text's deployment of both sympathy and fear. Blacks have made America their home via both physical and emotional expenditure—"*blood and tears*." This move to cultivate white sympathy is secondary, however, to catalyzing fear. Specifically, the white antebellum press gravitated toward gothic language in describing both the possibility of slave revolt and the Haitian Revolution. In a calculated move, Walker here demonstrates his familiarity with the way slave rebellion, which was often articulated as an act of black vengeance, worked on the white imaginary. He plays

upon those white fears, in the form of tauntings, by guaranteeing their coming to pass: "they will have enough of it," "They must look sharp or this very thing will bring swift destruction upon them," and "let them go on." However, unlike the white newspapers, the *Appeal* reserves the gothic imagery for depicting whites rather than blacks, describing whites in this passage as having gotten "fat on our blood and groans" and in the previous passage as the ones who force blacks to inflict violence on one another.

Just as the *Appeal* uses the gothic to covey black victimization as well as to indicate pending black vengeance, it also attempts to elicit affective orientations from multiple audiences. Though Walker reserves the bulk of his threats for white readers, he directs threats on behalf of God at African Americans as well. After asserting that only with "the entire emancipation of our brethren all over the world" should any person of African descent be able to live in "happiness," Walker underscores the choice available to black Americans: "You may therefore, go to work and do what you can to rescue, or join in with tyrants to oppress them and yourselves, until the Lord shall come upon you like a thief in the night" (29). But by and large Walker seeks to provoke anger more than fear in black readers. It is because Walker expresses hope that change would come about without violence that he directs most of the fear-inducing language toward white readers—those in the position to bring about an end to slavery without violence. Catalyzing black anger, then, would serve more than one purpose—emboldening black readers to take advantage of opportunities for securing their own and others' freedom while also intensifying white fear. In threatening black violence along with violent judgment from God, Walker's text hinges on stirring white fear, while it also catalogues specific examples of slaveholders' barbarism in gothic language in order to ignite black anger. In this way, the text employs

a rhetorical strategy that hinges on playing anticipated audiences' emotions off of one another. So whereas Moses makes the case that Walker only ostensibly addresses a black readership and instead directs his *Appeal* to whites, I contend that negotiating both audiences was integral to the rhetorical strategy.[12]

Reading, Racial Affects, and Rumination on Fear

In the process of coordinating various reader responses, the *Appeal* fosters specific spatial positioning of its racially-mixed and geographically-dispersed audience. It identifies its primary audience as black while at the same time embedding direct addresses to whites, which is a departure from how black-authored texts are often thought to have interacted with multiple audiences. While the implied readers of slave narratives were usually white and northern (and often female), the primary implied readership of African American journals has been assumed to have been white, despite the journals' explicit identification of and addresses to black readers. The low literacy rate of antebellum black Americans accounts for this long-held assumption. As Bacon has shown, however, once one takes into account the various types of reading practices utilized by antebellum readers such as reading societies, one is better-equipped to identify the primary implied audience as African American.[13] Nonetheless, though African American journals imagined a black readership and did not identify whites as comprising a readership, they no doubt were produced with a conscientiousness of white readers. With respect to the *Appeal*, explicitly identifying white readers as a secondary audience is key to its rhetorical strategy.

The incorporation of direct addresses to white readers enables the *Appeal* to stage the working out of white anxiety that differs (not surprisingly) from how nineteenth-century white-authored texts typically imagine it to have played out on the plantation. Plantation fiction, for example, does not tend to imagine slaves as the primary readers or the intended audience of any text. While plantation fiction dramatizes anxieties about slaves and free blacks encountering white-authored texts intended for white readers, it is less likely to voice fear of black readers gaining access to texts penned for them by black writers. Consider the anxieties about black gatherings and churches that play out in these texts. The fear they stage is that African Americans would take a text intended for a white audience and engage in rogue readings, interpretations, and applications, which are usually attributed to the interference of white, northern abolitionists. This very scenario plays out in Robert Montgomery Bird's *Sheppard Lee, Written by Himself* (1836), which chapter four addresses.

Southern state-commissioned documents articulate similar anxieties about the relationship between black southerners and print. The prefatory narrative to the trial record of Denmark Vesey, as a case in point, places particular blame for the plot on the access of black readers to documents written by and presumably intended for whites—newspaper accounts of debates over the Missouri Compromise, for example.[14] In spatial terms, we could say that the *Appeal* inverts this imagined reader dynamic. It calls for individual African American readers (solitary reading) and African Americans reading to other African Americans (communal reading): As the foreword makes clear, Walker calls upon "coloured men, women and children…to procure a copy of this Appeal and read it, or get some one to read it to them." However, by virtue of embedding direct addresses to

whites, it also situates whites as peering and reading over the shoulder of black readers and as intercepting reading material being delivered to a readership that they would have difficulty even imagining. By directly speaking to whites within a document explicitly addressed to African descendants, Walker conspicuously acknowledges, then, that he is exploiting whites' anxieties about black reading**.**

At the same time, Walker reminds his black readers that whites too are readers and that their reading has consequences for African Americans. He does so after quoting Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* and after providing a parenthetical command to black readers—"[Here, my brethren, listen to him]." He quotes Jefferson: "Will not a lover of natural history, then one who views the gradations in all the races of *animals* with the eye of philosophy, excuse an effort to keep those in the department of MAN as *distinct* as nature has formed them?" Walker then immediately advises his black readers: "I hope you will try to find out the meaning of this verse—its wildest sense and all its bearings: whether you do or not, remember the whites do. This very verse, brethren, having emanated from Mr. Jefferson…has in truth injured us more, and has been as great a barrier to our emancipation as any thing that has ever been advanced against us" (26-7). Reminding black readers that whites read in ways that have implications for them (blacks), Walker heightens the sense of urgency marking the *Appeal*.

Walker not only informs black readers that the way whites read has consequences for African Americans, but also he marshals evidence to substantiate the political implications of white affect. In a footnote to the third edition, Walker comments on the terror the appearance of his pamphlet in southern states had elicited among whites and the

impact of white affect on African Americans. He asks: "[W]hy are the Americans so very fearfully terrified respecting my Book?—Why do they search vessels, &c. when entering the harbours of tyrannical States, to see if any of my Books can be found, for fear that my brethren will get them to read" (72). Walker thus delineates some of the implications of white fear on African Americans. Specifically, his question concerning the searching of ships in southern harbors reflects southern legislation brought about by the *Appeal* that required black sailors be quarantined upon arrival in southern ports.[15] By implication, if fear could prompt southern legislation to limit dissemination of Walker's pamphlet, perhaps it also could lead to legislation ending slavery.

In this moment and others, Walker also points to white affect as an indicator of the revolutionary potential of reading for black Americans, claiming that nothing is more terrifying for white Americans than the thought of blacks reading:

> [F]or coloured people to acquire learning in this country, makes tyrants quake and tremble on their sandy foundation. Why, what is the matter? Why, they know that their infernal deeds of cruelty will be made known to the world. Do you suppose one man of good sense and learning would submit himself, his father, mother, wife and children, to be slaves to a wretched man….No! no! he would cut his devilish throat from ear to ear, and well do slave-holders know it. The bare name of educating the coloured people, scares our cruel oppressors to death. (32)

Walker identifies the fears experienced by whites—slaveholders in particular—and underscores that their fears are justified. Well should they be terrified of blacks who read, Walker implies, for reading can enable the affects necessary for revolution. Just as

Walker identifies that whites fear the revolutionary affects that reading can catalyze among black readers, so too does he seek to cultivate that fear, underscoring that the fear presently experienced will only increase: "But if they do not have enough to be frightened for yet, it will be…. ," he assures his black readers (32). In this rhetorical move, Walker addresses black readers with the intention of generating outrage—not only to prepare them for revolution but also to catalyze fear among white readers.

Indeed, Walker's assurances to black readers that whites should, in fact, be fearful accompany direct addresses to white readers: "To be plain and candid with you, Americans!....You want us for your slaves, and shall have enough of us—God is just, *who will give you your fill of us*" (49). By identifying whites as secondary readers, Walker forces them into the position of observing a black writer embolden a black readership. Thus, as it deploys rhetorical strategies to generate black anger and white fear, Walker's text works to set in motion affective orientations that would reinforce one another. In this way, he expresses a faith in the power of affective reading, a hope that whites would be moved by his appeals to fear of black revolution and, consequently, eradicate slavery. Having white readers observe as he fortifies the resolve of his black readers to prepare them for revolution, Walker hopes to catalyze a fear in whites that would prove persuasive, ultimately rendering revolution unnecessary.

At the same time, Walker's faith in the power of affective reading comes with articulations of doubt. In particular, he expresses ambivalence about the power of his *Appeal* to elicit the desired affects from readers: "Perhaps they will laugh at or make light of this; but I tell you Americans! That unless you speedily alter your course, you and

your Country are gone!!!!!! For God Almighty will tear up the very face of the earth!!!" (39). An appeal to emotion, Walker acknowledges, can produce unintended responses.

Along these lines, although a sense of urgency and immediacy marks Walker's *Appeal*, it also—if briefly and intermittently—pauses to consider the efficacy and ethics of appeals to fear, a hesitancy that will become more pronounced in subsequent writers who contemplate the persuasive use of fear in imagining a future South. Walker exposes the colonization plan, for example, as an effort on the part of white slaveholders to rid the South of free blacks so that the enslaved "may be the better secured in ignorance and wretchedness" (55). Colonization, then, is a "trick" disguised as benevolence (67). More important to my argument, he identifies white fear of black retaliation as one of the primary factors that underpins both colonization and the perpetuation of slavery:

> The whites knowing this [that blacks are created in God's image], they do not know what to do; they know that they have done us so much injury, they are afraid that we, being men, and not brutes, will retaliate, and woe will be to them; therefore, that dreadful fear, together with an avaricious spirit, and the natural love in them, to be called masters…bring them to the resolve that they will keep us in ignorance and wretchedness, as long as they possibly can…. (61-2)

Despite this articulation that white fear of black vengeance contributes to whites' being intractable about slavery, catalyzing white fear operates as one of the *Appeal*'s primary rhetorical strategies. Thus, the *Appeal* identifies fear as a slippery, rascally condition; by

eliciting the emotion through rhetorical moves, a rhetor risks moving his audience in ways contrary to his intent.

Further voicing dubiousness about fear's persuasive power, Walker identifies fear as a poor—even unethical—impetus for action as part of his discussion of colonization. Specifically, he criticizes the legislation banning the slave trade, "(which act was, indeed, more through apprehension than humanity)" (50). By parenthetically noting that self-interest born of fear of an increasing black population, rather than an ethical motivation, spurred the decision to bar the slave trade, Walker in passing identifies fear as a poor—but sufficient—motivator. He characterizes fear as a weak motivation for decision-making at the same time that he appeals to it. These ruminations on the efficaciousness and ethicality of rhetorical fear surface in subsequent texts by Caroline Hentz, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Martin Delany, the focus of the following two chapters.

Though Walker utilizes and ruminates on fear throughout the *Appeal*, he ultimately hopes that fear regarding the South's future eventually could be cast aside. Right after appealing to fear—"And wo, wo, will be to you if we have to obtain our freedom by fighting"—Walker urges whites to abandon fear:

> Throw away your fears and prejudices then, and enlighten us and treat us like men, and we will like you more than we do now hate you, and tell us now no more about colonization, for America is as much our country, as it is yours.—Treat us like men, and there is no danger but we will all live in peace and happiness together. (70)

It is a functional fear, then, that Walker aims to elicit, a fear that he hopes will not need to be experienced for long.

Strategic Fanaticism?

Examination of the print culture responding to the *Appeal* confirms, however, that fear was not the only affect it catalyzed among whites. Indeed, the appearance of the *Appeal* in 1829 elicited a range of reactions from whites, evident in letters and newspaper editorials; some claimed that the document—as a radical religious tract—did not deserve the attention it had received as others noted its incendiary and seditious content. I briefly want to entertain that, when it came to catalyzing fear, eliding easy classification could afford a certain power.

In assessing the panic and legislative steps taken in southern states to curtail the freedoms of slaves and free blacks and to limit the circulation of literature deemed seditious, scholars tend to frame this history as indicative of southern intolerance for antislavery ideas. Though this contextualization of the history has some merit, I propose framing it in slightly different terms: southern legislatures, familiar with the subversive connections within southern black culture of religion and rebellion, took the pamphlet seriously, whereas northern states, less familiar with the nature of revolutionary activity within slave culture, were less inclined to perceive the real threat Walker's pamphlet posed.[16] As Hinks notes, "The rapid response of Southern authorities to the presence of the *Appeal* was not as much a sign of their tendency to ascribe unwarranted power to some passing antislavery gesture or plot as it was their realistic appraisal of the subversive potential of Walker's plan" (245). Building on Hinks' attention to the logic underpinning the southern response to the *Appeal*, I want to examine distinctions in northern and southern response as an avenue for probing the text's rhetorical strategy.

One effort to discount the pamphlet's significance focused on Walker's identity as a "negro dealer in old clothes." Appearing under the title "States Rights!" in Baltimore's *Niles' Weekly Register*, the article criticizes the southern legislative response as too extreme: "How much is it to be regretted, that a negro dealer in old clothes, should thus excite two states to legislative action" (4). The writer also criticizes southern print culture in particular: "…some of the journals of that state talk very coldly about 'blood-letting!' And all this, when the legislatures of two states have been frightened by a few dozen pamphlets, written by a negro, who deals in old clothes!" (4). Fear, the writer asserts, is not the proper response.

More frequently, however, writers commented on Walker's "fanaticism." Republished in *Niles' Weekly Register* with the title "Excitement in the South," a letter from the mayor of Boston, Harris Gray Otis, to the governor of Virginia cites Walker's "fanaticism" as one reason to explain why Boston is not much alarmed by the pamphlet:

> You may be assured that your good people cannot hold in more absolute detestation, the sentiments of the writer than do the people of this city, and as I verily believe the mass of the New England population. The only difference is, that the insignificance of the writer, the extravagance of his sanguinary fanaticism, tending to disgust all persons of common humanity this his object, and the very partial circulation of this book, prevent the affair from being a subject of excitement and hardly of serious attention. (87)

In contrast, while accusing Walker of "fanaticism," a contributor to Garrison's Boston *Liberator* contends that the *Appeal*'s argument is nonetheless sound:

> I have often heard, and constantly believed, that 'Walker's Appeal' was the incoherent rhapsody of a blood-thirsty, but vulgar and very ignorant fanatic, and have therefore felt no little astonishment that it should have reated so much alarm in the slave-holding states. It has been represented to me as being as worth of contempt, as the Book of Mormon, or the 'Gems' of Robert Dale Owen; and believing such statements, I have never taken any pains to procure it. I have now read the book, and my opinions are changed.
>
> That Walker was a fanatic cannot be denied: strong indications of religious delusion may be found in his every page. He calls incessantly on the name of his Maker, in a way not agreeable to Christian ears; he calls his colored brethren the Lord's people, and towards the end of the pamphlet declares he would not have published his lucubrations without the express command of the Almighty so to do. (69)

The contributor to the *Liberator* goes on to note, however, that Walker's fanaticism does "not affect the force of his argument, or the strength of his thoughts." He also indicates that his former assumption about the *Appeal*—that the pamphlet's fanaticism renders it not worth reading—is widespread in New England: "On mature reflection, it appears to me that his work is despised in New-England only because it is unknown." By "unknown," the writer appears to mean that New Englanders have not read it, not that they have not heard—and formed opinions—about it.[17]

At the most basic level, white northern authorities would not have had the same imperative as their southern neighbors, of course, to silence a text advocating a slave

rebellion that would not occur within the borders of their states. But what I find more interesting to consider is that for the most part, calls to dismiss the pamphlet and/or its "fanaticism," several of which are catalogued above, were launched by whites in what would prove to be Union or border states. For northern readers, the warnings of divine retribution seem to have signaled religious fanaticism, as the editorial in the *Liberator* cited above makes clear.

Relating the distinction between northern and southern response to Walker's pamphlet to a knowledge of southern slave culture allows us to approach the text from another angle—the author's strategy. That is, as someone who spent most of his life in North Carolina and South Carolina before relocating to Boston, Walker would have brought with him knowledge of how resistance within southern slave culture took form, as Hinks underscores. By extension, Walker also would have been aware that southern whites had some knowledge of and anxiety about this yoking of religion and rebellion within black southern culture. Furthermore, he would have known, especially after having lived in Boston for a few years, that northern whites lacked this first-hand knowledge of southern culture. What I propose is that in putting together a document intent on stoking white southern fear, Walker brought to bear on his rhetorical strategy this knowledge of how his text likely would be received in northern and southern states. Herein lies the text's power.

Walker commingles what northern readers would have identified as the language of religious fanaticism with the language of black militancy. Specifically, incorporating markers of religious fanaticism would enable Walker to circulate the pamphlet more freely in the northern states, as the Boston mayor seems to indicate, for the explosion of

print culture, including the publication and distribution of reform and religious literature, was underway; the *Appeal'*s overwhelming religious overtones, in other words, would signal to northern whites that it was just another religious tract. The indications of religious fanaticism, therefore, would be just enough cover to afford it unimpeded circulation among the northern states' free black population. Without over determining the *Appeal*'s history and strategy, this conjecture offers one possible approach for thinking about the document's relationship to its readers and culture.

As Hinks explains, southern black culture established and benefited from extensive underground communication networks. These networks would enable the harboring and dissemination of revolutionary print materials, such as Walker's pamphlet. Because northern states lacked such an established underground network, if a document important to black culture were perceived to be threatening to authorities and action were taken to hinder its dissemination, northern African Americans would have had a more difficult time in continuing its circulation. For this reason, Walker's *Appeal* needed to appear innocuous to northern white authorities, and the marks of religious fanaticism—a strategic fanaticism—provided such a cover.

In contradistinction, it was on the heels of the Vesey conspiracy (1822), which had been well-publicized in southern print, that southern states came into knowledge of Walker's text circulating within their borders. Because Vesey had been described as a religious fanatic, white southerners were well-prepared to identify black religious language as threatening black rhetoric when they saw it—or even just heard about it. Fully aware that his text would strike terror in southern whites, Walker hoped that the terror would work persuasively even as it clandestinely circulated among and

emboldened the southern black population. Alternatively publicly dismissed as religious fanaticism and invoked to support legislation to suppress incendiary literature, Walker's text garnered whites' attention. The document, composed with attention to the workings of white fear, eluded easy classification, and thus achieved one of its main goals—the exploitation of white fear.

The New Common Sense Rhetoric and *The Columbian Orator*

Despite these indications from print culture that the *Appeal* elicited strong, emotional reactions, discussion of the role of emotion in the *Appeal* tends to focus on the author's personal expression of emotion. Linda M. Grasso, for example, in analyzing Maria W. Stewart's rhetoric, briefly mentions Walker's expression of anger as an influence after which Stewart modeled her own (104-5). Hinks discusses the workings of emotion in the *Appeal* in terms of Walker's efforts to control his own "emotional volatility," claiming that at times "his outrage seemed to bring him dangerously close to losing control" (212). "Indeed," Hinks continues, "the entire *Appeal* embodied a constant wrestling with powerful emotions that were always threatening to overwhelm Walker" (212). In emphasizing, instead, the *Appeal*'s affect-focused rhetorical strategy, I echo the insight that Marcy J. Dinius arrives at in her examination of Walker's radical typography. Underscoring the relevance of performance as well as Walker's "writerly experience of the Romantic sublime" to understanding the working of emotion in the *Appeal*, Dinius underscores that "Walker may not be as close to the brink [of being overwhelmed with emotion] as he seems" (60).

Surprisingly little effort has been made to situate Walker's fear-based rhetoric within the context of antebellum conversations about suasion. As I delineate in the introduction, conversations about suasion, in particular emotional appeals, took shape in a number of venues, including the print cultures particular to reform movements, Protestant sectarianism, and pro-slavery ideology. The efforts to catalyze fear within these rhetorical cultures—and the debates that they set in motion—points to a common source: developments in rhetorical theory born of the Scottish Enlightenment referred to as Common Sense rhetoric, which came to dominate rhetorical education in the United States for much of the nineteenth century. Though some scholars of sentimentalism have noted to varying degrees the impact of the new rhetoric on the literary uses of sympathy evident in slave narratives, abolition speeches, and sentimental novels, less attention has been given to the relationship of the new rhetoric to the increasingly militant rhetoric evident in Walker's text and subsequent abolitionist writings or to the increasingly vehement pro-slavery rhetoric.[18] The appearance of militant and increasingly vehement rhetoric, in fact, tends to be discussed as a foregone conclusion, an inevitability that developed as a result of exasperation with the ineffectiveness of moral suasion for abolitionists and with what was perceived to be increasing northern aggression for apologists of southern slavery.[19]

Sympathy, to be sure, is considered the antebellum affect of choice. Associating the literary output of a historical period with a particular affect no doubt fulfills some organizational and conceptual purposes. Moreover, affect regularly orders our understanding of literary genres and forms. As Philip Fisher explains, "Key passions determine genres or literary kinds; large and ordered systems of aesthetic practices that

generate the form of the whole. Elegy is a literary kind determined by mourning or grief" (8). But the assumption that sympathy constitutes *the* affect of the antebellum period necessarily occludes as much as it reveals. Texts of black militancy, for example, fit into this framework primarily as resistant texts, and the problem of the binary "dominant versus resistant" literature is one the introduction takes up. Acknowledging the role of another key affect in animating the period's literary output enables the generative power of a minority text to become evident as the following chapters attest.

Whether hinging on sympathy or threat, the rhetorics of sentimentalism, black militancy, and some iterations of pro-slavery argument share in common a heightened appeal to emotion that the new rhetoric privileged. Though an articulation of the value of emotional appeals to persuasion is by no means new to eighteenth-century rhetorical theory, these "new rhetoric" theorists, most visibly George Campbell, applied the insights of contemporary empiricism to lend scientific credibility to a mainstay of classical rhetoric—acknowledgement of the persuasive power of emotional appeals. The new rhetoric, then, can been seen as an attempt to scientifically legitimate the insights of classical rhetoric. But in the process, these theorists came to argue that the passions and imagination occupy a much more central role in the persuasive process than traditional rhetoric had allowed.[20]

In classical rhetoric, as articulated by rhetoric scholar Arthur E. Walzer, rhetoric is conceived as a "compositional art" in which the orator/writer turns to rhetoric for "an arsenal for the art of verbal combat"; in this conceptualization, most famously articulated by Aristotle, the writer occupies the central focus of rhetorical theory ("Rhetoric" 690). In the early seventeenth century Francis Bacon shifted the "site for study of and

theorizing about persuasion" to the audience (Walzer, "Rhetoric" 690). His *Advancement of Learning* (1605) puts forth a conception of rhetoric that notes its usefulness in studying the mind, classifying it alongside other sciences. Republishing an expanded version of *Advancement* in 1623, Bacon articulates persuasion as "'negotiation' within hearers" (qtd. in Walzer, "Rhetoric" 690).

Bacon would influence George Campbell and Hugh Blair, the principle rhetoricians responsible for articulating the theory of the New Common Sense rhetoric in the late eighteenth century. Campbell in particular would take Bacon's focus on audience farther still so that "rhetoric becomes a principle site of an emerging science of discourse reception" (Walzer, "Rhetoric" 689-90). In his book on Campbell, Walzer writes that Campbell's theory "would examine rhetoric from the perspective of reception, not as an art of composing in the manner of classical rhetoric" (*George Campbell* 4). Activating the passions, according to Campbell, is key to moving an audience to action, for "passion is the mover to action" (83). More than claiming that "when persuasion is the end, passion also must be engaged," Campbell goes so far as to characterize the audience as nearly powerless to combat rhetorical appeals to emotion (82). Rhetors, he advises, should activate the faculty of imagination in order to "rous[e] the passions," whereby the address will work on the audience much like a "magical spell, [which] hurries them [listeners], ere they are aware, into love, pity, grief, terror, desire, aversion, fury, or hatred" (13). When a rhetor combines the "argumentative and the pathetic," however, his success in persuading the audience is further assured, for doing so "procures the speaker an irresistible power over the thoughts and purposes of his audience" (13-14).

Most discussions of Campbell's influence on nineteenth-century rhetorical practice concern the use of sympathy, and with good reason for Campbell discusses sympathy at length. However, his interest in the passions has implications for persuasive discourse beyond the realm of sympathy. In Campbell's examination of the process whereby pleasure is derived from encountering representations, objects, or orations that provoke "painful feelings," he concludes that "pain of every kind generally makes a deeper impression on the imagination than pleasure does, and is longer retained by the memory" (131). [21] Although this theory of painful feelings most directly concerns his discussion of sympathy, it also has implications for the persuasive power of fear at work in Walker's *Appeal*.

In noting the power of appeals to terror and fear, Campbell signals his own interest in emotional appeals outside of the context of the production of sympathy. Focusing specifically on persuasive rhetoric, Campbell underscores that while passions yield varying effects, all passions "intended to operate on the will" are pertinent to "suasory discourses," including "fear." As a passion that can "deject the mind" and "indispose it for enterprise," "fear," according to Campbell, numbers among like passions, including "sorrow" and "shame," that are "inert and torpid." Despite fear's torpidity, rhetors should not refrain from using it, especially when "dissuading" is the objective (15).

In his chapter on "the different kinds of public speaking," Campbell returns to the subject of appeals to fear. The first section of this chapter, "In Regard to the Speaker," distinguishes between the role of preacher and magistrate, arguing that the latter has more use for rhetorical fear: "The first operates chiefly on our love, the second on our fear.

Minister of religion, like angel of God, is a name that ought to convey the idea of something endearing and attractive: whereas the title *minister of justice* invariably suggests the notion of something awful and unrelenting." Accordingly, Campbell goes on to advise the preacher to foreground "affection" toward sinners even in "setting before his people the terrors of the Lord," whereas magistrates need not temper their language (104).

On the one hand, I want to suggest that Campbell's discussion of the role of fear in persuasion indicates his acknowledgment that fear could be put to ends other than cultivating sympathy. On the other, Campbell allocates minimal space for discussion of the very particular uses rhetors might have for fear. Thus, it would make sense for nineteenth-century rhetors to have a fairly solid grounding in Campbell's general theory of the passions without knowing what he says specifically about fear—for example, that it is most useful for dissuading. Those nineteenth-century rhetors who sought to catalyze fear, including Walker, very likely would have seen their rhetorical strategy as in keeping with Campbell's claims about the role of the passions in persuasive discourse.

The degree of Walker's familiarity with rhetorical theory cannot be known. Though free from birth, Walker would not have had access to public schools in North Carolina. Hinks notes, however, that a North Carolina law in place until 1838 stipulated that all those employing apprentices—regardless of race—were to teach them to read and write. This might explain his learning, but we have no knowledge of whether Walker held an apprenticeship or of the type of employment he held in the South. Another possibility is that Walker may have received mentoring from an "autonomous black organization" focused on educating slaves, something like the one that emerged in Wilmington in 1723,

which resulted in noteworthy literacy among blacks in that area (Hinks 13). What Hinks calls "an educational network of sorts" in place during the eighteenth century "could have continued undetected among the slaves in their communities" (15). At any rate, Walker may have received some education via participation in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Wilmington, North Carolina, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina (Burrow 13).

Though we cannot establish that Walker was familiar with the rhetorical theories of George Campbell and Hugh Blair, given that we know little about the nature of his education, the popularity of the New rhetoric lends credibility to the notion. The general public had access to rhetorical theory via conversations about it that were published in the form of pamphlets, newspapers, and minutes of literary societies' meetings. As Bacon and McClish demonstrate, participants in Philadelphia's African American reading societies regularly discussed rhetorical principles, in particular those associated with Campbell and Blair, and excerpts of these discussions were published in *Freedom's Journal* and the *Liberator* as well as in pamphlet form (20-2).

Furthermore, though we have no concrete evidence, Hinks conjectures that Walker likely resided briefly in Philadelphia after leaving South Carolina and before settling in Boston. Were Walker to have done so, we can assume that he would have been in contact with the city's Augustine Society, a black literary society founded in 1817, the extant documents of which indicate the society's investment in rhetorical education and contemporary rhetorical theory (Bacon and McClish 20). Though most African American literary societies in Philadelphia were established in the late 1820s and 1830s, after Walker had taken up residence in Boston (by 1825), the Augustine Society is an

exception, and it is safe to assume that if Walker did in fact reside in Philadelphia, he would have sought the intellectual fellowship the organization offered and thereby would have encountered the new rhetorical theory.

While George Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776) and Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783) were the most popular and enduring treatises on rhetoric in antebellum U.S. rhetorical education, Caleb Bingham's *The Columbian Orator* (1797) and other primers disseminated the New Common Sense rhetoric among the broader American population. In the *Columbian Orator*, for example, one finds a compilation of texts, including eighteenth-century excerpts, such as Blair's, born of the Common Sense rhetoric. Given that the *Columbian Orator* was the most widely available primer during the early nineteenth-century and through the years leading to the Civil War, I turn to it in considering how the Common Sense rhetoric shaped the development of rhetorical techniques among antebellum groups, which generated conversations about their ethics and efficacy.

A collection of excerpts and full-text selections of speeches, dialogues, and poetry from ancient Greece and Rome, biblical texts, and the late eighteenth century, *The Columbian Orator* privileges not only emotional appeals but also appeals to fear specifically. The introduction advises that "the orator's province is not barely to apply to the mind, but likewise to the passions; which require a great variety of the voice, high or low, vehement or languid, according to the nature of the passions he designs to affect" (5, 12). The focus on shaping one's oration according to audience, in fact, leads Caleb Bingham to characterize "eloquence" as a force that renders those who encounter it powerless to desist (7). He thus echoes George Campbell's conceptualization of effective

rhetoric as having the force to move the audience unawares to experience those passions intended by the rhetor. Bingham underscores the importance of the orator's "countenance" for acting on the audience in a number of ways, including "threaten[ing]" them (16). Not only does Bingham's introduction recognize the value to oratory of emotional appeals, but also several of the selections hinge on biblical appeals to divine vengeance and apocalyptic warnings, a few in the context of promoting abolition.[22]

One of the *Columbian Orator*'s selections in particular, an anonymous "Dialogue Between a Master and Slave," models an approach to suasion that bears some similarity to the primer's many apocalyptic religious texts insofar as it concludes with a warning: in this case it is "merciless" slaves, rather than God, who are bent on vengeance.[23] After effectively persuading the master to grant his freedom by arguing that he never gave "consent" to enslavement, the slave has the final word, which warrants quoting at length:

> Now that I am indeed your servant, though not your slave. And as the first return I can make for your *kindness*, I will tell you freely the condition in which you live. You are surrounded with implacable foes, who long for a safe opportunity to revenge upon you and the other planters all the miseries they have endured. The more generous their natures, the more indignant they feel against the cruel injustice which has dragged them hither, and doomed them to perpetual servitude. You can rely on no *kindness* on your part, to soften the obduracy of their resentment. You have reduced them to the state of brute beasts; and if they have not the stupidity of beasts of burden, they must have the ferocity of beasts of prey. Superior force alone can give you security. As soon as that fails, you are at the mercy of the merciless. Such is the social bond between master and

slave! (211-212, emphasis added)

Coded as a "return" for a "kindness," this appeal to fear actually comes after the slave's successful efforts to persuade the master to manumit him. Via warning the master of the eventual eruption of slave violence, the newly manumitted slave now seeks to advance the cause of emancipation by exploiting the master class's fear of slaves' presumed beastly and violent nature along with their desire for revenge. Similar to Walker's claim that "the blacks, once you get them started, they glory in death," the former slave's final remarks enlist a rhetorical strategy of attempting to persuade by calling forth and playing upon latent fears (25). Though the results of this tactic are left unaddressed, insofar as the dialogue concludes without the master's response, Bingham certainly offers the rhetorical maneuvers—both of the slave and the newly freed slave—as strategies to model.

While the dialogue models for students the persuasive power of appeals to fear, the freed slave's final words also could be read as having the undesired effect of furthering white southern intransigence. The repetition of "kindness," specifically, injects ambiguity. Having already identified the granting of freedom a "kindness" that the master has bestowed on him, the manumitted slave almost immediately goes on to say that "no kindness" will be able to work against the hardened "resentment" of the "implacable foes" who desire "revenge." In other words, the appeal to fear could have the effect of compelling the master (and the general master class) to cling to the "superior force" that the former slave identifies as providing "security." Though certainly not the lesson in eloquence the primer intends to provide, the former slave's turn to fear as a persuasive strategy, I want to argue, invites the possibility of unintended results—namely, the entrenchment of fears of black revenge that would work against the cause of abolition.

Awareness that rhetorical fear could work against the rhetor's intentions was not lost on Walker or other writers of fiction to follow, as the subsequent chapters address. In this sense, John Ernest is only partially correct in the claim that the *Appeal* had "immediate historical power, if uncertain effects" (48). For as the following two chapters attest, other writers would take up Walker's rhetorical strategy, their novels demonstrating that a conversation about southern futurity, rhetoric, and affect would persist into the 1850s.

In short, the *Appeal* puts Bingham's rhetorical strategies into practice, but the intensity of its language and the service to which it puts such practices tests their limits. Walker himself remarks, "This language, perhaps is too harsh for the American's delicate ears" (40). Walker's pamphlet, in its focus on eliciting affective orientations from multiple audiences, pushes the principles underpinning the Common Sense rhetoric as modeled in the *Columbian Orator* to their extremes, and the debate Walker's text spurred in the antebellum period is as much about its rhetorical modes as it is about the presumed audacity of its argument—the entitlement of African Americans to the United States and their willingness to fight for it.

End Notes

[1] Hinks and Aptheker have produced the most important monographs on the *Appeal*, while a number of articles within the discipline of American and Southern history have charted the *Appeal*'s impact on specific southern states. See articles by Hasan Crockett, Clement Eaton, and Marshall Rachleff.

[2] Hinks underscores that Walker "brought to the North the clear notion that armed black resistance founded on the Word of God and on the underground organizational structures already existing among many blacks in the South was possible," designating the *Appeal* as "its era's paradigm of the extent to which the Southern African American culture of resistance and rebellious religion had come to merge with the flowering Northern culture of moral improvement" (198).

[3] Whereas Howard-Pitney connects Walker to an African American rhetorical tradition extending into the twentieth century, Moses links Walker to the history of the African American jeremiad that he sees as drawing to a close with the Civil War.

[4] For a recent discussion of the rise of print culture, see Trish Loughran's *The Republic in Print* (2009) where she makes the case that the explosion of print culture that came with the 1830s, 40s, and 50s, rather than solidifying American nationalism, actually rendered the dissensus over national belonging—evident in debates about slavery and regional difference—more visible.

[5] It is important to note that I make a distinction between militant and jeremiadic writing. Because my focus is on rhetorical strategy, I use "militant" to denote *explicit* calls for human violence. Though some scholars designate African American writings that reference the Haitian Revolution as "militant" insofar as it can be deduced that such texts subtly imply to white readers that a similar fate awaits them, I want to underscore in my analysis of the *Appeal* the rhetorical distinction between explicit calls for violence and general references to the Haitian Revolution or other historical events involving black revolutionary activity that could be anxiety-inducing for whites. I use "jeremiad" to mean references to divine judgment, which often involves violent language. Despite the harsh language, African American deployments of the jeremiad need not accompany endorsements of violent resistance and, in fact, as a literary tradition that dates to the late eighteenth century, the African American jeremiad has a history of going hand-in-hand with calls for black patience and long-suffering; see, for example, Robert Alexander Young's "Ethiopian Manifesto" (1829).

[6] Hinks's examples include the contribution of anonymous essayist "Othello" to *The American Museum* in 1788 and Prince Hall's "A Charge Delivered to the African Lodge, June 24, 1797, at Menotomy" (174-7).

[7] Likewise, Hinks pinpoints a text by Nathaniel Paul, which appeared in *Freedom's Journal* on August 10, 1827, as sharing the *Appeal*'s emphasis on the "essential

interrelatedness of exploited blacks throughout the world." But Paul's text lacks the "vehemence" of Walker's (179). And though the *Appeal* bears some similarity to the denunciation of slavery and call for black unity evident in Robert Alexander Young's *Ethiopian Manifesto*, which was published in New York City only a few months before the *Appeal*, Walker "would have vehemently disagreed with its caution against resistance" (180).

[8] "A Charge Delivered to the African Lodge, June 24, 1797, at Mentomy" is collected in *Pamphlets of Protest: An Anthology of Early African-American Protest Literature, 1790-1860*, edited by Richard Newman, Patrick Rael, and Philip Lapsansky (2001).

[9] Parrott's oration is collected in *Pamphlets of Protest: An Anthology of Early African-American Protest Literature, 1790-1860*.

