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Transatlantic Anglophone Literatures, 1776–1920

AN ANTHOLOGY

EDITED BY LINDA K. HUGHES, SARAH RUFFING ROBBINS AND ANDREW TAYLOR

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TRANSATLANTIC ANGLOPHONE LITERATURES, 1776–1920

An Anthology

Edited by Linda K. Hughes, Sarah Ruffing Robbins and Andrew Taylor, with Associate Editors Heidi Hakimi-Hood and Adam Nemmers

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EDITORIAL PRACTICES

Use of Nineteenth-Century Vocabulary

Scholarship on nineteenth-century transatlantic culture necessarily involves working with terminology that has shifted over time. Our guiding principle has been to maintain the diction in original texts as originally published, even when a particular word commonly employed in that earlier era is no longer welcome in today's formal written discourse (or even in culturally sensitive conversations). Thus, for example, if the source text for an entry referred to Native peoples as 'savages' or a Black Caribbean person as a 'n*', we leave the original wording without attaching an explanatory footnote and trust teachers and students to engage such language with appropriate care. In texts we produce ourselves – such as headnotes, footnotes and section introductions – we aim to avoid such terms, even if they were formerly included in scholarly discourse. Hence, we generally choose 'enslaved' or 'enslaved person' rather than 'slave', as well as 'enslaver' or 'slaveholder' rather than 'owner'.[1] We also capitalise 'Black' and 'Native/First Nations' and 'Métis' versus using a lower case for 'white'.[2] And, in our own paratextual writing, we attend to recommendations of the Modern Language Association for adopting gender-neutral language.[3]

We typically use 'First Nations' when referencing Native people in today's Canada; similarly, we might say 'Native American' or 'Indian' in different contexts to refer to Indigenous persons in what is now the United States, typically

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1 Katy Waldman, '*Slave* or *Enslaved Person*?: It's Not Just an Academic Debate for historians of American slavery', *Slate* (19 May 2015), Web; Nell Irvin Painter, 'How we think about the term "enslaved" matters', *The Guardian* (14 August 2019), Web; National Park Service, 'Language of Slavery' (9 September 2020), Web; Natasha L. Henry, 'Black Enslavement in Canada', *Canadian Encyclopedia* (16 June 2016), Web.

2 David Bauder, 'AP Says It Will Capitalize Black but not white', *AP News* (20 July 2020), Web; Kwame Anthony Appiah, 'The Case for Capitalizing the *B* in Black', *The Atlantic* (18 June 2020), Web.

3 The online MLA Style Center website is regularly updated, as in recent postings on singular 'they' and on other pronoun usage related to gender identities.

being guided by the choices of Native scholars whose work we are referencing.[4] We include tribal affiliations when possible, and in some contexts use 'Indigenous' when a broader term is more appropriate.

We urge teachers to exercise care when introducing students to material incorporating word choice that might trigger pain or remembered trauma, that is to provide context before assigning a primary text entry using a word like 'squaw' to refer to an Indigenous woman or depicting whole marginalised groups with offensive stereotypes.

Community groups, educational institutions, civic organisations and corporate entities are providing resources to raise awareness about the role language can play in building positive cross-cultural relations.[5] We invite our readers to join in this growing effort by helping those of us teaching about the past to examine how best to introduce troubling terms and concepts from prior eras and cultural networks – including nineteenth-century transatlanticism.[6]

Formatting Patterns Adopted

Our approach to editing primary texts in this volume falls in the 'conservative' editing position outlined by G. Thomas Tanselle in the Modern Language Association's *Scholarly Editing* guide.[7] In presenting the primary text entries to readers, we follow the original's spelling and punctuation choices. Therefore, many entries use long dashes, double quote marks and period placements different from the house style applied in writing of our own. In contrast, an entry first printed in England would duplicate original British spellings and other stylistic patterns as used in the source text.

We silently correct evident typographical errors (such as a repeated word) in all primary texts when such obvious typesetting slips in our source text would impede reader understanding.

