

To Give the Gift of Freedom: Gift Books and the War on Slavery

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Although once considered to be “volumes of ‘lighter literature’ and ‘beautiful specimens of art’” without much substance,¹ recent scholarship in the fields of the history of the book and literary studies has begun to focus on the larger impact of gift books to nineteenth-century literary culture. A literary genre in their own right, gift books—also known as souvenir books or annuals—often raised financial and moral support for specific organizations and causes. Social activists, abolitionists and temperance workers among them, issued their own subsets of the gift book genre to raise attention, funds, and converts.

Two examples of the most successful gift books of the abolitionist movement, the *Liberty Bell*, edited by Maria Weston Chapman, and *Autographs for Freedom*, edited by Julia Griffiths, far from being trifles full of “miscellanies,” were created and sold to support the American Anti-Slavery Society of William Lloyd Garrison, in particular, its *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, and Frederick Douglass’s newspapers. Each of these gift books was a source of ideas and a model of the visions their creators hoped to instill in America, as well as important sites for the continuing discussion of how best to end slavery and promote the role of women in public life. This research recovers the centrality of women to these enterprises in roles important to abolition. Furthermore, a study of these gift books contributes to a more nuanced understanding of how the print war on slavery was conducted and financed.

A comparison of the *Liberty Bell* and *Autographs for Freedom* reveals the regional and political differences between the Garrisonian and Douglass factions of the abolitionist movement as well as the different editing and activist styles of Chapman and Griffiths. The women’s shared appropriation of the sentimental, domestic gift book genre for activist ends emphasizes and troubles the gender dynamics not only of the literary genre itself, but also of the abolitionist movement that, though politically male dominated, relied on the fundraising, editorial, and literary ingenuity of Chapman and Griffiths to stay afloat. The gift books also highlight the similarities and differences between

Garrison's and Douglass's politics and the political and literary elite who supported them. Because *Autographs for Freedom* was published only a few years after Douglass broke from Garrison, its comparison to the *Liberty Bell* gives insight into their conflict and productively exhibits how competing sides of the antislavery battle modified the gift book to raise funds and awareness for their specific political views.

Background

Gift books were already popular in Great Britain when the first American example was published in December 1825.² Typically literary anthologies given as gifts during the holiday season,³ gift books consisted of short stories, essays, and poetry written by a variety of authors, ranging from the unknown to the famous. Contributors to what Meredith McGill calls the culture of reprinting,⁴ gift book editors frequently reprinted unauthorized literary pieces "from a variety of sources," choosing "prose and verse as struck their fancy," as well as original, or never before printed, literary contributions.⁵ Gift books also showcased elaborate engravings that were "disproportionately valued by readers [and] hundreds of times more costly to publishers."⁶ As Isabelle Lehuu notes, gift books had "multiple uses," and, whether in society or displayed in the parlor, "reading or contemplating a giftbook was an emotional experience. Hence the act of offering giftbooks was part of an economy of sentiment, an exchange of beautiful luxury goods for memory and love."⁷ The act of displaying the gift book was "both a moral and a social act, one that wrapped signs of social distinction in the banner of the crusade for social improvement and the power of sentiment."⁸ Although often enjoyed by the entire family and proudly displayed in the drawing room, the gift book's predominant audience consisted of white, middle-class women. As a result, they were generally purchased by friends and relatives, both male and female, often as part of the courtship process.⁹

Gift books were the product of converging social and technological forces. Wealth, leisure time, and literacy were expanding as the new republic's middle class developed. At the same time, technology—steam-powered presses and stereotype printing plates in the publishing industry; expanding rail, ship, and postal lines for distribution—was making publishing faster, cheaper, and more easily accessible.¹⁰ The ornate appearance of the book, a quality that increased tremendously consumer interest in the product, differed from other literature on the market, especially as technology continued to develop and improve the quality and beauty of the bindings and illustrations. As Faxon describes them, "The 'really truly' gift-books had an appearance and make-up all their own, very different from any other volume. At first they were the small duodecimos, then octavos, and finally some of them appeared as quartos. Their

bindings were ornate, often to the point of gaudiness."¹¹ Though the price of the gift book seems to have varied by quality of bindings and content, they were generally "sold at all prices, some bringing a guinea in England, and \$5.00 in America."¹²

The genre "coincided, moreover, with the American woman's emergence into the world of letters."¹³ Increasingly, women became active participants in the editorship and authorship of gift books.¹⁴ The genre "had several advantages for American women in particular: it offered 'the fluidity of an emerging medium; the premium it put on brevity and variety; and the profitability of a genre that sold well and required no financial investment by authors'."¹⁵ Nineteenth-century male authors often resented profiting from publications in the gift book due to its gendered, sentimental reputation. Women writers, on the other hand, "seem not to have been troubled by considerations of pride and self-respect when offered the opportunity of publishing in these volumes. . . . Whatever their private opinions may have been, women writers felt less uncomfortable with the public purveyance of the kind of restrictive domestic ideology which was the specialization of the annuals."¹⁶ In fact, some women discretely flouted the conservative conventions of the genre, outwardly conforming to the feminine ideals embodied in gift book publications in order to ensure profitable sales, while also embedding opposing messages that they wished to impart to their readers within the literature.¹⁷ In many volumes, the gift book grew to be a space of subtle rebellion that challenged the norms that dictated what women should be reading and where they should be publishing.

Antislavery Gift Books and Political Fundraising

To date, scholars have recovered seven titles of antislavery gift books.¹⁸ Most were published in single volumes—Lydia Maria Child's *The Oasis* in 1834; Richard Sutton Rust's *Freedom's Gift* and John Greenleaf Whittier's *The North Star*, both in 1840; and two published by women's organizations, the Massachusetts Female Emancipation Society's *Star of Emancipation* in 1841 and the Providence Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society's *Liberty Chimes* in 1845.¹⁹ Two titles, however, were published in multiple annual volumes. Maria Weston Chapman edited the *Liberty Bell* for fundraising fairs benefitting the American Anti-Slavery Society (1839–1858), and Julia Griffiths edited *Autographs for Freedom* for the 1852 and 1853 fairs of the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society.²⁰

In terms of longevity, the most successful of the antislavery gift books was the *Liberty Bell*, which had fifteen volumes, but *Autographs for Freedom* commands attention both for its similarities and differences when compared with the senior annual. Both followed the general organizing principles of gift books, both were edited by women, both were associated with annual antislavery bazaars, and both were devised to provide financial support to antislavery

newspapers. However, these books supported men, who as newspaper editors, orators, and activists had very different ideas about ending slavery, and in their respective gift books one sees a contest for celebrity authors and, in a broader sense, competition for support of very different perspectives.

Chapman founded the *Bell* to support a number of Garrisonian initiatives. Chapman, of Boston, was a major figure in the Garrisonian camp, active in organizing and conducting the frequent antislavery conventions of the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s and speaking at various antislavery rallies. In 1834, Chapman and other Garrisonian women, including her sister Caroline Weston and sister-in-law Anne Warren Weston, organized the first antislavery fair in Boston.²¹ A popular means of women's fundraising during this period, fairs, also called bazaars, brought in donations of handicrafts and other goods that were then sold to raise money for various social causes.²² At the 1839 Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair, Chapman presented the inaugural *Bell*, and it remained an annual feature until Chapman ended the fair and the book in 1857.²³ As chair of the annual Boston fair, Chapman actively solicited support from women's antislavery societies around the country and abroad.