[10] To clarify, I do not contend that Walker is unique for linking Protestant Christianity to black resistance. As Hinks underscores, "the entire *Appeal*—both its arguments and form—were deeply influenced by the Southern tradition of linking calls for slave resistance with Christian doctrine and biblical imagery. This was a practice that reached well into the eighteenth century but became particularly pronounced by the 1790s as revolutionary doctrine merged with the evangelicalism swirling about the South" (194-5). Walker draws upon a "doctrine of religion and rebellion that by 1831 was well established" as evidenced in the attempted militant activities of Gabriel Prosser, the rebels of 1802, and Denmark Vesey (232). The southern legislative response to Nat Turner's rebellion would curb the degree to which resistance could be plotted from within black churches, for the mobility and freedoms of black preachers were radically reduced. My focus on persuasion and, more specifically, on Walker's rhetorical strategy of appealing to fear, however, leads me to conclude that Walker's method of directly addressing a white audience with threats of both divine and black vengeance marks an innovation in rhetoric.

[11] In his *A Concise View of the Critical Situation, and Future Prospects of the Slave-holding States, in Relation to their Coloured Population* (1825), Whitemarsh tackles abolitionist arguments, including the claim that God would appoint a black militant to orchestrate rebellion should slaveholders refuse to do away with slavery: "From these sources, ['the pulpit and the bar, the press and the legislative hall'] it has been asserted, that slavery contradicts the primary principles of our government; that our slaves are wretched, and their wretchedness ought to be alleviated; that they are dangerous to the community, and this danger ought to be removed; and, that if the evils attendant on the circumstances of our black population, are not speedily eradicated, God, in his righteous judgment, will raise up Touissaint, or a Spartacus, or an African Tecumseh, to demand by what authority we hold them in subjection" (4).

[12] Moses finds it "likely that much of the black messianic oratory and most of the pamphlets that spoke of divine retribution were produced for the benefit of whites, although ostensibly directed towards black audiences. The attempts of the slave states to

ban black writing and preaching were aimed mainly at curbing the flow of seditious ideas, but they also represented the characteristic attempt by racists to close their own eyes and ears" (37-8). Addressing Walker's *Appeal* specifically, Moses writes that "although it is addressed to blacks, it obviously has a message for whites" (38).

[13] See the second chapter of Bacon's *The First African-American Newspaper*: Freedom's Journal. See also Elizabeth McHenry's *Forgotten Readers* for an extensive study of the many forms reading took in African American communities.

[14] For a more thorough discussion of the narrative accompanying the Denmark Vesey trial, see the chapter on Walker's *Appeal* in Robert Levine's *Dislocating Race and Nation*.

[15] Georgia, for example, prohibited the entrance of free blacks into its ports. See Robert H. Abzug's *Cosmos Crumbling* (147).

[16] Hinks alerted me to the importance of southern networks and to the significance of Walker's southern experience more generally, experience that made Walker aware that means were available for his pamphlet to circulate in the South. I want to augment Hinks' compelling points by suggesting not only that Walker was aware of these southern networks, but also that he was aware that southern whites had anxieties about their presence, just as he would have been aware that northern whites had little familiarity with them. Taking into account the knowledge that southern experience would have afforded Walker enables us to make sense of southern reactions to his text, as Hinks highlights, but also of northern reactions. Moreover, doing so enables us to probe Walker's rhetorical strategy in interesting ways: namely, how did his awareness of distinctions in regional knowledge inform how he deployed rhetorical strategies that sought to orchestrate mutually-reinforcing audience responses?

[17] "Letter to the Editor." Liberator 30 April 1831: 69.

[18] With respect to sentimental novels, see Elizabeth Barnes's *States of Sympathy: Seduction and Democracy in the American Novel* (1997) and June Howard's article (in *American Literary History,* 11.1 [1999]: 63-81) "What is Sentimentality?" which calls for more attention to the impact of the Scottish Enlightenment's philosophy and rhetorical theory on literary uses of sentimentality in American fiction. For a discussion of abolitionist oratory, see also Silvia Xavier's "Engaging George Campbell's Sympathy in the Rhetoric of Charlotte Forten and Ann Plato, African-American Women of the Antebellum North" (*Rhetoric Review* 24.4 [2005]: 438-56).

[19] Without attending to the potential influence of the New Common Sense rhetoric, David Blight and Jacqueline Bacon do give attention to the rhetorical strategies at work in abolitionist discourse. Focusing on the philosophy of Common Sense realism, Maurice S. Lee discusses Frederick Douglass's oratory, but he characterizes Douglass's more vehement language—as evidenced in his "What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?"—as

that which "most commonsense thinkers could not abide," citing Hugh Blair's advice that orators take into account what the audience can bear (124).

[20] See Arthur E. Walzer's *George Campbell: Rhetoric in the Age of Enlightenment*. Walzer underscores the continuity between classical rhetoric and the Common Sense rhetoric, while also highlighting the innovations to rhetorical theory that an intensified focus on audience brought.

[21] In observing someone else experience a terrifying situation, one could feel both sympathy for the person involved and terrified one's self. But if an orator attempts to persuade one by warning of future violence, sympathy has no role, for the painful feeling (fear) experienced concerns one's self.

[22] These include Young's "On the Day of Judgment," Dwight's "On the General Judgment Day," and Everett's "General Description of America, Extract from a poem spoken at Dartmouth College, on Commencement Day, 1795" along with his "The Last Day, Extract from a Manuscript Poem."

[23] See François Furstenberg's *In the Name of the Father: Washington's Legacy, Slavery, and the Making of a Nation* (2006) for a compelling analysis of the slave's pre-manumission rhetorical strategy, which according to the author, harkens the understanding of citizenship as rooted in "consent" prevalent in the early republic (187-9).

Chapter Two

"Strong Language":

Caroline Hentz's Dialogue with Militant Abolition in *The Planter's Northern Bride*

With sectional tensions over slavery and the South's future mounting during the 1850s, increasing numbers of writers entered the discursive fray, using literature, especially the novel, as a mode of persuasion. Although an abundance of periodicals, autobiographies, novels, poetry, orations, and sermons that engaged these issues saw print during the 1850s, conversation had reached the point of exhaustion with the various camps merely reiterating their respective positions. As Maurice Lee explains, "…slavery became an increasingly difficult topic as the country reached a terrible stasis in which no one knew what to say" (89). Despite the general lack of new argument entering the public sphere during these years, public discourse *sounds* different—more acrimonious and contemptuous—an observation made by antebellum commentators as well as subsequent scholars of the period's rhetoric. In fact, scholars of abolition and anti-abolition rhetoric have referred to this development as an intensification of "tone" or a heightening of "pitch."[1] As early as 1835, William Thomas's *The Enemies of the Constitution Discovered* had indicted abolitionists and anti-abolition extremists alike for their "inflammatory" rhetoric, singling out anti-abolition "agitators" for their "incendiary meetings and publications," which sought to induce an "insurrection among the slave-holders, and a dissolution of the union" (3). The tenor of public debate continued to intensify so much so that by the 1850s, articles in newspapers and magazines discussing (and usually bemoaning) the prevalence of "harsh language"—attributed to William

Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, and other "fanatical" abolitionists as well as to anti-abolitionists—began to appear in profusion.[2]

Emotional Rhetoric, Irascible Southerners

Contemporaries as well as subsequent critics of the rhetoric deployed in the slavery debates have characterized it as an extension of the rhetors' frame of mind while making distinctions based on region.[3] In terms of white southern rhetoric, commentators have pointed to a regional investment in an oratory whose "characteristic emotionalism" always had accommodated vehement language (Levander 80). To be sure, Alexis de Tocqueville is not alone in describing southerners as "ardent" and "irascible" (382). Given that commentators dating to the colonial period have remarked on the disposition of southerners—as more rowdy, temperamental, and prone to excitability as well as violence than their northern counterparts—it comes as no surprise that these well-worn assessments of southern character also would inform assessments of and explanations for the region's rhetoric.[4] Referencing Thomas Jefferson's well-known description of southerners, Caroline Levander recently has transferred his description of the region's people to account for the region's oratory, writing that southern rhetoric of the nineteenth century "[d]irectly reflect[ed] the 'voluptuous' and 'fiery' character of the region" (78). If in 1879 Walt Whitman would blame the Civil War on the "incendiarism of the abolitionists," he also would attribute the violence to southern character, deploring the "hot passions of the South" (1037).[5] At mid-century W. J. Cash would claim that in the "thirty years before the ultimate resort to arms," southerners waged battle with "a rhetoric that every day became less and less a form of speech strictly and more and more a direct

instrument of emotion, like music" (79).[6] In short, expressing the emotional intensity surrounding the issues that led to growing division between northern and southern states during the years leading up to the Civil War, white southerners allegedly ratcheted up an already well-established tendency to use fiery language that stemmed from an innate—or climate-induced—proclivity for emoting to excess.[7]

But in approaching emotional appeals as reflections of a writer's temperament or emotional state, one runs the risk of treating observations in rhetoric as foregone conclusions undeserving of contextualization. Instead, I approach emotional appeals—specifically appeals to fear—as rhetorical efforts to elicit emotion from the audience in order to persuade. As I establish in the introduction, the domestic novelist addressed in this chapter, Caroline Hentz, as well as the two writers featured in the following chapter, Harriet Beecher Stowe and Martin R. Delany, were working within the rhetorical tradition of the New Common Sense rhetoric, which placed a heightened focus on eliciting emotion from the audience. While scholarship has placed appeals to sympathy marking rhetoric deployed in the slavery debates within the context of the New Common Sense rhetoric, the more vehement rhetoric has not been placed within the same—or any—critical framework.[8]

The line of thought that associates antebellum white southern *rhetoric* with emotional *excess* also conversely has linked white southern *literature* of the period with emotional *repression*; in both cases, the author's emotion remains the focus. Critics plumb plantation romances, specifically, for indications that the writers attempt to palliate their underlying fear of slaves and free blacks, which stands in for the collective emotion of the region's whites. These analyses concomitantly tend to characterize

depictions of maroons and references to slave revolt primarily as the efforts of white southern writers to grapple with and allay their own repressed fears. According to William Tynes Cowan, "Those southern writers who created a sense of dread through images of insurrection did so in order to overcome that fear that must have been prevalent among southern slaveholders" (141). Focusing on the fate of rebellious slaves within these novels, Cowan argues that their deaths, banishment, or subsequent regret of their actions allows the authors to call forth anxieties in order to contain them. While this mode of analysis—approaching white-authored texts as efforts to confront and excise unwieldy emotions or as betraying emotion that the authors tried to conceal—undoubtedly offers insights, it has come to dominate contextualization of plantation romances. It has occluded, in fact, other possibilities for conceptualizing antebellum white-authored literature and, as I will show, for charting how black- and white-authored literatures have engaged one another.

Instead of approaching the recalcitrant slaves of plantation romances as attempts to palliate the writers' own personal fear of slaves, I consider them as part of the writer's rhetorical efforts to catalyze fear in readers in order to persuade. I frame Caroline Hentz's plantation romance, *The Planter's Northern Bride* (1854), specifically, as a persuasion-driven text whose aesthetics were significantly informed by the writer's desire to warn readers of a violent future and convince them to embrace her vision for the South. In this chapter and the following one, I complicate some commonplace explanations for the vehement and strident tone marking public debates that took shape in print culture in the antebellum years, turning to three 1850s' novels that ruminate on the power and pitfalls of fear-based suasion in their efforts to persuade readers to embrace their distinctive

visions for the South. All three novels—Hentz's *The Planter's Northern Bride,* Stowe's *Dred; A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp* (1856), and Delany's *Blake; or the Huts of America: a Tale of the Mississippi Valley*, *the Southern United States, and Cuba* (1859-1862)—signal an engagement with the rhetoric deployed in the pamphlet addressed in chapter one, David Walker's *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (1829), a text that called for black militancy, addressed whites directly with threats of future violence, and provoked legislation banning seditious literature in several southern states.[9] Though authors writing in the 1850s either to defend slavery (such as Hentz) or to contest it (including Stowe and Delany) no doubt adapted their rhetoric to respond to the increasing hostility toward their respective platforms, I de-naturalize the turn to more vehement rhetoric. Attending to the fear-rousing strategies and ruminations on rhetorically-induced fear at work in these novels not only enables us to circumvent the dead-end assumption that emotional appeals primarily tell us about the writer's psychology but also illuminates cross-regional and cross-racial dialogues about southern futurity, fear, and rhetoric.

Most known for its response to Harriet Beecher Stowe's depiction of the South and slavery in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), *The Planter's Northern Bride* uses a love story between southern planter Russell Moreland and one of the daughters of a prominent abolitionist whom Moreland meets while on a trip to the North, Eula Hastings, to bring into contact abolitionist and anti-abolitionist proponents so as to showcase their verbal sparring. Overcoming abolitionist prejudice against southern slaveholders to earn Hastings' marriage blessing and countering Eula's fear of slaves generated, inadvertently, by her father's tales of southern horror occupy Moreland's time and drive the plot. The novel stages the failures of fear-based suasion, but the plot itself hinges on frightening

readers with a glimpse of the future that the circulation of abolitionist rhetoric threatens—collective black violence—with the novel's culminating in the uncovering of plans for slave revolt. Moreover, the narrator—in an extended auctorial address marked by excessive violent imagery that envisions a slave revolt having come to pass—deploys the type of fear-based rhetorical strategy that the narrative cautions against. Thus, while Hentz warns against the effects of abolitionist rhetoric, she adapts it to her own ends.

Before her very popular response to Stowe went to press, Hentz already had established a readership with the publication of domestic fiction—five novels and some short fiction. In fact, her second novel *Linda; or, The Young Pilot of the Belle Creole* (1850) saw thirteen editions within two years. A native of Massachusetts, Hentz and her husband moved in 1826 to North Carolina where he took a job teaching at the university in Chapel Hill before the couple began the process of moving from state to state, founding and running girls' schools, mostly in the South. During their brief stint in Cincinnati from 1832-1834, Hentz participated in a writing group that counted Stowe among its members.[10] With a husband whose health by 1849 was compromised, leaving him unable to work, Hentz would begin supporting her spouse and four children through writing. Continuing to write until her death in 1856, with *Ernest Linwood* appearing that year, Hentz set most of her fiction in the South.[11]

In a letter to her publisher, Abraham Hart, Hentz articulates her desire to pen a refutation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. "There shall be no *Cabin* in [*The Planter's Northern Bride*] most assuredly," she assures him; "The public have had enough for one century" (qtd. in Moss 107).[12] The attention Hentz's novel has received, primarily as the most important of the anti-Tom novels, however, has been both narrow and limited.[13] By

keeping the focus on its response to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, scholars have overlooked its relationship to other texts interested in the South's future, particularly texts of the black militant tradition. By placing *The Planter's Northern Bride* in a rhetorical framework, I depart from the focus on the emotion of white southern authors to which I have alluded, for it has foreclosed the ways in which we conceptualize the literary relationships between white and black antebellum writers. The focus, for example, on antebellum white-authored texts as betraying that the writers were haunted by black militants, such as David Walker, forecloses the possibility of imagining that white writers engaged Walker *as a writer*. While noting Walker's influence on abolitionist and African American literary histories and the anxieties his text would have aroused for whites in general, scholarship—generally speaking—has inadvertently overlooked the possible influence of his text on white-authored texts, which is indicative of how the relationships between antebellum black- and white-authored texts have been ignored. The focus on white writers' affective orientations, I propose, enables this shortsightedness. These analyses tend to reach a cul-de-sac in which one inevitably arrives at the conclusion that someone like Walker *surely must have been* a haunting presence for someone like Hentz. Thus, black writers become typecast as ghosts.

In his excellent study of nineteenth-century American literary nationalisms, Robert S. Levine nonetheless makes this sort of conjecture. He cites "Toni Morrison's famous formulation" to indicate that Walker's text, "may have been a shaping presence behind the white sectional nationalisms of the 1830s and 1840s, whether in the South or New England. It is significant in this regard that both [Catherine Marie] Sedgwick and [Nathaniel Beverly] Tucker…[seem to have been] haunted by Walker, Vesey, Nat

Turner, and the general specter of black revolutionism."[14] Levine goes on to say that "Walker was of course a more obvious shaping influence on subsequent African American writing" (113). The categorization of Walker as embodiment of "the general specter of black revolutionism" overlooks the possibility that Walker's ideas and writing—not just the threat that his person (an angry African American) and writing (proof of African American anger marshaled into eloquence and possible future revolution) represented—has had a generative influence on white-authored texts.[15]

Shifting the emphasis—from the writer's state of mind to the writer's strategy for persuading readers—enables us to reach different conclusions about some of the period's literature, including Hentz's plantation romance. In charting rhetorical practices, I entertain the idea that Walker's *Appeal* functioned not merely as a terror but as a text implementing a specific rhetorical strategy that subsequent white writers have engaged and implemented.[16]

Moral Suasion, Violent Suasion

In order to chart in this chapter Hentz's (and in the following chapter, Stowe's and Delany's) utilization of a fear-based suasion, I first turn to critical deployments of the term *moral suasion*. Most often attributed to William Lloyd Garrison, it is associated with northern reform (primarily abolition but also temperance and other reform movements), non-violence, appeals to conscience and religious beliefs, and discourses of sympathy. Consequently, much scholarship makes a sharp distinction between moral suasion and black militancy, aligning Garrison with moral suasion and David Walker

with militancy.[17] However, moral suasion always had accommodated violent language as I will demonstrate briefly, using Garrison's rhetoric as an example.

Although moral suasion is a term used to describe the tactics of antebellum reform, Hentz's anti-abolition domestic novel also employs a rhetoric that is worth thinking of as a form of moral suasion. Specifically, she appeals to whites' conscience and religious beliefs to deter them from harboring or expressing abolitionist sentiments, and she warns of an undesirable outcome—a future South beset by collective black violence—as the culmination of continued immoral behavior. Once we place more emphasis on the violent imagery and the range of rhetorical appeals—including appeals to fear—involved in moral suasion as well as recognize that it could be adapted by apologists for slavery, it becomes clear that making hard and fast distinctions between the rhetoric of the various schools of abolitionist thought and of slavery apologists has occluded some of the ways their texts borrow from and speak to one another. Although I ultimately distinguish between moral suasion and what I call "violent suasion," the point is that they occupy points on a continuum, rather than constitute entirely distinct rhetorical modes.

With respect to northern reform, nineteenth-century moral suasion, not unlike discourses of sympathy, routinely was couched in the religious terms of relinquishing self-interest: laying aside one's focus on the self in order to consider someone else's situation. Violent suasion, in contrast, operated by explicitly appealing to self-interest. It is true that moral suasion also accommodated appeals to self-interest in terms of prompting the audience to think about their future in the afterlife and sometimes in terms of one's quality of life (as in temperance narratives that warned not only of the

jeopardized status of the soul but also deteriorated health and ultimate death that alcoholic indulgence would bring). But on the whole, moral suasion demonstrated a faith that people, once alerted to the negative impact of an action on others, could be persuaded to recalibrate their opinions and, subsequently, their actions.

Though moral suasion, in asserting the eternal rewards and punishments for sinful behavior, incorporated an implicit appeal to fear—eternal damnation—moral suasionists often explicitly called for the laying aside of fear. While Garrison's 1833 "Declaration of the National Anti-Slavery Convention" is taken as the document that outlines Garrison's moral suasion, his article appearing on July 30, 1831, "What Shall Be Done?" offers an earlier, briefer articulation. In addressing the question of how to bring about the abolition of slavery, he begins by requesting that everyone "discard their criminal prejudices, their timorous fears, and their paralyzing doubts." Identifying "ignorance" as the problem and "information" the solution, Garrison states that once white Americans are made aware of "the horrors of slavery"—horrors experienced by those who are "groaning under the thraldom of slavery"—"they [whites] cannot long act and reason as they now do" (11). Despite Garrison's claim that awareness of the slave's sufferings would compel conversion to abolition, he already had begun to give some credence to the power of appeals to fear before penning "What Shall Be Done?" For making whites aware of the horrors that slavery would generate for themselves as future victims of slave rebellion already had become a regular feature of his writings.

Indeed, Garrison would begin to serve as guest editor of Benjamin Lundy's *The Genius of Universal Emancipation* in September of 1829 (the very month that Walker's *Appeal* would appear), but during that summer he had delivered an oration—his first

major public anti-slavery statement—that illustrates his burgeoning embrace of fear-based suasion by warning of pending national doom. His oration concludes with the warning: "I will say, finally, that I despair of the republic while slavery exists therein. If I look up to God for success, no smile of mercy or forgiveness dispels the gloom of futurity….[H]ow…shall we be able to contend successfully with millions of armed and desperate men, as we must eventually, if slavery do not cease?" ("Address to the Colonization Society," July 4, 1829).[18] His first "To the Public" column for the *Genius*, which appeared a few months later on September 2, 1829, advises in similar terms that only with the liberation of the slaves would the threat of slave revolt dissipate. But it was with the launch of his own paper, *The Liberator*, in January of 1831—after Walker's *Appeal* had gained circulation over the course of the previous fifteen months—that Garrison would begin to invoke images of slave revolt regularly.[19]

Attending to this progression in the rhetoric of Garrison, who never endorsed violent resistance on an individual or collective level, elucidates that moral suasion and the violent suasion that would become prevalent in the writings of 1850s' reformers were never entirely distinct modes of rhetoric. Given the numerous references to the *Appeal* in the *Liberator*, Walker no doubt had a significant impact on Garrison's own antislavery thinking. But even before then, Garrison already had begun to tap the rhetorical power of collective slave violence, invoked as an undesirable outcome, evidence that if the platform of nonviolent abolition could not support *calls for violence*, it could at least find rhetorical incentive in *warnings of violence*.

Along similar lines, slavery apologists' violent rhetoric of the 1850s, rather than indicative of a southern temperament identified by Thomas Jefferson and countless others

as passionate and hot-tempered, actually is consistent with rhetoric appearing earlier in the century and with the rhetorical theory of the era. But, as in the case of abolitionist rhetoric, appeals to fear would attain a more central place in arguments launched during the later antebellum years. Indeed, evocations of slave revolts past—both domestic and foreign—in order to forecast a bloody future ushered in by northern interference are a distinctive feature of slavery apologists' late antebellum rhetoric. Scholarship does demonstrate that southern periodicals became more cautious during the 1830s and through the Civil War in reporting the details of unfolding slave conspiracies. And as Peter P. Hinks notes these periodicals were careful (though there were exceptions) not to reprint lengthy excerpts of incendiary documents, including Walker's *Appeal*. Nonetheless, those defending the southern status quo were not hesitant to conjure images of slave revolts and conspiracies of the past, even very recent past, from Nat Turner's revolt to Denmark Vesey's conspiracy to the Haitian Revolution.[20]

After the Nat Turner revolt in Southampton County Virginia, the state's legislature discussed in 1831-1832 the possible merits of abolishing slavery in the state. Although the debates revealed dissensus among Virginians, the foremost concern undergirding all participants' views was white Virginians' safety; preventing a future St. Domingue or Southampton was the collective goal. References to the Haitian Revolution in particular predominate in these discussions, as Alfred N. Hunt underscores. And Thomas Dew's article reporting and commenting on the Virginia debates, "Abolition of Negro Slavery," which appeared in 1832 in the *American Quarterly Review*, does not refrain from describing the "ghastly horrors of the Southampton tragedy" in its discussion of abolition as ill-advised (191).

After these debates white Virginia emerged more unified in its vigilance against threats to the institution (for it ostensibly secured white safety) and thus more staunch in the white southern rhetorical strategy—dating back to the 1790s—of invoking warnings of collective black violence whenever the need to defend the purported interests of southern states arose. Virginia's example coincides with the general trajectory of southern states as they "began to close ranks as a region and to exclude 'radical' ideology" in the 1830s (Hunt 129). By the late antebellum years, warnings that the circulation of abolitionist sentiments within southern states put whites in danger of black violence had become prevalent. And when the prospect of slave revolt surfaced in apologists' discussions of slavery, rhetors often went to great lengths to conjure horrifying images of race war, frequently utilizing "lurid scenes" of violence and bloodshed to punctuate their point (Hunt 140).

When it comes to rhetoric regarding the future of slavery, one can find scattered references to slave revolt most anywhere, dating back to the earliest arguments addressing the topic. What would change over time was not only the prominence that references to pending slave revolt would attain but also the locus of rhetorical power within those arguments. References to and conjurations of slave revolt began to assume a more central role, indicating that appeals to fear began to compete with—if not take precedence over—appeals to sympathy. David Walker had deployed a fear-based rhetorical strategy, then, that subsequent writers would find efficacious.

Hentz's Ostensible Appeal to Reason

In the preface to *The Planter's Northern Bride*, Hentz alerts readers to her goals, identifying rhetoric and affect as central concerns right away: "When individual or public feeling is too highly wrought on any subject, there must inevitably follow a reaction, and reason, recovering from the effects of transient inebriation, is ready to assert its original sovereignty" (3). Claiming that too much feeling intoxicates and that only a "reaction" rooted in "reason" can bring about sobriety, Hentz promises that the novel will serve a dose of reason rather than catalyze more feeling.

In making such a claim, Hentz signals a desire to distinguish not only her ideas but also the type of connection her rhetoric would forge with the audience from that of abolitionists. As the narrative makes clear, the novel largely blames abolitionist utilization of a no-holds-barred rhetoric for the over-abundance of emotion marking public discourse about slavery and the South, a complaint that had become common by the 1850s. Indeed, by the time Hentz's novel was published in 1854 critics of abolition had begun to decry not merely the stance of immediate abolition but its persuasive tactics. As Maurice S. Lee notes, discussions about slavery had become "a fractious debate that often centered on the proper forms and usages of argument" (124). The role of emotion stood at the center of this debate. In *An Essay on Liberty and Slavery* (1856) Albert Taylor Bledsoe claimed that "the doctrine of liberty" had become "a theme for passionate declamation, rather than of severe analysis or of protracted and patient investigation" (10). In claiming to make "no appeal to passion or to sordid interest, but only to the reason of the wise and the good," Bledsoe sought, as he defended slavery, to separate himself from his ideological opponents in a fashion similar to Hentz (12).

Given this rhetorical climate, it is not surprising that Hentz, as one who defended the necessity of slavery's indefinite continued existence, would want to distinguish her rhetorical tactics from those that the abolitionists employed. But having established her writing career as a domestic novelist, Hentz no doubt comes across to twentieth- and twenty-first century readers as disingenuous. For the genre of domestic novels strove to inject more feeling into public discourse, proffering feeling as a catalyst to moral action. Before Stowe had put the domestic novel to the service of abolition, propelling readers to "*feel right*" in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Susanna Rowson in *Charlotte Temple* (1791), a best-selling forerunner of the domestic novel, dramatized how right feeling precipitates virtuous action (385). [21] Abolitionist reformers of various persuasions often shared in common with domestic novelists the cultivation of feeling as a primary goal. But because *The Planter's Northern Bride* is a plantation romance whose plot hinges on disparaging abolitionist rhetorical tactics, the correspondence between Hentz's and abolitionist rhetoric appears odd. To be sure, Hentz's method of critiquing while deploying abolitionist appeals to fear makes for interesting quandaries that play out in the narrative. As domestic novelist and as defender of slavery attacking the rhetoric of abolitionists, Hentz pens a novel particularly illustrative of the complexity of conversations about rhetoric and affect underway during the antebellum period.

Hentz's preface announces that the novel, described as a "literary labour," would appeal to reason over and above emotion in "endeavouring to represent the unhappy consequences of that intolerant and fanatical spirit, whose fatal influence we so deeply deplore," a spirit that manifests itself in northern reformist language whose "fatal influence" threatens the safety of southern whites (4). The real danger posed by a

fanatical spirit, the narrative shows, is to be found in the language and rhetorical maneuvers it marshals. As the narrative unfolds, it becomes clear that Hentz is, in fact, as interested in the language one uses to engage slavery as she is interested in the issue itself.[22]

However, Hentz's interest in the rhetorical power of fear has yet to be identified by scholarship, perhaps because her identity as domestic novelist renders her examination and deployment of fear-stoking rhetoric invisible.[23] If twentieth- and twenty-first-century scholarship has paid little attention to affects other than sympathy at work in sentimental novels, Hentz's contemporary reviewers established the precedent. According to one reviewer in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, "[*The Planter's Northern Bride*] brings the South and the North together; unties them in the tenderest of relations…. [The novel] should be as welcome as the dove of peace to the fireside in the Union. It cannot be read without a moistening of the eyes, a softening of the heart, and a mitigation of sectional and most unchristian prejudices" (4).[24] The threats the novel makes to abolitionist sympathizers thus go unnoticed. But it is only by paying attention to those warnings and the novel's larger engagement with fear-based suasion that illuminates Hentz's effort to link Stowe's and Garrison's abolition with Walker's.

The novel opens with southern planter Russell Moreland's planning a trip to the northeast; the narrator notes that Moreland's friends have advised against taking his mulatto servant, Albert, along on the journey. In response to the argument that Albert's "superior intelligence and cultivation would render him more accessible" to the arguments launched "to lure him from his allegiance," Moreland offers a scoffing apostrophe: "I defy all the eloquence of the North to induce Albert to leave me" (15). In

his exchange with Albert on the subject, Moreland explains that "they will very likely try to persuade you that you are free too, and tell you it is your duty to run away from me" (15). As a subsequent section will take up in more detail, the mention of "duty" recalls the language of David Walker and Henry Highland Garnet, both of whom addressed slaves directly in claiming that resistance to slavery—including taking violent measures if necessary—was incumbent upon them. This rhetorical move of reproducing the language of militant abolition so as to counter it recurs throughout the narrative, indicating Hentz's conversation with militant abolitionist writers. As if acknowledging the association of the language of duty to militant abolition's appeals to religious fear, Albert insightfully replies that such tactics will not frighten him: "I ain't afraid of anything they can say and do, to get me away from you…." (16).

Shortly after arriving in the northern village that goes unnamed, Moreland meets and becomes engaged in conversations about slavery with Hastings, the abolitionist editor of the *Emancipator*.[25] Each warns the other of his rhetorical wrong-headedness, and differences in their approaches to argumentation emerge in their first conversation. Whereas Moreland would have preferred to hold the conversation in private, Hastings, whose arguments carried a "clenching power" over audiences, was "accustomed to speak in public and to feed on public applause." In fact, "He required the excitement of numbers to elicit the latent enthusiasm of his intellect" (80). Hastings draws on martial imagery to characterize his own and fellow abolitionists' philosophy of suasion: "Like the ancient warriors, who went forth in their war-chariots, from which a thousand scythes were gleaming, ready to mow down all opposing ranks,—we suffer the wheels of justice to roll down, though the votaries of error be crushed in their majestic evolutions" (81). In

response, Moreland criticizes Hastings' martial language, claiming that "your blows are as indiscriminate and aimless as the bristling weapons to which you allude" (81). The narrative early on, then, establishes that distinct rhetorical philosophies underpin the two spokespersons: Hastings sees it fit to employ any language necessary that might bring about the desired result, regardless of consequences, whereas Moreland finds it important to rein in his speech due to the unintended consequences his words could have.

As the conversation unfolds, the use of violent language and meta-commentary on persuasive language itself continue. Hastings warns Moreland that in slaveholding, he is "incurring the vengeance of heaven, and the retributions of eternity" (85). Attempting to instill fear in Moreland of divine retribution to come, Hastings utilizes a type of fear-arousing rhetoric—the jeremiad—that appears in antislavery discourse dating to the eighteenth century. Accounting for his choice of language, he adds: "I use strong language, sir, for the occasion justifies it" (85). In asserting that his use of "strong language" is "justifie[d]," Hastings briefly acknowledges the controversy surrounding language when it came to discussing the South's future that had become a hallmark of 1850s' public discourse. Via exchanges between Morleand and abolitionists (Hastings and Brainard), the novel works to show that what Hastings calls "strong language" is rarely justified. Though it is sometimes efficacious, particularly with certain audiences—primarily those comprised of African descendents, women, and children—the use of strong language is usually not an ethical way to persuade.[26]

The narrator notes, meanwhile, that Moreland is "becoming more calm and energetic as his opponent grew fiery and vehement," an association of the southern planter with slow, methodical, plodding reason that persists throughout the narrative (85-

6).[27] Though the planter does have moments in which his emotions impinge on his rhetorical choices, the narrative belabors the point that they are infrequent lapses. It is likely that in portraying Moreland as "a man of strong passions," but at the same time as calm, reasonable, even-tempered, and not given to making or being swayed by emotional appeals, Hentz sought to counter stereotypes of southern intemperance dating to the colonial period. Warning that "overheated zeal" propels Hastings as he "rashly attempt[s] to wrench asunder by the hand of violence" the bond between master and slave, Moreland advises his "opponent" to adopt "a kinder, more rational course," which would enable them to be "brethren" rather than "antagonists": "if you could be convinced of all this, sir, would you not lay down your weapons, and reflect on the consequences that may flow from your present course of action?" (86). In this passage Moreland accuses Hastings of inadvertently fomenting rebellion by allowing zeal to dictate his argument. Abolition's emotion-arousing language, Moreland warns, will provoke more than emotional response; inspiring emotion that will propel action, such language can render literal violence to the South not unlike a weapon, a point he returns to again and again.

Though Moreland withstands succumbing to Hastings' fear tactics, the novel attempts to show that those of African descent are easily swayed. Brainard, the northern abolitionist presenting himself as a minister, utilizes a fear-inducing tactic similar to Hastings that, unbeknownst to Moreland, works on his slaves: "When prostrate at the altar, where his terrible representations of Almighty wrath had driven them, he first breathed into their ears his insidious designs. He told them he was the agent of the Almighty, and that whoever betrayed his counsel would be doomed to everlasting punishment" (489). This scene recalls the report of Nat Turner's trial whereby the white

writers allege that Turner frightened fellow slaves into complying with the rebellion out of fear that Gullah Jack would conjure them. Much like the report's representation of Turner, Brainard deploys a fear-based rhetorical strategy that proves efficacious as he divulges his plan to receptive slaves one by one and moves forward with the conspiracy.[28]

Appealing to fear of divine judgment succeeds in enlisting slaves not only in conspiracy but also in fleeing the South. The abolitionists Mr. and Mrs. Softly successfully persuade Crissy, the slave accompanying Moreland's sister, Ildegerte, and her husband, Richard, on their trip to Kentucky, to allow them to arrange her escape from slavery. The Softlys' strategy hinges on terrorizing the slave with talk of God's pending judgment for failing to take advantage of an opportunity to seize freedom, warning that living in slavery is "sin" (270). Though they also entice her with promises of wealth to which she is particularly susceptible, the novel underscores that the fear-inducing language plays a significant role: "she would never be forgiven by the Almighty if she refused to accept them." The warning that slavery is sinful for the slave, utilized by both the Softlys and Brainard, invokes Henry Highland Garnet's "Address to the Slaves" as well as Walker's *Appeal*. Garnet writes, "TO SUCH DEGRADATION [slavery] IT IS SINFUL IN THE EXTREME FOR YOU TO MAKE VOLUNTARY SUBMISSION" (92). Similarly, Walker expresses this idea in warning African Americans: "You may therefore, go to work and do what you can to rescue, or join in with tyrants to oppress them and yourselves, until the Lord shall come upon you all like a thief in the night" (29). While Hentz does not include black abolitionists in the narrative, her representation of the persuasive tactics of

the Softlys and Brainard is another indication that Hentz, though responding to Stowe, is actually also in conversation with the more militant of the abolitionists.

Whereas Hastings primarily directs his *Emancipator* to northern whites and demonstrates his rhetorical appeals in conversations both public and private with the southern planter, it is Brainard who travels to the South and addresses slaves directly. The primary problem with Hastings' rhetoric from Moreland's perspective is that, though it seeks to persuade whites of the horrors of slavery, it *could* fuel a slave rebellion. In contrast, Brainard deliberately seeks to incite the slaves to revolt, threatening them with God's vengeance for remaining in the sinful state of enslavement, which in part explains why he, and not Hastings, is the novel's designated villain.

Abolitionists of the Garrisonian persuasion cast black violence as an impending but undesirable outcome of the perpetuation of slavery; in the *Liberator* Garrison expressed fear that the continuation of slavery would result in the South's and the nation's ruin, the apocalyptic result brought about by human and divine forces. Though the more militant abolitionists, including Walker, also presented slave revolt and God's vengeance for slaveholders as undesirable outcomes, his direct call for the slaves to revolt rendered his relationship to his white audience quite different.[29] Hastings, in attempting to persuade Moreland of the evils of slavery, represents Garrison, a correspondence not lost on Hentz's readers. To be sure, abolitionist sympathizer Francis Amasa Walker penned a letter to the editor reviewing *The Planter's Northern Bride,* which was published in Garrison's *Liberator.* Incredulous that Hentz's depiction of Hastings should be taken as a faithful representation of Garrison, the reviewer scoffs: "The character of Mr. Hastings, who, it is evident from several things, is designed to represent Wm. Lloyd

Garrison, is that of a man who is excited to fury, and loses all control of himself at the slightest contradiction!"[30] Brainard, in speaking directly to slaves and encouraging them to revolt, functions as a surrogate for David Walker. The rhetor's relation to the audience dictates whether the reference to slave revolt and/or divine vengeance functions more as a warning or a threat. But, as southern history shows, the distinction was sometimes lost on white southerners once Walker's *Appeal* had appeared in southern states, for they believed that both were equally dangerous to the region.[31]

To be sure, whether abolitionists sought to inspire black violence or merely to intimidate white southerners with the threat of God's vengeance (which could materialize as black violence), the novel warns that the potential consequences accompanying either intention are one and the same—collective black violence inflicted upon the white South. To punctuate this point, the novel intimates that abolitionists who warn southerners that slaveholding jeopardizes the safety of southern whites *might* actually desire slave revolt, despite their claims to the contrary. Specifically, Hentz casts the true intentions of Hastings' rhetoric in ambiguity, indicative of white southerners' suspicions by the 1850s of all abolitionisms, whatever their professed claims to "non-violence."