Paratextual material such as headnotes, footnotes and section introductions follow Edinburgh University Press's house style, with a few minor variations applied throughout the anthology. US-based readers, therefore, will notice British spelling patterns such as 'labour' versus 'labor' and single quotation marks (') in places where a US style would use double ("). We also follow related

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4 For examples of the many discussions on preferable naming of Indigenous people in the Americas, see Robert Warrior, 'Indian', in Bruce Burgett and Glenn Hendler (eds), *Keywords for American Cultural Studies* (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 130–2; Marie-Céline Charron, 'No Perfect Answer: Is It First Nations, Aboriginal or Indigenous?', *Indigenous Affairs* (6 March 2019), Web; Don Marks, 'What's in a Name: Indian, Native, Aboriginal or Indigenous?', *CBC News* (22 February 2018), Web; Amanda Blackhorse, 'Blackhorse: Do You Prefer "Native American" or "American Indian"? 6 Prominent Voices Respond', *Indian Country Today* (22 May 2016), Web.

5 See, for example, The World Trust's 'Racial Equity Tools' website, developed in partnership with MP Associates and the Center for Assessment and Policy Development (Web); The Canadian Race Relations Foundation's 'Glossary of Terms' materials (Web); and The Chartered Insurance Institute's 'Inclusive Language Guidelines' (Web).

6 One thoughtful resource is Carolyn Betensky's 'Casual Racism in Victorian Literature', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 47.4 (Winter 2019), 723–51.

7 G. Thomas Tanselle, 'The Varieties of Scholarly Editing', in D. C. Greetham (ed.), *Scholarly Editing: A Guide to Research* (New York: Modern Language Association, 1995), 9–32.

British punctuation practices, such as placing periods and commas outside the end of a quoted phrase or passage.

We have adopted a number of abbreviations to save space in the anthology as we strive to incorporate as many primary texts as possible:

Oxford English Dictionary: OED
Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: ODNB
American National Biography: ANB

When referencing our themes, we use the abbreviations listed below:

Abolition and Aftermath: AA
Art, Aesthetics and Entertainment: AAE
Business, Industry and Labour: BIL
Family and Domesticity: FD
Migration, Settlement and Resistance: MSR
Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism: NC
Religion and Secularism: RS
Science and Technology: ST
Suffrage and Citizenship: SC
Travel and Tourism: TT

We use 'From' in the title of a primary text entry to indicate it is an excerpt. Within primary text presentations, we use [. . .] to designate cuts and omissions made from the original.

A headnote situates each primary text transatlantically and provides additional context for study. For ease of reading, we use only internal citations and not footnotes in those overviews for individual entries; the presentation of primary texts themselves includes explanatory annotations to aid student understanding.

Each entry provides information about its source text and helpful resources for future study in a brief References list. Saving space, citations of Web-based sources omit the URL, since links are sometimes updated or expire.

Each of our thematic sections is introduced by a framing essay that situates its individual entries in dialogue with each other and with scholarship on transatlantic culture. Each section introduction also includes a brief list of references and annotations to guide future study.

Cross-referencing Primary Texts and Teaching across Themes

We have organised the Contents listing around our ten chosen themes, with texts listed in the order of appearance, following a chronology based on original publication date. A number of authors appear multiple times in the anthology, since their writing engaged with topics crossing our thematic sections. In lieu of a detailed index, we refer readers to our author listing at the close of the volume. Some individual entries complement each other by virtue of their content rather than authorship, and we encourage students and teachers to explore the anthology horizontally, across sections, to discover links and affinities. We include, for instance, two entries in different sections

addressing the transatlantic cable, and multiple entries connected with the wide influence of Charles Darwin's work on nineteenth-century culture. Our digital anthology (<https://teachingtransatlanticism.tcu.edu/>) will have the capacity to signal, and link to, a wide range of cross-referencing permutations. Using that digital space to develop additional organising approaches together, we encourage submission of further thematic cluster lists based on such topics as translingualism; the Red, Green or Black Atlantic; and recurring social issues and movements evident in various individual entries, if not directly spotlighted in our current ten themes.

Each of our ten themes could have generated a far more extensive number of entries than this edition accommodates. Furthermore, we recognise that our themes overlap in interesting ways for teaching. To find additional primary texts supplementing the collection here, as well as to see alternative approaches to organising materials for teaching, readers can visit our companion website. Because it includes an ever-growing number of supplementary primary texts, we recommend frequent consultation of the digital anthology there to explore new entries, and we invite our readers to submit proposals for additional texts to join the collection. Formatting of website entries follows the stylesheet developed for the print anthology.