Although as early as January 1837, Garrison had been forced to plead for financial help from the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,²⁴ proceeds from sales of the *Bell* were chiefly intended for other Garrisonian newspapers, such as the American Anti-Slavery Society's *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, and the pamphleteering that was part of AASS's war on slavery.²⁵ Thus, Douglass was immediately in competition with Garrison and his supporters for finite resources once he launched his *North Star* in Rochester on December 3, 1847.²⁶

The *North Star* was not quite a month old when Douglass's own financial woes loomed.²⁷ On January 30, 1848, Douglass wrote to his Rochester friend Amy Kirby Post of his visit to seek support from antislavery women in West Winfield, in central New York. "I made a fair statement of the facts, and informed of our desire to have their cooperation with the Western New York Antislavery Society—and something as I expected proves to be the case," he reported. "While Mrs. Green was in Boston, Mrs. [Maria Weston] Chapman exacted a promise from her that the proceeds of the fair should go to the support of the National Antislavery Standard. This promise has somewhat—if not completely—tied the hands of the committee though I hope that we shall share some of the proceeds of the bazaar as there was quite a division of opinion in the committee respecting the matter."²⁸ The battle for resources had begun.

Conflict Within the War on Slavery

The fight for resources and recognition between the *Liberator* and the *North Star* took place within a larger contest. In antebellum America, abolitionists were polarized over how best to end slavery. Garrison's followers rallied to

the *Liberator's* motto, "No Union With Slaveholders," and pushed for separation from the slaveholding states of the South. Garrisonians believed that the Constitution was a proslavery document and that organized religion supported slaveholders. They advocated "moral suasion" and marshalling public opinion rather than democratic political participation to end slavery.²⁹

Shortly after escaping to freedom in 1838, Douglass had come to the attention of Garrison, who mentored and enlisted him in his cadre of antislavery speakers. In establishing his own newspaper, however, Douglass went against Garrison's advice and wishes. Moreover, by 1850, Douglass had broken with Garrisonian tenets and aligned himself with the founders of the Liberty Party, men who called themselves political abolitionists and saw slavery's resolution through governmental means.³⁰

Garrisonians blamed Douglass's defection in part on Julia Griffiths, who, on hearing of Douglass's financial problems, had sailed from England to join him in Rochester in 1849. She stayed at his side for six years as one of his most devoted followers and, from a business and organizational sense, his most able lieutenant. When she left Rochester in 1855, Douglass told readers:

[W]e know not which to make most prominent for admiration, her earnest, zealous, and tireless cooperation for the support for our paper, her energetic and vigilant assistance to fugitive slaves, on their way to Canada, or the almost heroic position she has been able (under God) to maintain against that malignant and all-pervading spirit of caste, which this country, dooms to reproach and social isolation any white person (especially a woman) who practically, and without reservation or qualification, acknowledges the Unity and Brotherhood of the human family.³¹

Autographs for Freedom was published under Griffiths's editorship by the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society. A hybrid of the highly popular autograph album and the standard gift book form,³² *Autographs* contained generally brief statements by leading abolitionists, with the novelty of including a facsimile of the signature of each contributor to its pages. Intended to be a multivolume annual, *Autographs* was published in 1852 and in a second edition the next year in both the United States and the United Kingdom.

While Chapman certainly could count on Garrison's editorial favor and had helped edit the *Liberator* and *Anti-Slavery Standard*, Griffiths had the advantage of interlocking roles as Douglass's close business and editorial assistant at the newspaper, as editor of *Autographs*, and as founding secretary of the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Sewing Society, later renamed the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society. Given Griffiths's close relations with Douglass—and the talk of impropriety they aroused—it is interesting to note Douglass's hesitant formality in a preface to his contribution. "Dear Madam," he wrote,

"If the enclosed paragraph from a speech of mine delivered in May last at the anniversary meeting of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, shall be deemed suited to the pages of the forthcoming annual, please accept it as my contribution."³³ In fact, Griffiths adopted an epistolary pose as editor, and many of the entries carry the salutations and prefatory notes of letters, along with closing signatures in facsimile form.³⁴

Plans for *Autographs* began at least as early as spring 1852 when representatives of the Rochester abolitionists contacted John P. Jewett & Co., publisher of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.³⁵ The annual made its debut in December 1852, at the second festival of the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Sewing Society. Its name derived from the editorial plan to showcase brief works that would feature facsimile signatures of the authors. Stowe herself was an enthusiastic early supporter and contributor. In June 1852, she swarmed Susan Farley Porter, president of the Rochester group, with an extensive list of suggestions for the work, including a number of possible contributors: "Your plan strikes me as a very happy one—I shall with great pleasure add what I can to your collection."³⁶

Wondering whether the word "antislavery" had been overused, Stowe also urged Farley to reconsider the proposed title of the annual:

May I also be pardoned a suggestion about your letter—I remember at one time, that we had "*antislavery*," every thing even down to anti-slavery holders of which a good lady of my acquaintance kept one labeled thus, very conspicuously over her mantel piece—The term thus became rather antiquated hacknied [*sic*]—one wants in this changing world something less in *form*, occasionally if not in fact—Suppose that we have Liberty Autographs—or "Autographs for freedom"—or what if you get some of your poet sponsors to baptise [*sic*] it by some poetic name that shall express the thing with grace.³⁷

Stowe's suggestion stuck. In announcing its upcoming fair, the Rochester society reported that "It was first designed to name the book '*The Anti-Slavery Autograph*'; but the gifted authoress of '*Uncle Tom's Cabin*,' has christened it '*Autographs for Freedom*'; and we willingly accept her baptism for the forthcoming volume."³⁸

Requests went out to potential contributors, with some eager to be included and others not. Poet and Unitarian minister John Pierpont was quick to send a contribution.³⁹ Poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow declined, saying:

It is very difficult for me to say "Nay" to such a request as yours, but still more difficult to say "Yes." I am so pressed and discomfited by numerous and very imperative calls upon my time that I fear it will not be in my power to send you the communication you desire.

I should feel less at liberty to decline, had I not already publicly made known my views on the subject of Slavery. But as I have already published "Poems on Slavery," both separately and in the collected editions of my writings I think no one who cares about the matter will be at any loss to discover my opinions on that subject.⁴⁰

An October letter from W. H. Wardwell, president of John P. Jewett & Co., the publisher, to Rochester bookseller Dellon M. Dewey, who had been enlisted to shepherd the project, gives a glimpse of the book in process and the pressure on all concerned. "In order to have the book out by the Holidays we must have the manuscript by Nov. 1," he wrote, with only weeks to go. Without explanation but, no doubt, with an eye to expense and production time, Wardwell discouraged several ideas for illustration, suggesting that "three engravings besides the frontispiece will be sufficient," although only two appeared. Finally, and again without explanation, Wardwell said, "We should prefer not to have Mrs. Stowe's portrait used in the book."⁴¹ It was not.

Contributors and Content

Another pleasure of the gift book was not just its association with the gift giver but also with the "writers and distinguished artists" of the volume.⁴² Gift books were "vivid galleries of arts and letters that offered a range of celebrities to be associated with."⁴³ The contributors to the antislavery gift books were luminaries in the abolition movement in the United States and abroad, chiefly the United Kingdom. Reflecting the strength of abolitionist thought in New England, the *Bell's* author list is decidedly Boston-centric, with two Lowells, a Cabot, and John Quincy Adams among contributors. For the Rochester women's group, which Griffiths had steered from Garrisonian ideas to philosophies more in tune with the political abolitionism of the Liberty and nascent Republican parties,⁴⁴ *Autographs* drew both locally from upstate New York and also from a wider geopolitical sphere. Appearing in *Autographs* were such political and civic leaders and social reformers as William H. Seward, twice governor of New York state (1838–1842), U.S. senator from New York (1848–1860), and future U.S. secretary of state (1861–1869); millionaire philanthropist and congressman Gerrit Smith; pioneering educator Horace Mann; Oberlin-trained Antoinette L. Brown, the first woman ordained to the ministry in the United States; the poet John Greenleaf Whittier; abolition leader and philanthropist Lewis Tappan; Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts; *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley; and journalist, abolitionist, and women's rights advocate Jane Grey Swisshelm.