Upon arriving for the first time at Moreland's plantation, Eula "recollected all the horrible stories she had heard of negro insurrections, and thought what an awful thing it was to be at the mercy of so many slaves, on that lonely plantation" (331). But the novel, in keeping with pro-slavery rhetoric of the period, suggests that abolitionists, rather than slaves, pose the real danger to the South. Indeed, once the conspiracy on Moreland's plantation is uncovered, Eula immediately recalls past statements her father had made about slave revolt and conjectures that he is involved.[32]

Though Eula's speculation proves incorrect, her suspicions are not without warrant. Ominous language appearing early in the novel to describe Hastings' abolitionist aims suggests, in fact, that desire for slave revolt is coded in his warnings of divine vengeance: "He saw in prospective a glorious field of disputation, where he would gather more laurels than he could possibly dispose of. His prophetic glance pierced still further, and he beheld one black wave rolling after another from the Southern shores, before the resistless gales of his eloquence" (60). Because the novel repeatedly uses "blackness" loosely, it is difficult to surmise the tenor of this metaphor. But it is possible that Hastings, with "immediate emancipation" as his goal, not only empathizes with the slave's plight and would be supportive of a rebellion, but also envisions his eloquence as bringing it—symbolized by "black wave[s]"—to pass (40). In this way, Hentz's depiction of Hastings as a Garrisonian departs from reality but not the reality of anti-abolition perception. To be sure, those opposed to abolition saw all iterations of the movement—even those proclaiming to be opposed to violence—as jeopardizing the safety of southern whites.

Although Moreland typically exercises control over his voice and chooses rhetorical strategies that do not appeal to emotion, it is he rather than abolitionists who explicitly attempts to instill fear of servile insurrection for persuasive purposes.[33] Indeed, while Hastings and Brainard both attempt to catalyze fear of God's pending judgment in order to persuade slave-holders to emancipate their slaves (in the case of Hastings) and slaves into revolting (in the case of Brainard), neither conjures explicit images of slave revolt to convince the slave-holding class—or white northerners—of the horrors of the institution. So although the novel appears to comment negatively on the abolitionist

propensity to induce fear, it is the planter Moreland who, much like Walker in the *Appeal*, attempts to persuade via explicitly warning of slave revolt. It is a tactic that conspicuously fails in the novel.

Having won Hastings' approval for marrying Eula, Moreland attempts to dissuade Hastings from using abolitionist rhetoric that could stir the slaves to revolt. His strategy is to force Hastings to imagine the aftermath if abolitionist rhetoric were to result in spurring slaves collectively to violence: "You know not what you are doing [in disseminating abolitionist rhetoric]. The time will come when waves of blood may roll over the land—and where will Eula be? Can my single arm hold her up above the crimson billows, my single breast shield her from the unimaginable horrors of servile warfare?" The bloody imagery succeeds in frightening Hastings, whose "very pale" face betrays his horror. However, the fear elicits a reaction that Moreland does not intend: rather than reconsidering the effects of his own rhetoric, Hastings reneges on his approval of Eula's and Moreland's marriage, citing the inherent danger his daughter would encounter from living in the South, a danger that Moreland himself has just described vividly (165-67).

In this moment the novel draws attention to a problem inherent in an appeal to fear: it is always ready to double back on itself. As soon as Hastings withdraws his marriage blessing, Moreland is struck with "a consciousness of his imprudence." Having earned Hastings' approval for the marriage, he had believed he was in a better position to persuade his future father-in-law to tone down his abolitionist rhetoric, for his hypothetical suddenly had personal resonance. But as soon as he realizes that Hastings' fears—once elicited—fail to render the result Moreland anticipated, he apologizes for

having "express[ed] [himself] so strongly," claiming merely to have "lift[ed] a warning voice" and to have tried to "arrest a course of action which must inevitably result in ruin." The planter scrambles to replace the image of "waves of blood" with loyal slaves: "Indeed, so firm is my reliance on the fidelity and affection of my own negroes, I believe, if an insurrection really took place, they would die in my defence" (167). With the image of slave revolt having been conjured, Hastings shows no sign of changing his mind and calls off the wedding planned for the next day. Similarly to Walker, then, Hentz depicts fear-inducing language as a persuasive mode that, though emotively powerful, can bring about results both unpredictable and undesirable.[34]

Fortunately for Moreland, a minister who knows both men appears at this moment, ready "to soothe and to reconcile" after having overheard Hastings' and Moreland's "excited tones." Tellingly, the narrative does not indicate how the minister manages to counter the terror that Moreland's image of a future blood-drenched South generated, noting merely that he speaks "earnestly" and with "benignity" as well as with the "authority" of the Christian office (167-8). In a novel penned with hopes of persuading the factions of the country to resolve their differences stemming from competing visions for the South, the omission is conspicuous. Indeed, if a few calm-spoken words (undisclosed to readers) can soothe a character who has been provoked by fearful language and imagery, the depiction works to underscore that rhetoric-provoked fear cannot, in truth, be overcome so easily—as the reaction of southern states to the appearance of Walker's *Appeal* indicates. Though this scene serves as a cautionary tale regarding the danger of fear-catalyzing rhetoric, it offers little guidance for the country to overcome the fear such language allegedly already had entrenched.

The (T)errors of Militant Abolition

Although Moreland's attempt to frighten Hastings into tempering his abolitionist rhetoric seems to designate fear as an affective response that works to close down the path to resolution, evidence appearing later in the novel contradicts this message. In a lengthy passage of diegetic narration, the narrator uses the very tactic unsuccessfully utilized by Moreland, conjuring for readers the potential violent results of abolitionist rhetoric. Rebuking abolitionists for their use of a rhetoric that provokes social unrest, the narrator asks: "Why, with frantic zeal, do they light the brand of discord, and throw it blazing into the already burning heart of a community, when the stars of the Union may be quenched in the smoking, and the American eagle flap its wings in blood?" (237-8). The novel asks readers to "think of the consequences" of representing the South as teetering on the verge of insurrection and of using rhetoric intended either to intimidate white southerners with the threat of God's vengeance and slave revolt (epitomized by Hastings and Garrison) or to intimidate slaves into using violence (epitomized by Brainard, Walker, and Garnet). Regardless of intent, each of these rhetorical formulations could embolden the slaves, which would work to terrify whites further, keeping the region in a state of instability. At the same time, the narrator forces readers to imagine the violence of slave revolt:

> Would it not be well to pause and think of the consequences of all this? Can you sever the interests of the North and the South without lifting a fratricidal hand? Sir, perhaps you have a son, who, finding no outlet for his energies, no field of enterprise in a New England clime, has come an adventurer to the South, and made a fortune from its rich resources. He

> has married one of its dark-eyed daughters, and the blood of the North and the South mingles in the veins of their children. Woman! it may be that you have a daughter or a sister wedded to one of the sons of the South, whose interests and affections are so closely entwined with his, that the stroke aimed at one must cut the life-chords of the other…..
>
> Sir, if through your instrumentality the fires of insurrection are kindled in the land, and the knife sharpened in the hand of the assassin, the blood of your son may cry to you from the ground; your daughter, clasping her innocent babes to her bosom, may lift her dying eyes to heaven, feeling the conviction, keener than her last death-pang, that a father's hand guided the blow of which she is the victim. Your sister, your brother, your friend may rise up in judgment against you, when their accusing spirits meet yours at the bar of God! Have you not said, have you not written, that it was the duty of the slave to plunge the steel in the bosom of his master, rather than submit the vassal of his will?—that it would be right to roll a fiery wave of insurgency over his sleeping dwelling, and have only the "blackness of ashes to mark where it stood!" (238-39)

To what "Sir" does the narrator refer? By turning to the familial ties between northerners and southerners, Hentz seems to be addressing white northerners. Although Cowan claims that Hentz's "overall strategy" reveals itself in that the novel "takes the reader to the edge of his/her fears regarding servile insurrection and then allays them," this passage refuses to allay the fears it arouses (108). So long as abolitionist rhetoric

continues, this bloody future is a certainty. Whereas Walker threatens white readers with direct violence ("And wo, wo, will be to you if we have to obtain our freedom by fighting" [70]), Hentz threatens white northern readers with violence visited upon their relations, with relationships cut short. Both writers, nonetheless, employ sentimental conventions but recast them in gothic terms, substantiating Jan Bakker's claim that "sentimental patterns can evoke a terror as well as a tear" (4).

As discussed in the previous chapter, Walker's gothic image of a slave forced by the planter to beat his expecting wife until the fetus prematurely "falls" from her womb constitutes his most striking example of the sentimental put toward gothic ends (21). Although the depiction of violence done unto slave families could elicit sympathy in whites, the image, in the context of a document calling for slave revolt and addressed to African Americans, more readily works both to justify and ignite black anger, which is put to the end of arousing whites' fears of black violence.[35] Likewise, Hentz's passage works, not to make whites feel sympathy for or moral outrage about the treatment of slaves, but to make them fear that their own actions (disseminating abolitionist rhetoric) would bring about the death of loved ones and, thus, pain for themselves—the evocation of familial and platonic relationships murderously ended.

Hentz thus makes an appeal to fear in order to forge relations between northern and southern whites. By placing her readers within familial relationships—whether blood or marriage—and forcing her readers to imagine the violent demise of those relationships, she enables the affective experience of fear. Once we perceive that the novel hinges on eliciting fear, we can understand the references to slave revolt as something other than moments in which the author betrays her own racial anxieties; they

are not indications, as one critic has said, that reflect "her contemporary southerner's obsessive, unspoken fear of servile insurrection" (6).[36] Rather, fear is spoken; in fact, it structures the novel. Fear serves as a mechanism for forging relation, one that supplants sympathy. In this light, Hentz's engagement with black militancy becomes visible as the following paragraphs address.

Although Garrison and the abolitionist movement generally were accused of jeopardizing white southerners, commentators did make distinctions between the rhetoric of Garrison and that of Walker.[37] For example, the governor of Virginia responded to the appearance of the *Appeal* within the state by sending a letter to the mayor of Boston, which was published in the *Richmond Enquirer* in which he contrasts Walker—a "despicable, colored man" whose pamphlet arouses "feelings of absolute detestation"—to "fanatics of a much higher order" who are "insensible of the incalculable mischiefs they are doing."[38] The governor, in other words, distinguishes between outright calls for slave revolt (Walker) and warnings to white southerners (Garrison).

Given that Garrison, among the most radical of white abolitionists, spoke of slave revolt exclusively as a probable but undesirable result of the continuance of slavery, the narrator's reference to abolitionist attempts to incite revolt by invoking the language of "the duty of the slave" further suggests Hentz's familiarity with and effort to engage the militancy of Walker's *Appeal* and Garnet's *Address*. The "duty of the slave" language already has been shown to have been put to use by the novel in depicting how slaves were compelled (if not coerced) both to escape bondage and to participate in slave revolt.[39] The passage quoted above, however, most closely resembles Garnet's language. An inheritor of Walker's vision and rhetorical tactics, Garnet was responsible for keeping

his predecessor's *Appeal* in circulation, for in 1848 Garnet would have Walker's text along with his own *Address to the Slaves of the United States of America* (delivered in 1843) published together in a single volume. Garnet specifically invokes the language of "duty" to compel slaves to strike for freedom, articulating that their duty to revolt stems from their obligation to obey God's commandments, which slavery prevents them from fulfilling:

> The divine commandments you are in duty bound to reverence and obey. If you do not obey them, you will surely meet with the displeasure of the Almighty. He requires you to love him supremely, and your neighbor as yourself--to keep the Sabbath day holy--to search the Scriptures--and bring up your children with respect for his laws, and to worship no other God but him. But slavery sets all these at nought, and hurls defiance in the face of Jehovah. The forlorn condition in which you are placed, does not destroy your moral obligation to God….The diabolical injustice by which your liberties are cloven down, NEITHER GOD, NOR ANGELS, OR JUST MEN, COMMAND YOU TO SUFFER FOR A SINGLE MOMENT. THEREFORE IT IS YOUR SOLEMN AND IMPERATIVE DUTY TO USE EVERY MENAS, BOTH MORAL, INTELLECTUAL, AND PHYSICAL THAT PROMISES SUCCESS. (93)

By placing the concept of duty within the context of biblical imperative, Garnet draws his notion of the slave's obligation from Walker: [40]

> The man who would not fight under our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, in the glorious and heavenly cause of freedom of God—to be delivered from the most wretched, abject and servile slavery, that ever a people was

> afflicted with since the foundation of the world, to the present day—ought to be kept with all of his children or family, in slavery, or in chains, to be butchered by his cruel enemies. (12)

Walker also uses the language of "duty" to underscore an American imperative to not languish under governmental abuse when he quotes from the Declaration of Independence: "But when a long train of abuses and usurpation, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government, and to provide new guards for their future security" (qtd. in Walker 75). Thus, for Walker both Protestant Christianity and the legacy of the American Revolution obligate African Americans to seize their "future security" by whatever means necessary. The uniqueness of Walker's rhetoric—claiming that it is the slave's duty to revolt—is not to be scanted. To be sure, this rhetoric has come a long way from Jupiter Hammon's "An Address to the Negroes in the State of New York" (1787): "If we should ever get to Heaven, we shall find nobody to reproach us for being black, or for being slaves" (qtd. in Parker 322).

Hentz, then, reproduces black militancy's (epitomized by Walker's and Garnet's) justification for black violence in speaking to white readers who have agitated or otherwise expressed sympathy for abolition. She forces these white readers along with the author of the book to which she was responding, Stowe, to imagine that their efforts have in fact coincided with those of black militant abolitionists and the slaves to render a future in which collective black violence has come to pass. Hentz strives to drive home the point that abolitionist rhetoric—whether promulgated by Garrison and Stowe or the more militant Walker and Garnet—could render violent results.[41] In this way, not only

does Hentz link these strains of abolitionism, but also she addresses what she saw as the (t)errors of militant abolitionism by contesting—while implementing—its rhetoric of fear.

Hentz's efforts to identify all forms of abolition as dangerous to the white South persist throughout the narrative. A local tells Moreland the story of Hastings' having entertained a fugitive slave, Nat. Initially described by Mrs. Hastings as a "poor, hunted, persecuted being," Nat, according to the local, grew "very insolent and overbearing," and the Hastings eventually threw him out: "Since then, [Hastings] has had a double bolt fastened to his doors; and his dreams, I suspect, are haunted by black specters, armed and equipped for murder and robbery" (67, 42). This depiction of Hastings' fear demonstrates how the image of blacks ready to fight for their freedom (the image promoted by abolitionists of all persuasions) could be skewed to become an image of blacks as vulnerable and childlike while slaves but barbaric and criminal once out from under the patriarchal structure of slavery (the image promoted by the slaveholding power). That Hastings is fearful of a "giant" named Nat heightens the effect, for the fugitive readily calls to mind the Nat Turner who had organized a group of slaves in Virginia to strike for freedom and who was represented in the white press as anything but an inheritor of the spirit of the Revolution (9). The rhetoric of fear on which the image of armed slaves—deployed for either argument—hinges was a double-edged sword: Just as it could be used by both militant and Garrisonian abolitionists to terrify white southerners so as to persuade them to terminate slavery, so too could it be used by slavery apologists to keep northern and southern whites alike in a state of fear so as to perpetuate slavery. Hentz, moreover, reverses the fear dynamic put forth in abolitionist rhetoric. For she depicts

Hastings, who attempts to elicit the southern planter's fear of a future marked by divine retribution, as haunted by black specters armed to murder and rob white *northerners*.

The novel's overall strategy is to elicit from white abolitionists and their sympathizers a fear that would lead them to calibrate their actions, the very persuasive tactic she desires that they stop implementing. In depicting Hastings' fear of Nat, she attempts to convince white abolitionist readers to stop frightening white southerners with the thought of black insurrection and to stop prodding slaves to revolt. At the same time, she attempts to frighten white abolitionist readers not only with black violence but also with imagining themselves as haunted by fear of black violence. In depicting white northerners—both Hastings and Eula—as plagued by fear of black violence, Hentz attempts to reverse roles so that white northerners (rather than white southerners) are placed in the position of being the subject of gothic terror, "haunted by black specters," a move that parallels Walker's efforts to turn the terror to which bondage subjected slaves onto southern whites.

Hentz's strategy in this scene bears some resemblance to Stowe's admonishment to readers to "feel right" in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the novel Hentz sought to answer, for if white abolitionists can begin to feel right—that is, feel fearful of unrestrained blacks—then a unified, national, and white vision for the South's future could emerge. In relaying Hastings' encounter with Nat, Hentz depicts a white man, who had spent much time conversing with a fugitive slave, as ultimately haunted by black ghosts. Given that part of my argument has been to show that Hentz was not merely haunted by black writers but openly engages them, particularly Walker, this scene could be said to illustrate how the

construction of literary history operates: What began as a conversation comes to be portrayed as a haunting.

Although by novel's end Hastings recognizes the need to tone down his rhetoric, Brainard is arrested for crimes committed out west, and the leader of the slave conspiracy is "punished" in Moreland's manumitting him, Hentz has not modified her own rhetoric. The novel closes with a final effort to elicit fear from white readers:

> We love the North….No volcanic elements are heaving under its wintry shroud, or threatening to lay waste its summer bloom. But, should the burning lava of anarchy and servile war roll over the plains of the South, and bury, under its fiery waves, its social and domestic institutions, it will not suffer alone. The North and the South are branches of the same parent tree, and the lightning bolt that shivers the one, must scorch and wither the other. (579)

In this closing paragraph Hentz links abolitionist rhetoric, a vision of a future South subsumed by violence, and the consequent "suffer[ing]" of the entire country. It summarizes Hentz's rhetorical strategy at work throughout the novel, despite the misgivings about fear-based suasion that the text registers: If abolitionists could not be deterred from opposing slavery, then perhaps they could be frightened into tempering their rhetoric. Ultimately, it is not sympathy for the white South that Hentz seeks to elicit from abolitionists but rather fear for their own future suffering.

End Notes

[1] Maurice Lee writes: "Obfuscation, banality, and feckless aggression do mar much of the slavery dialogue; and as in current discussions over, say, the death penalty and abortion, ideological claims were attacked and defended with almost ritualistic repetition" (5). William Tynes Cowan notes that *Dred* was published during what historian Harvey Wish has named "the insurrection panic of 1856," finding the simultaneity "no coincidence": "…it was the increased pitch in the battle between anti- and proslavery forces that produced both" (139).

[2] In the 1840s William Lloyd Garrison makes the following acknowledgment in a piece entitled "Harsh Language—Retarding the Cause": "I am accused of using hard language. I admit the charge" (*Selections* 121).

[3] In this chapter I highlight the tendency to link antebellum white southern rhetoric to an assumed white southern temperament, whereas in the following chapter I focus on the parallel phenomenon in which commentators attribute abolitionism's increasingly vehement rhetoric to an exasperation with the failure of moral suasion along with increasing setbacks (such as the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850) and the hostility that black and white abolitionists encountered. In both cases, 1850s' rhetoric marshaled in the slavery debates is naturalized, presumed to be a foregone conclusion. One goal of these two chapters is to chart, de-naturalize, and contextualize the rhetoric at work in novels of the period.

4 Fred Hobson provides a thorough and concise charting of the history of assessments of southern character. See his essay "The Savage South: An Inquiry into the Origins, Endurance, and Presumed Demise of an Image."

[5] Whitman delivered the lecture "Death of Abraham Lincoln" on April 14, 1879, in New York. Later deliveries include Philadelphia in 1880 and Boston in 1881.

[6] Early twentieth-century descriptions of southern oratory also stress its emotionalism. Edward K. Graham says that southern oratory "in the later stages [of the war period] [became] almost wholly emotional," and Montrose Moses notes the "excess of feeling" marking southern oratory (69, 192).

[7] Pointing to Hugh Jones's observation that southern colonists were "climate-struck," Fred Hobson traces the pervasiveness with which observers of the southern colonies pinpointed the warm climate as responsible for "dissipation, vice, and violence" (117-18).

[8] This is not to say, of course, that individual texts deploying vehement language, including the focus of chapter one, David Walker's *Appeal,* have not been placed within any critical framework. Walker's deployment of the jeremiad and the language of the American Revolution are two important contexts that scholarship has addressed. But while placing the *Appeal* in these contexts, the scholarship has tended to center

nonetheless on Walker's expression of emotion—rather than his efforts to elicit emotion—with the contexts considered subsidiary to his emoting. Along these same lines, scholarship has shown less interest in linking Walker to the formal rhetorical theory of the era, as I discuss in chapter one.

[9] For specifics regarding Walker's circulation of his pamphlet, see chapter one. Despite its having been banned in southern states, the *Appeal* gained visibility throughout the country, lengthy excerpts of which had been published, among other places, in the *Liberator* during 1831.

[10] See Joan D. Hedrick's *Harriet Beecher Stowe: A Life*. While we know that Hentz was familiar with *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, it is also likely that Stowe read the work of her former writing club associate.

[11] For information about Hentz's biography and literary career, see Mary Kelley's *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America* (1984) and Nina Baym's *Woman's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and about Women in America, 1820-1870* (1978).

[12] Moss quotes from a letter Hentz wrote to Abraham Hart, December 14, 1852. The letter is housed in the Caroline Hentz Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino.

[13] See Nina Baym's *Woman's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and about Women in America, 1820-1870* (1978) and Elizabeth Moss's *Domestic Novelists of the Old South: Defenders of Southern Culture* (1992).

[14] For analysis of the prevailing method for reading race codified by Morrison, see the Introduction.

[15] See Levine's *Dislocating Race and Nation: Episodes in Nineteenth-Century American Literary Nationalism*. Elsewhere, including his introduction to Stowe's *Dred*, Levine underscores the influence that black-authored texts, including those of Douglass, had on the evolution of Stowe's thinking about how to remedy the slavery problem and, thus, helps to explain the differences between *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Dred*.

[16] For discussion of Hentz's opportunities to have encountered Walker's rhetoric, see the introduction.

[17] For discussions of the relationship between moral suasion, militancy, and African American abolitionists, see the following: Kenneth Rickard's " 'Striving for Blood to Wash Out Blood': Race and Rhetoric in Antebellum African-American Texts," George A. Levesque's "Black Abolitionists in the Age of Jackson: Catalysts in the Radicalization of Abolitionism," and Tunde Adeleke's "Afro-Americans and Moral Suasion: The Debate in the 1830's."

[18] It was published as "Address to the Colonization Society" in the *National Philanthropist and Intelligencer* 22, 29 July 1829.

[19] In order to establish a timeline for Garrison's growing radicalism, Robert H. Abzug's chapter on Garrison in *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination* relays much of this history.

[20] For analysis of how the *Appeal* was discussed in southern newspapers, see Peter P. Hinks's *To Awaken My Afflicted Brethren: David Walker and the Problem of Antebellum Slave Resistance.* Moreover, William Tynes Cowan discusses the efforts of southern periodicals to downplay the significance of and details surrounding slave conspiracies so as to avoid arousing panic; he charts how southern newspapers responded to the Insurrection Panic of 1856. Alfred N. Hunt, however, establishes that southern newspapers did not refrain from referencing slave revolts of the past.

[21] The novel identifies right feeling as precipitating the virtuous act made early in the narrative by the title character's father. After explaining that he "can feel for those who have [lost a wife and son]," Mr. Temple embarks on a plan to relieve Mr. Eldridge, who has lost both within a short span of time, of the debt that has landed him in prison.

[22] Though scholarship notes the interest of *The Planter's Northern Bride* in rhetoric and polemic, contextualization of it within a larger discussion of imagined southern futures and the role of rhetoric in shaping those futures remains to be done. In her introduction to the 1970 reprinting of the novel, Rhoda Coleman Ellison pinpoints the novel's "principal crises"—"the planter's verbal challenges of those who attempt to violate the institution of slavery" (xiv). Caroline Field Levander, juxtaposing Hentz's plantation romance with Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents in the Life of Slave Girl*, delineates the novel's engagement with southern oratory.

[23] Whereas most analyses of emotion at work in domestic novels focus exclusively on those that give rise to sympathy, Jan Bakker's "Twists of Sentiment" is an exception. Bakker compellingly argues that "sentimental patterns can evoke a terror as well as a tear," using Hentz's and E.D.E.N. Southworth's first novels as examples (3-4). Kevin D. Pelletier's "Apocalyptic Incarnations: The Aesthetics of Fear and Catastrophe in the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination" finds submerged appeals to fear to be at work in Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

[24] See the *Boston Evening Transcript* 24 March 1854: 4.

[25] *The Emancipator*, founded in 1820, was a monthly anti-slavery paper published by Elihu Embree in Jonesborough, Tennessee. It was subsequently taken over by Benjamin Lundy and became *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*. Publication ceased in 1836.

[26] When Moreland returns to Eula's hometown some time after the conspiracy had been exposed, he attends a Lyceum lecture moderated by his father-in-law in which he is

shocked to see one of the main perpetrators of the conspiracy, his fugitive slave Vulcan, accompanying Brainard in lecturing on the horrors of life in the South. The narrator notes that the hall is "crowded almost to suffocation, all the front seats being occupied by ladies, and the window sills by little boys…." (557). Were it not for Moreland's intervention to reveal their true identities, the crowd of women and children would have fallen prey to the strong language of the orators. Likewise, the narrative reiterates the slaves' excitability and overactive imaginations in explaining how they, otherwise loyal to their master, had been coerced by Brainard's threats of divine condemnation.

[27] According to the narrator, "Moreland had an exceedingly clear, sweet, and finely modulated voice. He never lost the command of it by passion or excitement, it never became indistinct through diffidence or confusion of ideas; but, swelling like a well-tuned melodious instrument, charmed the ear, while it riveted the attention" (87).

[28] See *An Official Report of the Trials of Sundry Negroes, Charged with an Attempt to Raise an Insurreciton in the State of South Carolina*, authored by Lionel H. Kennedy and Thomas Parker (1822).

[29] Walker repeatedly expresses that he "should like to see the whites repent peradventure God may have mercy on them" (20). He also expresses hope for a future in which whites will have repented, emancipated the slaves, and done away with racism: "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" (70).

[30] See "The Planter's Northern Bride." *Liberator* 6 July 1855: 108.

[31] In commenting upon Walker's *Appeal*, embracing its "spirit" but condemning its violence, Garrison identifies and dismisses the accusation that he, like Walker, actually sought to instigate slave rebellion: "Our enemies may accuse us of striving to stir up the slaves to revenge but their accusations are false, and made only to excite the prejudices of the whites, and to destroy our influence. We say that the possibility of a bloody insurrection at the south fills us with dismay" ("Walker's Appeal").

[32] Eula recalls "that her father had justified the act [of slave revolt], and said that were he near the scene of action, he should think it his duty to abet and assist the insurgent party," asking herself "Was he willing to sacrifice his daughter, with more than Roman stoicism, to the fierce spirit of philanthropy, embodied in the reckless, cruel, and insidious Brainard? She could not, would not believe it; but the possibility of her father's being in collusion with this agent of darkness, gave her unutterable anguish" (495).

[33] The narrator dwells on distinctions in the sounds of Moreland's and Hastings' voices, characterizing the planter's as "clear, sweet, and finely modulated," whereas the abolitionist's "shivered and broke, when pitched on too high a key, or…thick and

incoherent in the vehemence of argument" (87). Due to the sound of his voice, Moreland is able to "charm the ear" and "rivet the attention" (87).

[34] As I underline in chapter one, Walker seeks to instill in white southerners fears of black violence at the same time that he acknowledges that such fear already exists and that it propels barbarous treatment of slaves: "they know that they have done us so much injury, they are afraid that we, being men, and not brutes, will retaliate, and woe will be to them; therefore, that dreadful fear, together with an avaricious spirit, and the natural love in them, to be called masters….bring them to the resolve that they will keep us in ignorance and wretchedness, as long as they possibly can…." (62).

[35] See page 21 of the *Appeal*: "He may see a husband take his dear wife, not unfrequently in a pregnant state, and perhaps far advanced, and beat her for an unmerciful wretch, until his infant falls a lifeless lump at her feet!"

[36] See Jan Bakker's "Twists of Sentiment." He actually references Hentz's first novel, *Lovell's Folly* (1833) rather than *The Planter's Northern Bride*.

[37] For example, the governor of Virginia responded to the appearance of the *Appeal* within the state by sending a letter to the mayor of Boston, which was published in the *Richmond Enquirer* on February 23, 1830:

> Be assured, sir, that I never, for one moment, entertained a suspicion, that sentiments so diabolical, and mischievous, as those avowed and put in circulation, by this sanguinary fanatic, could have received the approbation or countenance, either of yourself or of the good people of Massachusetts generally; nor that they could, by possibility, have excited any other, than feelings of absolute detestation—in the bosoms of all lovers of moral principles and of good order, wherever they may be found. Permit me, sir, however, to observe, that I see with the most profound sorrow and regret, fanatics of a much higher order, than this despicable, colored man, are industriously intermeddling, by wild and impracticable projects, to meliorate the condition of slaves in this state, when they are as profoundly ignorant of the particular subject of their intermeddlings; and as insensible of the incalculable mischiefs they are doing to society generally, and to the slave population particularly; as are all other enthusiastic fanatics in the world, upon the particular subject of the individual fanaticism of each, whatever that may be.

[38] See the republished letter in the 23 February 1830 *Richmond Enquirer*.

[39] With respect to the former, Moreland acknowledged it as a tactic northerners would use to compel his servant, Albert, to desert him just as the Softlys would employ it to entice Crissy to abandon her mistress, Ildegerte. In the case of the latter, it was Brainard's primary strategy for harrying Moreland's slaves to revolt.

[40] Hinks underlines that Garnet was "unquestionably animated by understandings and aspirations similar to Walker's" (234).

[41] The following chapter attends to the development of Stowe's abolitionist thinking, including the role of militancy in *Dred*. Despite distinctions in their strands of abolition, I loosely group Stowe and Garrison primarily because, unlike Walker and Garnet, they did not issue calls for slave revolt. For discussion of Stowe's relationship to Garrison, see Joan D. Hedrick's *Harriet Beecher Stowe: A Life.*

Chapter Three

"Preaching up Terror":

Abolitionist Rhetorics of Fear in Stowe's *Dred* and Delany's *Blake*

Abolitionist rhetoric of the late antebellum years has been naturalized, assumed to be born of frustration with the failures of moral suasion. Contemporaries of Harriet Beecher Stowe and Martin Delany and, more frequently, subsequent scholars attending to the fiery abolitionist rhetoric that became increasingly common in the later years of the slavery debates have characterized it as a gauge of authorial emotion. Scholarship attributes the heightened pitch of northern abolitionists' rhetoric to the rhetors' exasperation with an increase in violence against free blacks and abolitionists, the encroachment of slavery within northern states via the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, and the perceived ossification of anti-abolition sentiment in the South. While David Blight locates the abolitionists' turn to more vehement rhetoric earlier, he discusses it in terms of expressing the personal anxieties of the writers: "Some abolitionists converted their anxieties into prophecies of doom" (158).

Nowhere is this line of thinking—analyzing abolitionists' harsh language as primarily indicative of the writer's emotional state—more evident than in analyses of Stowe's *Dred: a Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp* (1856). Mary Kemp Davis, for example, suggests that Stowe "seized upon Dred's name as the title for her novel because it captured her own state of mind in the months before she started to write her novel" (112). The numerous attempts made by slavery apologists to discount Stowe's depiction of slavery in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), according to Davis, generated anxiety in the author, but this anxiety also propelled Stowe's "counteroffensive" whereby she

conducted research that became *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1853) and inspired *Dred*. Though her research would confirm that slavery was every bit as violent as she had depicted it—and even more—, Stowe's representation of Dred, as Davis sees it, nonetheless sent a chill down the author's spine: "One half of her thrills to Dred's jeremiads; the other half quakes upon hearing Dred's 'grand and powerful voice'" (119). Stowe herself would contribute to readings of *Dred* that take expression of emotion to be the novel's distinctive feature, though she would cite anger rather than anxiety as the primary emotion. In a letter to the Duchess of Aryle, the author says of *Dred*, "how the blood & insults of Sumner and the sack of Lawrence burn within us I hope to make a voice to say" (258).[1]

In antebellum commentaries on the language deployed in the slavery debates, however, one also finds the conceptualization of fear-based persuasion as rhetorical strategy rather than exclusively the expression of emotion. To be sure, it was common for those who assessed the language of the slavery debates to consider vehement language as a style of "eloquence." In 1849 Ephraim Peabody, for example, contributed to the *Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany* an article entitled "Narratives of Fugitive Slaves" in which he criticizes Frederick Douglass's argumentative style. Douglass's "[v]iolent….statements," according to Peabody, generate among the audience "a secret distrust" of the speaker—"a vague feeling that after all he is thinking more of his speech than of the end for which he professes to make it." He concludes:

> Nothing is less effective, for any practical end, than the 'withering and scorching' eloquence with which American speeches seems so to abound. It conciliates no opponent, and though it may light up the momentary

> passions, it gives no new strength of conviction to the friends of the cause. It is the last kind of eloquence to be cultivated by those who are heartily in earnest in their desire to promote any great reform. (75-6)

For Peabody, "'withering and scorching' eloquence," far from indicating that the speaker has lost control, signals instead a calculated rhetorical choice. Although one that Peabody finds counterproductive for engendering within an audience a lasting change of heart, it nonetheless indicates an effort to elicit emotion ("light up the momentary passions"). In short, antebellum commentators may have been more inclined to view fear-inducing language as rhetorical maneuver, and it is this understanding of emotion—as something to be elicited from readers rather than merely expressed by writers—that I bring to analysis of the deployment of fear at work in Stowe's *Dred: a Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp* and Martin Delany's *Blake; or the Huts of America: a Tale of the Mississippi Valley, the Southern United States, and Cuba* (1859-62).[2] Despite distinctions in their particular visions for the South, the rhetorical strategies utilized by Stowe and Delany recall David Walker's *Appeal* (1829, 1830). These 1850s' novels deploy fear and ruminate on its power as they seek to convey to readers the terrors that slavery holds for the future—for slaveholders rather than slaves.

Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Dred* and the Rhetoric of the American Revolution

Twentieth- and twenty-first-century critics have noted the sluggishness of *Dred*, Stowe's second anti-slavery novel, finding the plot directionless and the dialogue tedious.[3] Along with these ostensible shortcomings, critics also tend to note the differences between Stowe's two abolitionist novels, the general consensus concluding

that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* places faith in the power of sympathy whereas *Dred* demonstrates a tempering of that faith. Lisa Whitney locates in *Dred* evidence that Stowe had become "less confidant that the sentimental solutions offered" in the previous novel could work (552). Although "modern readers," as William Tynes Cowan suggests, typically believe *Dred* offers "a more radical…solution" to slavery than *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, whether or not they regard it to be "therefore more satisfying" depends on whom one asks, as the aforementioned criticisms attest (133).[4]

In fact, if *Dred* has received more attention since Levine wrote in 1997 that "the current disciplinary rage" expressed by scholars (in which they "disciplin[e] Stowe for her patronizing and racist attitude toward blacks") leads them to ignore the novel, critics nonetheless usually find Stowe's exploration of black militancy far from satisfying (145). In particular, scholars tend to see Stowe as failing to endorse a radical enough position regarding black militancy, as having summoned Dred only to foreclose his radical potential by killing him off. Cowan asks whether Stowe "brings those fears [of slave insurrection] to the surface in order to allay them," claiming that *Dred* ultimately "calls upon slaves to escape…rather than tak[e] arms against their masters" (149, 154). Cowan ruminates, specifically, on the degree to which Stowe endorses collective black violence, suggesting that, in having Dred killed, she "repents and destroys her own violent imagery" (133). In comparing *Dred* to Martin Delany's *Blake,* Eric J. Sundquist makes a similar assessment, claiming that the character Blake "seizes the opportunity for a novelistic version of [Nat] Turner's message that Stowe had thrown away in *Dred*, where the black rebel hero is killed and the maroon community dissolves into the background…" (194).[5]

For Davis, Cowan, and Sundquist, the maroon stands at the center of their analyses of the novel. It is the fate of the maroon, specifically, that ostensibly offers an index of the writer's radicalism. According to this line of inquiry, antebellum writers must represent slave rebellion brought to fruition in order to demonstrate their approval of slaves and free blacks' taking up arms. While Stowe no doubt would have shuddered at the thought of violent slave revolt and while Dred and the maroon community do figure largely in the narrative, focusing too exclusively on the *fate* of the maroon leads to a reductive analysis of the novel's narrative strategy. In this regard, I find Levine's focus on the impact on *Dred* of Stowe's interaction with black-authored texts to be productive.[6]

This chapter contends that what critics point to as *Dred*'s short-comings actually signal Stowe's wrestling with some of the very issues taken up by David Walker, namely the efficacy and ethics of fear as a persuasive mode. Though Walker sought to empower black Americans and fortify their resolve, which included explicitly encouraging them to take up arms if necessary, the author of the pamphlet deemed "incendiary" by several southern legislatures certainly hoped that slavery's end would come about without violence, reiterating throughout the *Appeal* that he "should like to see the whites repent peradventure God may have mercy on them" (20). In a pamphlet addressed to the "coloured citizens of the world" but especially African Americans, Walker also speaks directly to a white—primarily southern—audience.[7] To prod them toward repentance, emancipation of the slaves, and the eradication of racism, Walker employs a rhetorical strategy that hinges on the threat of collective black violence.