Our 'Teaching Transatlanticism' website also provides resources to support instructional planning and networking in the field. We welcome suggestions for new features, as well as accounts of teaching, syllabi and announcements such as CFPs and new books.

INTRODUCTION

Figure I.1 1814 Map of the Atlantic Ocean drawn by Edinburgh cartographer John Thomson.

This anthology of Anglophone Atlantic writing reflects, and responds to, the consolidation of transatlantic literary studies as a discipline over the last twenty years. While literary history has become far more attuned to transnational frameworks, in which the idea of the 'nation' as an organising category has given way to alternative, often more expansive patterns of interpretation, literary anthologies have tended, with some honourable exceptions, to remain firmly

tethered to national traditions as the rubric through which texts are understood. Of course there are no signs that the nation as a concept, and as a space that generates strong affective responses, is going to disappear anytime soon. Yet to acknowledge the ways in which literature travels across vast distances – either as a material object being read in different places, or via those who write about such places as visitors, travellers, workers or enslaved peoples – is to refract expressions and assumptions of national identity in ways that draw attention to their constructed, and therefore contested, nature.

We understand the Anglophone literature of the Atlantic world as being marked by manifold networks of connection and interrelationship, in which hierarchies of centrality and periphery are both enforced and resisted, proclaimed and undermined, through the circulation of bodies and ideas. The long nineteenth century, the chronology with which we are concerned, is marked by a massive expansion in print culture and literacy, the spread of imperialism in the Atlantic world as a political imperative and rapid advances in transportation technology – all factors that helped facilitate the creation and dissemination of a literature able to look beyond its national borders.

Central to our conceptualisation of this volume has been a desire to expand the kinds of material that students would expect to encounter. While we focus exclusively on Anglophone texts, we present writing from across both hemispheres of the Atlantic world to give an indication of the complex and far-reaching shapes that transatlantic exchange can take. We have also sought to make visible within our selection the diversity of identities across ethnicity, race and gender that comprise the Atlantic space in this period. While no anthology can hope to be exhaustive – and the transatlantic frame of our volume makes that ambition seem even more illusory – we hope that our careful organisation of material into ten thematic sections allows readers to navigate their way through a wide range of writing from both familiar and less well-known authors, thereby expanding the ways in which the transatlantic frame is understood.

The principal impetus behind the development of this anthology was to provide a volume for classroom instruction. Personally and anecdotally, we found that instructors of transatlantic literature classes were obliged to cobble together a curriculum from various sources, scanning a dozen different books while navigating issues related to public domain and textual authority and fidelity. By bringing together a number of these texts within one volume, we hope to offer a resource for teaching Anglophone literature published across the Atlantic world during the long nineteenth century. In addition, the supplementary material published on our website (more about which below), including additional primary texts, reading guides and lesson plans, offers a number of paratextual elements for instructors and students, as well as digital resources conducive to that environment.

Our ten broad sections, each with its own introduction, are centred on a particular theme or category. Though the sections are themselves expansive (for example, Suffrage and Citizenship encompasses a multitude of movements, issues and identities), they are by no means inclusive or definitive. We encourage students and scholars to read within a section itself (for instance, assigning several texts on the subject of exploitation within the Business, Industry and Labour section), or to read across sections thematically (focusing, perhaps, on Blacks' experiences in Travel and Tourism, Science and Technology, and more).

Because of the variety of material our anthology offers, it is also possible to curate different collections of texts – for instance Canadian-authored texts, or transatlantic poetry, or texts relating to Darwinism, or texts written during or about the Great War, or even texts across the writing career of a particularly prolific and influential author such as E. Pauline Johnson or Frederick Douglass. We hope that such depth and breadth of textual material allows the instructor or reader to construct a reading cluster or targeted course of study. We recognise, as well, that this anthology will be useful not only in pedagogical settings but also for individual scholarship. To that end we have included a number of valuable scholarly resources in the form of chapter introductions, headnotes, annotations and references following each entry, while also providing citation of the original primary texts for further research.