Some contributors, such as the poet Ralph Waldo Emerson and Revs. Edgar Buckingham, S. J. May, and T. W. Higginson, appeared in both books when

the annuals were roughly coterminous. Stowe, too, was represented in both *Autographs* volumes and in the 1856 *Bell*. The pages, however, also reflect the divide in the abolitionist movement of the day. The *Bell* was not published for 1854 or 1855, but for the years 1852 and 1853 the polarization is fairly clear, with entries by leading Garrisonians such as various Westons and Chapmans, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, Charles K. Whipple, and, of course, Garrison himself. The political lineup in the two volumes of *Autographs* is likewise reliably and heavily Liberty Party or anti-Garrison, including Seward, Tappan, Greeley, Smith, and Douglass.

Garrison and Douglass, of course, were featured in the books that supported their views, and during the time he was a Garrisonian, Douglass's work also appeared twice in the *Bell*. In 1844 Douglass contributed "The Folly of Our Opponents," telling the editor that "my literary advantages have been so limited. . . . I looked exceedingly strange in my own eyes, as I sat writing. The thought of writing for a book!—and only six years since a fugitive from a Southern cornfield—caused a singular jingle in my mind."⁴⁵ His demurrer masked that the first of his three autobiographies would be published in 1845, as well. Douglass returned to the pages of the *Bell* in 1848 with "Bibles for the Slaves," a scathing indictment of the American Bible Society's campaign for funds to give Bibles to slaves, whose illiteracy would prevent them from reading them.⁴⁶

Despite the acrimony between Garrison and Douglass and the Garrisonians' particular vilification of Griffiths, the 1854 *Autographs* was described favorably in the *Liberator*, possibly in a puff, as a "large, handsome volume . . . an improvement upon that of last year, both in size and appearance."⁴⁷ Garrison even republished on page one a submission to *Autographs* from Congressman Joshua R. Giddings, a staunch abolitionist and a founder of the Republican Party.⁴⁸ Advertisements for the *Autographs* were taken out in the *Liberator* by the 1853 publisher, Jewett, several times during 1854.⁴⁹

Both sides played to foreign readers in their quest for moral, political, and financial support, though with the advantage of more years in print, the *Bell* was distinguished by its international contributors. Chapman's good friend, the English writer Harriet Martineau, was a regular contributor, and none other than Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville was among its authors. Meanwhile, *Autographs*' content included such authors as Samuel Wilberforce, bishop of Oxford and son of British abolition icon William Wilberforce, and Joseph Sturge, who founded the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. From London, George Howard, seventh Earl of Carlisle, wrote that he "should be very sorry indeed to refuse any request addressed to me from 'the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association' [*sic*]," but he nonetheless begged off anything original, being "at a loss what to send." Instead, he submitted a copy of a letter he had written to Stowe. It was published in Volume 1.⁵⁰ Other contributors to *Autographs* included leading British antislavery activists such as Wilson Armistead, Rev. William Marsh, and Rev. Dr. William Brock.

The disparity of fifteen *Bells* to two *Autographs* highlights that, although black abolitionists Douglass, William Wells Brown, and Charles Lenox Remond had written for the *Bell* at one time or another, comparatively more African Americans appeared in *Autographs* during its short run. Besides Douglass, Volume 1 included work by James McCune Smith, the first African American to earn a medical degree. Black contributors to Volume 2 included Douglass, lawyer and educator George Vashon, abolitionist lecturer William Wells Brown, James McCune Smith, and Oberlin-trained lawyer and activist John Mercer Langston. Although the extent of black readership is unknowable, the fact that African Americans contributed to the books underscores that they were known, even prized, among free blacks. Moreover, Douglass's black correspondents praised *Autographs* in letters published in *Frederick Douglass' Paper*.⁵¹

With some frequency, content from the gift books migrated to the newspapers they served. Douglass's 1848 *Bell* entry, "Bibles for the Slaves," was republished in Garrison's *Liberator* and by Douglass himself in the *North Star*.⁵² Douglass's only known fiction, a novella titled "The Heroic Slave," featured in the first *Autographs*, was serialized over four weeks in *Frederick Douglass' Paper* in March 1853.⁵³ Poetry from both annuals showed up from time to time in the newspapers.⁵⁴

Both annuals featured the work of celebrated writers, such as the poets Whittier, James Russell Lowell, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Emerson, who had two entries in the 1851 *Bell*, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, who contributed "The Runaway Slave" for the 1848 *Bell* and "A Curse for a Nation" for the 1856 volume. However, many of the volumes included pieces by relatively unremembered writers and abolitionists, whose writing styles ranged from passionate abolitionist rhetoric to overtly sentimental language.

Editorial Techniques and Tactics

Despite the similarities of Chapman's and Griffiths's use of the gift book format as a political fundraising opportunity, their approaches to editing their respective volumes were decidedly different. One contrast was in the amount of personal work each contributed. Whereas Griffiths confined her efforts to the introductions for each volume of *Autographs*, Chapman's own work appeared regularly in the *Bell*. Sharon M. Harris observes that for some women editors such as Margaret Fuller, Ann Stephens, Pauline Hopkins, and Kate Field, "editorial work was a means of self-expression," and they became major contributors to their periodicals as well as editors, often "helping to establish the quality of its literary sections as well as edit them."⁵⁵ Chapman appears to follow in this tradition, as her own writings appear in eleven out of fifteen volumes of the *Bell*, with many of the volumes containing multiple pieces authored by Chapman.

The 1853 volume, published for the same year as the first volume of *Autographs*, contains two travel narratives written by Chapman. In "The Sculptor of the Torrid Zone," Chapman carefully balances the cultural and feminine norms of the genre with a subversive political agenda that questions the capitalist economic system that perpetuates slavery and, at times, replaces anti-slavery action with passive consumerism within the abolitionist movement. The piece details a quest, undertaken by Chapman while traveling in Paris, to enlist Cumberworth, the sculptor of a striking statue of an African woman, to send his work to America. Chapman feels that the American body politic desperately needs to see an example of an African "out of whom they have not trampled the beauty and the grace of life, that they forget how differently the very same being would appear to them under different circumstances."⁵⁶ After struggling to procure information about Cumberworth, she realizes "a means which, here, proved as effectual to promote my object as it would have done in the United States to defeat it."⁵⁷ She continues, "I told a dealer in bronzes, in whose window the statuette was displayed, that I was an American Abolitionist, and wished, for the sake of my colored countrymen, to see Monsieur Cumberworth, that I might suggest to him the idea of sending some of his beautiful works to the Northern States."⁵⁸ Chapman's public identification as an American abolitionist enacts respect and "feelings of humanity" from the art dealer, resulting in his shared information regarding Cumberworth's lodgings. It also seeks to make her American readers recognize the irony of Chapman's need to travel across the Atlantic in order to find public acceptance as an abolitionist.⁵⁹ Chapman's comments highlight the progressive political opinions of Europe and stress America's stubborn and anachronistic prejudices, not just toward the enslaved, but toward female abolitionists as well.