Given that Stowe wrote—the year before the publication of *Dred*—an introduction to William Cooper Nell's *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution*

(1855), which includes an entry on Walker, it is likely that she was familiar with the fiery pamphlet, lengthy excerpts of which had been published in the *Liberator* during 1831. Abolitionist Henry Highland Garnet's republication of the *Appea*l in 1848 in a single volume along with his own *Address to the Slaves of the United States of America* (delivered in 1843) constitutes another source whereby Stowe could have gained familiarity with Walker's text. Walker's method for engaging a white audience offers a model that Stowe would implement. Similarly to her more militant contemporary, she marshals the persuasive power of fear of slave revolt, but she also foregrounds a more sustained meditation on fear-based suasion, registering greater ambivalence than Walker about this rhetorical mode.

As Elizabeth Duquette underscores, Stowe's second novel is "all about action—how to inspire it and how to restrain it" (5). But the question of how to inspire leads Stowe to place primary emphasis on exploring the work of rhetoric, especially appeals to fear. Stowe is ultimately more interested in finding ways to talk about the South's future that would forgo the need for violence—whether slave revolt or civil war—than in encouraging or discouraging slaves regarding collective violence, which leads her to stage, deploy, and ruminate on appeals to fear.

Instead of "call[ing] upon slaves to escape" rather than to rebel, as Cowan argues, Stowe actually stages a series of approaches—including the deployment of the threat of violence in order to catalyze white fear—for abolitionists and slaves alike to utilize in order to persuade the country to end slavery (154). If *Dred* signals, then, Stowe's reassessment of the persuasive power of sympathy, it does not indicate that she had stopped probing the power of emotional appeals. Stowe offers, in fact, another approach

to persuasion that hinges less on appealing to white sympathy by emphasizing the sufferings of slaves and more on appealing to white self-interest by communicating the future sufferings of white southerners. Stowe reconfigures her rhetorical approach, giving appeals to fear of violence a more central role than she did in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Stowe's novel probes the limits of fear-inducing discourse with the hope that threats playing upon white *fear* of black violence—rather than actual violence—would bring about the desired result. Ascertaining the degree to which Stowe would support the outbreak of slave revolt is, therefore, less relevant to my analysis than tracing the novel's rumination on fear-based suasion.

The two major criticisms launched against the novel—an overabundance of dialogue and failure to bring actual revolt to fruition, despite the novel's promised focus on a militant, marooned slave—are linked, for *Dred* is more interested in probing the ends of violent language than in considering the potential of violent action. Characters issue emotional, vehement appeals to fear throughout the narrative as the text meditates on their effect in different settings and with different characters. Not only, then, does Walker's fear-inducing rhetorical strategy afford a better understanding of Stowe's novel, but also Stowe's mediation on appeals to fear proves to be just as integral to the novel's rhetorical strategy as her goal of shaping the South's future via catalyzing fear of slave revolt.

With remarks opening the chapter entitled "The Desert," the narrator reveals the conundrum most significant to the novel:

> One might almost imagine that there were no such thing as absolute truth, since a change of situation or *temperament* is capable of changing the

> whole force of an argument. We have been accustomed, even those of us who feel most, to look on the arguments for and against the system of slavery with the eyes of those who are *at ease*….We talk and reason coolly of that which, did we feel it ourselves, would take away all power of composure and self-control. We have seen how the masters feel and reason….We must add, also, to our estimate, the feelings and reasonings of the slave; and, therefore, the reader must follow us again to the fastness in the Dismal Swamp. (emphasis added, 445)

I place emphasis on "temperament" and "at ease" because the question of how to alter the audience's affective orientation in order to catalyze action proves to be the central problem with which the novel grapples.

The reader's affective orientation when he or she encounters an argument is significant, the narrator notes, and to feel safe, secure, and unthreatened renders the reader less responsive to the "force of an argument." An audience's feeling at ease, then, presents an obstacle for the rhetor to overcome. The potential remedy that the narrative considers is one of suasion: How might one make an audience feel ill at ease and, presumably, more responsive to the argument? The narrator's remarks indicate an approach to the problem of an obdurate audience that builds upon the work of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). In that novel, Stowe primarily addresses the problem by relaying the horrors of slavery in order to prick the hearts of white readers to empathize with the slave's plight. I say "primarily" because the novel's "Concluding Remarks" does employ fearful language, the final paragraphs turning into a vehement jeremiad that hinges on threatening readers with God's "vengeance."

As Dawn Coleman underscores, the final section of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* employs a "sermonic mode" marked by "excess"; specifically, the section concludes with assertions of pending doom, rather than the reiteration of God's promise that typically marks the jeremiad (271, 276).[8] However, appearing right after the "Concluding Remarks" in the *National Era,* which serialized the novel from June 1851 to April 1852, are some final paragraphs—"a demure, hyper-feminized afterward"—that undercut the "Concluding Remarks," indicating, as Coleman suggests, that Stowe "sought to distance herself from her fiery rhetoric." Coleman deduces that Stowe's deployment and immediate relinquishment of a "bold, decidedly masculine" tone indicates the author's "anxiety" about having disrupted gender norms for preaching (278).

I offer another explanation for Stowe's retreat from this type of language: she was ambivalent about the efficacy of appeals to fear. Although Stowe would give appeals to fear a more central role in *Dred*, this ambivalence would persist throughout the novel to the extent that ruminations on fear-based suasion would become central to the narrative itself. The issue of getting through to an obdurate audience (making them feel ill at ease) had been a concern of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and Stowe sought to remedy the problem with the inculcation of sympathy, which is one way, certainly, to destabilize the ease of an audience, for experiencing sadness, pity, and/or moral outrage involves a level of discomfort. In *Dred*, however, she foregrounds a different possibility for overcoming the problem only briefly tested in the final paragraphs of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Though *Dred* certainly depicts the quotidian pains experienced by black Americans, she gives as much space to appeals to fear, trying to move whites—particularly southerners—to experience terror regarding their own future well-being.

The narrator suggests, moreover, that an obstinate audience is only part of the problem. Conversation itself on slavery has more or less come to a halt in the South. Alluding to the state of stymied conversation, the narrator notes that the slave states in years past have not lacked "noble confessors, who have spoken for God and humanity." "For many years," the narrator continues, "they were listened to with that kind of pensive tolerance which men give when they acknowledge their fault without any intention of mending." Only in recent years has the flow of conversation all but ceased "so that now seldom a voice arises except in approbation of oppression" (288). Whereas the previous years were marked by an audience who displayed "tolerance" (if not openness to opposing arguments), the abolitionist rhetor now faces an audience that is not only uneasily swayed but also unwilling even to entertain opposing views. How to make an audience ill at ease so that they will re-enter the conversation, then, becomes a central question the novel probes.

At the same time, the novel suggests that white southerners *already* are ill at ease. In fact, Frank Russel, a candidate for the legislature and friend of Clayton's, in explaining why free and open discussion about slavery in the South does not occur, points to fear of African Americans: "They [negroes] have as long ears as little pitchers, and they are such a sort of fussy set, that whatever is going on in the community is always in their mouths, and so comes up that old fear of insurrection. That's the awful word, Clayton! *That* lies at the bottom of a good many things in our state, more that we choose to let on. These negroes are a black well; you never know what's at the bottom" (469). Thus, the novel frames the South's situation in these terms: while suggesting that the region's state of

anxiety renders it unwilling to discuss slavery, the novel considers the idea that making it feel yet more threatened could reopen discussion.

After articulating that being "at ease" renders an audience less susceptible to persuasion, Stowe concludes the paragraph by alluding to a shift in perspective that she hopes the audience, by imaginatively journeying into the Dismal Swamp, will achieve: "We must add, also, to our estimate, the feelings and reasonings of the slave; and, therefore, the reader must follow us again to the fastness in the Dismal Swamp" (445). The passage, as scholarship notes, indicates the emphasis that Stowe places on considering the slaves' perspective. But to what end? Offering the perspective of marooned slaves fulfills a particular purpose: the arousal of white fear. Much like David Walker, Stowe in *Dred* attempts to marshal the representation of black emotion to spur white readers to experience fear. To make her readers feel ill at ease, she exposes them to Dred's rage in an attempt to catalyze a fear that she hoped could propel a change of heart.

The novel's two chapters to follow offer an inside view of the maroon community where Dred, Harry, Lissette, and Tiff along with his white charges reside. It begins by noting that Dred has the Bible of Denmark Vesey in hand, both Dred and the Bible having been in attendance at "many a secret meeting" (446). Based on his readings of Revelation, the New Testament book wielding a "wild, inspiring power," Dred has interpreted the recent cholera outbreak as "the opening of a seal": "And other woes were yet to come" (447). Although the last of the two chapters concludes with Milly having intervened into the men's discussion, advising that "If dere must come a day of vengeance, pray not to be in it!" Dred's vehement rhetoric nonetheless dominates the chapters to which I will return shortly (461). For now suffice it to say that Dred's

threatening rhetoric indicates the substantive change between this novel and Stowe's previous one, for it indicates a new strategy of appealing to the white South's collective self-interest so as to generate fear.

The Rhetorical Power of Collective Self-Interest

Duquette draws attention to Stowe's passage about being "at ease" to substantiate her argument that one of *Dred*'s chief goals is to "critique…the concept of interest":

> According to Stowe, the ugly reality is that people manipulate both the law and their peers to satisfy their own selfish ends, undermining personal morality and the health of the body politic. When a society is predicated on interest, the virtue and health of the community are subsidiary to, even dependent upon, individual concerns. Interests are so detrimental, Stowe concludes, that they even have the power to "pervert Scripture." (6-7)

For Duquette, *Dred* illustrates Stowe's articulation that the pursuit of self-interest interferes with civic engagement. However, the narrative in fact illustrates Stowe's effort to capitalize rhetorically on white southern self-interest.

Appealing to a collectively shared self-interest via conjuring white southerners' fear of black violence, Stowe hopes to work white southern self-interest to the advantage of abolition. To be sure, the novel identifies "self-preservation" as preventing the southern slave-holding faction from holding open discussion of abolition, an explanation that emerges during an exchange between Clayton and his father, Judge Clayton. Clayton has relinquished his license to practice law in order both to protest the law's failure to recognize the humanity of slaves and to begin reform work outside of the legal realm.

Judge Clayton, while supportive of his son's decision, identifies the roots of the intransigence an abolitionist would face among the southern slave-holders; he uses the term "self-preservation" twice in the course of his response—first, referring to "the instinct of self-preservation" as an "unfailing accuracy" and, second, noting, "They are united against the spirit of the age by a common interest and danger, and the instinct of self-preservation is infallible. No logic is so accurate" (359, 394). Furthermore, the judge underscores that Clayton's acting on his "conscientious convictions will cross self-interest, and the community will not allow you to carry them out" (358).

The events of the narrative confirm the judge's assessment that white fear of black violence underpins southern intransigence on slavery. For example, Tom Gordon appeals to fear of black violence so as to organize a mob. Gordon's article in a local paper, "COVERT ABOLITIONISM! CITIZENS, BEWARE!" calls upon the public to monitor the activities and speaking engagements of Clayton who had been making "inflammatory and seditious comments" with respect to "our negro population." Gordon raises the threat of "sedition and insurrection" to substantiate the urgency of the matter (467-8).

Concern for whites' safety is invoked, moreover, to justify southern laws against slave literacy, which could jeopardize "the safety of our families," according to Mr. Knapp, one of the local men who warns Clayton that legal action will be taken to prevent not only his efforts to educate his slaves but also his receiving of "incendiary documents" through the mail. The presence of such literature works, he says, to "imperil a whole neighborhood" (531). The narrative also attempts to interpret the violent behavior of Tom Gordon and fellow trouble-makers as ultimately stemming from fear for white safety. When Tom Gordon and his associates attempt to intimidate father Bonnie into

silencing his anti-slavery sermons, Clayton and Mr. Brown, a church elder, intervene, running off the aggressors and tending to father Bonnie's wounds. Of the opinion that a preacher's agitations could prove dangerous to the community, Brown advises Bonnie to remember that "our institutions are peculiar; our negroes are ignorant and inflammable, easily wrought upon, and the most frightful consequences may result. That's the reason why there is so much sensation when any discussion is begun which relates to them" (487). Without suggesting that Stowe announces her thoughts via Brown, whose unwillingness to confront the problem of slavery head-on earns him the criticism of the narrator, I propose that his attempt to account for the strong, even violent reactions, that abolitionist ideas elicit among his neighbors bears considering. Rather than framing the mob's actions as indications of inexplicable evil, Brown believes that its participants act out of fear. In short, the novel acknowledges that rabble-rousers like Gordon readily tap fear to generate mob activity. This fear of compromised safety appears to propel not only white southerners' reluctance to consider possibilities for ending slavery but even the most odious and violent behavior launched against the bearers of abolitionist ideas.

If concern for self-preservation ossifies the slave-holding position, Stowe experiments with working such self-interest to the advantage of abolition. *Dred* posits that if supporters of slavery can be convinced that the holding of slaves is more dangerous than emancipating them, then perhaps progress toward changing public opinion can be made. In this way, Stowe's strategy hinges on reworking Thomas Jefferson's famous articulation of the dilemma that slavery presented to white southerners fearful of emancipation: "we have a wolf by the ears, and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go. Justice is in one scale, and self-preservation in the other"

(332).[9] The novel invites readers to envision a scale whose contents have been repositioned so that justice along with self-preservation are in one and violent death in the other. In order to do so, Stowe offers Dred as an intimidating force whose rhetoric, resembling Walker's, could substantiate such a realignment.

In order to establish how Stowe appeals to self-interest, I return to Walker, for if there are similarities in their rhetorical strategies, there are also marked differences, and attending to the them aids in deciphering Stowe's underlying strategy. Walker expresses outrage that African Americans have been portrayed as "injurious to society and [them]selves" and as "throat-cutters" when not confined by bondage (66, 69). Identifying the colonization movement as responsible for these false depictions, Walker writes:

> Some of the advocates of this cunningly devised plot of Satan [colonization] represent us to be the greatest set of cut-throats in the world, as though God wants us to take his work out of his hand before he is ready. Does not vengeance belong to the Lord? Is he not able to repay the Americans for their cruelties, with which they have afflicted Africa's sons and daughters, without our interference, unless we are ordered?....Now, what can be more aggravating, than for the Americans, after having treated us so bad, to hold us up to the world as such great throat-cutters?....See the African Repository and Colonial Journal, from its commencement to the present day—see how we are through the medium of that periodical, abused and held up by the Americans, as the greatest nuisance to society, and throat-cutters in the world (69).

In fact, rather than eagerly anticipating a day of retribution, Walker regrets that the United States' stubbornness and refusal to "treat [blacks] like men" would bring about violence (69). In this rhetorical move, Walker establishes that black Americans are peace-seeking, desiring non-violent reconciliation; if only whites would be true to the promises of the nation's founding documents, "the whole of the past will be sunk into oblivion, and we yet, under God, will become a united and happy people" (70). In this same section, "Our Wretchedness in Consequence of the Colonizing Plan," Walker goes on to quote portions of the Declaration of Independence. Insofar as he articulates that the U. S. has failed to fulfill its democratic promise and casts African Americans as having been provoked unjustly, Walker displays his well-noted strategy of placing black liberation within the context of the American Revolution. By representing African Americans as reluctant participants in the meting out of a "vengeance" that belongs exclusively to the Lord—a vengeance, moreover, that could still be retracted—, Walker counters southern whites' fears that African Americans would be vindictive and violent if not restrained by slavery.

But Walker also incorporates descriptions of black anger that suggest he puts to his service white fears of African Americans as bent on a vengeance that is not exclusively divine. Walker reproduces an article entitled "Affray and Murder" published in the *Columbian Centinel*, relaying events having occurred in Ohio the previous month. A group of slaves being driven across the country manages to kill the whites transporting them, except for one, who feigns injury, and with the help of one of the female slaves is able to mount his horse and go for help. As a result, the fugitives are recaptured and will be sent to trial for murder. Angered and perplexed by the woman's behavior, Walker goes

on to speculate that slavery has beaten the "courage" out of slaves, but if it can be activated, he warns, then whites will have much to fear.

In depicting African Americans as formidable opponents, however, Walker goes so far as to claim that they actually "glory in death," a description quite similar to the charge against African Americans launched by the colonization society that later in the *Appeal* elicits his outrage (African Americans as "throat-cutters," quoted above). Moreover, Walker, while noting that the U.S. has treated slaves "like brutes," employs animal imagery himself to describe blacks' "unconquerable disposition":

> I do declare it, that one good black man can put to death six white men; and I give it as a fact, let twelve black men get well armed for battle, and they will kill and put to flight fifty whites.—The reason is, the blacks, once you get them started, *they glory in death*. The whites have had us under them for more than three centuries, murdering, and *treating us like brutes*; and, as Mr. Jefferson wisely said, they have never found us out—they do not know, indeed, that there is an unconquerable disposition in the breasts of blacks, which, when it is fully awakened and put in motion, will be subdued, only with the destruction of the animal existence. *Get the blacks started, and if you do not have a gang of tigers and lions to deal with*, I am a deceiver of the blacks and of the whites. (25, emphasis added)

This passage along with other instances in which Walker taunts whites—"my colour will root some of them out of the very face of the earth," "The whites shall have enough of the blacks…." and "their stomachs shall run over with us"—indicate that Walker also uses language to render his warnings of black revolt within a context other

than the American Revolution: white fears of black vengeance. (20, 32, 62). These two modes of representing black anger—as inheriting the spirit of the American Revolution and as fulfilling antebellum white fears of African Americans as bloodthirsty and vindictive—uneasily coexist in the *Appeal*. While Walker wanted to establish black resistance within the legacy of the American Revolution, so as to enable whites to accept blacks as Americans, he also recognized the entrenchment of his era's racism and therefore deploys white fear of black vengeance for persuasive power. For this reason the *Appeal* offers the seemingly contradictory message that whites should lay aside their fears of black violence at the same time that it deliberately stokes them. If white Americans would not acknowledge that African Americans had earned citizenship with their "*blood and tears*," then perhaps fear of their own demise—not just spiritual condemnation but physical death brought about by black violence—would convince them (65).

Whereas Walker offers these dueling frameworks for conceptualizing black rebellion, Stowe emphasizes that Dred is not bloodthirsty. According to the narrator, Dred "was not a man of personal malignity to any human being. When he contemplated schemes of insurrection and bloodshed, he did so with the calm, immovable firmness of one who felt himself an instrument of doom in a mightier hand" (447). His "gentleness" comes through in his interactions with the white children in Tiff's care; in other "circumstances," he might have been a "poet" (446). Representing Dred as averse to violence yet willing to employ it due to an oppressor's ongoing aggression corresponds with placing him, as the novel does, in the tradition of the American Revolution. In fact, Dred reads from the Declaration of Independence to his fellow conspirators, which is

consistent, as Levine notes, with Stowe's efforts throughout the novel to position not only Dred but also Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner as continuing the work that the American Revolution left incomplete.[10]

To be sure, though Stowe seeks to frighten white readers with Dred, she does not present him as glorying in the thought of taking vengeance. In fact, the word "vengeance" appears several times in the novel, some instances of which describe the desires and actions of the cruel planter Tom Gordon. In the instances that Dred uses the term "vengeance," he is quoting from Scripture, identifying vengeance as the Lord's work and thereby positioning himself as a reluctant executor of divine will.[11] In the few instances in which he is not quoting scripture, his use of the term directly relates to a passage he has just recited.[12]

Though Dred is not bloodthirsty, it is his fiery, Old Testament-inspired eloquence, rather than his gentleness, that dominates the two chapters. Harry allows Dred to read the letter that Clayton had sent, which advises that violent recourse would be ill-advised. Clayton acknowledges that recent events justify Harry's desire for vengeance. His owner, Tom Gordon, has refused Harry's long-promised manumission, and Harry's sister, who has killed her children rather than allow them to be sold into slavery, now awaits trial for murder. Upon reading Clayton's letter advising patience, Dred becomes "agitate[d]," asserting that the terrors ("the cup of trembling") experienced by slaves on a daily basis will at some point be visited upon their oppressors. Recalling the narrator's language, Dred describes their oppressors as being "at ease": "the Lord shall take out of our hand the cup of trembling, and put it into the hand of those that oppress us. Our soul is exceedingly filled now with the scorning of them that are at ease, and with the contempt

of the proud" (450). Clayton, too, had used this very language in describing himself, underlining the narrator's words that "even those of us who feel most, …look on the arguments for and against the system of slavery with the eyes of those who are at ease": "I know it seems a very unfeeling thing for a man who is at ease to tell one, who is oppressed and suffering, to be patient; and yet I must say it" (445, 442). Nonetheless, his advice to be patient infuriates the maroon community, as he anticipated it would.

Although Dred is not vengeful, one of his co-conspirators, Hannibal, expresses a desire for vengeance. After having prayed aloud, asking, "Wilt thou not avenge thine own elect….?" Dred explains to the co-conspirators that "the token is not yet come!" The time for rebellion has not yet arrived; they must be patient yet ready, "for the day cometh!" In response, Hannibal articulates a competing understanding of rebellion: "We will reward them as they have rewarded us! In the cup that they have filled to us we will measure to them again!" Dred repudiates such a vision: "God forbid…that the elect of the Lord should do that! When the Lord saith unto us, Smite, then will we smite! We will not torment them with the scourge and fire, nor defile their women, as they have done with ours! But we will slay them utterly, and consume them from off the face of the earth!" (460).

Stowe, then, shows that the anger engendered by slavery can take a number of forms, and Dred, though in opposition to vengeance, nonetheless reveals a plan for revolt that would have been only slightly less terrifying than Hannibal's for white readers. By giving a small glimpse of the depths of Hannibal's anger and his conceptualization of insurrection, she gives very little space to capitalizing on white fears of black vengeance. Nonetheless, she communicates that while the maroon community's leader strives to

abide by a biblical understanding of justice and to carry on the legacy of the American Revolution, he is one among many others, all equally outraged and angered by the experience of bondage.

Representing Dred as peace-seeking renders the role of fear in her rhetorical strategy no less central than it is in Walker's. But it does suggest that there were limits to where she would take her rhetoric of fear; Stowe was not willing to exploit fully the image of black conspirators as the bloodthirsty fiends that white, and especially southern, print used to describe both the masses involved in the Haitian Revolution and Nat Turner.[13] The ambivalence the novel expresses in other passages about the ethics and efficacy of fearful suasion, to be addressed next, coincides with this representation of Dred.

"Terrible Threats": Probing the Ethics and Efficacy of Appeals to Fear

More than working to elicit fear, the novel also probes the efficacy and ethics of this rhetorical mode. To do so, Stowe makes the issue of religious conviction central, suggesting that the very challenges faced by those who seek to instill long-term change in revival-goers are shared by abolitionists who work to persuade southern slaveholders as well as the general public of the merits of abolition. In fact, father Dickson, as a minister and an abolitionist, faces the challenges of both. The conversations in which characters directly discuss the merits of fear-based persuasion—in the context of abolition and revival sermons—contextualize the novel's focus on insurrection, enabling us to see *Dred* as a meditation on appeals to fear over and above militant action. These conversations also ultimately suggest Stowe's ambivalence about appeals to fear: though she enlists the

persuasive power of the threat of slave revolt, Stowe registers irresoluteness about doing so.

Stowe's interest in rhetoric comes through in her portrayal of the "clerical conference." Clayton participates in this gathering of ministers, some from northern states, engaging them in conversation about slavery. The narrator's sarcasm cannot be overlooked in her depictions of most of the ministers, but it is the depiction of Dr. Packthread, "a minister of a leading church, in one of the northern cities," whose rhetorical practices stand out for eliciting the narrator's wholesale contempt. Not only is the minister a "cunning master of all forms of indirection" but also, as one "expert in all those parliamentary modes," he never overtly appeals to emotion, achieving his rhetorical aims "in the neatest and most tasteful manner."[14] A "spider" who considers the "simple-hearted" as prey to be "entrapped and deceived," bound within a "web" of words, Packthread earns the narrator's harshest criticism (415-16).

Father Dickson offers a "striking contrast" to Packthread and his way with words. In fact, the narrator praises his "simple and unstudied acts of constant good-will" (417). Most significantly, Dickson's way of speaking hinges on the expression of and appeal to emotion: "As he spoke with feeling, he awakened feeling in return." For example, Dickson's camp-meeting sermon on the sinfulness of slavery, in which he rebukes the church, employs sentimental conventions in its references to the "separation of families, and the rending of all domestic ties." But it also attempts to frighten listeners in the jeremiadic tradition, warning that "if there was not immediate repentance and reformation, the land would yet be given up to the visitations of divine wrath" (287). By endorsing Dickson's rhetorical tactics, the narrator weighs in on the merits of emotional

appeals, contributing a perspective on rhetoric and affect that adds to those offered by a number of characters.

Though the narrator seems to endorse Dickson's tactics as ethical, their long-term efficacy remains undetermined. While his sermon moves the crowd so that "many were affected even to tears," the narrator suggests that the sermon's impact could prove transient: "when the sermon was over, it seemed to melt away, as a wave flows back to the sea. It was far easier to join in a temporary whirlwind of excitement, than to take into consideration troublesome, difficult, and expensive reforms." The emotional intensity elicited from the revival-goers has dissipated by the following morning.

A sermon by father Bonnie also elicits a conversation about the efficacy of emotional appeals. Marked by "vehement denunciations and passionate appeals," the sermon prompts several characters to acknowledge that their primary concern is the ability of a sermon to stir their emotions. Some point out that the martial language evident not only in Bonnie's sermon but also in the hymns and other sermons stirs them but that the effects prove transient (249).[15] Nina too finds emotion-rousing preaching lacking: "There are two kinds of sermons and hymns; one gets me to sleep, and the other excites and stirs me up in a general kind of way; but they don't either seem to do me real good." Though Clayton does not find himself swayed by emotional appeals, he does believe that there is "advantage in everything that stirs up the soul, even though we see no immediate results" (254). Illustrating the unsavory ends to which affecting language can be put, the slave-hunter Dakin says to his wife that the martial language makes him want to "enlist" as a "soldier" of Christ, but in a matter of minutes he rolls up his sleeves to fistfight a fellow slave-hunter (256).

By staging conversations about the ethicality and efficacy of fear-based appeals, Stowe signals her cognizance of conversations at work in Protestant culture during the period known as the Second Great Awakening, which spanned the Revolution up to the Civil War, regarding the rhetorical tactics of revivalism. Despite its longevity, the Second Great Awakening generated widespread debate about its methods for inspiring conversion. In fact, according to James D. Bratt, "by the 1840s the whole system [of revivalism] had come under attack as being—severally or in some combination—bad for the faith, bad for the believer, bad for the church, bad for society" ("Religious" 72). The "emotional excesses" of revivalism in particular came under fire; as Bratt explains, audiences came to expect the sensational, ever seeking "something more dramatic to prick their emotions" ("Religious" 73). In fact, an anonymous article critical of revivals, published in 1827 in the Unitarian journal, *Christian Examiner and Theological Review*, criticizes the revivals led by Charles Finney in particular as "depend[ing] on exciting the passions, and not on enlightening the understanding" (254).[16] In addition to the emotions roused in the audience, the article criticizes Finney's emotional affectation, noting that "coarse passions, and those especially which are expressed in strong and boisterous tones and gestures, are easily affected" (249). Among the "bad effects, immediate and remote, of these excesses," listed by the author, is "a presumptuous reliance on supposed divine impulses" (262).

Cultivating in converts this desire for the sensational could lead to unintended results, critics warned. To be sure, revivals were accused of failing to generate among converts the long-term change of heart that they sought. At its worst, the strategy of pushing for immediate, emotion-based conversion could result in newcomers' ultimately

leaving their Protestant denomination either for other sources that might quench their newly instilled thirst for the sensational—perhaps an extremist sect—or, in an act of rebellion against revivalism's theatrics, for the formalism of Catholicism (Bratt, *Antirevivalism* 272-75). Thus, the anti-revivalists had some of the same misgivings about revivalist methods of suasion that Stowe—as well as David Walker and Caroline Hentz—had with appeals to fear: though powerful, emotional appeals could move the audience in ways contrary to the rhetor's intention.

More than criticizing revivalism's general emotionalism and warning of its ill effects, anti-revivalists specifically pinpointed its deployment of religious terror as unconscionable. A letter to the editor, in defense of revivals, appearing in the *Christian Spectator* in 1822, in fact**,** identifies "preaching up terror" as the foremost criticism launched against revivals.[17] Signed by H. Humphrey, the letter addresses some of the common criticisms of revivalism, including the use of fear-based persuasion, in order to illustrate how a recent revival defies such criticisms, and it is from Humphrey's articulation that this chapter takes its title: "Ministers, it is alleged, have it in their power, at almost any time, by preaching up terror, to agitate weak nerves and frighten women and children….This, according to the objectors, is the general character of what are called revivals of religion." Detractors attribute revivalism's ostensible successes to the theatrics of revival preachers whose fear-inducing tactics elicit response exclusively from those who allegedly are prone to be guided by emotion rather than reason—women and children, along with the "lower classes."

Humphrey goes on to describe a recent revival in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, however, in which the "heads of families…men of sound minds and strong nerves, …

who are strangers to fear and far from every thing like religious enthusiasm, …[were] trembling in view of their sinfulness, and heard asking 'what shall we do to be saved?'" For Humphrey, identifying a revival in which it was respectable patriarchs, rather than exclusively women, children, and the lower classes, who "were frightened by the preaching of the Word" authenticates the fear—and subsequent conversions—experienced at revivals as induced by the Holy Spirit rather than provoked by stagy ministers. The writer concludes the letter by turning the rhetoric of fear to his own advantage, implying that in light of the evidence from Pittsfield, anti-revivalists consequently should experience fear themselves for having denied the authenticity of revivals: "Frequently in view of the scene, I have felt almost constrained to ask, *Who is frightened now*?" (220, 221).

The "preaching up [of] terror" that Humphrey attempts to justify receives special attention in *Dred* as a mode of suasion that elicits a range of responses. In another of Father Bonnie's sermons, to which readers have access, the persuasive strategy hinges on warnings of divine wrath: "O, there'll be a time of wrath, by and by, if you don't repent!...You wouldn't take mercy when it was offered, and now you shall have wrath! No place to hide! The heavens and earth are passing away, and there shall be no more sea! There's no place for you now in God's universe." His appeal to fear has an immediate effect, generating "tumultuous responses from the audience" (259, 260).

Not all respond enthusiastically. Weeping with "wild, tremulous excitement," Nina calls the experience "dreadful" and asks Clayton to escort her away from the preaching. Once removed from the crowd, she asks whether "these things do harm sometimes," confessing that she "do[es] not like these terrible threats." She seeks a

religious conversion "[n]ot driven by fear, but drawn by love" (261).[18] Appeals to religious fear, the narrative demonstrates, elicit a range of responses.

Stowe sharply juxtaposes this scene illuminating the mixed response to sermons that hinge on fear with another equally affecting appeal to fear—one made by a marooned slave. In the midst of their singing and praying, the revival-goers encounter an unknown voice "pealing down" from above. It is Dred's voice that booms down "directly from the thick canopy of pines over the heads of the ministers" as he threatens in the language of the Old Testament that desolation and destruction are to come should the people continue in sin. He warns: "The horseman lifteth up the sword and glittering spear! and there is a multitude of slain! There is no end of their corpses!" With Dred's reference to the "the bloody city" that is "full of lies and robbery" as well as the "noise of the whip," his audience—provoked into a "mysterious panic"—should be able to discern that slavery is the sin referenced, but it is unclear how many do (262-63).[19]

By juxtaposing these scenes from the revival grounds—a conversation about the efficacy and ethicality of appealing to fear and the delivery of a fiery jeremiad that causes a "mysterious panic" among the crowd—, Stowe indicates that she is interested in the workings of fear-inducing rhetoric beyond the slavery debates. The insight gained from considering the rhetoric of fear within the context of revivalism, however, proffers little clarity. Indeed, given the range of personal responses and ambiguity regarding how efficacious the emotional appeals made at the revival would prove to be, it is unclear whether we are to gravitate toward Clayton's or Nina's perspective. Moreover, Packthread's willingness to manipulate his emotional expression for rhetorical gains—

lampooned by the narrator as unethical—further makes the novel's commentary on rhetoric and affect difficult to discern.

Rather than indicating a lapse in Stowe's ability to plot the novel, however, the indeterminacy is precisely the point. *Dred* establishes that centering an argument on emotional, and especially fear-based, appeals involves risks. Stowe's depiction of the revival illustrates that although powerful, fear-based appeals can move the audience in unpredictable and counterproductive ways (lead them to want to fistfight their neighbors, as Dakin attests), evoke an immediate response that soon thereafter dissipates (as the narrator notes is true of many revival-goers), elicit repulsion (as in Nina's response to Bonnie's sermon), fail to have an effect (as in Clayton's response to Bonnie's sermon), or inspire thoughtful change (as in Nina's response to Dickson's final sermon).

Clayton, as a self-proclaimed "enemy to stagnation" who believes that "there is advantage in everything that stirs up the soul, even though we see no immediate results," continues to dwell on the issues of rhetoric and affect (254). Sometime after the revival, he and his parents (Judge and Mrs. Clayton) discuss the best methods for changing the tide of public opinion on slavery. Clayton plans to "excite the public mind on the injustice of the present slave-law," whereas his parents prefer a more "gradual" approach, for there "is such a prejudice against abolitionists." According to Clayton's logic, "People have got to be shocked…in order to wake them up out of old absurd routine. Use paralyzes us to almost every injustice; when people are shocked, they begin to think and to inquire" (393). As Levine suggests, although Clayton never fully relinquishes his "paternalis[m]," he does "com[e] close to concluding that there are compelling reasons for blacks to adopt the tactics of violent insurrectionism" (Introduction, xxiii, xxiv).

Clayton's belief in shocking the public as a means of prodding people to reconsider slavery, moreover, is one that Stowe herself deploys in the novel. Though *Dred* concludes with Clayton's emancipating his slaves and emigrating with them to Canada, Clayton has spent a good deal of time in conversation with others—whites, slaves, and maroons—about how to end slavery, and in his conversation with whites, it is often the threat of future slave violence that underpins his arguments.

When confronted by a group of prominent local men who warn that there will be repercussions for receiving through the mail "incendiary documents" and for breaking laws against teaching slaves to read, Clayton warns that the lesson to be learned from the Denmark Vesey conspiracy is that slaves who desire "knowledge" but are denied it by their masters will nonetheless obtain it for themselves. If they do, "they will assuredly use it against you" (530). In a conversation with Frank Russel, he maintains, "If you want insurrection, the only way is to shut down the escape-valve; for, will ye nill ye, the steam must rise," recalling Frederick Douglass's warning in his *Narrative* (369).[20] And although Clayton would later advise Harry that he, Dred, and the other maroons should not pursue a revolt, it appears that if Clayton and Dred could not agree that the time had come for collective black violence, they do agree on the power of appeals to fear of that violence.

Indeed, aside from his apocalyptic sermon, Stowe's title character also specifically speaks about the power of fear. Referencing the historical figure whom his character conjures, Dred exclaims, "Nat Turner—they killed him; but the fear of him almost drove them to set free their slaves! Yes, it was argued among them. They came within two or three votes of it in their assembly. A little more fear, and they would have

done it" (341). Whether a similar fear could both be stoked through the threat of violence, without violence itself, and render better results is left unanswered, but given that Dred has been killed and a number of the maroons have headed for the North, it seems unlikely. Instead, Levine's argument that the Appendix, which reproduces Nat Turner's confession made to Thomas R. Gray while excising the interviewer's assurance to white readers that all of the insurrectionists had been apprehended, forecasts a violent southern future is compelling.[21] But if there was little hope for the fictional South represented in the narrative, perhaps the novel could, despite Stowe's ambivalence about fear-based persuasion, complete the work that Dred dies without having finished—scaring the white South into action—and thus engender via language the fear that Nat Turner had provoked with violence.