Languages crossed and recrossed the Atlantic throughout the long nineteenth century, with hybrid mixes emerging from that still continuing process. Thus, although this anthology bears an 'Anglophone' designation in its title, multiple entries are marked by translingualism. The 'Anglophone' label holds for all selected texts within the anthology in that each entered into a nineteenth-century English-speaking community somewhere in the Atlantic world. But many neither started nor remained in Anglophone form. Indeed, a number of our entries ask, implicitly or even explicitly, how language interactions have shaped cultural transmissions and development, and vice versa. Accordingly, for instance, we contextualise our entry excerpted from Benjamin Franklin's autobiography with annotation tracking its passage to French, via a translation of his manuscript that became the first published version and subsequently generated an early example of book history in action when Jared Sparks wrote about the complexity of its later remaking into English. Similarly, we acknowledge the essential role of translations like British writer Mary Howitt's in the social construction of the Danish Hans Christian Anderson's authorial identity for Anglophone readers.

Furthermore, even though all of this anthology's entries are presented in English, a notable number of texts illuminate the many diverse versions of the language circulating within and across nineteenth-century transatlantic communities. John Muir's account of his family's migration from Scotland includes his assertions that their home language was not, in fact, 'English' at all, though he also says he and his siblings could code-switch. Recalling conversations with the British sea captain managing their Atlantic crossing, Muir remembers that he

> seemed surprised to find that Scotch boys could read and pronounce English with perfect accent and knew so much Latin and French. In Scotch schools only pure English was taught, although not a word of English was spoken out of school. All through life, however well educated, the Scotch spoke Scotch among their own folk, except at times when unduly excited on the only two subjects on which Scotchmen get much excited, namely religion and politics. So long as the controversy went on with fairly level temper, only gude braid Scots was used, but if one became angry, as was likely to happen, then he immediately began speaking severely correct English, while his antagonist, drawing himself up, would say: 'Weel, there's na use pursuing this subject ony further, for I see ye hae gotten to your English.'

In the same thematic section on Migration, Settlement and Resistance (MSR), Susanna Moodie uses language distinction to signal class as well as ethnic distinctions between her own family and poor Irish immigrants by rendering what those 'Others' say in pronounced dialect. The unnamed presenter of Irish cook Ann McNabb's oral history later in that section makes similar use of dialect indicators, even in a text more affirming of its subject's views and experiences. By including such examples of difference, the anthology underscores how language operates at sites of social power differentials.

Numerous transatlantic translation occasions represented here exemplify how those power differentials often placed English writers in a position of mediating between a marginalised storyteller and an Anglophone audience. With each translation the privilege accorded the English language highlights a language hierarchy, a linguistic imperial prominence. In an attempt to foster voicescapes that illuminate the lives, stories and poetry of original speakers, English translations complicate how messages are received. Translations embody ethical debates across cultures. An Anglophone translation imposes a linguistic message aimed at reaching a specific audience that might well be completely unfamiliar with the author's language and voice. The lyrics of a Barbados work song, for instance, come to us only as transcribed by a British listener: how accurately did his record reflect the sound and sense of the singers he heard? So too, the biting satire of Black Jamaican singers decrying the limits being enslaved had placed on their family life reached nineteenth-century UK readers only via a British official's presentation – along with his efforts at analysis: how trustworthy, we can only guess. Richard Robert Madden plays that intermediary role in two similar entries – one by Abon Becr Sadika in our 'Religion and Secularism' section and another by Juan Francisco Manzano in 'Abolition and Aftermath'. Readers should take that intervening layer of textual production into account, considering that the 'Anglophone' versions of such texts involved translation not only filtering but also reframing the original authorial voice's perspective and intent. One strategy we have used to underscore the interpretive challenges presented by such translations presents accompanying excerpts from alternative translators in annotations – as with Madden's version of Abon Becr Sadika's personal account, which is supplemented by references to George Renouard's longer translation, published by the Royal Geographical Society.

Translation also emerges less directly yet significantly in an entry like our excerpt from Longfellow's *Evangeline*, which chronicles the diasporic experience of Acadians deported from their home in Canada: though the American poet writes in English, his topic reminds us to attend to a dimension of transatlantic linguistic blending that resulted from a British removal resulting in many French language traces in current-day Louisiana in the US. Similarly, while some reports on US Indian removals printed in England drew on the bilingual *Cherokee Phoenix* and thus could be said to offer an 'authentic' Indigenous voice, and some First Nations and Native American speakers and writers generated their own texts (like Joseph Brant early in our chronology or Charles Eastman toward the end of our timeline), their English text-making could also call attention to language as a meaningful site of cultural difference. And, in one complex case of an English speaker translating a Native voice, just how reliable is Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's rendering into English of his wife Jane's

poem, originally composed in Ojibwe? Perhaps not as unfiltered as his framing commentary would suggest.