Although in "The Sculptor of the Torrid Zone" Chapman ultimately wields her abolitionist identity to further her cause, she chooses to conceal that identity in her second travel narrative, "The Young Sailor," published in the 1853 volume. Here, she uses the gift book as an active space in which to critique and dismantle the contemporary proslavery rationale more explicitly than in public, social discourse. Chapman begins "The Young Sailor" by describing the various proslavery arguments of a young man she encounters in Massachusetts, who rants that the abolition of slavery would "put a stop to agriculture, ruin commerce, impoverish the master, distress the Slave, turn back civilization, bring back barbarism, and thus destroy the prospects of liberty in the United States and thus throughout the world."⁶⁰ Upon hearing these arguments, Chapman admits, "It seemed absurd, indeed, to offer a refutation to all this contradictory nonsense," concluding, "It is worse than useless to indulge men of this stamp with a reply; I meekly inquired whether, if the three millions of blacks could be suddenly turned white, he would venture to present a single one of these considerations for keeping them in Slavery."⁶¹ Chapman's initial response to the man's comments, aside from indignation, is simply not to

reply, as a public confrontation on the political issue of slavery between a man and a woman would most likely be viewed as socially inappropriate. Instead, Chapman “meekly” chastises the man on his prejudice, using the feminine sentimentality expected of her gender to question his morals in place of his politics.⁶²

However, it is clear through her portrayal of the event within the *Bell* that Chapman merely performs the societal role expected of her in public, ultimately mocking and applauding her feigned meekness. By using characteristics of the travel narrative in her contributions, Chapman enhances her representation of the political and cultural progressiveness of other nations toward abolition while also heavily critiquing America’s continued perpetuation of the slavery system and rampant prejudice toward both African Americans and abolitionists. Throughout “The Young Sailor,” Chapman hides and then exalts in her abolitionist identity, hiding it when necessary in public and then glorifying it through her writing in the *Bell*. By assuming two essentially different characters, the traveling woman and the activist, Chapman manipulates her travel experiences to critique proslavery arguments and to disagree with male opinions while publicly retaining her femininity.

Chapman’s outspokenness about her abolitionist identity in one travel narrative, and her subsequent denial of it when speaking with an American sailor on her voyage to Haiti in another, suggests a complicated criticism of the public sphere. She mediated this duality through the gift book, a space that allowed her to speak freely from abroad to illustrate the progressiveness of other cultures and to emphasize America’s shortcomings, without enduring the social repercussions that disrupted her life in America and that forced her, in part, to travel to Paris.

Chapman’s work within the *Bell* is markedly different from Griffiths’s mode of editing *Autographs*. Chapman resisted labeling herself as editor, instead attributing authorship of the *Bell* to all contributors, or “Friends of Freedom,” of the gift book. By marking her work within the *Bell* through the authorship of individual contributions such as “The Sculptor of the Torrid Zone” and “The Young Sailor,” Chapman merged more wholly into the volume, aligning her work seamlessly with that of other abolitionists in place of claiming individual editorship. Chapman’s avoidance of the title of editor in place of group authorship suggests a desire to promote unity not only within the gift book but within the Garrisonian American Anti-Slavery Society, as well, not to mention British benefactors. Her unmarked editorship linked the text to the AASS more explicitly and allowed readers to identify the *Bell* more closely with its political faction than with Chapman’s individual activism. Because of the longevity of the *Bell*, Chapman’s audience would have been aware of her work behind the gift book, making a specific statement of her editorship redundant and counterproductive to the text’s purpose of fundraising for a cohesive AASS. The strategy also helped blur the connection between the *Bell*

and Garrison's at times heretical views on religion and slavery. In a report of the 1851 antislavery fair in Boston, Ann Weston Chapman, "with regret," explained that "the funds of the Boston bazaar are given almost exclusively" to the *Standard* and distances the bazaar from Garrison and his *Liberator* as "the sole property of one man, and for its doctrines and maintenance, he, and he alone, is responsible."⁶³

Whereas by channeling bazaar and book proceeds into the AASS, Chapman appeared only to indirectly support Garrison, Griffiths was direct and open in her work's support of Douglass. Nearly reversing Chapman's approach to the gift book, Griffiths claimed editorship of *Autographs* but did not contribute literature to the gift book, allowing her voice to exist solely in the prefaces of each volume. Although Griffiths did not write for the collection, both volumes include several letters and short essays that respond directly to Griffiths and her call for contributors, marking her strong presence within the volumes despite the absence of her own antislavery opinions and writing. Griffiths's initial absence in the table of contents of *Autographs* matured into a persistent editorial omniscience that dominated the text and allowed both her editorial voice and her antislavery beliefs to be implicated and revealed through the work and addresses of more powerful antislavery speakers. Griffiths worked in an in-between space within the gift book, creating an effective and diverse editorial rhetoric that expanded the role of female gift-book editorship.

A considerable amount of correspondence included in the gift book directly addressed Griffiths and came from the pens of distinguished abolitionist figures, as can be seen in the letter from the Bishop of Oxford included in the first volume of *Autographs*. The bishop writes, "Madam:—I readily comply with your desire. England taught her descendents in America to injure their African brethren. Every Englishman should aid the American to get rid of this cleaving wrong and deep injury to his race and nation. I am ever yours."⁶⁴ An asterisk by the bishop's name designates him, evidently through a rare glimpse of Griffiths's voice within the collection, as "A son of that distinguished friend of humanity WILLIAM WILBERFORCE."⁶⁵

The bishop's letter, in particular, not only softens the tone of England's insistently acclaimed moral superiority⁶⁶ by allowing England to actually share the blame of American slavery, but it also encourages English activists to remain persistent in their endorsement of the American antislavery cause, a platform Griffiths sought to promote throughout her time in Rochester.⁶⁷ Griffiths most clearly emerges in the bishop's contribution when noting his genealogy as the son of the "distinguished" British abolitionist, William Wilberforce.⁶⁸ Revealing her editorial presence in this particular moment signifies Griffiths's alignment with the bishop's transatlantic politics and beliefs. Because William Wilberforce was a symbol of British abolitionism, Griffiths's emphasis on the bishop's relation to him brings England's abolitionist successes to the forefront of the entry. Although the bishop speaks generally about the need for British

support in the American abolitionist movement, it is clear that he is directly encouraging Griffiths in her efforts abroad, allowing her to hover beneath the veneer of his words without directly commenting on or endorsing transatlantic abolitionism. Ultimately, Griffiths allows the bishop to justify her work abroad at a moment when she no doubt was smarting from sharp and continuing criticism in American culture of her personal and professional relationship with Douglass.⁶⁹

The overall content of *Autographs* is striking in its cultural, national, and political diversity. Griffiths worked to accumulate as many celebrity contributions as possible in order both to increase consumer interest in the collection and to set *Autographs* apart from the more traditional gift book format as seen in the *Bell*. "The beauty of its exterior will commend it as a suitable Christmas, or New Year's gift," Griffiths wrote Emerson in soliciting a contribution for the first *Autographs*, "while its contents, we hope, will abound with earnest and truthful appeals to the humane sentiments and Christian principles of the reader unalloyed with the trifling matter which too often fills the pages of Christmas books."⁷⁰ In the process, however, *Autographs* evolved into a contradictory compilation in which readers on one page encountered work that glorified Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose famous novel concludes with her protagonist seeking to emigrate to the American Colonization Society's Liberian colony,⁷¹ followed by a piece that condemned colonization on the other, in which major work by Frederick Douglass existed in the same volume as a submission from a rival, William Wells Brown.

Unlike Chapman, whose work on the *Bell* was so closely aligned with her Garrisonian politics that it is virtually impossible to ignore the political implications within the text, Griffiths claimed no direct political affiliation for the fledgling Rochester Ladies' Society and thus freed the collection from mirroring itself in partisan loyalty, even with a strong representation of Douglass supporters dotting the pages. Chapman's *Bell* was heavily organized through the political cohesion of its contributions that more or less consistently promoted Garrisonian beliefs and that, at times, was designed specifically to soften Garrisonian radicalism and to make his politics more palatable for moderate readers. By refusing to be present within the gift book, Griffiths allowed the collection to run free with as many antislavery opinions as formats for the contributions, effectively dismantling the organizing principles of the antislavery gift book genre that Chapman espoused.