Levine underscores that Stowe's understanding of race evolved over time, despite our tendency to pin her down as the supporter of colonization that she appears to be in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and that she benefited from conversations with black intellectuals, primarily Douglass.[22] Placing Stowe in conversation with Walker supports Levine's claim. But bringing these authors together illuminates yet more. Once attuned to Stowe's conversation with Walker, we can discern that what critics take to be structural flaws in the novel—what David Miller calls the "polemical character of many of the dialogues, frequent interludes of preaching, and a listless plot"—are actually fundamental to the text's central concern with the ethics and efficacy of fear appeals (95). Recognizing Walker's shaping influence on *Dred*, in other words, enables an alternative understanding of Stowe and her work just as it illuminates the impact of Walker and his "incendiary pamphlet" on American literary history writ large.

Martin Delany's *Blake* and the Rhetoric of Vengeance

In 1861 William Wells Brown had this to say about Martin Delany: "Like the Quaker, who when going to fight pulled off his coat, and laying it down, said, 'There lie thee, Quaker, till I whip this fellow,' so the Doctor, when going to address an audience, lays aside every classic idea of elocution and rhetoric, and says, 'Remain there till I frighten these people' (qtd. in Ripley, *The Black Abolitionist Papers* 472-3).[23] Robert S. Levine offers the context of political rivalry to explain the motivation behind Brown's "caricatured picture" of Delany, which comprised two lengthy paragraphs in an article on the black population of Canada, published in the *Pine and Palm* in its September 28, 1861 issue (qtd. in Levine, *Documentary* 369). Specifically, Levine notes that Brown and Delany both sought recruits among African Canadians for their respective emigration schemes. To be sure, in his "uncouth…attack" on Delany—as Delany subsequently would term it—, Brown works to undermine Delany's emigration plan, foregrounding the news that the treaty (guaranteeing African land for American blacks) between Delany and the Lagos leaders had been dissolved.

In seeking to undermine Delany's African emigration scheme, however, why does Brown focus on his rival's rhetorical style (or alleged lack thereof)? In characterizing Delany's interactions with the potential recruits, Brown excludes the goal of frightening an audience from the purview of "classic…elocution and rhetoric." Delany, according to Brown, prefers to "frighten" rather than persuade his audience. In Delany's brief response to Brown's statements, which appeared in the *Weekly Anglo-African* the following month, Delany says that they constitute "shameless misrepresentation," but he

exclusively addresses Brown's misrepresentation of his plans for Lagos; he does not contest Brown's depiction of him as a fear-stoking rhetor (qtd in Levine, *Documentary* 369).

Earlier that year Blake had fulfilled Brown's characterization of his (non)rhetorical goals in a letter to James T. Holly penned in January of 1861.[24] In this letter Delany expresses his disinclination to support Holly's plan for Haitian emigration, insisting that his lack of support does not stem from fear that Holly's plan would negatively impact his own scheme for emigration (to Africa). To substantiate the point, Delany describes in brief the parameters of his own emigration scheme, which would involve "no promiscuous or general emigration to Africa, (as the country needs no laborers, these everywhere abounding, industriously employed in various occupations,) but select and intelligent people to guide and direct the industry, and promote civilization" (367). Whereas Holly, according to Delany, envisions emigration to Haiti as an opportunity for black southerners to relocate, Delany—in this particular articulation—envisions African emigration quite differently. He hoped that a small amount of emigration to and development of Africa would provide competition with the U.S. in production (identified elsewhere as cotton), which would result in the demise of American slavery (367). Delany's plan for African emigration as articulated in the Holly letter, then, appears to leave open the possibility of a slave-free but black-filled U. S. South.

Delany concludes the letter by acknowledging the type of response from the slaveholding South that he hoped to elicit: "In this we desire not to shed their (the Southern monsters') blood, but make them shed their tears" (367). This statement places

a heightened value on eliciting an affective response from slaveholding southerners over taking militant action. In this regard, Delany seemingly affirms the discourse of sentimentality and moral suasion, both of which placed value on affective response within the persuasive process. However, Delany conspicuously invokes tears to denote the expression of something other than sympathy—fear. Once Africa had placed financial pressure on the U.S. South via competing cotton production, the South would feel threatened by and fearful of the pending changes to southern society that such international competition would demand—indicated by the shedding of tears.

Clearly, then, a southern affective response was not Delany's ultimate "desire" but rather such a response would indicate that his plan had reached an intermediate stage. Given that Delany already has clarified in the letter that his emigration scheme would involve only a few black Americans, we might assume that he envisions the rest remaining where they are, the majority of which were in southern states. In other words, provoking a state of uneasiness in the South presumably would render the region more ready to imagine a black-populated but slavery-free South. In short, his desire to "make them [white southerners] shed their tears" appears to be a preliminary step to ensuring a future South populated with black citizens.

As Levine emphasizes in the Introduction to his *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader*, though Delany is often referred to as an early promoter of black nationalism and an ardent supporter of black emigration, one should keep in mind that his conceptualization of "nationalism," "elevation," and "emigration" was dynamic. Paul Gilroy was one of the first scholars to underscore that Delany's ever-evolving position on the relationship of African descendants to the U.S. is a defining characteristic of his

literary output.[25] One thus can trace any number of inconsistencies and contradictions in Delany's writings, especially with regard to his views on emigration, as Levine clarifies: "Delany sometimes talked of emigration as a form of providentialism, what God required of blacks to bring about the regeneration of the race. But at other times he presented emigration as a short-term, small-scale effort that could ultimately improve blacks' condition in the United States" (*Documentary* 6). In the letter to Holly that concludes with a description of how African emigration ultimately could elicit tears from white southerners, Delany's articulation of the scheme fits the latter category: eliciting fear from whites would be key for black Americans to shape their future within the U.S.

Attending to Delany's rhetorical efforts to induce fear alongside those of Hentz and Stowe illuminates that his rhetoric was in keeping with this contemporaries. To be sure, in implying that Delany's appeals to fear were inconsistent with the rhetorical tactics of other rhetors of the time, Brown is inaccurate in his assessment of Delany. By the 1850s, many rhetors, following in Walker's footsteps, were seeking to "frighten these people." That Delany turns to a symbol of emotive response—tears—in order to articulate the logic underpinning his colonization scheme is indicative of his rhetorical strategy in *Blake*. But, even more, Delany's representation of how fear in particular is generated via political maneuvering in Cuba can inform our understanding of Delany's larger rhetorical strategy in the novel. I contextualize *Blake*'s staging of what Sundquist calls "conspiracy" and "countersubversion" with other writers' meditations on the possible gains and risks offered by rhetorical fear (198). While scholarship focuses on Delany's views on violent resistance, I illuminate his views on violent rhetoric. Analyses that overemphasize the distinction between moral suasion and statements advocating

collective black resistance (or fiction favorably representing it) tend to imply inaccurately that these rhetorical modes have mutually exclusive goals—with the former seeking to persuade white Americans to eliminate slavery and the latter seeking to embolden African Americans to seize freedom through violence.[26] By focusing on Delany's violent rhetoric, I underline that his endorsement of violent resistance does not signal a forfeiture of persuasion as a tool or of counting white Americans among his audience. Rather, like many rhetors of the antebellum period, he found in depicting and advocating violence another approach for arguing African Americans' cause. Moreover, placing *Blake* alongside novels by Hentz and Stowe, I offer another vantage point for understanding Delany's engagement with his contemporaries as well as for recognizing the role of rhetoric deployed in 1850s novels about the South.

Dessalines' Revolution

As Katy Chiles underscores, the limited reference in *Blake* to Haiti is conspicuous. Chiles attends to discussion about emigration carried out in periodicals of the period. Against this backdrop, she underscores that Delany, once an outspoken admirer of Haiti and proponent of Haiti as a destination to which American blacks could emigrate, begins by the late 1850s to contest its viability as an emigration destination, having set his sights on Africa. With Haiti and emigration as the topics, Delany publicly participated in tense debates (in print) with Holly and Brown, as alluded to above. Chiles insightfully notes that whereas the *Weekly Anglo-African*, which published *Blake* in installments, frequently made Haiti its focus via publishing debates involving Delany and others, Delany's novel, installments of which often appeared alongside articles

participating in the debates, "has little to say" about the first black nation in the Americas (340).[27]

Attending to Delany's deployment of fear, however, renders his oblique attention to Haiti visible. François Furstenberg identifies a seminal tactic of abolitionists that Delany, at least in *Blake,* downplays: "Casting themselves as the *true* descendants of the Founding Fathers and of the nation's founding principles…abolitionists sought to cast slavery as an anti-republican, anti-American institution" (190). Furstenberg identifies David Walker and William Lloyd Garrison as both employing this strategy. Though Walker certainly does invoke the Declaration of Independence to identify slavery as impeding the nation's fulfillment of its revolutionary ideals, he also draws upon the language of vengeance to further frighten white American, as I have shown. In this way, he implements a bifurcated strategy.

For *Blake*'s purposes, however, Delany would prioritize Walker's allusions to black vengeance. To be sure, the novel works to persuade white Americans to terminate slavery by warning of a particularly threatening type of looming black rebellion—one that places vengeance, rather than realization of the American Revolution's goals, as its foremost objective. In doing so, Delany had in American whites' characterization of the Haitian Revolution a ready model from which to draw. "Why," Chiles asks, "would Delany, a celebrated black nationalist and once admirer of Haiti, not employ Haiti in *Blake* as an exemplary instance of black self-governance?" (337). I propose that Haiti occupies an oblique presence in the novel but for a different purpose. Rather than rhetorically packaging Haiti as an example of the achievement of Caribbean blacks who had been inspired by the spirit of the American Revolution, Delany frames revolution as

a type of vengeance, attempting to turn to abolition's advantage whites' fear that American blacks, if not tightly regulated, would seek personal revenge against the slaveholding class. As I will show, the idea that the Haitian Revolution was carried out, not in a righteous quest for liberty, but in bloodlust, circulated among antebellum white Americans, and it offered the very model for framing black violence that Delany would appropriate for *Blake*.

From events in turn-of-the-century St. Domingue, two names emerged as primary leaders in the uprising—Toussaint and Dessalines—that generated two very different responses in the American popular imagination. Whereas Toussaint garnered praise from white Americans as the man who thwarted Napoleon, who displayed magnanimity in his dealings with the former planter class, and who put the newly emancipated slaves to work, Dessalines was known for his intemperate display of violence. In his novel *The Grandissimes* (1880), George Washington Cable recalled that at the turn of the century, Dessalines' name had been synonymous with terror for New Orleans' Creoles as well as the nation's whites.[28]

In comparison to the excessive violence that marks accounts of Dessalines's military leadership, Toussaint immediately emerged as a hero in American print, regardless of the ideological orientation of the writer penning the account. As Alfred N. Hunt demonstrates, "To Americans, Dessalines was the sinister figure representing a long line of violent, vengeful leaders; Toussaint represented stability and forgiveness" (91). The first Toussaint biography to appear after his death, *The Life and Achievement of Toussaint Louverture* (1804), became a prototype for subsequent commendations of the slave-cum-national-leader. The anonymous author, probably of English origin according

to Hunt, ranks foremost Toussaint's embrace of prudence, moderation, and forgiveness, commenting that the leader had no place for "racial hatred" or "revenge" (Hunt 88).

Toussaint's magnanimity, especially with respect to his treatment of the planter class after blacks had secured control of the island, would characterize references to Toussaint in American print as well. Toussaint's name appeared in American periodicals of various political leanings, all of which praised him, though for different reasons. But it was his refusal to indulge in retributive violence during the Revolution and its aftermath that unites the various groups' praises for him: "As the slavery controversy gained emotional intensity in the early nineteenth century, Toussaint became an important symbol of stability and reason in a world seemingly dominated by anger, passion, and the threat of violence" (Hunt 87-8). For black abolitionists, Toussaint represented an emboldening example of what a former slave could accomplish, but he also embodied hope for a peaceful future. African American abolitionist James McCune Smith, for example, called him both a "spirit of peace" and "the benefactor of mankind" (28). Although a letter signed "Nero" and sent from Boston to Southampton County, Virginia, soon after the Nat Turner rebellion invoked the "genius of Toussaint" in threatening black vengeance, white abolitionists almost always praised Toussaint's temperance, seeing him, as did Smith, as an instrument of peace (146).[29] Much like abolitionists, slaveholders and their sympathizers noted Toussaint's refusal to tolerate vindictiveness. In addition, they were pleased not only that Toussaint had ousted France but also that he was willing to impose a forced-labor policy on Haiti's blacks to keep up the agricultural output (Hunt 84-101).

Publications memorializing Toussaint continued throughout the century, appearing from Lydia Maria Child, William Wells Brown, and Henry Adams. For all of them, Toussaint's remarkably non-vindictive spirit earned him special regard. Brown, whose *The Black Man, His Antecedents, His Genius and His Achievements* (1863) includes chapters on both Toussaint and Dessalines, emphasizes Toussaint's "kind heart": "One of his chief characteristics was his humanity" (111, 97). Though Brown directly counters the common assessment of Dessalines "as a bloodthirsty monster, who delighted in the sufferings of his fellow-creatures," he does not refrain from describing him as "savage" or from recounting one of the acts that earned Dessalines the distinction—the hanging of five hundred white prisoners in front of the French. Whereas Toussaint is associated with the revolutionary spirit—a more fitting inheritor of the spirit of the American Revolution, Brown implies, than George Washington—, Dessalines is linked with the concept of "revenge": "Then it was that Dessalines, the ferocious chief, satisfied his long pent-up revenge against the white planters and French soldiers that he made prisoners" (Brown 101). In short, even in attempting to save Dessalines from ignominy, Brown frames his wartime actions in terms of vengeance as opposed to Toussaint's (much more praise-worthy, from Brown's perspective) display of a spirit in keeping with that of the American Revolution.

Brown's *The Black Man* thus identifies two general perspectives at work in the nineteenth century on the idea of slave revolt—as either the exercise of collective revenge or as the righteous pursuit of liberty associated with the spirit of the American Revolution. Dessalines came to be affiliated with revenge, Toussaint with the American Revolution. Delany demonstrates a cognizance of the distinction, enlisting the service of

the former in the appeal to fear he undertakes in *Blake*. Though Delany by the late 1850s had reconsidered the destination of his emigration scheme and therefore seldom mentions Haiti in *Blake*, he nonetheless—in repeatedly invoking the language of vengeance—capitalizes on the association of black revolution in the Caribbean with the terror of Dessalines. One of Delany's narrative strategies in *Blake*, then, is to catalyze fear so as to impel antislavery sentiment. Delany thus experiments with placing rhetorical value in Dessalines' legacy over Toussaint's.

Andy Doolen suggests that Delany's "rejection of American revolutionary rhetoric and ideology serves as a catalyst for the novel's transnational turn toward revolutionary Cuba," and he goes on to claim that Delany "exposes the corruptions of American revolutionary ideology itself" (157, 162). Moreover, "Corruption lay at the national origin, stemming from the fateful and patriotic decision to abandon Gabriel's claim on freedom and to retain slavery in the United States" (Doolen 167). I build on and modify Doolen's claims: In recognizing that the American public refused to consider Gabriel's conspiracy as an attempt to extend the Revolutionary moment into 1800, Delany looks for another means of framing slave revolt that could persuade white Americans to deter its threat, deploying the language of "vengeance" as an alternative. If white America would not accept the belief shared among the conjurors (with whom Blake meets in the swamp) that Denmark Vesey, Gabriel Prosser, and Nat Turner enacted the continuing spirit of the revolution, then perhaps Delany could turn the conception already held by white America—that the insurrectionists were blood-thirsty and seeking vengeance—to abolition's advantage. In doing so, he would be building on a strategy put to use by David Walker and mostly avoided by Stowe.

Not only did Walker to some extent employ this strategy, but also Henry Highland Garnet's representation of Walker, provided in his "A Brief Sketch of the Life and Character of David Walker," which accompanied his republication of the *Appeal* along with his own *Address to the Slaves of the United States* (1848), links the *Appeal*'s author with the concept of vengeance. According to Garnet, Walker, as a young person about to leave his home state of North Carolina for the North, tells his mother, "If I remain in this bloody land, I will not live long. As true as God reigns, I will be avenged for the sorrow which my people have suffered. This is not the place for me—no, no. I must leave this part of the country" (41). Paralleling this scene from Walker's life, Delany has Blake draw upon the language of vengeance in explaining to his wife why he, too, will soon depart to continue the pursuit of vengeance. When Maggie expresses dubiousness about his "grand design upon Cuba," and recommends that he not do anything that could endanger his precarious "free" status as a fugitive, Blake responds: "As God lives, I will avenge your wrongs; and not until they let us alone…will I let them alone" (191-2).

The narrator and characters in *Blake* term the conspiracy "a plot for…destruction," giving little to no attention to the ultimate goals other than desolation of the southern landscape and death of the slaveholding class (107). The narrator describes conditions in South Carolina as particularly oppressive, which force Blake to sleep during daylight and travel through the night, "always keeping to the woods" where he holds meetings with slaves (110). Emphasizing that the co-conspirators seek personal vengeance, the narrator notes: "Many of the confidants of the seclusions were the much-dreaded runaways of the woods, a class of outlawed slaves, who continually seek the

lives of their masters" (110). In depicting the maroons as bent on taking personal vengeance, the narrator makes no effort to align these maroons with American revolutionary ideology. Near the end of the novel, the black Cuban Gofer is described as entering with his "terrible weapon glittering in his hands, eyes flashing and teeth gnashing for vengeance on his oppressors" (284). Much like the maroons of South Carolina, Gofer and other Cubans are depicted as conceptualizing rebellion in terms of vengeance.

The focus on blacks' perception of revolt as vengeance persists throughout the narrative. In explaining how his plan to incite a revolt developed, Blake expresses his dis-ease with collective violence, even as he employs expressly violent language to describe the resistance he has been spearheading:

> Had I dealt with Franks as he deserved, for doing that for which he would have taken the life of any man had it been his case—tearing my wife from by bosom!—the most I could take courage directly to do, was to leave him, and take as many from him as I could induce to go. But maturer reflection drove me to the expedient of avenging the general wrongs of our people, by inducing the slave, in his might, to scatter red ruin throughout the region of the South. But still, I cannot find it in my heart to injure an individual, except in personal conflict. (128)

Rather than casting his plan in the language of revolutionary activity, Blake discusses it in terms of personal retaliation. While retaining the concept of retaliation, he almost immediately jettisons the conceptualization of resistance as personal and adopts the concept of "avenging the general wrongs of our people." By calling slave resistance the

"scatter[ing] [of] red ruin," Blake deploys violent metaphor, rendering his plan yet more incendiary for white readers. In other words, Delany's rhetorical strategy of persuading via provoking fear in white readers lends itself to framing resistance as revenge.

Roger H. Hite writes that Blake does not develop into "an atheistic, blood-thirsty avenger," but rather becomes a "religious leader," punctuating Delany's message that religion could fuel revolution (195-6). Though Hite's comment regarding Blake's religious orientation holds, it is also true that Delany's recurring use of the language of "vengeance," "revenge," and "retaliation" to describe the desires of and, in some instances, plans of slaves and maroons, including Blake, suggests a rhetorical strategy that prioritizes fear. This use of vindictive language is interesting in part because on other occasions, Delany specifically turned to the American Revolution as a means of framing black resistance. In fact, as Levine notes, at a meeting on May 8, 1858, called by John Brown to solicit support for his armed rebellion, Delany argued in favor of maintaining Article 46, which made clear that the group positioned itself as an inheritor of the American Revolution's legacy: "And our Flag shall be the same that our Fathers fought under in the American Revolution" (qtd. in Levine, *Martin Delany* 182).[30] To explain this inconsistency, we might speculate that in the novel Delany only temporarily experiments with laying aside the language of American Revolutionary ideology for the language of vengeance. Or we might see the discrepancy as part of what several scholars have called Delany's fluid conceptualization of nationalism, his "pliancy" respecting the concept (Chiles 338). Either way, the language of vengeance suggests that Delany's strategy in *Blake*—much like Walker's—was not merely to embolden blacks but also to terrify whites.

The novel notes, moreover, that whites in the U.S. and Cuba conceive of slaves as set on revenge. Colonel Franks, for example, shortly after realizing that Blake has gone missing, notes that the runaway is "doubtless ready for anything, however vile, for revenge" (52). In addition, during the King's Day celebration in Cuba the narrator gives us insight into the whites' observations of the blacks:

> During the sport of the chase, it was generally observed by the whites that in the event of a slave being caught, instead of—as formerly—indifference on the part of the blacks, or a shout from a portion of the free colored people present, there were gloomy countenances, sour angry expressions and looks of revenge, with general murmuring, which plainly indicated if not a preconcerted action, at least a general understanding pertaining to that particular amusement. (245)

Later relaying to the Count her perspective of the "negro chase" described above, Lady Alcora also uses the word "revenge." She had noticed that one of the Count's aids, Colonel Montego, had responded viscerally to the scene of brutality: "pressing his teeth upon his lip, and placing his hand on the hilt of his sword for a moment, [he] looked a rage of vengeance at the whites" (267). The narrator's attention to white suspicions not solely that a conspiracy is in the works but that it is a conspiracy conceived of as revenge suggests that Delany seeks to clue readers into his rhetorical strategy; he signals his awareness that revenge renders slave revolt all the more terrifying to whites and that his novel works to capitalize on that knowledge.

Complementing the depiction of revolt as revenge, several of the numerous poems included in the novel—some penned by Delany and some by James M. Whitefield but

attributed to Plácido (the pen name of Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés)—foreground images of death and destruction in depicting slave revolt. In terms of their explicit role in the narrative, most of the poems are read aloud before an audience of co-conspirators, their goal not to provoke fear but to embolden listeners. But we should treat them as texts that work on white readers of the novel as well. With this other readership in mind—readers of the novel—we can see that one of the poems in particular significantly indicates a substitution of violent suasion for moral suasion and further contributes to the conceptualization of revolt as revenge.

Described as a "stimulating appeal," the poem, which was penned for a meeting of co-conspirators (mostly Cubans of color in possession of both freedom and wealth), depicts slave suffering, in part to inculcate sympathy for the slaves but primarily to spur support for and confidence in the revolt, which is cast both as revolutionary and as vengeance:

> ….
>
> Were I a slave I would be free!
>
> I would not live to live a slave;
>
> But rise and strike for liberty,
>
> For Freedom, or a martyr's grave!
>
> One look upon the tyrant's chains,
>
> Would draw my sabre from its sheath,
>
> And drive the hot blood through my veins,
>
> To rush for liberty or death!
>
> One look upon my tortured wife,

Shrieking beneath the driver's blows,

Would nerve me on to desp'rate strife,

Nor would I spare her dastard foes!

Arm'd with the vindicating brand,

For once the tyrant's heart should feel;

No milk-sop plea should stay my hand,

The slave's great wrong would drive the steel! (195-6)

Written in the first person, the poem enlists the fictive audience—wealthy, free Cubans of color—in imagining themselves as slaves, observing violence being done to their wives. In identifying with and imaginatively becoming the slave, the audience—whose avatar is the poem's narrator—becomes equipped to mete out "vindicat[ion]" against slaveholders whose crime, significantly, is a failure of sympathy, indicated by the assertion that "For once the tyrant's heart should feel." If appeals to sympathy had failed to penetrate the slaveholders' hearts, the "vindicating brand" would not. Moreover, once the rebellion commences, the rebels themselves would have no place for sympathy, refusing to entertain "milk-sop plea[s]." Though the revolutionary language of "liberty or death," evocative of Patrick Henry's 1775 speech in which he implored the Virginia legislature to join the American Revolution, begins the poem, what "drive[s] the steel" of insurrection—and the poem—is not love of liberty but rather the desire to avenge the slave's grievances. In this way, it conjures a conceptualization of slave revolt in keeping with Dessalines' association with vengeance.

Penned by a free mulatto and intended for an audience of co-conspirators, the poem's most immediate audience is one in support of staging a revolution. But given that

the novel attends to how whites respond to black actions (or rumored actions), the poem should also be considered in terms of the dynamic it would have fostered with white readers of the poem-within-the-novel. For white readers, the slave's suffering is not intended to generate sympathy as much as it is intended to elicit fear, for it substantiates the terror that the rebelling blacks, in the midst of rebellion and with their grievances in recent memory, would show no sympathy for the slaveholders. Thus, keeping the white U.S. audience in mind, we can read the poem as commenting on the failure of sympathy (the "heart" of moral suasion), but not the failure of suasion, for it enacts Blake's belief that respect would follow (a rhetorically induced) fear. As Blake indicates to his wife: "They (whites in Cuba) shall only live—while I live—under the most alarming apprehensions. Our whole race among them must be brought to this determination, and then, and not til then, will they fear and respect us" (192). For black readers—those represented within as well as contemporary readers of the novel—sympathy is invoked only insofar as it could fuel rage. For white readers, sympathy is referenced only as lack, guaranteeing another failure of sympathy in the future (blacks involved in insurrection would not treat whites with sympathy) in order to elicit fear in the present.

Arkansas, Cuba, and the Workings of Fear

Though the second half of the book, set in Cuba, gives more attention to the workings of fear, the first half of the book, set primarily in the slaveholding states, lays out the terms that will enable us to chart Delany's commentary on fearful persuasion. His attention to the nuances of slave culture in the different southern states is key to his commentary on fear. The geographical expansiveness of the South and diversity of its

black population, which Delany makes conspicuous by having Blake talk about differences between black cultures in the different states, poses a particular set of obstacles to organizing a collective revolt. The implications of those distinctions in southern black culture for widespread rebellion will become visible only after Blake lends his help to the nascent revolutionary conspiring in Cuba. Had the novel not included the section on Cuba, readers might come away from the first half of the book having had it impressed upon them that the obstacles are insurmountable. Because slaves in Kentucky are so unlike those in Arkansas, how could they ever unite?[31] But the section on Cuba demonstrates not only that different groups can unify but also that the deployment of white fear of black rebellion can generate the very conditions of intensified limitations on black freedoms that Delany pinpoints as partly responsible for the readiness of Arkansas slaves to rebel.

Blake encounters setbacks and frustrations in his talks with slaves in Kentucky. Though they express desire for freedom and are willing to run away, "few" could be compelled to take up arms due to the mutual influence of biblical teachings and the "confounded 'good treatment' and expectation of getting freed by their oppressors" (127). Just as Blake portrays the slaves of Kentucky as treated better than slaves in other states and unwilling to participate in rebellion, so are the slaves in Arkansas, ostensibly treated as bad as any slaves in all the slave-holding states, the most impressive to Blake for their readiness to act and their already established networks of communication (127).[32] The narrator, in fact, remarks, "Neither the robes of state nor gown of authority is sufficient to check the vengeance of awakened wrath in Arkansas" (88). When Blake arrives at Rachel and Jerry's cabin, he is surprised to learn that, thanks to the pervasive

communication network, they had been expecting him: “Why, that’s the very thing! you’re ahead of all the other states. You folks in Arkansas must be pretty well organized already” (89).

Arkansas slaves, then, are both the worst treated and the most “awakened,” the significance of which is not lost on Blake. Sundquist writes of *Blake*, “The inevitable risk that fears of slave revolt would bring about cruel repression and diminish slave mobility was countered by the necessary articulation of a philosophy of liberation, even if the form it took was bound to induce terror and a consequent countersubversion on the part of slaveholders” (198). However, via comparing the readiness of Arkansas slaves to the apathy of Kentucky slaves, *Blake* works to demonstrate that an atmosphere of strict surveillance and particularly poor treatment of the slaves, the very characteristics marking an atmosphere of “countersubversion,” is actually ideal for fomenting a revolution. In fact, in reporting to fellow slaves Charles and Andy his plan for revolt, Blake mysteriously locates the infliction of pain by the slaveholders at the center of the scheme. Although *Blake* never divulges to readers exactly how the southern slaves will organize, Blake does say that “such is the character of this organization that punishment and misery are made the instrument for its propagation.” When they respond that they do not understand, Blake continues to speak in vague terms: “Every blow you receive from the oppressor impresses the organization upon your mind… “ (40). After having established that the more restrictive the environment, the more fortified the resolve of the slaves to rebel, and after having suggested that the whites’ administration of unjust punishment against slaves would somehow enable a widespread revolt to unfold, the

narrative takes us to Cuba where it will go farther in revealing the implications of these insights.

A colony of Spain in close proximity to the U.S. whose future became uncertain during the 1820s and remained that way throughout the 1850s as Spain's other colonies gained independence, Cuba invited the interests of a number of groups with competing claims. Scholarship on *Blake* tends to focus on the novel's "uncanny accuracy" in representing Cuban society and the overlapping interests of factions within Cuba and the U.S. South (Miller xxii).[33] What I want to stress is that the novel gives acute attention to the underlying causes of political volatility and to how competing groups interact in order to stage ideas for putting those realities to the service of blacks' interests in both Cuba and the South. That is, Delany not only provides a depiction of the Cuban political scene but also uses the novel to imagine how black Cubans could navigate that political reality, offering a model to black southerners in the U.S. In the process, white readers, in confronting a depiction of blacks not merely as victims of competing interests but as learning how to navigate the political climate, are positioned to experience the affective response of fear, perhaps shedding the tears Delany would later mention in his letter to Holly.

Delany uses his novel, in fact, to suggest that the characteristics he depicts as marking Cuban society can be marshaled to the advantage of blacks in the U.S. South. As the rest of this chapter delineates, the periodic eruption of rumor regarding fictive slave revolt and the concomitant eruption of fear among whites marks Cuban society. Although these conditions result in the temporary restriction of freedoms for black Cubans—free and enslaved—it also renders the country ripe for revolution. The implication, then, is

that southern blacks can learn from Cuba's example and manipulate white emotions to their advantage, the novel establishing that southern slaves already have acquired the skill of shaping white emotion when the need arises; what they lack—and what Blake provides—is a larger framework for implementing that skill.[34] Delany's novel, in fact, does more than stage how fear can work for black southerners' benefit; the novel itself functions as an example of how fiction—whether in the form of rumor or in the form of a novel—can enlist white fear that can be put to blacks' advantage.

Illustrating southern slaves' ability to comport themselves so as to elicit the desired affective response from whites, Mammy Judy puts on a show of grief so as to provoke Franks to frustration. After Franks realizes that Blake's infant son has gone missing, he proceeds to interview a number of slaves, including Mammy Judy, who know that Blake has taken him. In order to thwart Franks from asking too many questions, she feigns overwhelming grief, shedding tears uncontrollably and invoking biblical passages for comfort, which compels Franks to cut short the interview. She successfully renders him exasperated and ultimately convinced that she knows nothing about the disappearance: "I really believe she's crazy! We've now been here over an hour, and no nearer the information than before," he complains, only to conclude after dismissing her that she is, nonetheless, "an honest old creature" (45). Modeling for the reader that the slave's tears, typically depicted in slave narratives and abolitionist literature for the purpose of eliciting sympathy, denote a crafty ability to emote with deception, the narrative communicates to black readers the efficacy of emoting so as to elicit the emotion of others. It also would work to prick white anxieties, of course, of blacks as deceptive (44-6).

If the scene with Mammy Judy demonstrates that white affect could be manipulated to assist in an escape from slavery, scenes set in Cuba offer examples of how blacks could harness white affect on a larger scale. The chapter "Increased Alarm" in particular illustrates the power that one individual's affective response can have on a culture already on edge. White Americans in Cuba, plotting to filibuster and make Cuba an American colony, attempt to aggravate submerged fears within Havana of slave revolt, so as to deflect suspicions of their own threat to the Spanish government onto the blacks. With King's Day celebrations underway, they abduct a "stupid, demented slave"; priming him with copious amounts of alcohol and subjecting him to "dreadful tales of horror," they "aroused him to a state of intense excitement" before releasing him at the entrance of a "Negro ball" (302). Out of control with intoxication and having internalized the horrors of the tales, he runs and shouts "Blood, blood, blood! Rise, Negroes, rise!" (303). The city, sent into "the greatest consternation," responds immediately, filling the streets with troops, making arrests, and sequestering blacks. The Captain General's investigation the following day pieces together enough information, however, to implicate the white Americans and exonerate the blacks.

Although this attempt made by the whites fails, the scene demonstrates a number of take-away points for the novel's contemporary readers. It establishes the degree to which Cuban society is anxiety-ridden; the narrator takes the opportunity to draw a parallel, in fact, between Cuba and the southern region of the U.S. in this regard:

> Few people in the world lead such a life as the white inhabitants of Cuba, and those of the South now comprising the 'Southern Confederacy of America.' A dreamy existence of the most fearful apprehensions, of dread,

> horror and dismay; suspicion and distrust, jealousy and envy continually pervade the community; and Havana, New Orleans, Charleston or Richmond may be thrown into consternation by an idle expression of the most trifling or ordinary ignorant black. (305)

As the narrator notes, the scene illustrates the enormity of white fear that can be elicited from a single black person's own expression of emotion. This knowledge could prove invaluable to southern blacks in future attempts to revolt, just as it will prove invaluable to Cuban blacks depicted in *Blake* who, according to the final words of the novel, are setting out to express in an "authentic statement" their "outrage" (313). At the same time, acknowledging that competing factions had a vested interest in stoking fear, Delany legitimates the fear he sought to instill in white readers. Whereas the contingent of white Americans with a slaveholding interest in Cuba resorted to hoaxes to generate fearful responses, Delany demonstrates that the events his novel portends—the unification of "colored" classes in Cuba and of blacks in the South for a hemispheric revolution and rise to power—were good cause for fear.

The failed attempt to turn the Spanish authorities' attention toward the black inhabitants further entrenches the white Americans' negative treatment of African Cubans. In fact, the weeks following King's Day saw white-owned establishments refuse service to black customers and an increase in whites' demands that blacks show them respect by stepping aside, removing one's hat, and the like. When Plácido is battered by an American business owner for refusing to remove his hat, the black community becomes not only outraged but also emboldened: "…the maltreatment of one of the ablest and best men among them had well nigh cost the whites in exchange for the proud

edifices of their extensive city, a smouldering heap of ruins. Succeeding this despair there was a reaction. A new vigor seemed to actuate, and a new impulse given to these faithful men and women determined to be free" (310). Their rage is further elicited and their resolve fortified when a young black woman, Ambroisa Cordora, is soon thereafter attacked by a white man.

Thus, Delany shows that an atmosphere of heightened anxiety, attempts to clamp down on black freedoms, and outright violence actually proves conducive to inciting insurrection. Rather than despair at the injustice they would encounter whenever whites became especially anxious of black doings, African Americans are given a model for turning outrage into rage. And, much like Walker, Delany depicts a black rage that would prick white fear, but with the difference that whites, according to Delany's depiction, would face the wrath not of American revolutionaries but of Dessalines' doubles. With the novel's truncated ending featuring the cry "I'll avenge this outrage" along with the observation that Gondolier was taking to the streets to spread his own "authentic statement of the outrage"—"Woe be unto those devils of whites, I say!"—it appears that the quest for vengeance (revolution) had begun (313).

In this way, Delany employs a strategy similar to Walker in eliciting reader affects that would propel one another. Offering Cuba as model for staging a revolution, Delany pens a novel invested in galvanizing black readers and terrifying white readers. Just as he expresses hope in the letter to Holly in 1861 for a future U. S. South free of slavery and clarifies his desire to draw "tears" rather than "blood" from white southerners so as to achieve it, so too can we read *Blake* as participating in a similar strategy. *Blake*, then, might be the very source of the tears he envisions.

End Notes

[1] See Joan D. Hedrick's *Harriet Beecher Stowe: A Life*.

[2] *The Anglo-African Magazine* serially published 26 of the chapters January-July 1859 (chapters 1-23 and 29-31). *The Weekly Anglo-African* serially published the complete eighty chapters Nov. 26, 1861 through late May, 1862. Issues of *The Weekly Anglo-African* from August 10, 1861, through April 26, 1862, are located in the Library of Congress. The last (perhaps six) chapters have not been recovered.

[3] David Miller, for example, points to the "polemical character of many of the dialogues, frequent interludes of preaching, and a listless plot" (95). Joan D. Hedrick finds the novel to be marked by "turgid passages" and "tediously drawn-out scenes" (259). For Charles H. Foster *Dred* "is by no means so memorable as Harriet's first antislavery novel" with "[t]he defect…seem[ing] to lie in the plot"; he goes so far as to advise that Stowe "should not have written" it (71).

[4] "[L]ess naïve" than the earlier novel, *Dred*, according to Robert S. Levine, places little to no stock in "white benevolence" (Introduction, xiv).

[5] Mary Kemp Davis contends that Stowe uses "parody" in her representation of Dred, "[p]oking fun at Turner, Dred, Walker, and Hannibal" (141).

[6] Though Cowan argues that in *Dred* Stowe was "engaged in a dialogue with her African American counterparts," his conclusion nonetheless culminates in announcing that though Stowe had moved beyond the racial politics of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, she had not gone very far (150). See Robert S. Levine's *Martin Delany* and introduction to Stowe's *Dred*.

[7] Walker addresses white readers directly: "Treat us 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" (70).

[8] *Uncle Tom's Cabin* concludes with the following: "A mighty influence is abroad, surging and heaving the world, as with an earthquake. And is America safe? Every nation that carries in its bosom great and unredressed injustice has in it the elements of this last convulsion…..Christians! every time that you pray that the kingdom of Christ may come, can you forget that prophecy associates, in dread fellowship, the *day of vengeance* with the year of his redeemed?....injustice and cruelty shall bring on nations the wrath of Almighty God!" (388).