Given that our process of curating such examples has enhanced our own appreciation of translation as both essential to cultural exchange and inherently problematic, we offer with self-aware humility our own occasional translations in annotations and, more substantially, a new translation of the Haitian Declaration of Independence from French. Held in the British Archive, the original now available to the world for easy downloading provides a reminder that the longstanding tendency of European powers to acquire and display artefacts gleaned through empire's determined reach is yet another form of 'Anglophone' dominance which we intend for our anthology to critique as well as acknowledge.

By spotlighting such complex translingual passages and interactions, we complicate our own adoption of an 'Anglophone' focus. We hope our readers will resist, in turn, both by countering any sense of English dominance they find in this collection and by submitting more examples of transatlantic linguistic exchanges for the digital website anthology that complements this print edition.[1]

We deliberately seek inclusiveness across print genres as well as writers' national origins, race, gender and class. Canonical figures and their best-known texts are easily found elsewhere and are thus de-emphasised here; but we suggest that rereading canonical figures from around the Atlantic basin in tandem with our anthology can reframe those familiar voices and resurface the nineteenth-century print conversations taking place across nations, time and oceanic spaces and spark new conversations for scholars, teachers, students and other readers today. Occasionally some writers we hoped to include are absent if their works did not explicitly engage with print or persons active in the Atlantic world beyond the writer's country of origin. For example, to our knowledge Frances Ellen Watkins Harper's immensely important works were not reprinted or reviewed outside North America; thus Harper surfaces here only in a poem looking to Cuba and in an essay that responds in part to *The Spanish Gypsy* by George Eliot. In other respects our selections of texts are purposefully catholic. Ours is a 'literature' anthology in the broad nineteenth-century sense of 'letters' generally. Thanks to their brevity we reprint numerous complete poems as well as several songs, kindred genres with long heritages. Another longstanding written or orally delivered genre, the letter, is likewise represented in several private or published transatlantic exchanges. Other selections emerged from newer modes of connection, whether as transcribed speeches or lectures by transatlantic visitors such as William Wells Brown in London or Emmeline Pankhurst in Connecticut, or as travel writing enabled by modern transport systems. Still other print forms, including visual images, had direct links to new technologies, many in the explosion of mass-produced and circulated long nineteenth-century newspapers and magazines that were churned out using the same steam power that moved print and people across the sea in ships, and that sold far more copies

1 See Jessie Reeder, 'Toward a Multilingual Victorian Transatlanticism', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 49.1 (2021), 171–95, for a further compelling argument for the importance of multilingual transatlantic literary studies.

than any books and, as ephemera, were also locally mobile, passing easily from reader to reader. Book reviews and newspaper articles are generously represented too, often in excerpted form. Excerpts not only focus readers on key transatlantic content, but their brevity has also, more crucially, enabled us to include far more writers from Canada, the US, the Caribbean and the British Isles than we otherwise could have. The generous suggestions of our twelve-member advisory board were another crucial factor in moving us closer to the breadth of representation we sought.

As noted already, one sustained element in transatlantic literary studies has been its emphasis on fluidity and motion, and on related patterns of textual exchange. With much of this networking literally occurring by way of the Atlantic ocean (through crossings by people and goods, as well as ideas), one task embraced by the field's scholarship has been to track and analyse such passages: their literal and figurative routes, as well as the material and social forces shaping them. Theorising transatlanticism, therefore, includes marking the material ways that 'culture in motion' – across fluid paths and through social relationships crossing national boundaries – reshapes literature and vice versa.

In our twenty-first-century context, we can benefit from the World Wide Web's echoing the actions of transatlantic cultural passages potent during the long nineteenth century. Following a thread of text and associated concepts through a series of digital paths on a website is admittedly not an equivalent to a ship's captain choosing an oceanic route of exploration based on maps yet open to revision. However, both entail a blend between using charts composed by others and exploring alternative currents. In both cases, the journey makes tangible to the travelling body that experiential knowledge-making draws on structures of prior cultural transmission while inviting new routes of inquiry. At a conceptual level, 'doing' nineteenth-century transatlantic studies should include pushing back against the kind of codifications and boundary-setting implied by a print text like this one.