Income and Outgo

Although fundraising was no small part of their purpose, parsing the exact finances of the gift books is difficult because, despite their creators' glowing reports of sales, precise details are hard to obtain. In Boston, the *Bell* was

underwritten by the fairs, and it is reasonable to assume that the RLASS similarly met upfront costs of *Autographs*. In an accounting of the 1847 fair in Boston, Chapman noted contributions “received by M. W. Chapman, for the Bell, and the general purposes of the Bazaar. 1847–8,” ranging from fifty cents to 50 dollars.⁷² In the years examined here, the proceeds from the annuals were folded into the overall financial reports of the bazaars. Book sales at the second Rochester festival were reported at \$132.62, but what part of that total came from *Autographs* sales was not specified, and other publications were sold at the same time.⁷³ Further clouding the revenue picture is that, though aimed for holiday giving and timed to sell at the bazaars, the annuals were advertised and sold through much of the year, so the income stream is difficult to locate. Thompson questioned Caroline Weston’s claim that “the funds raised by this book [the *Bell*] are always paid into the fair . . . and it always doubles the money invested in it.”⁷⁴ He felt that “the public sale of the volumes could not have been large, for they were not intended to amuse, and their format was not sufficiently elaborate to be in itself an attraction. In all probability, the annual lost money for its publishers.”⁷⁵

Depending on the quality of the paper and other embellishments, the prices of these annuals varied. An 1839 notice in the *Liberator* advertised the *Bell* at “50 cts. single—37 1–2 dollars a hundred.”⁷⁶ *Autographs* was advertised at “plain bound copies 75 cents. Those in gilt, one dollar.”⁷⁷ If not purchased at the festival, *Autographs* could be obtained at two booksellers’ shops and at the Douglass newspaper office in Rochester, as well as from vendors in New York City and elsewhere. At first, buyers were asked to pay any postage: “In sending it persons should forward fourteen cents more than the price, to pre-pay the postage. Post Office stamps will be most convenient.”⁷⁸ The second volume of *Autographs* was advertised at “the extremely low price of \$1.25 in plain muslin; 1 50 [sic] gilt edges; \$2 full gilt sides and edges.”⁷⁹ On the other hand, “Anyone sending by mail \$1.50 shall receive a copy of the work.—postage free.”⁸⁰ Soon after, however, Douglass began what he called “a liberal offer to our subscribers”: “As a means of extending the circulation of *Frederick Douglass’ Paper*, we propose to send one copy of the new and beautiful book *Autographs for Freedom*, (postage free) to every friend who will send us *the names to three new yearly subscribers*; together with the subscriptions for the same.”⁸¹

Supporters in the United Kingdom were important to both annuals, both for content and for readership. Both books were shipped overseas, and Griffiths even arranged for an English edition to be published in London.⁸²

Illustrations and “Embellishments”

While antislavery gift books maintained the format of the literary miscellany, neither the *Bell* nor *Autographs* showcased elaborate bindings or il-

illustrations. Focusing on the practicality of the gift book as a way to promote abolitionist propaganda, editors such as Chapman and Griffiths were more concerned with the antislavery message that was portrayed inside the gift books than with expensively produced decorative bindings. Moreover, the frivolity of ornate bindings on an antislavery gift book could potentially detract from the seriousness of the cause, inappropriately emphasizing the wealth and leisure of privileged white readers in comparison to the plight of the enslaved. While there appears to have been somewhat of a range of gift book printings for the *Bell*, with a few editions more elaborately bound than others “so that purchasers might buy according to their abilities,” the majority of Chapman’s volumes are exceedingly plain in appearance.⁸³

Volume 1 of *Autographs*, following Jewett & Co.’s wishes, was graphically spare. Volume 2, under a different publisher, was better illustrated, featuring portraits of many of the writers (including Stowe—finally—and several of the African-American authors). Other than the glowing reviews republished occasionally from other antislavery sheets⁸⁴ and the presumption that as slavery was a contested issue even in the North, these publications would have had critics as well as supporters, we have little evidence of how the gift books were received.

Ironically, one of the few glimpses of reaction to the books emerged not from the rhetoric of abolitionism they contained but from one of the portraits in *Autographs*. In an era when women’s roles were being negotiated, sometimes combatively, an engraving in Volume 2 touched off a small storm in one upstate New York village. A longtime abolitionist tried to sow reformist libraries in rural communities by selling, for fifty cents, a small collection of reformist books to subscribers. As recounted by William P. Green in a letter to *Frederick Douglass’ Paper*, “I called on the Rev. Z. Eddy, who also took a share and paid fifty cents. On his observing the likeness of the Rev. Antoinette L. Brown in the *Autographs for Freedom*, he wished me to exclude the *Autographs* from the library, saying that the whole Woman’s Rights movement was anti-Christian; that he himself was Orthodox and wished me to erase his name, and refund the money.”⁸⁵ A small row ensued, leading to Green being harassed in several of the neighboring communities. His letter to Douglass includes several of the critical notices published in Orleans and Wyoming counties in western New York State.

Interestingly, although the contributors’ autographs remained the designing feature of the annual, advertisements and individual comments referred more often to the several pictures of the contributors. “Ethiop,” one of Douglass’s regular correspondents, wrote in a long letter from Brooklyn, “This volume is a much finer one than its predecessor. It contains admirable likenesses of [Ohio congressman Joshua R.] Giddings, Gerrit Smith, Douglass, [educator Charles L.] Reason, Brown, Greeley, [the Rev. Henry Ward] Beecher, and Mrs. Stowe, which of themselves are worth the price of the book.”⁸⁶

Final Volumes

The *Bell*, like the Boston fair itself, was discontinued after 1857, “ended, as one associate rather testily put it, simply because Mrs. Chapman and her sisters would do no more for them.”⁸⁷ Chapman explained, “Fairs are like an Excise; good only if no other mode is practicable.”⁸⁸ Although the Rochester women did not publish an annual for 1855, they had begun collecting material for a third volume of *Autographs* to come out in 1856, reporting in January 1855:

The Society desire to state, that, though they have not deemed it expedient to issue the third volume of *Autographs for Freedom* during the past year, there are at the present time, numerous manuscripts prepared for it in the hands of the Secretary, and several fine daguerreotypes of distinguished friends of the cause, await the engraver. They preferred to suspend the publication for a season, in the hope of presenting to their friends and the public, a larger array of foreign contributions to the volume.⁸⁹

However, Griffiths sailed for England on June 18, 1855, never to return. Without her leadership, the third volume was never published, though the Rochester society continued to hold fairs for several years.

Conclusions

Although acknowledging the book’s “impressive means of propaganda” and its usefulness “in keeping alive interest in the fairs,”⁹⁰ Ralph Thompson questions the overall value of the *Bell*: “Very little could have been accomplished from a utilitarian point of view . . . for like all unadulterated reform literature, the *Liberty Bell* circulated among those people who already knew and accepted the tenets it upheld. The annual may have created a greater zeal on the part of the abolitionists themselves, but it could hardly have made many converts.”⁹¹

While a lack of information regarding how many volumes of abolitionist gift books were sold and to whom is limiting for the researcher, Thompson’s assumption that the gift book only succeeded in correlation with its conversion rates limits an understanding of the complexity of the volumes. Although it is difficult to conjecture whether or not the gift books circulated outside of the abolitionist sphere, our hunch is that they did, even if in limited capacities. Moreover, Thompson minimizes the importance of the gift books to the abolitionists, missing their value in building and maintaining a sense of community through shared visions and continually reaffirmed ideals. Most importantly, in terms of the success of the abolitionist gift books, one must keep in mind that

they were designed to raise funds for the cause no matter who bought them, and that their proceeds ultimately supported Garrison's and Douglass's politics in tangible ways.