[9] Thomas Jefferson to John Holmes, Monticello, 22 April 1820, *Memoirs, Correspondence, and Private Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Late President of the United States*, ed. Thomas Jefferson Randolph.

[10] See Levine, introduction to *Dred,* xx-xxii. Harry's letter to Clayton places Denmark Vesey alongside George Washington, for guiding Vesey was the "Bible and [the] Declaration of Independence" (435). In fact, Harry goes on to assert that based on the

Declaration, the slaves' case for rebelling is more legitimate than was the colonists' case against England (435-37).

[11] Dred quotes, for example, from the book of Isaiah 63:2-6 (459).

[12] In one of his conversations with Tiff, for example, Dred, though not quoting from scripture, uses the word "vengeance," but the vengeance he mentions relates directly to the passage he has just quoted. After Dred has quoted from Ezekiel about a future "covenant of peace" that will follow after "the evil beast [has been removed from] the land," Tiff asks whether Dred believes that such "good times" are truly in store for them. Dred responds, "The Lord hath said it…But first the day of vengeance must come" (412-13). Whenever Dred speaks of vengeance, Stowe is careful to not make him appear bloodthirsty.

[13] The *Richmond Enquirer* ("The Banditti," 30 August 1831) described Turner and his co-conspirators as "monsters," while likening them to "a parcel of blood-thirsty wolves." The *Norfolk Herald* (14 November 1831) labeled Turner and other revolutionaries "cut-throats." Thomas R. Gray's *The Confessions of Nat Turner* includes a prefatory address to readers that describes Turner's group as a "ferocious band" and "diabolical actors" bent on "hellish purposes." Gray's "To the Public" and the Norfolk Herald article are both found in Kenneth S. Greenberg's *The Confessions of Nat Turner and Related Documents*.

[14] Dr. Pachthread "knew precisely all the gradations of smile which were useful for accomplishing different purposes," the "solemn smile, the smile of inquiry, the smile affirmative, the smile suggestive" (415).

[15] Tiff underscores that while sermons and hymns reference "fighting and being soldiers of de cross," in reality "dere an't no fighting, 'cept when Ben Dakin and Jim Stokes get jawing about der dogs." Uncle John concurs, acknowledging that "the preaching always stirs me up terribly" but then "it's all gone" (253).

[16] The article appears under the title "ART. VIII" in the *Christian Examiner and Theological Review* 4 (1827): 242-66.

[17] The letter appears under the title "Revival of Religion in Pittsburg, (Mass.)." *Christian Spectator* 4 (1822): 217-221.

[18] In contrast, Clayton, unmoved by the preaching, nonetheless turns to nature to explain that "severity" constitutes part of "our training" whereby people learn that God "is to be feared as well as loved" (261).

[19] The narrator notes that "there crept through the different groups wild legends of prophets strangely commissioned to announce coming misfortunes. Some spoke of the predictions of the judgment-day; some talked of comets, and strange signs that had

preceded wars and pestilences. The ministers wondered, and searched around the stand in vain." However, Dred's coded warnings are not lost on at least one, the slave-trader, who, "pale with terror," subsequently voices to father Dickson "doubts about [his] trade" (263-64).

[20] Frederick Douglass writes, "From what I know of the effect of these holidays [the days between Christmas and New Year's during which the slaves' workload is reduced] upon the slave, I believe them to be among the most effective means in the hands of the slaveholder in keeping down the spirit of insurrection. Were the slaveholders at once to abandon this practice, I have not the slightest doubt it would lead to an immediate insurrection among the slaves. These holidays serve as conductors, or safety-valves, to carry off the rebellious spirit of enslaved humanity. But for these, the slave would be forced up to the wildest desperation; and woe betide the slaveholder, the day he ventures to remove or hinder the operation of those conductors! I warn him that, in such an event, a spirit will go forth in their midst, more to be dreaded than the most appalling earthquake" (2073).

[21] See Levine, introduction to *Dred*, xxix-xxx.

[22] See Levine's introduction to *Dred*.

[23] The quotation comes from "The Colored People of Canada" (1861), which is collected in *The Black Abolitionist Papers* edited by C. Peter Ripley.

[24] Levine's *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader* includes this letter.

[25] See Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993).

[26] See chapter two for a discussion of moral suasion.

[27] *The Anglo-African Magazine*, it should be noted, had already published twenty-six of the chapters in 1859. See Floyd J. Miller's introduction to the novel. By 1860, Delany's vision for emigration had changed. Because *Blake* was being serialized as Delany's ideas about emigration were changing, arguments in favor of emigration to Africa thus appeared alongside installments advancing black revolution in the U.S. South and Cuba. Thus, the *Weekly Anglo-African* serves as a "palimpsest," as Chiles suggests, demonstrating the evolution of Delany's thought.

[28] Attempting to rouse a white mob to lynch a free man of color, Agricola alleges—offering Haiti as a terrifying example of what the future held—that free blacks' attainment of social status foreshadows full-scale overthrow of white power in Louisiana. But it is not just Haiti but Dessalines' association with excessive violence to which he turns: "The smell of white blood comes on the south breeze. Dessalines and Christophe have recommenced their hellish work. Virginia, too, trembles for the safety of her fair

mothers and daughters. We know not what is being plotted in the cane-breaks of Louisiana" (282).

[29] See Ira Berlin's "After Nat Turner: A Letter from the North." *The Journal of Negro History* 55.2 (1970): 144-51.

[30] Levine quotes from the "Journal of the Provisional Constitution Held on Saturday, May 8th, 1858," which is located in the section "The John Brown Insurrection: The Brown Papers" of the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts from January 1, 1836, to April 15, 1869* (1893).

[31] As Blake explains to Mr. Culver, the Chief he visits in Arkansas Indian Territory, "[My people] would fight if in their own country they were united as the Indians here, and not scattered thousands of miles apart as they are" (86).

[32] Aunt Rachel and Uncle Jerry explain that though the slaves are "closely watched" with patrols and dogs monitoring even the slave quarters and though the "incivility" of this western state ("the roughest apparently of all the states") means that they are treated especially bad, they nonetheless have great mobility (88-91).

[33] See Miller's introduction to the novel (xxii).

[34] For example, the night that Blake comes for his son, several of the slaves work up a feast to which they invited both Franks and all the slaves in the area. By engaging in "Merry Making," as the chapter is titled, the slaves invite Franks to put down his guard, and thus ensure that Blake has a better opportunity to retrieve the infant unseen (32).

Chapter Four

The Circuitous Literary Routes of an "Unlucky Pamphlet":

Locating Walker's *Appeal* in Poe's "The Gold-Bug" and Bird's *Sheppard Lee*

"Now I ask them [whites], would they like for us to hold them and their children in abject slavery and wretchedness? No, says one, that never can be done—you are too abject and ignorant to do it—you are not men—you were made to be slaves to us, to dig up gold and silver for us and our children."

"…[G]et the free people of colour away to Africa, from among the slaves, where they may at once be blessed and happy, and those who we hold in slavery, will be contented to rest in ignorance and wretchedness, to dig up gold and silver for us and our children."

--David Walker, *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (1829, 1830)

A distinctive feature of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp* (1856) is presumed to be the overpowering expression of the author's emotion (primarily anger and exasperation), and plantation romances such as Caroline Hentz's *The Planter's Northern Bride* (1854) ostensibly primarily stage their authors' anxieties about the South's black population so as to contain them. The previous two chapters, however, advise that we read and interpret these texts differently—with a shift in emphasis from authorial emotional expression to the emotional reactions the texts seek to elicit from readers. When it comes to reading Poe's literature in terms of its engagement with race and slavery, scholarship tends to approach the texts as equally betraying of the author's psychology, if less self-aware. Whereas scholarship allows that both Hentz and Stowe recognize their emotional condition relative to their South-focused fiction, Poe's writings presumably betray anxieties about slavery and race of which he is unaware. As Maurice Lee articulates, "Whether the method is Marxist or psychoanalytic, whether the agency is ideology or id, for scholars who entertain questions of intention,

Poe's literary treatment of slavery and race seems to operate beyond his authorial will" (44).[1]

A brief review of some of the scholarship that focuses on how Poe's literature takes up race confirms Lee's claim. Attention to Poe's treatment of slavery and race gained prominence during the 1980s, but even before then, the 1974 publication of Bernard Rosenthal's "Poe, Slavery, and the *Southern Literary Messenger*: A Reexamination," which asserts that Poe wrote the so-called Paulding-Drayton review, set in motion subsequent study of the topic. Published anonymously in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in 1836 under the title "Slavery," the Paulding-Drayton review gives some space to favorably assessing two books published earlier that year, James Kirke Paulding's *Slavery in the United States* and William Drayton's *The South Vindicated from the Treason and Fanaticism of the Northern Abolitionists*. But the bulk of the essay expresses an ardently pro-slavery sentiment.[2] Joan Dayan's entry "Romance and Race" in *The Columbia History of the American Novel* (1991) as well as John Carlos Rowe's *At Emerson's Tomb* (1997) accepts Rosenthal's claim regarding Poe's authorship. Bringing the review's pro-slavery orientation to bear on Poe's *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket* (1938), Rowe comes to a conclusion that is representative of this vein of scholarship: "Poe's own repressed fears regarding slave rebellions in the South and the deeper fear that Southern aristocratic life itself might be passing are the psychic *contents* that provoke the poetic narrative" (53). Though Terence Whalen in 1999 subsequently disputes and largely lays to rest the assumption of Poe's authorship of the review, his formulation of intentionality bears similarity to the mode of scholarship he contests.

It goes without saying that Toni Morrison's *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (1992) has been most influential, however, on Poe scholarship concerning slavery and race. While making the case that "[n]o early American writer is more important to the concept of African Americanism than Poe," Morrison offers a paradigm that hinges on analyzing white-authored texts for traces of an "Africanist presence," the significance of which exceeds authorial intention, whereby a "subtext" can be unearthed that is at odds with the "surface text's expressed intentions" (32, 66). As I delineate in the introduction, the hermeneutic limitations of this focus on authorial psychology are significant.

Approaching Poe's literature in terms of its relationship to antebellum print culture offers a promising alternative. Specifically, a focus on print culture enables a way of thinking about Poe's literary engagements with race and slavery as strategic. While Terence Whalen's *Edgar Allan Poe and the Masses: The Political Economy of Literature in Antebellum America* (1999) marks a significant gesture in this direction, it brackets discussion of race and slavery apart from analysis of the literary market. Doing so renders uneven its formulation of Poe's strategic handling of slavery, a criticism that Lee and Teresa Goddu both make.[3] Goddu, while indebted to Morrison's paradigm, has articulated that the payoff for attending to race in Poe's fiction should extend beyond revelations of authorial anxiety.[4] Demonstrating that "Poe's tales of sensation simultaneously exploit their culture's conventions of slavery and race and expose them as market productions," Goddu puts forth a more cohesive and compelling account of the relationship between Poe's literary rendering of race and the marketplace ("Poe" 93). Her approach to Poe's literature bears something in common with that of Paul Christian

Jones, both of whom make the case that Poe's fiction addresses the discourse of abolition. Nonetheless, they avoid contextualizing Poe's work in relation to specific abolitionist texts.[5]

This chapter thus marks a departure within Poe studies insofar as it analyzes, historicizes, and contextualizes one of Poe's short stories, "The Gold-Bug" (1843), in relation to a specific abolitionist text that both stands at the center of and is absent from it, David Walker's *Appeal* (1829, 1830). Via close reading, attention to southern legislative history, and print culture methodology, this chapter assembles evidence within "The Gold-Bug" to pinpoint not only submerged references to the pamphlet's impact on the South but also indications of Poe's dialogue with Walker. As a text that affected the South's immediate future and that harnesses its readers' affect in order to persuade, Walker's pamphlet would offer Poe a model for thinking about the relationships among print, affect, and southern futurity.

In terms of the pamphlet's effect on the South, "The Gold-Bug" includes plot details that summon antebellum legislative history generated by the *Appeal*'s appearance in Louisiana. Once excavated, these traces of the *Appeal*'s impact on Louisiana fundamentally alter how we interpret the relationship of the story's manumitted slave, Jupiter, to his former master, Legrand. Specifically, these traces cause us to reconsider Jupiter's loyalty and ultimately undermine the trope of the steadfast servant. Awareness of this embedded (local) legislative history thus recalibrates our understanding of Poe's deployment of a (national) racialized literary convention. Such awareness also makes us more attuned to insurrectionary impulses within the story and their implicit connection to Walker's pamphlet.

It is true that we cannot know the degree of Poe's familiarity with the *Appeal*; indeed, there is no smoking gun indicating that he read it. Instead, this chapter accumulates textual evidence and situates it historically to make the case that Poe engages in dialogue with Walker. But this chapter also takes a circuitous route in making its claims about Poe by bringing Robert Montgomery Bird's bizarre *Sheppard Lee, Written by Himself* (1836), a novel with which Poe was very familiar, into the discussion. *Sheppard Lee* makes no explicit mention of Walker's *Appeal*, but it indicates an awareness of the pamphlet. Bird's novel includes an abolitionist pamphlet that both calls to mind the language of Walker and recalls the *Appeal*'s well-known distribution history. Poe not only reviews Bird's novel favorably but also draws extensively from its plot details in penning "The Gold-Bug" as Poe scholars have noted. By illuminating the *Appeal*'s presence in *Sheppard Lee*, this chapter contends that we are better equipped to notice and draw significance from its role in Poe's story. Ultimately, the chapter claims that charting the ways in which white writers engaged black-authored texts requires some creativity: What at first glance appears to be an instance of one white writer borrowing from another turns out, in fact, to be two white writers responding to a black-authored text.

"The Gold-Bug" includes an image central to the *Appeal*—that of slaves digging up gold for their masters—but alters it so that a manumitted slave digs gold for his former master. Via this redeployment, Poe's story envisions a future for the South reassuring to its white readership: Even in a future South without slavery, the racial hierarchy would remain intact. However, the embedded local history, insurrectionary impulses, and ominous ending regarding the freedman's future, as I will demonstrate, serve as the

story's acknowledgement that what it offers readers is fantasy. In this way, Poe's story models how print culture can harness affect to enlist readers in imagining the future. This chapter contends, in fact, that once we recognize the *Appeal*'s submerged presence, "The Gold-Bug" reveals more about Poe's understanding of print's relationship to the South than it does about Poe's personal views of race or slavery.[6]

The National Trope of the Steadfast Servant

In 1992 Toni Morrison briefly calls attention to Jupiter as a character who disrupts racial hierarchy (58). Nonetheless, scholarship usually describes the manumitted slave as "minstrel-show sidekick" who merely fulfills the "fictional device of the slave refusing to leave his master" that would become prominent in subsequent proslavery fiction (Scott Peeples 39, 40).[7] This assessment of Jupiter has validity. Having been manumitted by the family of William Legrand in New Orleans, Jupiter—insisting on his "right of attendance" upon Legrand—moves with him to Sullivan's Island, just outside of Charleston, South Carolina, where he now has the role of "valet." With the discovery of a gold-colored beetle along with a parchment providing encoded directions to buried treasure, Legrand enlists Jupiter along with the unnamed narrator in a search for gold that proves successful. Jupiter's dialect and malapropisms as well as Legrand's over-the-top threats to "break [the] neck" of his valet provide humor along the way (331). Deploying racial portraiture for comic effect, the story initially makes conspicuous Jupiter's freedom only to underscore how little meaning the status of manumitted carries when it comes to the *portrayal of* Jupiter—"grinning from ear to ear, bustling about," ever ready to wait on his "masa Will" (322-3).

But the trope of the steadfast servant fails to describe Jupiter adequately. In order to recognize how the story exposes, rather than merely utilizes, racialized literary convention, this paper locates Jupiter and his manumitted status at the center of the story's narrative strategy.[8] Featuring a manumitted slave and his former master living together in isolation with only brief mention of a distant plantation and its "older negroes," "The Gold-Bug" imagines a future South in which slavery no longer predominates (346). The spatial distance of the plantation, we could say, stands in for temporal distance, so that the lone plantation is a holdover from the past. In this future South, slavery's racial dynamics nonetheless persist. "The Gold-Bug" enlists antebellum white readers in indulging nostalgia for southern race relations threatened in the 1840s by the increasing uncertainty regarding slavery's future—but not without registering the region's anxieties about its black population and fear of slave revolt, anxieties and fears that it works to convert into humor. Published in 1843 in the *Philadelphia Dollar Newspaper,* "The Gold-Bug" thus imagines how the power dynamic underpinning southern black-white relations could remain intact in slavery's aftermath as it works to transform regional anxiety into national laughter, but not without registering awareness that the laughter stems from a racial fantasy.[9]

It was Walker's *Appeal* that provoked regional anxieties to a new intensity in late 1829. Newspapers reported—and in themselves demonstrate—that the *Appeal* elicited strong reactions throughout the country but especially in southern states. Within months of its publication—as early as December of 1829 and throughout 1830—copies appeared in southern states, including Georgia, Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana, and North Carolina, several of which consequently passed legislation banning "seditious literature"

and restricting black southerners, enslaved and free. [10] Poe was in Baltimore when the first reports of the *Appeal*'s appearance in Georgia emerged right after the first of the year in 1830 and then in Richmond, Virginia, when news of the pamphlet began circulating more widely in newspapers across the country, including local papers in Richmond. In fact, Poe had moved to Richmond by January 8, 1830, when the *Richmond Daily Whig* reported that the General Assembly had convened the previous day to address the *Appeal*'s appearance in the state.[11] Poe's time in the North also would have granted him access to the *Appeal*—in pamphlet form and in excerpted re-printings. From roughly May of 1830 until May of 1831, Poe was in New York where he would have had access to Garrison's Boston-based *The Liberator*, which frequently reported on and discussed the *Appeal*, beginning with its very first issue.[12]

Whalen contends that Poe sidelined an engagement of race and slavery in order to appeal to a national audience. I give extended attention to Whalen's analysis of Jupiter in order to counter that Poe not only addresses slavery but also participates in dialogue with a specific abolitionist text. The dialogue is visible, however, only if we know what to look for. Whalen suggests that Poe designates Jupiter as a freedman, even as he "exploits conventions about the intimate, loyal bonds between white masters and black servants," in order to "evade any outcry over such a portrayal." Jupiter's manumitted status thus makes the story more palatable to a national audience—by depicting a South without slavery, "a sanitized South that could circulate freely in the national literary market" (32).[13] Whalen's assumption that depictions of loyal slaves and benevolent masters would elicit "outcry" from non-southern (i.e., "national") readers, however, is simply incorrect. In fact, it was a trope that already had begun circulating among a national audience.[14]

When one takes into account that blackface minstrelsy, southern plantation romances, and abolitionist literature, including slave narratives, all of which foregrounded the South *as* slaveholding, had begun circulating throughout the nation well before the time Poe's story appeared in 1843, Whalen's claim raises further speculation. The trope, in short, was national, not regional.

Moreover, given that the Nat Turner revolt of 1831 prompted open debate about the risks that a southern free black population posed, it makes little sense to argue that the depiction of a free African American in the Charleston area—the location of Denmark Vesey's 1822 planned revolt—somehow strips the story of associations between the South and slavery and thus appeals to a national audience.[15] Instead, I proffer that Jupiter's manumitted status makes his seeming loyalty all the more prominent, for while a slave would have no choice in moving with his master, a free man *ostensibly* does have a choice.

But the text also undercuts the notion that Jupiter had a choice in performing fidelity. Indeed, analyses of "The Gold-Bug" have overlooked how the text, briefly but significantly, speculates on the *circumstances* of Jupiter's manumission. The story opens with the narrator's explaining Legrand's relocation from New Orleans to Sullivan's Island—"to avoid mortification consequent upon his [financial] disasters" (321). Because Legrand is "subject to perverse moods of alternate enthusiasm and melancholy," the narrator speculates that Jupiter functions as the white man's guardian:

> In these excursions he [Legrand] was usually accompanied by an old negro, called Jupiter, who had been manumitted before the reverses of the family, but who could be induced, neither by threats nor by promises, to

> abandon what he considered his right of attendance upon the footsteps of his young 'Massa Will.' It is not improbable that the relatives of Legrand, conceiving him to be somewhat unsettled in intellect, had contrived to instill this obstinacy into Jupiter, with a view to the supervision and guardianship of the wanderer. (322)

On first glance, the narrator readily accepts the idea that the servant's unwavering loyalty explains his willingness to move across state lines with the former master. And his speculation that the family, concerned about Legrand's mental condition, encouraged Jupiter to become Legrand's valet seems reasonable. The narrator unwittingly, however, betrays a level of uncertainty on both counts. The two lengthy, meandering sentences marked by embedded phrases, the passive voice ("was accompanied," "had been manumitted," "could be induced,"), and a double negative ("not improbable") work against the narrator's pat explanations. In particular, the structure of the second sentence undermines the trope of the faithful servant, conspicuously emphasizing that Jupiter—somehow—was *made to feel* "obstina[te]" about remaining with Legrand. "[C]ontrived," moreover, can imply an element of artifice. The Legrands, apparently, have employed artifice to compel Jupiter to be loyal. The narrator's language, in other words, betrays something that the narrator himself cannot perceive. The convoluted language coupled with the narrator's lack of interest in questioning his assumptions invites speculation that there is more to Jupiter's sticking by Legrand's side than meets the eye.[16]

The detail that the Legrands set Jupiter free "before the reverses of the family" calls for pause. While the act of manumitting Jupiter *predates* the family's loss of social position, financial concerns—rather than benevolence—likely bring about the

manumission. Namely, recognizing its approaching financial ruin, the family could prevent the slave's being seized by creditors and thus ensure that he could continue as Legrand's "valet" *only* by manumitting him, though the narrator fails to draw this conclusion.[17] Legal literature from the 1830s supports this interpretation. Jacob D. Wheeler's *A Practical Treatise on the Law of Slavery* (1837) addresses the issue of manumission of slaves when the master has accumulated debt: "With respect to emancipation, it may be stated as a principle without an exception, that, as slaves are considered as property upon which creditors have a right to look for the payment of their debts due by the owners of slaves, regard must be had to the rights of the creditor; and no emancipation is valid when those rights are violated" (310). Wheeler goes on to explain how specific states apply this general principle, paraphrasing Virginia's Codes: "…an emancipated slave may be taken in execution for a debt contracted by the person emancipating the slave, if the indebtedness existed before the emancipation" (310). With respect to the "Civil Code of Louisiana, art. 190," his remarks are less specific but reflect that the same general principle applies in Louisiana law: "…an express provision is to be found guarding the right of emancipation, and saving the rights of creditors" (310). The anonymous pamphlet *Facts Respecting Slavery* (circa. 1826) confirms that print circulated this legal knowledge—that slaves could be sold for debt—among the public. (In other words, legal knowledge regarding debt and slavery was accessible to those who did not practice law.) Advocating for the colonization of free black southerners to Africa, *Facts Respecting Slavery* recognizes that "[i]n all the states slaves are liable to be sold for debt" (3).[18]

Southern legal history confirms, then, what the narrator unwittingly indicates—that the circumstances surrounding Jupiter's manumission are suspicious for good reason. In fact, the region's legal history records a set of practices for handling manumissions that run counter to fictional representations of free black southerners as loyal to their former masters. While we could read southern legal history against any antebellum depiction of slave or servant loyalty to expose the representation as racial fantasy, what is interesting about Poe's story is that the text itself does a good deal of the work for us.

In acknowledging the precarious position of being a free black in the South, "The Gold-Bug" borrows a leaf from Walker's pamphlet. Indeed, Walker's lengthy address to free blacks exposes southern conditions:

> If any of you wish to know how FREE you are, let one of you start and go through the southern and western States of this country, and unless you travel as a slave to a white man (a servant is a *slave* to the man whom he serves) or have your free papers, (which if you are not careful they will get from you) if they do not take you up and put you in jail, and if you cannot give good evidence of your freedom, sell you into eternal slavery, I am not a living man: or any man of colour, immaterial who he is, or where he came from, if he is not *the fourth from the negro race!!* (as we are called) the white Christians of America will serve him the same they will sink him into wretchedness and degradation for ever while he lives. (28-9)

Whereas Walker's pamphlet works to catalyze outrage in its black readers, Poe's story aims to elicit a different affect from its antebellum white readers as they take pleasure in

the seeming depiction of servant loyalty, disregarding—along with the narrator—textual evidence that exposes the racial fantasy.

In addition to clarifying the reasons for Jupiter's manumission and, thus, undermining assumptions about the Legrand family's seeming benevolence and Jupiter's seeming fidelity, legal history also illuminates the *Appeal*'s presence within the story. Specifically, Louisiana laws passed in 1830 regulating the state's free black population further help to explain Jupiter's loyalty, laws tightened due to the appearance of Walker's *Appeal* in the state. *Acts Passed at the Second Session of the Ninth Legislature of the State of Louisiana* (1830) records the meeting of the legislature on January 4, 1830. This legislation stipulated, among other things, that manumitted slaves must "permanently depart from the state, within one month from and after the passage of the act of emancipation" (93). While the *Appeal* was not uncovered within Louisiana until March of 1830, this piece of legislation passed shortly after the Louisiana Christmas Insurrection scare of 1829 as well as reports of the *Appeal*'s circulation among free blacks in Georgia.[19] As Lacy K. Ford underscores, southern reaction to the *Appeal* marks a departure from "insurrection scares of the early national period," which were marked by "localized reactions from whites." Once southern authorities became aware of the *Appeal*'s circulation, however, they responded with near "uniformity across state…[and] subregional boundaries…" (330).

While the narrator assumes that Jupiter's extreme fidelity explains his willingness to relocate to South Carolina with Legrand, Louisiana law born of the *Appeal*'s appearance in the South offers another explanation. State law required that Jupiter leave Louisiana. As Peter P. Hinks notes, Louisiana became infamous for its anti-free black

legislation in 1830; newspapers, including the *Niles' Weekly Register,* reported on it (151).[20] Poe, then, likely would have been aware of the immediate impact of the pamphlet on Louisiana and other southern states. The dubiousness and uncertainty marking the narrator's explanations signal that readers should question his claims and indicate the text's (indirect) acknowledgement of local history.

The trope of the steadfast servant thus functions in "The Gold-Bug" as a ruse. Just as the fantasy of uncovering gold and restoring one's southern position is central to the plot, so too is the trope of the steadfast servant deployed as white racial fantasy. By way of a white narrator (described as "obtuse" by Whalen), "The Gold-Bug" models how individuals rely on racial fantasy—born of cultural forms, such as black-face minstrelsy and literary convention—to create order and meaning, discounting evidence that disrupts the fantasy.[21] Indeed, it is the narrator who enlists readers in viewing Jupiter as nothing more than a trope. The narrator's inability to interpret adequately is most evident in his assumption that Jupiter would never help him to take home—by force—the seemingly delusional Legrand: "Could I have depended, indeed, upon Jupiter's aid, I would have had no hesitation in attempting to get the lunatic [Legrand] home by force; but I was too well assured of the old negro's disposition, to hope that he would assist me under any circumstances, in a personal contest with his master" (91). The narrator fails to realize the significance of the fact that Jupiter had threatened to beat sense into Legrand to rid him of his delusions, a component of the story to be addressed further in the next section. The free black, in other words, had himself already considered "a personal contest with his master," but the narrator fails to recognize the significance.

Not only does the text model how the narrator disregards indications that his interpretation of Jupiter's excessive loyalty is incorrect, but also the story subjects readers to the same process of misreading by embedding traces of a local history easy to overlook. To restate the matter, Poe's "Hop-Frog" warns, as Paul Christian Jones convincingly demonstrates, that abolitionist appeals to sympathy would prove dangerous by modeling how characters, duped by such appeals, meet violent ends.[22] In similar fashion, "The Gold-Bug" stages *how* racial fantasy—evident in the trope of the steadfast servant—operates. Historical traces blotted out in the process of creating a steadfast servant, nonetheless, remain in the text; readers accept (and take pleasure in) the resulting racial fantasy *only* by failing to recognize the embedded evidence that undercuts it. "The Gold-Bug" makes this process visible but only if we bring local history to bear on the text.

Insurrectionary Impulses

Having identified how the text registers the *Appeal*'s local legislative history so as to reconsider Poe's utilization of the national trope of the steadfast servant, I now turn to what I call "insurrectionary impulses" within the story. Jupiter is central to these impulses. While scholarship regularly notices the racially inflammatory moment in which Jupiter threatens to beat his master to rouse him from his supposed descent into insanity, it has not been noted that references to Jupiter's near-beating of Legrand uncannily reappear three times, ensuring that the image of a club-wielding free African American in the South looms large.

First, Jupiter himself reports to Legrand's physician that it was only "massa" Will's looking so "berry poorly" that deterred him from administering a beating (326). Legrand's letter to the physician provides the context for the second appearance of this detail: "Would you believe it?—[Jupiter] had prepared a huge stick, the other day, with which to chastise me for giving him the slip, and spending the day, *solus*, among the hills on the main land. I verily believe that my ill looks alone saved me a flogging" (327). Finally, the conclusion of Legrand's explanation to the physician of how he cracked Kidd the pirate's code ends with this same image: "When I came home at night my valet proposed to give me a flogging" (347).

Poe moderates the inflammatory effect of the image of weapon-wielding Jupiter by imposing a distance between it and readers. Narrated by the physician, who recounts his involvement in Legrand's quest for buried treasure, the story unfolds in the past tense. The scene in which Jupiter threatens Legrand, however, is further removed from the present. Specifically, the physician does not know about the attempted beating until Jupiter tells him, a month after he last saw Legrand and a few days after Jupiter had threatened his master. Our access to this episode, then, is via retellings incorporated into the physician's main retelling that is the story. The repeated recounting of this detail takes up enough textual space to suggest its significance. But with the retellings tempered by distance and cast as comic, no overt sense of threat or outrage accompanies them. Visually prominent and potentially revolutionary, the repeated reference to a black almost beating a white suggests that the text recognizes the revolutionary possibility it signifies and works to keep that possibility at bay.

The text draws attention not only to Jupiter's having "prepared a huge stick," but also to other tools that he handles over the course of the story, particularly a scythe, in subtle ways. And it is the setting of the Charleston area and its history of slave revolt that render this depiction of Jupiter meaningful. While a short-lived slave insurrection occurred there in 1775, in more recent memory for Poe's readers was the 1822 plot to launch a slave revolt uncovered just a few miles from Sullivan's Island in Charleston, where the narrator of "The Gold-Bug" resides.[23] It was organized by a former slave, Denmark Vesey, who had won a local lottery and purchased his freedom with the money. According to an article printed in the Charleston *City Gazette* and re-circulated around the country, including papers in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, the conspirators not only had planned to raid the local arsenal but also had begun converting readily available tools, including "pike-handles," into weaponry.[24] The presiding magistrates of the Denmark Vesey trial, Lionel H. Kennedy and Thomas Parker, released *An Official Report of the Trials of Sundry Negroes, Charged with an Attempt to Raise an Insurrection in the State of South Carolina* (1822), which includes slave testimony specifying that weapons were to be made from scythes for the revolt.[25]

Nat Turner's revolt was associated with scythes as well. Poe had moved to Richmond, Virginia, in August of 1831, the month of the revolt. Although Thomas Wentworth Higginson's article "Nat Turner's Insurrection," which seems to have popularized the notion that the slaves were armed with scythes, would not appear in the *Atlantic Monthly* until 1861, earlier sources allude to scythes in the hands of Nat Turner and his crew (176).[26] References to "swords" in the antebellum period, in the context of slave revolt, carried the implication of their having been made from scythes. Indeed,

subsequent commentators—in the antebellum period and beyond—refer to Turner's sword as a "scythe" or a "scythe-sword," acknowledging the likely source materials for the homemade weapon.[27] According to Turner's testimony in Thomas R. Gray's *The Confessions of Nat Turner,* he wielded a "hatchet" and a "sword," the same one he had when captured some weeks later (11, 12). Turner describes how their numbers increased once the revolt had begun: "Our number amounted now to fifty or sixty, all mounted and armed with guns, axes, swords and clubs" (14). Antebellum readers, then, would have known that "sword" implied "scythe."

While the print culture arising from the Vesey conspiracy and Turner revolt disseminated an understanding of the role that farm implements-refashioned-as-weapons had figured in both cases, Buckingham County, Virginia, experienced an incident in 1835 that indicates how easily the experience of seeing slaves with mere tools could catalyze white panic. A letter, first published in the *Richmond Compiler* and republished in the *Liberator,* reports that on September 4 a group of slaves set out to work the local gold mines with "their picks and pickaxes lifted in the air." They neared a schoolhouse en route to work, and word quickly spread that a revolt was underway, prompting the pupils to huddle in the swamp for much of the day until the misunderstanding became known.[28] In light of Charleston's recent Vesey conspiracy, Turner's revolt, and the Buckingham County incident, the scenes in "The Gold-Bug" that draw attention to the former slave's handling of a scythe take on new resonance.

Wishing to involve the narrator in his search for gold, Legrand sends Jupiter to Charleston with a letter requesting that he come to the island due to "business of importance." The note disturbs the narrator: "There was something in the tone of this

note which gave me great uneasiness. Its whole style differed materially from that of Legrand." Despite his "uneasiness," the narrator complies and approaches the docked boat, but noticing its contents—"a scythe and three spades"—pauses to ask, "What is the meaning of all this, Jup?" Slow to get to the point, Jupiter manages to clarify that they belong to Legrand to which the narrator responds, "Very true. But what are they doing here?" With "very true," the narrator seems to disclose that the thought of the free black possessing such implements is somehow odd. And the subsequent question—"But what are they doing here?"—is especially strange. It makes sense that Jupiter would have taken the boat to Charleston to purchase the tools, for the Sullivan's Island depicted in the text, according to the opening paragraphs, is largely uninhabited, even desolate. In response, Jupiter explains what the narrator already should have known—that he had gone to "town" to purchase them (327).

The narrator's questions express more than mere confusion, indicating an uneasiness about getting into the boat with Jupiter and the tools. Frustrated with Jupiter's vague response, the narrator pokes fun at his dialect, asking, "But what, in the name of all that is mysterious, is your 'Massa Will' going to do with the scythes and spades?" In this way, the narrator attempts to relieve his uneasiness by mocking the free black's speech. But in the process of using humor to combat his anxiety, the narrator here makes a slippage, multiplying the one scythe into several. The narrator discloses to readers, "Finding that no satisfaction was to be obtained of Jupiter, whose whole intellect seemed to be absorbed by 'de bug,' I now stepped into the boat and made sail." Again the narrator relieves the uneasiness caused by encountering Jupiter with suspicious farm implements by cracking a joke about Jupiter's "intellect" (327). Given that antebellum

commentators took solace in the notion that slaves lacked the intelligence to mastermind revolt, the narrator's belittling of Jupiter's "intellect" after noticing his tools is telling.

The strange emphasis on Jupiter's tools occurs again, more strikingly as Legrand, Jupiter, and the narrator search for buried treasure. The narrator takes stock of the things each carries, beginning with the valet: "Jupiter had with him the scythe and spades—the whole of which he insisted upon carrying—more through fear, it seemed to me, of trusting either of the implements within reach of his master, than from any excess of industry or complaisance" (329). Jupiter now wields a scythe instead of a club as he accompanies two unarmed white men in the swamplands; moreover, the dashes isolate the image of Jupiter with scythe in hand, drawing attention to his insistence on carrying it. But any momentary anxiety the text registers is replaced, again, with a joke, this one about Jupiter's lack of initiative and industry. In addition to assertions of the lack of intelligence among slaves, antebellum commentators readily asserted that slaves lacked the industriousness to plot and execute revolt. The narrator's method of directing attention away from Jupiter's potential weapons after taking note of them is, again, revealing. In short, once we have attended to the ways in which "The Gold-Bug" points to the legislative history generated by the *Appeal* and undermines the trope of the steadfast servant, the story's insurrectionary impulses become more pronounced.

"A revolution of feeling": Robert Montgomery Bird's *Sheppard Lee* (1836)

Poe favorably reviewed Robert Montgomery Bird's novel, *Sheppard Lee*, *Written by Himself* (1836) in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, calling it "an original in *American* Belles Lettres," whose innovations "look well for our future literary prospects" (389).

Not only did Poe think well of the novel, but also "The Gold-Bug" clearly borrows plot details from it as several scholars note.[29] *Sheppard Lee*, as Christopher Looby explains, is the story of a "strange adventure that is both an allegory of social mobility and a meditation on personal identity as such" (xv). The title character, Sheppard Lee, experiences metempsychosis by which he is able to enter corpses and assume their identities. Slavery and abolition figure in the novel, but as Looby asserts, Bird will not allow us to label the text a "polemic for or against slavery"; rather, the tone proves "provocative and contrarian" (xxxii). By limning out the significance of some of those borrowed plot details (as well as those not borrowed), I build the case that reading *Sheppard Lee* alongside "The Gold-Bug" further confirms the presence of the *Appeal* in Poe's story and suggests the pamphlet's wider literary impact.