Hence our companion digital anthology and the Teaching Transatlanticism website where it resides (<www.teachingtransatlanticism.tcu.edu>) are as essential to this project as the volume you are reading now. The digital anthology enacts these principles central to our praxis:

- *Fixed canons, like fixed geographic boundaries, should be constantly undercut by an openness to new/additional texts and new interpretive approaches.* Accordingly, while the digital anthology on our website reiterates the same ten themes of this print collection, it remains open to additional submissions of individual texts. Further, although our echoing there of the print collection's themes hopefully encourages intellectual connections, we resist our own use of seemingly coherent categories by positioning many of the web-presented texts in more than one category, in contrast to this print collection, where entries may seem (despite our cross-referencing of many entries) to be located in relation to a single sequence of reading within a fixed thematic context.
- *Cultural transmission is recursive, sometimes unpredictable in its routing and virtually impossible to retrace exactly.* As our digital anthology demonstrates through any user's travels across particular paths chosen in the

moment, one approach to understanding transatlanticism's culture-making force involves recognising that particular instances of knowledge-making from the past cannot be perfectly recreated, even when they can be contextualised historically and approximated by acts of (re)reading and analysis in a current moment.

- Though individual actors with social power residing in their identities exercise significant influence on how society enacts value systems and understands the world, *social interaction – much of it potentially collaborative – can be vital to knowledge-building.* Consistent with the many social movements of nineteenth-century transatlantic culture, therefore, our website invites ongoing contributions and revision.

We hope you, perhaps now engaging with transatlanticism through reading this text, will soon add your voice to a field-expanding conversation online.

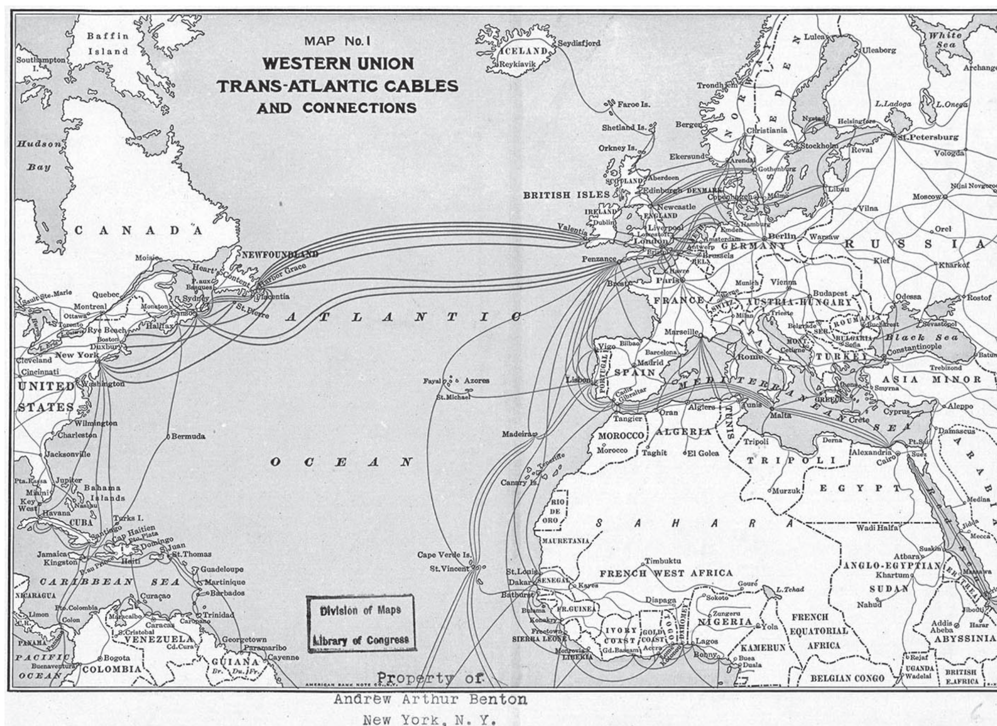

Figure I.2 Western Union Telegraph Company. *Western Union trans-atlantic cables*. [New York?: Publisher not identified, 1900]. Courtesy Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.