Whether or not these print products converted people to the antislavery cause, they contributed substantially in other ways. For instance, studying marginalia on the pages of a number of gift books, Cindy Dickinson found a dialogic, at times dialectic, relationship between owners and their gift books. She claims, "Whatever a publisher's reasons for creating a gift book or a giver's intentions for presenting such an object, it gained new meaning in the recipient's realm."⁹² Dickinson's point gains salience when we discover that, in April 1889, Frank Barker of Rutland, Vermont, wrote on the flyleaf of his copy of *Voices of Freedom*, an 1880s reissue of the 1854 *Autographs*, "A present from my S. S. teacher Mrs. Shedd."⁹³ Although there are no other notes in Barker's volume, it is noteworthy that, in the post-Civil War era, a leading New York publisher still believed Griffiths's second volume would sell, that a small Vermont bookseller would stock it,⁹⁴ and that Mrs. Shedd would think possessing it would be useful for young Frank's development. Though no direct corroboration comes from other ephemera associated with either the *Bell* or *Autographs*, the Rutland case suggests these volumes might have been seen as having a timeless ability to instill progressive ideas among the young, an example of intertextuality in time and space over generations.

It is also misleading to dismiss the entries simply as redundant or static. Important issues were being debated in a time when race and gender roles were neither given, stable, nor secure. Jean Fagan Yellin points out that prose and poetry in the *Bell* were negotiating "disputes within the antislavery ranks" over the extent women could assume public activist roles in the movement, not to mention the hegemonic consequences of organized religion on women's activism.⁹⁵ Nor was it just the public roles of women that were in flux. Their place and rights even within the privacy of the family were being negotiated as well. Historian Karen Sánchez-Eppler notes, for instance, that, by 1836, the writing of Lydia Maria Child, a frequent contributor to the *Bell* and editor of the *Anti-Slavery Standard* in the 1840s, was equating slavery with what women might encounter in marriage.⁹⁶ It would be a continuing examination, as the antislavery annuals show.

There were other consequences to the associations that formed as a result of the gift books. Deborah A. Logan points out that the influential British writer, journalist, and thinker Harriet Martineau, whose work appeared in virtually every volume of the *Bell*, formed a long and close relationship with Chapman. "Chapman's regular letters and newspapers proved to be essential to Martineau's later success as an American affairs expert in Britain's periodical press," she observes.⁹⁷ That influence was recognized by Sir John Robinson, editor of the *Daily News*, who "eulogized Martineau as the British reporter who alone 'kept public opinion on the right [pro-North] side' throughout this tense period [the late antebellum years]. The point is a crucial one since, as the earlier

jockeying for her political favor during the American tour demonstrated, Harriet Martineau—with her public influence, in print, and her private influence, through networks of political and social connections—directly influenced that sympathy.”⁹⁸

The existence of the gift books and the fairs with which they were associated were a material demonstration to women and men alike of women’s abilities to participate in public political events. These products were emblematic of the vision they sought to instill. In the *Bell* and in *Autographs*, particularly the 1854 edition that featured engraved portraits of several contributors, were demonstrations of whites and blacks, men and women, in equality. The production of the gift books and the fairs were important constituents in creating and maintaining communities of antislavery activists.

As Julie Roy Jeffries puts it, “Whether responding to criticism or reflecting on the meaning of their commitment, abolitionist women proved adept at exploiting, subverting, and contesting conservative definitions of appropriate female behavior. Even when they did not agree among themselves, antislavery women blurred distinctions between private and public, expanded the parameters of ‘woman’s sphere,’ and suggested alternative meanings to gender norms.”⁹⁹ Likewise, if one could deny the persuasive power of the abolitionist gift books, it is harder to make the case that the fairs and women’s groups that produced both were ineffective in spreading their messages. Jeffries notes, for instance, that “the fair was not just a public fundraiser but a complex event with many purposes and levels of meaning. Holding a fair, for example, allowed . . . (a female antislavery society) to recruit women to antislavery and to solidify the ties of both newcomers and old hands to the movement. Their early appeal for donated goods helped to secure the necessary articles to sell but also was a way of providing women with antislavery sympathies a purpose and perhaps, if they worked in groups, to heighten their zeal and give some basic instruction in abolitionism.”¹⁰⁰

The setting in which women gathered to produce goods for sale at the fairs often had one woman reading to her sisters as they worked. In some reports, they read the Bible, but the Rochester women were said to have read the manuscripts that came in for *Autographs* as they sewed and did other handiwork for the festivals they produced. It was clearly a setting in which the discussions amplified and were energized by the ideas that some of the leading abolitionist figures in America and Europe contributed for these gift books.

That the gift books contributed to the transatlantic conversation on race and slavery is underscored by an item in Douglass’s paper in 1853, which reads:

The Rochester Ladies’ Anti-Slavery Society may well feel gratified to know that the little work upon which they expend so much labor is not confined to the United States. It has been re published [*sic*] in England. The following appreciating notice of the “Autographs for Freedom” is from the British Banner:

Miss Julia Griffiths—an English lady and one whose zeal on behalf of the slave took her across the Atlantic some years ago—has been the leading spirit in this admirable enterprise. The Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, whose Secretary [*sic*] she is, have adopted this method of promoting the freedom of the oppressed. Many of the writers, we observe, are English, who have contributed to the work, giving at the same time their autographs. This book is deeply interesting, and, as presenting the aggregate of liberal sentiment from cultivated and enlightened minds, possesses a singular value.¹⁰¹

It is inaccurate, then, to dismiss the prose and poetry of these gift books merely as preaching to the converted. If the participants in the discussion were uniform in their hatred of slavery—even that a dubious claim if comparing, say, the ferocity of Douglass's rhetoric with the literature of Emerson—they were agreed on little else. Not race. Not equality. Not methods. Not outcomes. The pages of the gift books provided yet another important forum for a struggle of ideas and, at the same time, a source for creating social capital.

NOTES

¹ Cindy Dickinson, "Creating a World of Books, Friends, and Flowers: Gift Books and Inscriptions, 1825–60," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 54.

² See Frederick W. Faxon, *Literary Annuals and Gift Books: A Bibliography, 1823–1903* (1912; repr., Pinner, Middlesex, UK: Private Libraries Association, 1973); Ralph Thompson, *American Literary Annuals & Gift Books, 1825–1865* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1936), 5.

³ See Stephen Nissenbaum, *The Battle for Christmas* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996).

⁴ Meredith McGill, *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834–1853* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

⁵ Thompson, *American Literary Annuals*, 13.

⁶ McGill, *American Literature*, 29.

⁷ Isabelle Lehuu, *Carnival on the Page: Popular Media in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 78.

⁸ Lehuu, *Carnival on the Page*, 78.

⁹ Harriet Devine Jump, "'The False Prudery of Public Taste': Scandalous Women and the Annuals, 1820–1850," in *Feminist Readings of Victorian Popular Texts: Divergent Femininities*, ed. Emma Liggins and Daniel Duffy (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2001), 1–17.

¹⁰ See, for instance, Paul Starr, *The Creation of the Media: Political Origins of Modern Communications* (New York: Basic Books, 2004); Thompson, *American Literary Annuals*, 2–3; Ronald J. Zboray, *A Fictive People: Antebellum Economic Development and the American Reading Public* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

¹¹ Faxon, *Literary Annuals*, xiv.

¹² Faxon, *Literary Annuals*, xv.

¹³ Thompson, *American Literary Annuals*, 5.

¹⁴ See, for instance, Patricia Okker, *Our Sister Editors: Sarah J. Hale and the Tradition of Nineteenth-Century American Women Editors* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995). Although Okker's study focuses on women editors of periodicals rather than gift books or annuals, her

book is an invaluable resource on women's editing in the nineteenth century and on the career of Sarah Josepha Hale. Moreover, the book includes an index that lists more than seven hundred women editors and their corresponding publications.