Unlike "The Gold-Bug," *Sheppard Lee* invokes the trope of the faithful servant as a source of humor that both readers and Lee himself take part in. Whereas the narrator of "The Gold-Bug" assumes that Jupiter's loyalty generates the desire to remain with his former master, Lee has little investment in the notion of slave fidelity. Having "some scruples of conscience about holding a slave," Lee proposes to manumit the slave he has inherited, Jim Jumble, but meets resistance from Jim who demands to remain enslaved.[30] Lee acknowledges but pokes fun at the trope by explaining Jim's motives as self-serving: Because life as a free man would necessitate "labouring hard," Jim "was determined to stick by me to the last" (20). While he speculates that Jim may have held "[s]ome little affection for me, as I had grown up from a boy, as it were, under his own eye," Lee determines that "if there were, it was of a strange quality, as he did nothing but scold and

grumble at me all day long" (20). In both texts, then, the notion of slave fidelity takes center stage, whether scrutinized or naturalized by the narrators.

Jim Jumble, however, is not the only source informing Poe's free black character. So is the enslaved Tom whose body Lee inhabits. Speaking more directly than Poe's story to the disruptive or revolutionary potential of print, the novel foregrounds that Tom's literacy fits him for reading a "pamphlet, or magazine" found "among the boards and scantling" of a docked ship (349). This pamphlet brings about "an end to the mirth of the slave, as well as the joy of the master," catalyzing "a new thought [to] [awake] in my bosom, bringing with it *a revolution of feeling*, which extended to the breasts of all my companions. It was but a small cause to produce such great effects; but an ounce of gunpowder may be made to blow up an army, and a drop of venom from the lip of a dog may cause the destruction of a whole herd" (345-6, emphasis added). Placing emphasis on the degree of change in affect that print can cause, the passage employs martial imagery.

Tom is not alone in interpreting the text; Governor, another slave on the Virginia plantation, though illiterate, uses body movement to perform what he sees represented in images. Indeed, the pamphlet contains wood-cuts depicting "negroes in chains, under the lash, exposed in the market for sale" (349). *The Slave's Friend* and *American Anti-Slavery Almanac,* both containing images, began appearing in 1836, the year Bird's novel saw publication, and thus are likely candidates for the abolitionist texts on which Bird bases his description of images.

Just as *The Planter's Northern Bride* distinguishes between types of abolitionist literature based on the motive of the authors only to show that the potential effect of

them—slave revolt—remains the same, so too does *Sheppard Lee* acknowledge the distinction between "incendiary" and other abolitionist literature only to lampoon the notion that authorial motive matters.[31] The novel shows, in other words, that print intended to elicit the affect of one audience (fear in white readers that would persuade them to end slavery) can catalyze a different affect in another audience (outrage in black readers that would compel them to rebel). To decipher the tone, however, it is worth quoting the passage at length: Entitled "An Address to the Owners of Slaves," the pamphlet, according to the narrator,

> could not, therefore, be classed among those 'incendiary publications' which certain over-zealous philanthropists are accused of sending among slaves themselves, to inflame them into insurrection and murder. No such imputation could be cast upon the writer. His object was of a more humane and Christian character; it was to convince the master he was a robber and villain, and, by this pleasing mode of argument, induce him to liberate his bondmen. The only ill consequence that might be produced was, that the book might, provided it fell into their hands, convince the bondmen of the same thing; but that was a result for which the writer was not responsible—he addressed himself only to the master. It began with the following pithy questions and answers—or something very like them—for I cannot pretend to recollect them to the letter. (352)

In describing the pamphlet by way of negation, the narrator most certainly references Walker's *Appeal,* which was infamous for having been circulated "among slaves themselves, to inflame them into insurrection and murder." Benjamin Lundy, for

example, described it as "a labored attempt to rouse the worst passions of human nature, and inflame the minds of those to whom it is addressed."[32] The pamphlet that falls into slaves' hands in Bird's novel, then, is *not* an analogue of Walker's pamphlet. Rather, the narrator's point is that the pamphlet found by the slaves, intended for a white audience, does not aim to promote rebellion but, nonetheless, does. To be sure, Bird's novel most directly responds to the recent abolition mail campaign of 1835 in which white southerners across a number of states received unsolicited abolitionist literature via the U.S. Post.[33]

But the pamphlet's discovery among the boards of a ship does reference the *Appeal*'s method of circulation. While Walker utilized the postal service, his more infamous method of distribution was ship routes. As chapter one addresses, sympathetic sailors carried the pamphlet clandestinely into southern ports. Bird's conflation of abolitionist literature intended for a white audience (those texts addressed to masters) and abolitionist literature addressed to slaves (Walker's text, which was addressed to "the coloured citizens of the world") is significant. For the conflation further underscores that the dangers of abolitionist literature remain constant regardless of authorial motive.

Just as tellingly, despite the narrator's remark that the pamphlet is addressed to whites, the description of the pamphlet's content recalls the *Appeal*. The slaves in Bird's novel read the pamphlet's warnings that are intended for masters: "The vengeance of Heaven was invoked upon their heads, coupled with predictions of the retribution that would sooner or later fall upon them, these being borne out by monitory allusions to the servile wars of Rome, Syria, Egypt, Sicily, St. Domingo, &c. &c" (356). Many white commentators characterized Walker's pamphlet as making a "dreadful prediction" of

divine vengeance and slave revolt, exhibiting a "ferocious spirit," and "call[ing] upon these poor ignorant creatures [slaves] to wash their hands in the blood of the whites" in executing retribution.[34] Moreover, the *Appeal,* like the pamphlet found in Bird's novel, utilizes the term "vengeance," attributing it to "the Lord" (47, 69). Walker also explicitly references Rome, Egypt, and St. Domingo.

Bird's abolitionist pamphlet inadvertently communicates to slaves, the unintended readers, that they are "the most injured people in the world" (356). In contrast, Walker's pamphlet sets out to convince slaves of this very notion: "the coloured people of these United States of America" are "the *most wretched, degraded* and *abject* set of beings that *ever lived* since the world began" (7). By identifying the pamphlet as not "incendiary" while providing the well-known dissemination history of Walker's pamphlet—the abolitionist text most frequently and infamously designated as "incendiary"—and describing content that matches that of Walker's pamphlet, *Sheppard Lee* uses the *Appeal* to comment on the 1835 abolitionist mail campaign. The print mailed by the AAS to southern whites to persuade them of the evils of slavery, the novel suggests, was just as incendiary as Walker's. Thus, Walker's *Appeal*, while never explicitly identified, plays a role in communicating one of the novel's crucial points—that print, regardless of authorial intent, could catalyze affects with revolutionary potential.

As noted, the plantation depicted in *Sheppard Lee* is in Virginia. After "kissing the little pamphlet," "[the slave conspirators] swore we would exterminate all the white men in Virginia, beginning with our master and his family" (360). These details, including the linkage of print to revolution, call to mind Nat Turner's revolt in Southampton, Virginia, an event that contemporaries speculated had been provoked by

the circulation of Walker's pamphlet in the area. Whether Nat Turner knew of Walker's pamphlet remains unknown; what we do know is that contemporaries of the revolt speculated on the connection.[35]

Having been, as Poe says in his review of the novel, "excit[ed]" by the pamphlet, the slaves move forward with the conspiracy. Further calling to mind Turner's revolt, farm implements are stockpiled: "butcher-knives and bludgeons, old scythe-blades and sickles" (359). Given Poe's familiarity with Bird's novel and his liberal borrowing of plot details, the depiction of slaves fashioning scythes into weaponry bolsters one of this chapter's central claims: Poe's inclusion of a scythe-toting free black carries significance.

The novel repeatedly returns to the role of what the narrator with hindsight calls "that unlucky pamphlet": "Who would have thought that a little book, framed by a philanthropist, for the humane purpose of turning his neighbour from the error of his way, should have lighted a torch in his dwelling only to be quenched by blood!" (357, 362). Otherwise contented, the slaves after encountering the pamphlet had become "victims of dissatisfaction and rage" (363). After the short-lived revolt, which results in the deaths of a few whites on the plantation, Tom is hanged for his role as one who "had become prominent as the reader of the little book" (360).

This connection between print and revolution was not lost on Poe. In his review of the novel, Poe writes that "Mr. Lee gives us some very excellent chapters upon abolition and the exciting effects of incendiary pamphlets and pictures, among our slaves in the South…" (*Essays and Reviews* 399). While his comment certainly affirms a stereotype commonly disseminated during the antebellum period regarding the excitability and simple-mindedness of slaves, it also—and just as importantly—

acknowledges the power of print to produce affect with revolutionary potential. That is, Poe expresses appreciation for the novel's depiction of the relationship between print, affect, and revolution. Reading "The Gold-Bug" in light of Poe's review of *Sheppard Lee*, we could say Poe concedes that if Jupiter had access to the likes of Walker's pamphlet, the club and scythe he carries just might serve an alternative purpose.

Poe's "Valet" Digs for Gold

Poe's story, as this section shows, not only bears traces of southern legislative history spurred by the *Appeal*'s circulation but also engages the pamphlet by redeploying and significantly altering its controlling image of slaves digging gold for their masters. Attending to this redeployment both enables us to link the insurrectionary impulses to the "incendiary pamphlet" and further illuminates the ends to which the story puts those impulses.

Explicit reference to slaves digging gold, more recurring than references to slaves working plantation fields, appears ten times in Walker's *Appeal*. There are an additional three references to slaves' digging mines. Underscoring that the plights of free and enslaved black Americans are similar in order to forge a collective black identity, Walker highlights for his free readers the limitations to whatever freedoms they know. Expressing anger and sorrow that a fellow free black he encountered in Boston appeared to have resigned himself "happi[ly]" to the fate of "*cleaning boots and shoes,*" Walker insists that "a servant is a slave to the man whom he serves" (29, 28).[36] Walker decries the spirit of resignation among slaves as well as free blacks. To stir his African American

readers, he thus incorporates throughout the text references to slaves forced to mine gold, an image appearing in each of the four articles constituting the document.

In one instance, Walker reports on a group of slaves who, while being transported to Mississippi, attacked the driver and endeavored to escape but whose attempt ultimately failed because one slave assisted the injured driver in fleeing. Walker reflects: "Here is a set of wretches, who had SIXTY of them in a gang, driving them around the country like *brutes,* to dig up gold and silver for them, (which they will get enough of yet.) Should the lives of such creatures be spared?" He goes on to advise that "if there is an attempt made by us, kill or be killed" (25). Walker repeatedly refers to the role of slave labor in gold mining to generate outrage in his black readers over their ongoing grievances. The goal of the rhetorical maneuver, however, is two-fold, working not only to fortify the resolve of and elicit anger from black readers but also to prick fear of pending slave revolt in white readers.

The recurring image of slaves digging is thus central to Walker's affect-focused rhetorical strategy. By addressing the pamphlet to "the coloured citizens of the world" while making frequent direct addresses to white readers, "Americans," Walker foregrounds his bifurcated audience. As chapter one explains, Walker's rhetorical strategy hinges on coordinating the affect of his diverse readers: white readers are enlisted to observe how the text works to ignite the indignation of black readers, which, in turn, catalyzes the white readers' fear. The fear, Walker hoped, would prove persuasive.

"The Gold-Bug" likewise emphasizes the servility of its free black character while also exploiting the anxieties of its white readers about the South's black population.

But it buries those anxieties in humor—ultimately working to elicit laughter, not terror, from its white readers. To this end, Poe redeploys Walker's image of slaves enlisted in the search for gold for comic effect. Significantly changing the slave to a "valet," the story assures readers that the racial hierarchy that Walker decries will persist, even if slavery does not. But the assurance it provides readers is only surface level.

Illuminating the story's engagement with Walker's pamphlet enables us to read those insurrectionary impulses as something other than mere expressions of authorial anxiety. (This is how such impulses frequently have been read in analyses of Poe's *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket* [1838], Harry Levin's the most notable among them.)[37] Instead, they indicate an awareness of the potential that print posed for black revolution as well as an interest in how print and literary convention could enlist readers in racial fantasy. If print could enlist readers in nostalgia—for race relations that never existed except in cultural forms, such as blackface minstrelsy, and disseminated on a national scale via print—it also could galvanize readers for revolution. "The Gold-Bug" demonstrates an awareness of how print could be put to the service of fashioning the South's future. The insurrectionary impulses serve as a wink indicating that the picture of southern futurity that Poe offers is a fantasy, a fantasy produced and circulated in print. "The Gold-Bug," then, works to convert white regional anxiety into national laughter, even while modeling how the process necessitates putting a national literary convention to the service of occluding local history—and the black-authored text behind that history.

Upon finally discovering and unearthing the treasure, Jupiter "fell upon his knees in the pit, and burying his naked arms up to the elbows in gold, let them there remain, as if enjoying the luxury of a bath" (336). Here the free black becomes exactly what Walker

warns that black Americans are not—"contented to rest in ignorance and wretchedness, to dig up gold and silver for [whites]" (52). Yet even as the story works to convert into laughter the fears that Walker's *Appeal* had provoked, the conclusion (much like the introduction) raises questions about Jupiter. When two skeletons are unearthed along with the treasure, Legrand conjectures aloud:

> [I]t is clear that he [Captain Kidd] must have had assistance in the labor. But this labor concluded, he may have thought it expedient to remove all participants in his secret. Perhaps a couple of blows with a mattock were sufficient, while his coadjutors were busy in the pit; perhaps it required a dozen—who shall tell? (348)

While the narrator presumably escapes the death that this conclusion seems to foreshadow, enabling him to tell the tale, we must wonder about Jupiter's future. Whereas Legrand, riches in hand, has restored his fortune and can return to New Orleans, Jupiter, due to Louisiana's manumission codes brought about by Walker's *Appeal*, likely cannot. Legrand can restore his position, but he can neither reclaim his slave nor return to New Orleans with his valet.

In 1829 David Walker predicts—and calls for—a violent future in which slaves and free blacks would work together to strike for freedom. In 1843 Poe answers with a vision of the South's future that works to amuse readers with a humor rooted in nostalgia for black-white relations threatened by intensifying sectional tensions over slavery. "The Gold-Bug" thus offers a future South in which the racial hierarchy remains in place, even if slavery does not—a South in which *free* blacks dig gold for their white masters. Even as the story attempts to drown anxious uncertainty about freedmen in humor, the eerie

ending, including the conspicuous omission of the fate of the free black, casts an ominous shadow over this future South, signaling to readers that the vision it offers is rooted in racial fantasy.

I return to the phrase "unlucky pamphlet," which Tom, the slave in Bird's novel, applies to the abolitionist pamphlet he had read aloud to his fellow slaves. He calls it "unlucky" to express his regret for having let the pamphlet effect his affect, for having turned his contentedness into rage.[38] To be sure, he regrets his participation in the failed revolt. When it comes to charting literary history, the appellation "unlucky pamphlet" better fits Walker's *Appeal*—unlucky because its impact on antebellum literature was muted, enabling its place in literary history to have all but vanished. By attending to one short story by Poe, a writer who has been identified as central to ongoing reconsiderations of how antebellum white writers took up matters of race and slavery, this chapter models how a recalibration of expectations along with the employment of alternative methods can give us access to otherwise unrecognizable literary dialogue. With respect to methodology, this chapter contends that we need alternative methods for approaching the texts of Poe and other nineteenth-century writers if we want to bypass—or at least move beyond—the *cul-de-sac* conclusion of "authorial anxiety" when it comes to analyzing representations of race and slavery. Offering one possible route, this chapter brings local history to bear on a national literary convention.

But just as importantly, we need a rigorous recalibration of expectations. If we consider it within the realm of possibility that black-authored texts were read by white writers, we become able to notice what our misguided assumptions had occluded; we become equipped, in other words, to recognize how white-authored writings have

engaged black-authored texts. As Goddu articulates, antebellum American literary scholarship in general and Poe scholarship in particular have perpetuated "a misreading of the crossfertilization of pro- and antislavery discourse and the availability of antislavery pamphlets in the South in the 1830s" ("Rethinking" 16). Ultimately, then, this chapter builds on recent efforts to read race in Poe's canon as it suggests that his literary engagement with abolition—evidenced in this case in his response to Walker's *Appeal*—was more direct than we have tended to assume.

End Notes

[1] Whereas Lee in 2005 finds Poe scholarship to be too focused on the writer's unconscious, Teresa A. Goddu five years prior criticizes Poe studies in general and analyses of *Pym* in particular for the narrow emphasis on finding "a clear path back to Poe's authorial consciousness through his narrative double" (15 "Rethinking").

[2] For a discussion of the history of the dispute over authorship of the review, see Terence Whalen's chapter "Average Racism: Poe, Slavery, and the Wages of Literary Nationalism" in *Edgar Allan Poe and the Masses: The Political Economy of Literature in Antebellum America* (1999).

[3] See Lee (44) and Goddu ("Rethinking" 17).

[4] As Goddu clarifies, "Reading race through the cipher of Poe is useful not merely because it gives insight into the author's particular political position or racial psychology but because it illuminates a wide range of antebellum cultural configurations that intersect with slavery and race" ("Rethinking" 15).

[5] For example, Paul Christian Jones reads Poe's "Hop-Frog" as expressing the dangers of the abolitionist rhetoric of sympathy, and Maurice Lee discusses Poe's "Metzengerstein" as a response to abolitionist rhetoric. Though Goddu mentions some of the antislavery texts, including the immensely popular *American Slavery as It Is* (1839) by Theodore Weld, with which Poe likely would have been familiar, she does not read any one particular Poe-authored tale in light of a specific abolitionist text (Goddu, "Poe").

[6] Poe scholarship has been preoccupied with pinpointing Poe's personal views of race and slavery. Nowhere is this critical pursuit more evident than in scholarship on *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket* (1838).

[7] Peeples mentions William Gilmore Simms's *The Yemassee: A Romance of Carolina* (1835) and James Kirke Paulding's *Westward Ho* (1832). (Peeples mistakenly attributes the latter to Robert Montgomery Bird.). To this list I add John Pendleton Kennedy's *Swallow Barn* (1832) and Catherine Maria Sedgwick's *The Linwoods* (1835), the latter of which, set in England during the Revolutionary period, includes a black "servant" named Jupiter.

[8] Goddu's analysis of Pompey in "A Predicament" applies to Jupiter as well—a character "paradigmatic of the ways in which Poe exploits racial stereotype even as he exposes its construction" ("Poe" 99).

[9] While penning "The Gold-Bug," Poe resided in Philadelphia, a city undergoing heightened racial turmoil. While taking to the streets to celebrate the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, the Negro Young Men's Vigilant Association, whose participants included both adults and children, was attacked; the mob additionally set fire to

abolitionist meeting houses in the city. J. Gerald Kennedy, who relates this history, underscores that this backdrop ensured that Poe's depiction of the relationship between a manumitted slave and a white man "possesse[d] more than passing interest," for the city's Walnut Street Theater staged an adaptation of the story only two months later (49). The reality that southern slavery—and the concomitant tension and violence between abolitionists and anti-abolitionists that it caused—could not continue likely was not lost on Poe who had a firsthand view of the city's racial violence.

[10] See Clement Eaton's "A Most Dangerous Pamphlet in the Old South" and Hasan Crockett's "The Incendiary Pamphlet: David Walker's *Appea*l in Georgia." Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina passed laws against seditious literature; Virginia considered but did not pass any laws.

[11] According to Hinks, the *Milledgeville Statesman & Patriot* reported on the *Appeal* on January 2, 1830, and the *Richmond Daily Whig* on January 8, 1830, lampoons the secrecy marking the meeting of the General Assembly. (This is the newspaper, moreover, that within the next two weeks—January 19, 21, and 23—would publish advertisements for Poe's recently published *Tamerlane and Other Poems*, advertisements probably supplied by Poe. [See Dwight Thomas and David K. Jackson's *The Poe Log: A Documentary Life of Edgar Allan Poe, 1809-1849*.])

[12] For tracking Poe's location, I have relied on Thomas and Jackson's *The Poe Log*.

[13] See Whalen's *Edgar Allan Poe and the Masses* (142).

[14] Just take James Fenimore Cooper's *Pioneers* (1823) as a case in point. The slave Agamemnon belongs to Judge Temple, but having been hired out to another man, he has two masters: "…[W]hen any dispute between his lawful and his real master occurred, the black felt too much deference for both to express any opinion" (51).

[15] After the Nat Turner revolt, Virginia's legislature openly discussed in 1831-1832 the possible merits of abolishing slavery in the state. See chapter two for a further discussion of the significance of these debates.

[16] Like Jupiter's manumission, Legrand's decision to relocate to Sullivan's Island stems from the family's fall from wealth. The family's monetary loss solidifies, then, the new social positions and geographical locations of both Legrand and Jupiter.

[17] The fear of accumulating debt and subsequent seizure of one's slaves by creditors gets articulated in William Gilmore Simms's *Woodcraft* (1854) via the story of Captain Porgy and his slave.

[18] This pamphlet is held at the American Antiquarian Society.

[19] Some sources, from the 1830s and thereafter, claim that this legislation was passed on March 16, 1830. *A Digest of the Penal Law of the State of Louisiana* cites the March date.

as do Peter P. Hinks in *To Awaken My Afflicted Brethren* (151), Judith Kelleher Schafer in *Becoming Free, Remaining Free: Manumission and Enslavement in New Orleans, 1846-1862*, and Lacy K. Ford in *Deliver us from evil: The Slavery Question in the Old South* (450). But the *Acts Passed at the Second Session of the Ninth Legislature of the State of Louisiana,* a source held at the American Antiquarian Society, identifies January 4, 1830, as the date. If January is, in fact, the month the legislation passed, then it followed immediately after the surfacing of Walker's pamphlet in Georgia as well as the Louisiana Christmas Insurrection scare of 1829. Whether the correct date is January or March, Walker's *Appeal* provided the impetus for its passage.

[20] *Niles' Weekly Register* (April 24, 1830) reported, "A very severe law concerning free persons of color has just been passed."

[21] For this description of Poe's narrator, see "The Code for Gold: Edgar Allan Poe and Cryptography," *Representations* 46 (1994): 35-57.

[22] See Jones's "The Danger of Sympathy: Edgar Allan Poe's 'Hop-Frog' and the Abolitionist Rhetoric of Pathos," *Journal of American Studies* 35 (2001): 239-54.

[23] The history of Sullivan's Island, as Liliane Weissberg explains, includes a short-lived, though significant, slave insurrection in 1775 in which about 500 slaves grouped together on the island and took over the local pest house, hoping to earn their freedom by fighting for the British. Many escaped to England (135). Lacking much textual analysis of the story, Liliane Weissberg's article does offer an informative account of the history and current state of Sullivan's Island. Weissberg brings this history to bear on the tourist industry at work on present-day Sullivan's Island to show that, when it comes to public memory, the island prefers "The Gold-Bug" to slave revolt.

[24] The article, "To Our Northern Brethren," reports the following*:* "Besides the instruments which many of them possessed as mechanics, villains were engaged in manufacturing arms; several pike-handles were discovered." It was re-circulated in other papers, including *The Salem Gazette* (Haverhill, Massachusetts) and *Providence Patriot* (Providence, Rhode Island).

[25] See pages 122, 123, and 167.

[26] See Higginson's article in *The Atlantic Monthly* (1861): "The troop [of insurgents] increased from house to house,—first to fifteen, then to forty, then to sixty. Some were armed with muskets, some with axes, some with scythes; some came on their masters' horses" (176).

[27] In addition to Higginson's narrative, which is quoted by studies of Turner with substantial frequency, examples of nineteenth-century texts—appearing after Poe's death—that imagine Nat Turner's crew to have been armed with scythes include the following. William Wells Brown's *Clotel; or, The President's Daughter* (1853) directly

likens one of its characters, a maroon named Picquilo, to Nat Turner, identifying Picquilo's only weapon as "a sword, made from the blade of a scythe" (180). Marion Harland's *Judith: A Chronicle of Old Virginia*, a narrative of the Southampton insurrection, appeared in Albion Winegar Tourgée's Philadelphia-based *The Continent* on July 25, 1883, and was subsequently published by Scribner; Turner's group is described as "brandishing blood-stained scythes, pikes and axes, and now and then firing off a gun or pistol in their murderous glee" (93). Among twentieth-century texts there is a letter from Ellis P. Oberholtzer to W. E. B. Du Bois that asks about Du Bois's desire to write a biography of Turner: "Is there sufficient material for such a purpose, and could he be made to appear as anything more than a deluded prophet who led a little band of men armed with scythes and broad axes?" (*The Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois: Selections, 1877-1934* [64]). See also Philip Sheldon Foner's *History of the Labor Movement in the United States* Vol. 1 (257).

[28] See the article entitled "More Alarms!" in the *Liberator*. Herbert Aptheker's *American Negro Slave Revolts* alerted me to the article (328).

[29] See, for example, Liliane Wiessberg's contribution to *Romancing the Shadow: Poe and Race*, "Black, White, and Gold."

[30] "…[Jim] burst into a passion, swore he would *not* be free, and told me flatly I was his master, and I should take care of him: and the absurd old fool ended by declaring, if I made him a free man he would have the law of me, 'he would, by ge-hosh!'" (19-20). The reference here could be to New Jersey slave law: "The owner of a slave was held in law obliged to support the slave at all times, provided that the negro had not been legally manumitted" (Cooley 51). See Henry Scofield Cooley, *A Study of Slavery in New Jersey* (1896).

[31] See chapter two for elaboration on Hentz's distinction between different types of abolitionist print.

[32] See Lundy's article in *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, "Walker's Boston Pamphlet." April 1830 1.1: 15-16.

[33] See Lacy K. Ford's discussion of the abolition mail campaign in *Deliver Us From Evil: The Slavery Question in the Old South*.

[34] For the first quotation, see the article entitled "Walker's Appeal. No. 3" in the *Liberator* (28 May 1831: 85). For the other two quotations, see the article entitled "The Pamphlet" published in the *Richmond Enquirer* (1 January 1830): 2.

[35] As noted in the introduction, a letter from Virginia Governor John Floyd (November of 1831) to South Carolina Governor James Hamilton makes this connection. A copy of the letter can be found in *The Life and Diary of John Floyd: Governor of Virginia* (89-91).

[36] Walker underscores the tenuousness of the free black's status: "If any of you wish to know how FREE you are, let one of you start and go through the southern and western States of this country, and unless you travel as a slave to a white man… or have your free papers, (which if you are not careful they will get them from you)," the traveler likely will be sold into slavery (28).

[37] See Harry Levin's *The Power of Blackness* (1857) and Sidney Kaplan's chapter "Poe's Pym: An Introduction to *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*" (1991).

[38] Recall the scene in which Tom, after having read the pamphlet, says that the "fatal book infected my own spirit as deeply as it did those of the others, and made me as sour and discontented as they" (357). Shortly thereafter he becomes violent with his young master, "shaking him almost to death" (358).

Conclusion

Symptoms and Surfaces:
The Literary Marks of Walker's *Appeal* on Antebellum America

The *Narrative of Thomas Smallwood*, considered the first Canadian slave narrative, appeared in 1851. In the preface, Smallwood asserts not only the veracity of his tale but also his authorship of it, and to punctuate the point, he identifies an example of an abolitionist text that was not original but, instead, plagiarized—a book purported to have been authored by Paola Brown. Smallwood does not provide the title, but it was Brown's *Address to be Delivered in the City Hall, Hamilton, February 7, 1851, on the Subject of Slavery* (1851). Subsequent comparison of Brown's text to the original bears out Smallwood's claim that Brown—a black American who relocated to Canada—had attributed to himself and circulated (with only minor changes) David Walker's *Appeal*. Smallwood's allegation appears as follows:

> This little work, with the exception of the quotations and a portion of the matter in the preface, is wholly original, containing a simple narrative of unvarnished facts, interspersed with such comments as I conceived to be necessary. I am led to make these remarks from the fact that I have seen a book for sale in this city purporting to be a production of Mr. Paola Brown, of Hamilton; but the fact is, it is a copy, almost verbatim, of a book known as "Walker's Appeal," written by a coloured man of that name. And in order to shew the reader more plainly the diabolical attempt of P. Brown to rob the memory of an estimable man, of

> one of the boldest productions against slavery ever written and published in America, I will give the preface to a brief sketch of the life and character of DAVID WALKER; together with the sketch itself, written by Henry Highland Garnet, and published with the second edition of the book referred to in 1848. Hence it will be seen that Mr. Brown is not honest in putting forth a work like the one in question in his name and as his own production.

Smallwood makes the claim of originality specifically because he is aware that other falsified accounts are in circulation. What is unique about this combination—a claim to authorship followed by the accusation of falsified authorship—is that slave narratives typically included assertions of veracity and authorship made by the authors themselves along with endorsements by white abolitionists. In this instance, the white abolitionist's patronage is replaced with the rebuking of one black writer, Paola Brown, and the expression of deference to another, David Walker. Insisting on Walker's authorship, Smallwood lays claim to his own.

Publication and Profits

While the previous chapters suggest various reasons to explain why Walker's *Appeal* reverberates mutedly rather than explicitly within the literature of Hentz, Stowe, Delany, Poe, and Bird, I raise the examples of Smallwood and Brown to indicate the range of ways in which Walker's pamphlet circulated and the ends to which it was put in the antebellum period. These examples of the *Appeal*'s afterlife via Paola Brown and Thomas Smallwood provide additional examples of Walker's literary influence, helping

us to consider why an author might draw from but not identify the pamphlet. And given that Brown's circulation of the *Appeal* under a different title and author goes unnoticed in American scholarship on Walker, we might wonder about the other ways in which the pamphlet—in the U.S. and beyond—had a literary impact that have yet to be uncovered.[1]

Not only did Brown claim to have penned Walker's *Appeal*, but also copies under Brown's name could be found "for sale" throughout the city, according to Smallwood. Given that Smallwood calls Brown's recycling of the *Appeal* "diabolical," it seems that the emphasis on submitting the pamphlet—"one of the boldest productions against slavery ever written and published in America"—to buying and selling contributes to provoking his ire. Indeed, Smallwood likely knew that Walker had circulated the pamphlet clandestinely and not for profit. This small detail regarding the *Appeal*'s afterlife under Brown's name further highlights the uniqueness of the pamphlet's relationship to the literary market: How do we account for a text that circulated not only covertly but, to a certain degree, outside the realm of dollars and cents?

While Walker's primary goal was to get his pamphlet into the hands of black southerners, rather than turn a profit, some of his contemporaries speculated otherwise. The *Cherokee Phoenix* republished an article from the *N. Y. Jour of Commerce*, which indicated that profits drove Walker's circulation of the pamphlet. According to the article, Boston mayor H. G. Otis, after conducting an investigation, determined that he lacked the ability to prosecute Walker, for he had broken no law within the state of Massachusetts. The author goes on to claim that Walker's efforts to secure profits unfortunately could proceed unimpeded: "He therefore has full sweep in the sale of his pamphlet which

doubtless finds a much better market in consequence of the excitement it has occasioned at the South. We understand that he has already issued a second edition" (3).[2]

While the author of the article assumes that Walker sought to generate "excitement" in order to sell more pamphlets, chapter one proffers an alternative account of Walker's strategic deployment of "excitement" or sensationalism. In the wake of the Denmark Vesey conspiracy the *Appeal* combines markers of a religious "fanaticism" with militancy to catalyze southern fears—not to turn a profit but to persuade. When we consider the *Appeal* as a text for which persuasion rather than profit is the goal, theories of the literary market, which have been helpful for thinking about Poe and others, fail to pose the most relevant questions. Just as importantly, however, the article speculates that the excitement generated by Walker's pamphlet would ensure that it circulated widely.

Rhetorical Culpability

Having examined the literary influence of Walker's pamphlet, I want to distinguish my claims from those of others who analyze the discourses surrounding slavery. A central claim of this study has been to contend that the field of American literary studies has failed to consider how black-authored texts have been generative for white writers. When it comes to the discourses launched in the slavery debates, however, some credit regularly is given to the generative power of the writings and published orations of Frederick Douglass and a few others—but in a way that raises another complication.[3] As Patricia Roberts-Miller argues, abolitionists get "scapegoated" for the escalation in rhetoric that ostensibly culminated in the Civil War (4). Slavery apologists and anti-abolitionists, so the conventional wisdom assumes, intensifed their language in

response to the language of abolitionists. In this way, abolitionist writing—by black and white authors—is seen as generative only insofar as it is responsible for ratcheting up the vehemence of language deployed by anti-abolitionists and slavery apologists and, in effect, causing the Civil War.

Roberts-Miller compiles evidence from nineteenth- and twenieth-century sources to establish that the 1835 abolition mail campaign—the American Anti-Slavery Society's mailing to white southerners of unsolicited abolitionist literature—regularly is identified as a turning point in public discourse about slavery. According to conventional wisdom, proslavery rhetors responded, in turn, by ramping up the vehemence of their own rhetoric. As Roberts-Miller sees it, "This way of describing cause and effect in antebellum slavery politics makes (or implies) three claims: first, that the AAS flooded the South; second, that proslavery rhetors *then* became more aggressive; third, the first *caused* the second. If that narrative claim is correct, then, if the AAS hadn't sent the pamphlets, proslavery rhetors would not have become more aggressive" (2-3). To counter this sort of implicit blame-game, she intervenes to argue that, despite their claims to the contrary, proslavery rhetors objected to "criticisms" of slavery rather than "the stridency with which abolitionists criticized slavery" (17). But in the process of exonerating abolitionist rhetoric for having caused the Civil War, she tosses out the potential usefulness of charting shaping influences on the trajectory of proslavery, abolitionist, and anti-abolitionist rhetoric. In fact, Roberts-Miller naturalizes what she calls "rhetorical stridency" as "getting ugl[y]," for it is to be expected that emotional fluctuations get registered in language, especially in the heat of debate (6).

In contrast, a central claim of this study has been that rhetorical stridency—more specifically one of its manifestations, appeals to fear—needs to be denaturalized. While scholarship has done well to situate the nineteenth century's culture of sentimentality with respect to philosophical and literary tradition imported (and transformed upon arrival) from England, the same attention has not been given to appeals to fear within discourses about slavery. In the course of exposing the problematic of blaming abolitionist rhetoric for causing the Civil War, Roberts-Miller also naturalizes rhetorical vehemence as indicative of authors allowing emotions to overpower them. Instead, this study puts forth a way of thinking about appeals to fear in the context of a broader print culture. Just as importantly, it contends that charting the influence of Walker's rhetoric on literary engagements with the slavery debates does not necessitate assigning culpability.

At the same time, in distinguishing Walker's rhetoric from that of his predecessors and placing emphasis on his rhetorical use of fear, this study, it could be claimed, risks justifying antebellum reactions against the pamphlet for its alleged fear-mongering, fanaticism, and anomalousness. Indeed, Peter P. Hinks and Jacqueline Bacon have worked to upend the notion that Walker's rhetoric was excessively radical and anomalous to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century black-authored antislavery writings. Their work foregrounds continuities between Walker's rhetoric and ideas and that of antislavery writers preceding him. To clarify, I do not claim that Walker's writing fails to fit into a longer trajectory or that we cannot identify correspondences between his writing and his predecessors. Rather, Walker places a heightened focus on appealing to fear along with rumination on the rhetorical mode; this type of rumination becomes more

prominent in subsequent literature penned to comment on—and imagine the futures of—slavery and the South.

"A Power of Eloquence Sufficient to Convince"?

To be sure, a number of pamphlets addressing slavery and the status of both free and enslaved African Americans appearing before the appearance of Walker's pamphlet comment and ruminate on their own rhetoric, tone, and affect, establishing that Walker's concerns were in keeping with his contemporaries. James Forten penned *Letters from a Man of Colour, On a Late Bill Before the Senate of Pennsylvania* (1813) to persuade the Pennsylvania Senate to forgo consideration of legislation that would impinge on the liberties of the state's free blacks. In its effort to persuade, the text concludes by foregrounding its "appeal to the heart": "My feelings are acute, and I have ventured to express them without intending either accusation or insult to any one. An appeal to the heart is my intention, and if I have failed, it is my great misfortune, not to have had a power of eloquence sufficient to convince" (11).[4]

If Forten worries that his appeal to sympathy might fail to "convince" and instead "insult," other writers concerned with the futures of African Americans likewise ruminate on the importance of deploying the appropriate tone in making their arguments. One anonymous pamphlet advocating the colonization of free blacks to Africa and encouraging readers to support the proposition to eliminate slavery from Washington D. C., *Facts Respecting Slavery* (circa. 1826) asks, "Will not the people of this free country speak in a tone that cannot be misunderstood? It is their solemn and immediate duty. Is it not?" (8). While the author does not identify the "tone that cannot be

misunderstood," *Facts Respecting Slavery* models an array of rhetorical modes.[5] While it primarily deploys sympathy for the slave, it begins in a different key by warning, "*They [blacks] are fast concentrating at the extreme South*… They are fast gaining upon the whites, and unless some powerful means are speedily taken to prevent it, we shall have a nation of blacks nearer than St. Domingo" (1). In this way, the self-identified non-southern author articulates a fear of a future black South. In keeping with the general trend among other pamphlets, however, appeals to fear have less of a role in the early literature, co-existing with but taking a backseat to appeals to sympathy. Walker's *Appeal* thus shifts the emphasis, making appeals to fear more explicit and central to its persuasive strategy. It is a distinction not lost on Walker's contemporaries.

Indeed, it is worth considering how Walker's contemporaries distinguished his rhetoric from other abolitionists. Some of Walker's anti-abolitionist and proslavery readers aligned the rhetoric of Walker with that of Garrison, despite the latter's commitment to non-violence, insofar as both could culminate in slave revolt. In a letter to South Carolina Governor James Hamilton, Virginia Governor John Floyd attributed the Nat Turner insurrection to "the Yankee population," but in particular to the circulation of "incendiary publications [by] Walker, Garrison and Knapp of Boston" (qtd. in Greenberg, *Confessions* 110). And as I address in chapter two, Garrison himself, in response to claims of continuity between his brand of abolitionism and that of Walker's, took on his accusers in the *Liberator*: "Our enemies may accuse us of striving to stir up the slaves to revenge; but their accusations are false, and made only to excite the prejudices of the whites, and to destroy our influence."[6]

Despite these conflations of Walker's rhetoric with Garrison's following the Turner revolt, it is also true that commentators distinguished between the rhetoric of Walker and that of other abolitionists. As a case in point, a letter reprinted in the *Richmond Inquirer* from Virginia governor William B. Giles to Boston mayor H. G. Otis illustrates that when white southerners first encountered Walker's pamphlet, they immediately identified it as an abolitionist text distinct from its predecessors and contemporaries.[7] Otis distinguishes between Walker—a "despicable, colored man," a "sanguinary fanatic" who harbors "sentiments so diabolical and mischievous"—and other (unidentified) abolitionists—"fanatics of a much higher order," who are, instead, merely "ignorant" and "insensible" with regard to the effects of their "intermeddling." While these other abolitionists unwittingly render "incalculable mischiefs" on society, they do not earn the same degree of scorn from Giles because they presumably *do not intend* to catalyze slave revolt. Without calling it a distinction in rhetoric, the Virginia governor nonetheless discerns the *rhetorical* difference between calling on slaveholders to end slavery and calling on black southerners to take up arms.[8]

Though newspaper articles penned by white southerners readily warned of the dangers of abolitionist literature, only with infrequency did they reference Walker's pamphlet by author and title. Indeed, the *Appeal* routinely is referred to as "that incendiary pamphlet." At the same time, failure to discuss the pamphlet in overt terms should not be presumed to indicate a lack of awareness of it or of its lack of influence. *Acts Passed at the Second Session of the Ninth Legislature of the State of Louisiana* (1830), a document discussed in chapter four, does not mention Walker's pamphlet, but it does identify penalties (fines and short-term imprisonment) stemming from the

circulation of "written or printed paper…with the intent to disturb the peace or security of the same, in relation to the slaves of the people of this state" (93). While the generalization holds true that southern response to the 1831 slave revolt led by Nat Turner included the passage of legislation curtailing the liberties of free African Americans and penalizing those who disturb the peace by agitating via print the slave and free black populations, this document clarifies that similar legislation was passed prior to the Turner uprising. (Perhaps the legislation stemmed from news that Walker's pamphlet had appeared in other southern states or from the Christmas insurrection scare of 1829.) While this dissertation focuses on the *Appeal*'s literary, rather than legislative impact, the Louisiana *Acts*' failure to mention the pamphlet, much like Paola Brown's circulation of the pamphlet in Canada without including Walker's name, demonstrates the very claim I make for the novels and fiction addressed in the preceding chapters: to attend to the *Appeal*'s literary impact, we must chart veiled references to and engagements with it, bringing print culture history to bear on individual works of literature.

Symptoms and Surfaces

"In book history and print culture scholarship, African American texts," as Marcy J. Dinius argues, "have received little attention, despite their increasing presence in the expanded literary canon" (57). Dinius goes on to claim that Henry Louis Gates, Jr.'s trope of the "talking book" has produced the assumption that "orality and literacy [constitute] the only registers" useful for interpreting black-authored texts—and an African American literary tradition (57). Attending to the "radical typography" of Walker's *Appeal* in order to demonstrate how the author "sought to collapse the

ostensible binaries of voice and print," Dinius figures among a spate of publications in recent years that demonstrate desire for new conceptual models for interpreting Walker's *Appeal,* models that complicate traditional readings, which culminate in statements about the author's emotional volatility and importation of oratorical effects (57).[9] Turning to Walker as a case in point, Dinius opens up new methods for reading African American texts.

Also approaching African American literary history from a print scholarship perspective, Eric Gardner contends that we have much work to do in reconstructing the nineteenth-century African American archive. For Gardner, in privileging the bound book in general and slave narrative in particular, American literary scholarship has "radically circumscribe[d] the sense of genre and literature held by many nineteenth-century African Americans" (10). This dissertation contributes to conversations underway about how we construct archives and how we read African American literature. Moving beyond the purview of Dinius and Gardner, however, I call for methods of reading that allow us to see the generative power of nineteenth-century African American literature for American literary history writ large.

With respect to methodology, I situate this study within recent discussions of modes of reading. In the fall of 2009 *Representations* released a special issue dedicated to interrogating "symptomatic reading"—"a mode of interpretation that assumes that a text's truest meaning lies in what it does not say, describes textual surfaces as superfluous, and seeks to unmask hidden meanings" (1). The introductory essay to the issue, "Surface Reading: An Introduction" by Stephen Best and Sharon Marcus, asks what is at stake in forfeiting "ideological demystification" in favor of taking seriously the surfaces of texts.

At first glance, the work of this dissertation appears to be a holdout of symptomatic reading, insofar as it concerns itself with restoring a black-authored text to works of literature that register but do not acknowledge its influence. That is, this dissertation works to establish (and draw significance from the claim) that the texts themselves in muted or veiled ways point to the pamphlet and engage it. It could be said, then, that this study identifies literary moments that are unreadable until placed within the context of the *Appeal*.

At the same time, this study fits under the umbrella of the recent practice of surface reading insofar as it challenges the notion that we must approach black-authored texts exclusively as ghosts that haunt the white literary imagination. Instead, it asks us to expand our imaginative capacity to think of black-authored texts as having been read by white writers. Rather than alleging that the literary works here considered betray their authors' emotion, this study directs us to focus on the emotions those texts sought to elicit from readers. It calls for looking at the surfaces of texts—their rhetorical modes and modeling strategies—to understand how they put forth an understanding of the relationship between print, affect, and southern futurity. *Imagining a Future South* thus merges both symptomatic and surface reading to restore the *Appeal* to American literary history.

End Notes

[1] Peter P. Hinks's *To Awaken My Afflicted Brethren: David Walker and the Problem of Antebellum Slave Resistance*, the foremost monograph on Walker and the *Appeal,* does not mention Brown's text. George Elliott Clarke's " 'This is no hearsay': Reading the Canadian Slave Narratives" and Frank Mackey's *Blacks Then: Blacks and Montreal, 1780-1880s* (2004), both Canadian publications, mention the Brown-Walker connection. Many thanks to Phil Lapansky at the American Antiquarian Society for directing me to Smallwood's narrative. Future studies of Walker would do well to take a more expansive approach—including the necessary archival work—that would place Walker in relation to transnational antecedents. Historian Vincent Harding ventures in this direction by parenthetically asking, "Had Walker read the words of Dessalines?" (91).

[2] See the *Cherokee Phoenix* 21 April 1830: 3.

[3] See chapter three for discussion of Ephraim Peabody's criticism of Douglass's "violent" rhetoric.

[4] This pamphlet is held by the American Antiquarian Society.

[5] This pamphlet is held by the American Antiquarian Society, which identifies 1826 as the publication date based on internal evidence.

[6] See *Liberator*, 8 January 1831. This quotation is referred to in footnote 29 of chapter two.

[7] See the republished letter in the 23 February 1830 *Richmond Enquirer*. Abolitionists who had begun to make a name for themselves by 1829 include Benjamin Lundy, Elihu Embree, and William Lloyd Garrison.

[8] Chapter two also addresses this letter.

[9] Included among them are historical legal analyses, such as Amy Reynolds' "The Impact of *Walker's Appeal* on Northern and Southern Conceptions of Free Speech in the Nineteenth Century." While they do not give Walker his own chapter, two recent monographs do give extended attention to Walker, placing the *Appeal* within the context of African American historical writing (John Ernest's *Liberation Historiography* [2004]) and of forms of reading particular to nineteenth-century black Americans (Elizabeth McHenry's *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African American Reading Societies* [2002]). Robert S. Levine's chapter on Walker in *Dislocating Race and Nation: Episodes in Nineteenth-Century American Literary Nationalism* (2008) situates Walker among the Missouri Compromise debates.

Works Cited

Abzug, Robert H. *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination*. New York: Oxford UP, 1994. Print.

Acts Passed at the Second Session of the Ninth Legislature of the State of Louisiana. Donaldsonville: Duhy, 1830. Print.

Adeleke, Tunde. "Afro-Americans and Moral Suasion: The Debate in the 1830's." *The Journal of Negro History* 83.2 (1998): 127-42. Print.

Ambler, Charles Henry. *The Life and Diary of John Floyd: Governor of Virginia*. Richmond: Richmond, 1918. *Google Book Search*. Web. 1 February 2011.

Aptheker, Herbert. *One Continual Cry: David Walker's Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World (1829-1830), Its Setting & Its Meaning*. New York: Humanities, 1965. Print.

"ART. VIII." *Christian Examiner and Theological Review* 4 (1827): 242-66. *ProQuest*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Atwater, Lyman H. "Dr. Woodbridge on Revivals: The Influence of the New Divinity on Religion." *Princeton Review* 14 (1842): 31-41. *Making of America*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Awkward, Michael. Rev. of *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture,* by *Kwame Anthony Appiah* and *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*, by Toni Morrison. *Modern Philology* 92.2 (1994): 267-72. Print.

Bacon, Francis. *The Works of Francis Bacon*. Ed. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, and Douglas Denon Heath. 14 vols. Boston: Taggard, 1857-77. *Google Book Search.* Web. 10 November 2010.

Bacon, Jacqueline. *Freedom's Journal: The First African-American Newspaper*. Lanham: Lexington, 2007. Print.

---. *The Humblest May Stand Forth: Rhetoric, Empowerment, and Abolition*. Columbia: U of South Carolina P, 2002. Print.

Bacon, Jacqueline, and Glen McClish. "Reinventing the Master's Tools: Nineteenth-Century African-American Literary Societies of Philadelphia and Rhetorical Education." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 30.4 (2000): 19-47. Print.

Bakker, Jan. "Twists of Sentiment in Antebellum Southern Romance." *Southern Literary Journal* 26.1 (1993): 3-13. Print.

"The Banditti." *Richmond Enquirer* 30 August 1831: 2. *Newsbank Early American Newspapers*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Barnes, Elizabeth. *States of Sympathy: Seduction and Democracy in the American Novel*. New York: Columbia UP, 1998. Print.

Baym, Nina. *Woman's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and about Women in America, 1820-1870*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1978. Print.

Bercovitch, Sacvan. *The American Jeremiad*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1978. Print.

Berlin, Ira. "After Nat Turner: A Letter from the North." *Journal of Negro History* 55.2 (1970): 144-51. Print.

Best, Stephen, and Sharon Marcus. "Surface Reading: An Introduction." *Representations* 108 (2009): 1-22. Print.

Bingham, Caleb. *The Columbian Orator.* 1797. Ed. David W. Blight. New York: New York UP, 1998. Print.

Bird, Robert Montgomery. *Sheppard Lee, Written by Himself.* 1836. New York: New York Review, 2008. Print.

Blair, Hugh. *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres.* 1783. 8th American ed. New York: Collins, 1819. Delmar, New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1993. Print.

Blight, David W. "Perceptions of Southern Intransigence and the Rise of Radical Antislavery Thought, 1816-1830." *Journal of the Early Republic* 3.2 (1983): 139-63. Print.

Bledsoe, Albert Taylor. *An Essay on Liberty and Slavery*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1856. Print.

Bow, Leslie. "*Playing in the Dark* and the Ghosts in the Machine." *American Literary History* 20.3 (2008): 556-65. Print.

Bratt, James D. "Religious Anti-Revivalism in Antebellum America." *Journal of the Early Republic* 24.1 (2004): 65-106. Print.

---. *Antirevivalism in Antebellum America: A Collection of Religious Voices*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1996. Print.

Brown, Paola. *Address to be Delivered in the City Hall, Hamilton, February 7, 1851, on the Subject of Slavery.* Hamilton, Ontario: Author, 1851.

Brown. William Wells. *The Black Man, His Antecedents, His Genius and His Achievements.* Boston: James Redpath, 1863. *Google Book Search*. Web. 9 August 2010.

---. William Wells. *Clotel; Or, The President's Daughter*. 1853. New York: Penguin, 2004. Print.

---. "The Colored People of Canada." 1861. *The Black Abolitionist Papers*. Ed. C. Peter Ripley, et al. 5 vols. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1986. 461-98. Print.

Burrow, Rufus. *God and Human Responsibility: David Walker and Ethical Prophecy*. Macon: Mercer UP, 2003. Print.

Cable, George Washington. *The Grandissimes: A Story of Creole Life*. 1880. New York: Penguin, 1988. Print.

Campbell, George. *Philosophy of Rhetoric.* 1776. New ed. New York: Harper, 1841. Delmar: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1992. Print.

Cash, W. J. *The Mind of the South*. 1941. New York: Vintage, 1991. Print.

Castronovo, Russ. "Incidents in the Life of a White Woman: Economies of Race and Gender in the Antebellum Nation." *American Literary History* 10.2 (1998): 239-65. Print.

Channing, William Ellery. "Address on the Present Age." 1841. *The Works of William Ellery Channing*. Ed. Joseph Barker. Vol. 3. London, 1844. 238-62. Print.

Cherokee Phoenix. 21 April 1830: 3. *Georgia Historic Newspapers*. Web. 10 April 2011.

Chiles, Katy. "Within and Without Raced Relations: Intratextuality, Martin Delany, and *Blake*." *American Literature* 80.2 (2008): 323-52. Print.

Clarke, George Elliott. "'This is no hearsay': Reading the Canadian Slave Narratives." *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada* (Spring 2005): 1-16. Print.

Coleman, Dawn. "The Unsentimental Woman Preacher of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*." *American Literature* 80 (2008): 265-92. Print.

Cooley, Henry Scofield. *A Study of Slavery in New Jersey*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1896. Print.

Cooper, James Fenimore. *The Pioneers*. 1823. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991. Print.

Cowan, William Tynes. *The Slave in the Swamp: Disrupting the Plantation Narrative*. New York: Routledge, 2005. Print.

Crockett, Hasan. "The Incendiary Pamphlet: David Walker's *Appeal* in Georgia." *Journal of Negro History* 86.3 (2001): 305-18. Print.

Davis, Mary Kemp. *Nat Turner Before the Bar of Judgment: Fictional Treatments of the Southampton Slave Insurrection*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1999. Print.

Dayan, Joan. "Romance and Race." *The Columbia History of the American Novel: New Views*. Ed. Emory Elliott. New York: Columbia UP, 1991. 89-109. Print.

Delany, Martin. *Blake; or The Huts of America*. (1859-62). Boston: Beacon, 1970. Print.

De Tocqueville, Alexis. *Democracy in America*. Trans. Henry Reeve. 2 vols. London: Saunders, 1835-1840. Print.

Dew, Thomas. "Abolition of Negro Slavery." *American Quarterly Review* 12.23 (1832): 189-226. *ProQuest*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Dinius, Marcy J. "'Look!! Look!! at This!!!!': The Radical Typography of David Walker's *Appeal*. *PMLA* 126.1 (2011): 55-72. Print.

Doolen, Andy. " 'Be Cautious of the Word 'Rebel': Race, Revolution, and Transnational History in Martin Delany's *Blake; or, The Huts of America*." *American Literature* 81.1 (2009): 153-79. Print.

Douglass, Frederick. *The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself*. *Norton Anthology of American Literature.* Ed. Nina Baym, et al. 6th ed. New York: Norton, 2003. 2032-97. Print.

Drayton, William. *The South Vindicated from the Treason and Fanaticism of the Northern Abolitionists*. Philadelphia: Manly, 1836. Print.

Du Bois, W. E. B. *The Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois: Selections, 1877-1934*. Ed. Herbert Aptheker. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1973. Print.

Duquette, Elizabeth. "The Republican Mammy: Imagining Civic Engagement in *Dred*." *American Literature* 80.1 (2008): 1-28. Print.

Eaton, Clement. "A Dangerous Pamphlet in the Old South." *Journal of Southern History* 2.2 (1936): 323-34. Print.

Edwards, Tryon. "On Hasty Admission to the Church." *Biblical Repertory and Theological Review* 5 (1833): 306-22. *ProQuest*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Ellison, Ralph. *Shadow and Act*. 1953. New York: Random, 1995. Print.

Ellison, Rhoda Coleman. Introduction. *The Planter's Northern Bride*. By Caroline Hentz. 1854. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1970. vii-xxii. Print.

Ernest, John. *Liberation Historiography: African American Writers and the Challenge of History, 1794-1861*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2004. Print.

"Excitement in the South." *Niles Weekly Register* 27 March 1830: 87-8. *ProQuest*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Facts Respecting Slavery. United States: n. p., c. 1826. Print.

Fanuzzi, Robert. *Abolition's Public Sphere*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2003. Print.

Fishkin, Shelley Fisher. Rev. of *Playing in the Dark*, by Toni Morrison. *Journal of American History* 80.2 (1993): 629. Print.

Foner, Philip Sheldon. *History of the Labor Movement in the United States: From Colonial Times to the Founding of the American Federation of Labor*. 1947. 7 vols. New York: International, 1998. Print.

Ford, Lacy K. *Deliver Us from Evil: The Slavery Question in the Old South*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009. Print.

Forten, James. *Letters from a Man of Colour, on a Late Bill Before the Senate of Pennsylvania*. Pennsylvania, 1813. Print.

Foster, Charles H. *The Rungless Ladder: Harriet Beecher Stowe and New England Puritanism*. Durham: Duke UP, 1954. Print.

Furstenberg, François. *In the Name of the Father*: *Washington's Legacy, Slavery, and the Making of a Nation*. New York: Penguin, 2006. Print.

Gardner, Eric. *Unexpected Places: Relocating Nineteenth-Century African American Literature*. Jackson: UP of Mississippi, 2009. Print.

Garnet, Henry Highland. *Address to the Slaves of the United States of America*. In *Walker's Appeal in Four Articles: An Address to the Slaves of the United States of America*. 1848. New York: Cosimo, 2009. *Google Book Search*. Web. 2 February 2010.

Garrison, William Lloyd. "Address to the American Colonization Society." *National Philanthropist and Intelligencer* 22, 29 July 1829. Print.

---. "Declaration of the National Anti-Slavery Convention." *Liberator* 14 December 1833: 198. *ProQuest*. Web. 12 January 2010.

--. *Selections from the Writings of William Lloyd Garrison*. Boston: W. F. Wallcut, 1852. Print.

---. "To the Public." *The Genius of Universal Emancipation* 2 September 1829: 5. *ProQuest*. Web. 11 April 2011.

---. "Walker's Appeal." *Liberator* 8 January 1831: 1. *ProQuest*. Web. 12 January 2011.

---. "What Shall Be Done?" *Liberator* 30 July 1831: 121. *ProQuest*. Web. 12 January 2011.

Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1993. Print.

Glaude, Eddie S., Jr. *Exodus! Religion, Race, and Nation in Early Nineteenth-Century Black America*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2000. Print.

Goddu, Teresa A. *Gothic America: Narrative, History, and Nation*. New York: Columbia UP, 1997. Print.

---. "Poe, Sensationalism, and Slavery." *The Cambridge Companion to Edgar Allan Poe*. Ed. Kevin J. Hayes. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001. 92-112. Print.

---. "Rethinking Race and Slavery in Poe Studies." *Poe Studies* 33.1 (2000): 15-18. Print.

"The Governor of Virginia, To the Mayor of Boston." *Richmond Enquirer* 23 February 1830: 3. *Newsbank Early American Newspapers*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Graham, Edward K. "The History of Southern Oratory During the War Period, 1861-1865." *The South in the Building of the Nation*. Vol. 9. Ed. Walter Lynwood Fleming. Richmond: Southern Publication Society, 1909. 53-69. Print.

Grasso, Linda M. *The Artistry of Anger: Black and White Women's Literature in America, 1820-1860*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2002. Print.

Gray, Richard. *A Web of Words: The Great Dialogue of Southern Literature*. Athens: U of Georgia P, 2007. Print.

Gray, Thomas R. *The Confessions of Nat Turner*. Richmond: White, 1832. Print.

---. "To the Public." 1831. *The Confessions of Nat Turner and Related Documents*. Ed. Kenneth S. Greenberg. Boston: Bedford, 1996. 40-3. Print.

Greenberg, Kenneth S., ed. *The Confessions of Nat Turner and Related Documents*. Boston: Bedford, 1996. Print.

Hall, Prince. "A Charge." 1797. *Pamphlets of Protest: An Anthology of Early African-American Protest Literature, 1790-1860*. Ed. Richard Newman, Patrick Rael, and Philip Lapsansky. New York: Routledge, 2001. 45-50. Print.

Hammond, James Henry. *Remarks of Mr. Hammond, of South Carolina, on the Question of Receiving Petitions for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia*. Washington City: Green, 1836. *Google Book Search*. Web. 10 January 2011.

Harding, Vincent. "Symptoms of Liberty and Blackhead Signposts: David Walker and Nat Turner." *Nat Turner: A Slave Rebellion in History and Memory*. Ed. Kenneth S. Greenberg. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003. 79-102. Print.

Harland, Marion. *Judith: A Chronicle of Old Virginia*. New York: Scribner, 1883. *Google Book Search*. Web. 10 January 2011.

Hedrick, Joan D. *Harriet Beecher Stowe: A Life*. New York: Oxford UP, 1994. Print.

Hentz, Caroline. *The Planter's Northern Bride*. 1854. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1970. Print.

Heyrick, Elizabeth. *Immediate, Not Gradual Abolition: Or, An Inquiry Into the Shortest, Safest, and Most Effectual Means of Getting Rid of West Indian Slavery.* 1824. Boston: Knapp, 1838. Print.

Higginson, Thomas Wentworth. "Nat Turner's Insurrection." *Atlantic Monthly* 8.46 (1861): 173-87. *Making of America*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Hinks, Peter P. *To Awaken My Afflicted Brethren: David Walker and the Problem of Antebellum Slave Resistance*. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1997. Print.

Hite, Roger W. "'Stand Still and See the Salvation': The Rhetorical Design of Martin Delany's *Blake*." *Journal of Black Studies*. 5.2 (1974): 192-202. Print.

Hobson, Fred. "The Savage South: An Inquiry into the Origins, Endurance, and Presumed Demise of an Image." *The Silencing of Emily Mullen and Other Essays*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 2005. 113-31. Print.

Howard, June. "What is Sentimentality?" *American Literary History* 11.1 (1999): 63-81. Print.

Howard-Pitney, David. *The African American Jeremiad: Appeals for Justice in America*. Rev. ed. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2005. Print.

Humphrey, H. "Revival of Religion in Pittsburg, (Mass.)." *Christian Spectator* 4 (1822):

217- 21. *ProQuest*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Hunt, Alfred N. *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1988. Print.

Jacobs, Harriet. *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. 1861. Ed. Nellie Y. McKay and Frances Smith Foster. New York: Norton, 2001. Print.

Jefferson, Thomas. *Memoirs, Correspondence, and Private Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Late President of the United States*. Ed. Thomas Jefferson Randolph. Vol. 4 London: Colburn, 1829. Print.

Jones, Paul Christian. "The Danger of Sympathy: Edgar Allan Poe's 'Hop-Frog' and the Abolitionist Rhetoric of Pathos." *Journal of American Studies* 35 (2001): 239-54. Print.

Kaplan, Sidney. "Poe's Pym: An Introduction to *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*." *American Studies in Black and White: Selected Essays, 1949-1989*. Ed. Allan D. Austin. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1991. 127-43. Print.

Kelley, Mary. *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford UP, 1984. Print.

Kennedy, J. Gerald. "Edgar Allan Poe, 1809-1849: A Brief Biography." *A Historical Guide to Edgar Allan Poe*. Ed. J. Gerald Kennedy. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001. 19-62. Print.

Kennedy, J. Gerald, and Liliane Weissberg, eds. *Romancing the Shadow: Poe and Race*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001. Print.

Kennedy, Lionel H., and Thomas Parker. *An Official Report of the Trials of Sundry Negroes, Charged with an Attempt to Raise an Insurrection in the State of South Carolina.* Charleston: Schenck, 1822. *Library of Congress: American Memory*. Web. 12 August 2010.

Kenrick, John. *Horrors of Slavery*. Cambridge: Hilliard, 1817. *Google Book Search*. Web. 12 July 2010.

Lee, Maurice S. *Slavery, Philosophy, and American Literature, 1830-1860*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005. Print.

"Letter to the Editor." *Liberator* 30 April 1831: 69. *ProQuest*. Web. 12 January 2011.

Levander, Caroline Field. *Voices of the Nation: Women and Public Speech in Nineteenth-Century American Literature and Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998. Print.

Levesque, George A. "Black Abolitionists in the Age of Jackson: Catalysts in the Radicalization of Abolitionism." *Journal of Black Studies* 1.2 (1970): 187-201. Print.

Levin, Harry. *The Power of Blackness*: *Hawthorne, Poe, Melville*. New York: Knopf, 1858. Print.

Levine, Robert S. *Dislocating Race and Nation*: *Episodes in Nineteenth-Century American Literary Nationalism*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2008. Print.

---. Introduction. *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp*. By Harriet Beecher Stowe. 1856. New York: Penguin, 2000. xi-xxxii. Print.

---. *Martin Delany, Frederick Douglass, and the Politics of Representative Identity*. Chaptel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1997. Print.

Levine, Robert S., ed. *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2003. Print.

Looby, Christopher. Introduction. *Sheppard Lee, Written by Himself*. By Robert Montgomery Bird. 1836. New York: New York Review, 2008. xv-xliii. Print.

Loughran, Trish. *The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation Building, 1770-1870*. New York: Columbia UP, 2007. Print.

"Louisiana." *Niles Weekly Register* 24 April 1830: 155. *ProQuest*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Lundy, Benjamin. "Walker's Boston Pamphlet." *Genius of Universal Emancipation* 1.1 (April 1830): 15-16. *ProQuest*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Mackey, Frank. *Blacks Then: Blacks and Montreal, 1780-1880s.* Montreal: McGill-Queens UP, 2004. Print.

Martineau, Harriet. *Retrospect of Western Travel*. 2 vols. London: Saunders, 1838. *Library of Congress*: *American Memory*. Web. 18 March 2009.

McGill, Meredith L. "Reading Poe, Reading Capitalism." 53.1 *American Quarterly* (2001): 139-47. Print.

McHenry, Elizabeth. *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African American Literary Societies*. Durham: Duke UP, 2002. Print.

Miller, David. *Dark Eden: The Swamp in Nineteenth-Century American Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989. Print.

Miller, Floyd J. Introduction. *Blake, or the Huts of America*. 1859-62. By Martin R. Delany. Boston: Beacon, 1970. xi-xxv. Print.

Minutes and Address of the State Convention of the Colored Citizens of Ohio, Convened at Columbus, January 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th, 1849. Columbus, 1849. *Google Book Search*. Web. 10 April 2011.

"More Alarms!" *Liberator* 10 October 1835: 164. *ProQuest*. Web. 12 January 2010.

Morrison, Toni. *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1992. Print.

---. "Unspeakable Things Unspoken: The Afro-American Presence in American Literature." *Michigan Quarterly Review* 28 (1989): 1-34. Print.

Moses, Montrose. *Literature of the South*. New York: Crowell, 1910. Print.

Moses, Wilson Jeremiah. *Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms: Social and Literary Manipulations of a Religious Myth*. Rev. ed. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1993. Print.

Moss, Elizabeth. *Domestic Novelists of the Old South: Defenders of Southern Culture*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1992. Print.

"Nat Turner." Greenberg, Kenneth S., ed. *The Confessions of Nat Turner and Related Documents*. Boston: Bedford, 1996. Print.

Nell, William C. *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution*. 1855. New York: Arno, 1968. Print.

Nevin, John Williamson. *The Anxious Bench: A Tract for the Times.* 1843. Chambersburg: German Ref. Church, 1844. Print.

O'Sullivan, John L. "The Great Nation of Futurity." *United States Democratic Review* 6.23 (1839): 426-30. *Making of America*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Othello. "Essay on Negro Slavery." *American Museum* 4.5 (1788): 414-17. *ProQuest*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Parker, Dorothy, ed. *Early Negro Writing, 1760-1837*. Baltimore: Classic Black, 1971. Print.

Parrott, Russell. "An Oration on the Abolition of the Slave Trade." 1814. *Pamphlets of Protest: An Anthology of Early African-American Protest Literature, 1790-1860*. Ed. Richard Newman, Patrick Rael, and Philip Lapsansky. New York: Routledge, 2001. 75-9. Print.

Paulding, James Kirke. *View of Slavery in the United States*. New York: Harper, 1836. Print.

---. *Westward Ho*! *A Tale*. New York: Harper, 1832. Print.

"The Pamphlet." *Richmond Enquirer* 1 January 1830: 2. *Newsbank Early American Newspapers*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Peabody, Ephraim. "Narratives of Fugitive Slaves." *Christian Examiner* 47.1 (1849): 61-93. *ProQuest*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Peeples, Scott. "Love and Theft in the Carolina Lowcountry." *Arizona Quarterly* 60.2 (2004): 35-56. Print.

Pelletier, Kevin D. "Apocalyptic Incarnations: The Aesthetics of Fear and Catastrophe in the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination." Diss. State U of New York, 2007. Print.

Rev. of *The Planter's Northern Bride*, by Caroline Hentz. *Boston Evening Transcript* 24 March 1854: 4. *Newsbank Early American Newspapers*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Poe, Edgar Allan. "The Gold-Bug." 1843. *The Selected Writings of Edgar Allan Poe*. Ed. G. R. Thompson. New York: Norton, 2004. 321-48. Print.

---. *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym, of Nantucket*. 1838. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994. Print.

---. Rev. of *Sheppard Lee*, by Robert M. Bird. *Essays and Reviews.* Ed. Gary Richard Thompson. New York: Viking, 1984. Print.

Rachleff, Marshall. "David Walker's Southern Agent." *The Journal of Negro History* 62.1 (1977): 100-103. Print.

Reynolds, Amy. "The Impact of Walker's Appeal on Northern and Southern Conceptions of Free Speech in the Nineteenth Century." *Communication and Law: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Research*. Ed. Amy Reynolds and Brooke Barnett. Mahwah: Lawrence Associates, 2006. 301-27. Print.

Richmond Enquirer. 23 February 1830: 3. *Newsbank Early American Newspapers*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Rickard, Kenneth. "'Striving for Blood to Wash Out Blood': Race and Rhetoric in Antebellum African-American Texts." *In Process* 2 (2000): 48-68. Print.

Roberts-Miller, Patricia. *Fanatical Schemes: Proslavery Rhetoric and the Tragedy of*

Consensus. Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P, 2009. Print.

Robinson, M. M. *A Digest of the Penal Laws of Louisiana, Analytically Arranged*. New Orleans, 1841. Print.

Rosenthal, Bernard. "Poe, Slavery, and the *Southern Literary Messenger*: A Reexamination." *Poe Studies* 7 (1974): 29-38. Print.

Rowe, John Carlos. *At Emerson's Tomb: The Politics of Classic American Literature*. New York: Columbia UP, 1997. Print.

Rowson, Susanna. *Charlotte Temple*. 1791. Ed. Cathy N. Davidson. New York: Oxford UP, 1986. Print.

Schafer, Judith Kelleher. *Becoming Free, Remaining Free: Manumission and Enslavement in New Orleans, 1846-1862*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 2003. Print.

Seabrook, Whitemarsh B. *A Concise View of the Critical Situation, and Future Prospects of the Slave-holding States, in Relation to their Coloured Population.* Charleston: Miller, 1825. Print.

Sedgwick, Catherine Maria. *The Linwoods, Or, Sixty Years Hence in America.* 2 vols. New York: Harper, 1835. Print.

Simms, William Gilmore. *Woodcraft.* New York: Widdleton, 1854. Print.

---. *The Yemassee: A Romance of Carolina*. 2 vols. New York: Harper, 1835. Print.

"Slavery." *Southern Literary Messenger* 2.5 (1836): 336-39. *ProQuest*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Smallwood, Thomas. *A Narrative of Thomas Smallwood.* Toronto: Stephens, 1851. *Documenting the American South*. Web. 5 August 2011.

Smith, Adam. *Theory of Moral Sentiments.* London: Millar, 1759. Print.

Smith, James McCune. *A Lecture on the Haytien Revolutions with a Sketch of the Character of Toussaint L'ouverture*. New York: Daniel Fanshaw, 1841. *Google Book Search*. Web. 4 March 2010.

"States Rights!" *Niles Weekly Register* 27 Feb. 1830: 1-4. *ProQuest*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Sterling, Dorothy. *Martin Robison Delany: African Explorer, Civil War Major, & Father of Black Nationalism*. 1971. New York: Da Capo, 1996. Print.

Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp*. 1856. New York: Penguin, 2000. Print.

---. *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Boston: Jewett, 1853. Print.

---. *Oldtown Folks*. Boston: Fields, 1869. Print.

---. *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* 1852. Ed. Elizabeth Ammons. New York: Norton, 1994. Print.

Stuart, James. *Three Years in North America.* 2 vols. Edinburgh: Cadell, 1833. *Google Book Search*. Web. 10 January 2011.

Sundquist, Eric J. *To Wake the Nations: Race in the Making of American Literature*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1993. Print.

Thomas, Dwight, and David K. Jackson. *The Poe Log: A Documentary Life of Edgar Allan Poe, 1809-1849*. Boston: Hall, 1987. Print

Thomas, William. *The Enemies of the Constitution Discovered, or, an Inquiry into the Origin and Tendency of Popular Violence*. New York, 1835. Print.

"To Our Northern Brethren." *City Gazette* 27 September 1822: (2). *Newsbank Early American Newspapers*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Turner, Nat. *The Confessions of Nat Turner and Related Documents*. 1831. Ed. Kenneth S. Greenberg. Boston: Bedford, 1996. Print.

Walker, David. *David Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles; Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in Particular, and Very Expressly, to Those of the United States of America.* 1830. Rev. ed. Ed. Sean Wilentz. New York: Hill and Wang, 1995. Print.

Walker, Francis Amasa. "The Planter's Northern Bride." *Liberator* 6 July 1855: 108. *ProQuest*. Web. 12 January 2010.

"Walker's Pamphlet in the South." *Cherokee Phoenix* 21 April 1830: 3. *Georgia Historic Newspapers*. Web. 11 April 2011.

Walzer, Arthur E. *George Campbell: Rhetoric in the Age of Enlightenment*. Albany: State UP of New York, 2003. Print.

---. "Rhetoric and Gender in Jane Austen's Persuasion." *College English* 57.6 (1995): 688-707. Print.

Weissberg, Liliane. "Black, White, and Gold." *Romancing the Shadow: Poe and Race*.

Ed. J. Gerald Kennedy and Lilliane Weissberg. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001. 127-56. Print.

Weld, Theodore. *American Slavery as It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses.* New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1839. Print.

Whalen, Terence. "The Code for Gold: Edgar Allan Poe and Cryptography." *Representations* 46 (1994): 35-57. Print.

---. *Edgar Allan Poe and the Masses: The Political Economy of Literature in Antebellum America*. Princeton: Princeton, UP, 1999. Print.

Wheeler, Jacob D. *A Practical Treatise on the Law of Slavery*. New York: Pollock, 1837. Print.

Whitman, Walt. "Death of Abraham Lincoln." *Whitman, Poetry and Prose*. Ed. Justin Kaplan. New York: Library of America, 1996. 1036-47. Print.

Whitney, Lisa. "In the Shadow of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: Stowe's Vision of Slavery from the Great Dismal Swamp." *New England Quarterly* 66.4 (1993): 552-69. Print.

Widmer, Edward L. *Young America: The Flowering of Democracy in New York City*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999. Print.

Wilentz, Sean. "The Mysteries of David Walker." Introduction. *David Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles; Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in Particular, and Very Expressly, to Those of the United States of America.* By David Walker. 1830. Rev. ed. Ed. Sean Wilentz. New York: Hill and Wang, 1995. vii-xxiii. Print.

Young, Robert Alexander. "Ethiopian Manifesto." 1829. *Pamphlets of Protest: An Anthology of Early African-American Protest Literature, 1790-1860*. Ed. Richard Newman, Patrick Rael, and Philip Lapsansky. New York: Routledge, 2001. 85-9. Print.

Xavier, Silvia. "Engaging George Campbell's Sympathy in the Rhetoric of Charlotte Forten and Ann Plato, African-American Women of the Antebellum North." *Rhetoric Review* 24.4 (2005): 438-56. Print.