¹⁵ Valerie Levy, "Lydia Maria Child and the Abolitionist Gift-Book Market," in *Popular Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers and the Literary Marketplace*, ed. Earl Yarrington and Mary De Jong (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 137–52.

¹⁶ Jump, "'False Prudery,'" 3.

¹⁷ Jump, "'False Prudery,'" 3.

¹⁸ David R. Whitesell, Curator of Books, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA, personal correspondence, October 6, 2010; Thompson, *American Literary Annuals*, 16.

¹⁹ Lydia Maria Child, ed., *The Oasis* (Boston: Allen and Tichnor, 1834); Richard Sutton Rust, ed., *Freedom's Gift: Or, Sentiments of the Free* (Hartford, CT: S. S. Cowles, 1840); John Greenleaf Whittier, ed., *The North Star: The Poetry of Freedom* (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Thompson, 1840); Massachusetts Female Emancipation Society, *Star of Emancipation* (Boston: John Putnam, 1841), accessed September 23, 2010, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gdc/scd0001.00118391925>; Providence Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, *Liberty Chimes* (Pawtucket, RI: R. W. Potter, 1845), accessed September 23, 2010, <http://www.archive.org/details/libertychimes00ladi>.

²⁰ Volumes of the *Liberty Bell* are available on microfilm and in various rare book collections. Both volumes of *Autographs for Freedom* were reproduced in 1969, and original copies can be found in various rare book collections. Original and facsimile copies turn up for sale periodically. Most often, the gift books were prepared for holiday giving and were sold at anti-slavery fairs in late November and December. Therefore, like almanacs, the books bore the date of the coming year. For example, the 1853 *Autographs for Freedom* was published in late 1852.

²¹ Ralph Thompson, "The *Liberty Bell* and Other Anti-Slavery Gift-Books," *New England Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (March 1934): 155.

²² See, for instance, Michael Bennett, *Democratic Discourses: The Radical Abolition Movement and Antebellum American Literature* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005); Sandra Harbert Petruionis, "'Swelling That Great Tide of Humanity': The Concord, Massachusetts, Female Anti-Slavery Society," *New England Quarterly* 74, no. 3 (September 2001): 385–418; Beverly Gordon, *Bazaars and Fair Ladies: The History of the American Fundraising Fair* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998); Debra Gold Hansen, *Strained Sisterhood: Gender and Class in the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993); Beverly Gordon, "Playing at Being Powerless: New England Ladies Fairs," *Massachusetts Review* 27, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 144–60.

²³ Thompson, "Liberty Bell," 156.

²⁴ Henry Mayer, *All On Fire: William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition of Slavery* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 229.

²⁵ Harriet Beecher Stowe, "The Boston Anti-Slavery Fair," *Liberator*, January 12, 1855.

²⁶ For further discussion of the Douglass-Garrison competition for resources, see Robert Fanuzzi, "Frederick Douglass' 'Colored Newspaper': Identity Politics in Black and White," in *The Black Press: New Literary and Historical Essays*, ed. Todd Vogel (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001).

²⁷ Frank E. Fee Jr., "To No One More Indebted: Frederick Douglass and Julia Griffiths, 1849–1863," *Journalism History* 37, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 12–26.

²⁸ Frederick Douglass to Amy Kirby Post, January 30, 1848. Isaac and Amy Post Family Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester. Here and elsewhere, the writer's spelling, punctuation, and syntax are preserved.

²⁹ Philip S. Foner, *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass: Early Years, 1817–1849* (New York: International Publishers, 1950); Mayer, *All On Fire*; Benjamin Quarles, "The Breach Between Douglass and Garrison," *Journal of Negro History* 23, no. 2 (1938): 144–54.

³⁰ Explications of Douglass's life and works can be found in Carter R. Bryan, "Negro Jour-

nalism in America Before Emancipation," *Journalism Monographs* 12 (September 1969): 1–15; David B. Chesebrough, *Frederick Douglass: Oratory from Slavery* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1988); Foner, *Life and Writings*; Raymond G. Fulkerson, "Frederick Douglass and the Anti-Slavery Crusade: His Career and Speeches, 1817–1861" (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1971); Frankie Hutton, *The Early Black Press in America, 1827 to 1860* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993); William S. McFeely *Frederick Douglass* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991); Armistead S. Pride and Clint C. Wilson II, *A History of the Black Press* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1997); Benjamin Quarles, *Frederick Douglass* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1997). Important works and collections of Douglass's writings and speeches provide essential source material, including John W. Blassingame, ed., *The Frederick Douglass Papers. Series One: Speeches, Debates, and Interviews*, 5 vols. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1979–1992); John W. Blassingame, John R. McKivigan, and Peter B. Hinks, eds., *The Frederick Douglass Papers. Series Two: Autobiographical Writings* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999); and John R. McKivigan, L. Diane Barnes, Mark G. Emerson, and Leigh Fought, eds., *The Frederick Douglass Papers. Series Three: Correspondence, Vol. 1: 1842–1852* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).

³¹ Frederick Douglass, "Our Esteemed Friend," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, June 15, 1855.

³² See, for instance, William M. Clements, "Autograph Book," in *Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Beliefs, Customs, Tales, Music, and Art*, ed. Charlie T. McCormick and Kim Kennedy White, 2nd ed., Vol. 1 (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2011), 188.

³³ Frederick Douglass, "To the Editor of the 'Autographs for Freedom,'" *Autographs for Freedom*, Vol. 2, ed. Julia Griffiths, (Auburn, NY: Alden, Beardsley & Co., 1854), 251. Rare Book Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

³⁴ Leon Jackson offers a detailed analysis of letter writing as gift exchange and the emergence of free gift ideology in the mid-nineteenth century in *The Business of Letters: Authorial Economies in Antebellum America* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008).

³⁵ Dellon M. Dewey to Susan Farley Porter, April 21, 1852. Porter Family Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester.

³⁶ Harriet Beecher Stowe to Susan Farley Porter, June 20, 1852. Porter Family Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester.

³⁷ Stowe to Porter, June 20, 1852.

³⁸ "Second Anti-Slavery Festival," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, August 13, 1852. Italics and punctuation in the original.

³⁹ John Pierpont to Susan Farley Porter, June 1, 1852. Porter Family Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester.

⁴⁰ Henry W. Longfellow to Susan Farley Porter, June 8, 1852. Porter Family Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester.

⁴¹ W. H. Wardwell to Dellon M. Dewey, October 1, 1852. Porter Family Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester.

⁴² Lehuu, *Carnival on the Page*, 81.

⁴³ Lehuu, *Carnival on the Page*, 81.

⁴⁴ Nancy A. Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822–1872* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984).

⁴⁵ Frederick Douglass, "The Folly of Our Opponents," *Liberty Bell* (Boston: Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair, 1845), 173. Cited in E. Bruce Kirkham and John W. Fink, comp., *Indices to American Literary Annuals and Gift Books 1825–1865* (New Haven, CT: Research Publications, 1975), 209.

⁴⁶ Frederick Douglass, "Bibles for the Slaves," *Liberty Bell* (Boston: National Anti-Slavery Bazaar, 1848), 121. Cited in Kirkham and Fink, *Indices to American Literary Annuals*, 212.

⁴⁷ "New Publications," *Liberator*, January 13, 1854.

⁴⁸ Joshua R. Giddings, "From the 'Autographs for Freedom.' Massacre at Blount's Ford," *Liberator*, January 13, 1854.

⁴⁹ See, for instance, "Give the People Light," *Liberator*, June 23 and 30, July 7 and 14, 1854.

⁵⁰ George Howard, Earl of Carlisle, "Letter from the Earl of Carlisle to the Secretary of the Society," *Autographs for Freedom*, Vol. 1, ed., Julia Griffiths (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co., 1853).

⁵¹ See, for instance, Ethiop, "For the Frederick Douglass Paper, The Autographs for Freedom," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, February 17, 1854.

⁵² Frederick Douglass, "From the Liberty Bell. Bibles for the Slaves," *Liberator*, January 28, 1848; Douglass, "From the Liberty Bell of 1848. Bibles for the Slaves," *North Star*, January 14, 1848.

⁵³ Frederick Douglass, "The Heroic Slave," *Autographs for Freedom*, Vol. 1, ed. Julia Griffiths, (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co, 1853). Rare Book Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Robert S. Levine offers a useful discussion of "The Heroic Slave" in "Uncle Tom's Cabin in Frederick Douglass' Paper: An Analysis of Reception," *American Literature* 65, no. 1 (March 1992): 71–93.

⁵⁴ See, for instance, John Bowring, "The Liberty Bell," *Liberator*, February 17, 1843; Aurelia P. Raymond, "The Liberty Bell," *Liberator*, January 1, 1858.

⁵⁵ Sharon M. Harris "Introduction: Women Editors in the Nineteenth Century," *Blue Pencils & Hidden Hands: Women Editing Periodicals, 1830–1910*, ed. Sharon M. Harris and Ellen Gruber Garvey (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004), 27.

⁵⁶ Maria Weston Chapman, "The Sculptor of the Torrid Zone," *Liberty Bell*, ed. Maria Weston Chapman (Boston: Friends of Freedom, 1853), 246–51. Rare Book Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

⁵⁷ Chapman, "Sculptor," 247.

⁵⁸ Chapman, "Sculptor," 247–48.

⁵⁹ Chapman, "Sculptor," 248.

⁶⁰ Maria Weston Chapman, "The Young Sailor," *Liberty Bell*, ed. Maria Weston Chapman (Boston: Friends of Freedom, 1853), 246–51. Rare Book Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

⁶¹ Chapman, "Young Sailor," 196.

⁶² Chapman, "Young Sailor," 196.

⁶³ Ann Weston Chapman, "The Seventeenth National Anti-Slavery Bazaar," *Liberator*, January 17, 1851.

⁶⁴ Bishop of Oxford, "Letter from the Bishop of Oxford to the Secretary of the Society," *Autographs for Freedom*, Vol.1, 28.

⁶⁵ Bishop of Oxford, "Letter," 28.

⁶⁶ Since at least 1840 and particularly following the success of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in England, British response to the American antislavery movement was often filled with a tone of moral superiority for having abolished slavery nearly thirty years earlier. See Audrey A. Fisch, *American Slaves in Victorian England: Abolitionist Politics in Popular Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 15.

⁶⁷ See, for instance, Julia Griffiths, "Circular: The Second Report of the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Sewing Society. Rochester: 1853," Boston Public Library.

⁶⁸ Griffiths, "Letter from the Bishop of Oxford," 28.

⁶⁹ See, for instance, Fee, "To No One More Indebted," 19–20; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 163–77; Quarles, *Frederick Douglass*, 104–07.

⁷⁰ Julia Griffiths to Ralph Waldo Emerson, Rochester, NY, August 7, 1852. Letters to Ralph Waldo Emerson, ca. 1814–1882 (MS Am 1280), Houghton Library, Harvard University.

⁷¹ See, for instance, Josephine Donovan, "A Source for Stowe's Ideas on Race in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," *NWSA Journal* 7, no. 3 (Autumn 1995): 24–34.

⁷² Maria Weston Chapman, "Money received by M. W. Chapman, for the Liberty Bell, and the general purposes of the Bazaar. 1847–8," *Liberator*, January 14, 1848.

⁷³ Maria G. Porter, "Treasurer's Report," in "The Second Report of the Rochester Ladies' A. S. Sewing Society," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, February 4, 1853.

⁷⁴ "Address of the Committee of the Tenth Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair," quoted in Thompson, "Liberty Bell," 158. Emphasis added.

⁷⁵ Thompson, "Liberty Bell," 158.

⁷⁶ "The Liberty Bell," *Liberator*, November 29, 1839.

⁷⁷ "Autographs for Freedom," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, January 21, 1853.

⁷⁸ "Autographs for Freedom," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, January 21, 1853.

⁷⁹ "Autographs for Freedom," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, January 6, 1854.

⁸⁰ "Autographs for Freedom," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, January 6, 1854. Italics in original.

⁸¹ "A Liberal Offer to Subscribers," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, January 13, 1854. Italics in original. See Jackson's *The Business of Letters* for a detailed analysis of letter writing as gift exchange and on the emergence of free gift ideology in the mid-nineteenth century.

⁸² *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, May 27, 1853.

⁸³ Thompson, "Liberty Bell," 160.

⁸⁴ See, for instance, "Autographs for Freedom," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, January 21, 1853, which reported "favorable notices of the *Autograph*" in the *Rochester Democrat*, *Rochester American*, *Albany Evening Journal*, *New York Independent*, and *Massachusetts Spy*.

⁸⁵ William P. Green, "Letter from William P. Green," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, February 10, 1854.

⁸⁶ Ethiop, "For the Frederick Douglass Paper, The Autographs for Freedom," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, February 17, 1854. "Ethiop" was the penname of William Joseph Wilson, an activist in New York City and frequent contributor to Douglass's publications. See, McKivigan, *Douglass Papers, Series Three, Correspondence*, 557. Wilson also was contributor to the 1854 *Autographs* with "A Leaf from My Scrapbook," 165–73.

⁸⁷ Thompson, "Liberty Bell," 157.

⁸⁸ Maria Weston Chapman to E. P. Nichols, January 25, 1860. Quoted in Benjamin Quarles, "Sources of Abolitionist Income," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 32, no. 1 (June 1945): 75.

⁸⁹ Emily Ware Fogg and Julia Griffiths, "Fourth Annual Report of the Rochester Ladies Anti-Slavery Society," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, January 19, 1855. While in Washington, DC, early in 1854, Griffiths had solicited Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner for a contribution and a daguerreotype for the third volume. Julia Griffiths to Charles Sumner, February 22, 1854, Charles Sumner Correspondence (MS Am1), Houghton Library, Harvard University.

⁹⁰ Thompson, "Liberty Bell," 160.

⁹¹ Thompson, "Liberty Bell," 163.

⁹² Dickinson, "Creating a World," 61.

⁹³ Julia Griffiths, ed., *Voices of Freedom* (New York: Worthington Co., ca. 1887). Duke University Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library.

⁹⁴ Pasted to the back flyleaf is a small green label for Geo. E. Chalmers, Bookseller, Stationer, Picture Frames & News Dealers, Rutland, VT.

⁹⁵ Jean Fagan Yellin, *Women and Sisters: The Antislavery Feminists in American Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989).

⁹⁶ Karen Sánchez-Eppler, "Bodily Bonds: The Intersection Rhetorics of Feminism and Abolition," *Representations* 24 (Autumn 1998): 28–59.

⁹⁷ Deborah A. Logan, "The Redemption of a Heretic: Harriet Martineau and Anglo-American Abolitionism," in *Women's Rights and Transatlantic Slavery in the Era of Emancipation*, ed. Kathryn Kish Sklar and James Brewer Stewart (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 249.

⁹⁸ Logan, "Redemption," 259.

⁹⁹ Julie Roy Jeffries, "Permeable Boundaries: Abolitionist Women and Separate Spheres," *Journal of the Early Republic* 21, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 80.

¹⁰⁰ Jeffries, "Permeable Boundaries," 83.

¹⁰¹ "The Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, April 8, 1853.

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