The Women's Print History Project

Black Women and Female Abolitionists in Print, *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*

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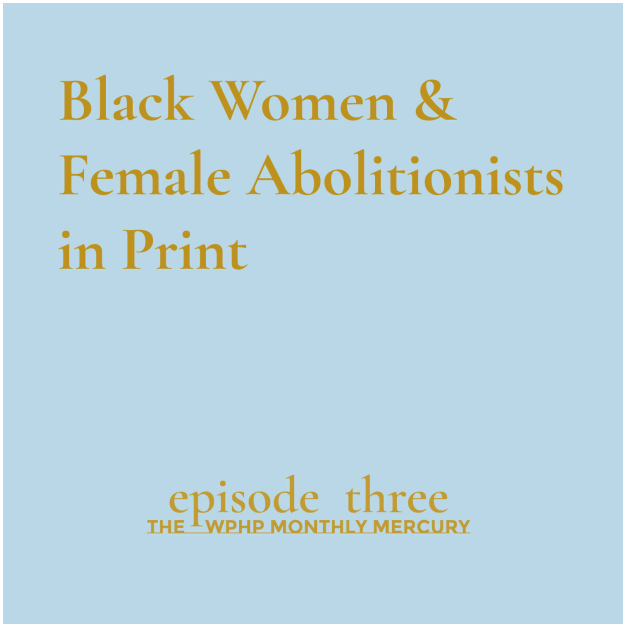
Black Women and Female Abolitionists in Print

Kate Moffatt and Kandice Sharren



This double episode of *The WPHP Monthly Mercury* is part of *Romanticism on the Net*'s special issue, "Romanticism, Interrupted." The script has been peer-reviewed.

In this month's double episode of *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*, "Black Women and Female Abolitionists in Print," the entire team of the WPHP joins hosts Kandice Sharren and Kate Moffatt to speak to the "Black Women's and Abolitionist Print History Spotlight Series" that we published on the WPHP website between June 19 and July 31.

In response to and in support of the Black Lives Matter movement, this spotlight series is focused on the lives of, and books published by, three Black women authors during our period—Mary Prince, Phillis Wheatley, and Maria W. Stewart—as well as the ways in which white female abolitionists Lydia Maria Child and Elizabeth Heyrick exploited print's powerful potential for eliminating slavery. The series also includes a spotlight on the anonymous 1808 novel, *The Woman of Colour*, and a spotlight on the one Black woman bookseller we have been able to identify thus far during our period—Ann Sancho, who we talked about in last month's episode, "Women in the Imprints."

In this episode, each member of our team speaks to the spotlight that they authored. You'll hear from: one of our *WPHP Monthly Mercury* hosts and Lead Editor, Kandice Sharren, about the role of authorship in her spotlight on the anonymous 1808 novel *The Woman of Colour*, "The Woman of Colour: Don't Break the (Attribution) Chain"; our other podcast host and Lead Editor of Firms, Kate Moffatt, about the question of collecting and presenting racial data provoked by her spotlight on the Black woman bookseller, Ann Sancho, "A Search for Firm Evidence: Ann Sancho, Bookseller"; Sara Penn, research assistant, about the language of enslavement and the complexity of identifying author

and genre for oral memoirs that arose while writing her spotlight, "The First Slave Narrative by a Woman: The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave"; Amanda Law, research assistant, about the systemic circumstances of publication for Phillis Wheatley, which Amanda discusses in detail in her spotlight "The Transatlantic Publication of Phillis Wheatley's *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*"; Victoria DeHart, research assistant, about women's involvement in the abolition movement and the response to the radical branch of abolition known as "immediatism", explained more fully in her spotlight "Elizabeth Heyrick, Mother of Immediatism"; our Project Director, Michelle Levy, about uneven digitization and the Black author Maria W. Stewart, and the impact of that digitization on her spotlight, "Maria W. Stewart, Activist for 'African rights and liberty'"; and from Hanieh Ghaderi, research assistant, on her spotlight, co-written with Kandice Sharren, "Lydia Maria Child's Radical Appeal," about the experience of working on a feminist title from the 1830s as a current Gender Studies student.

The episode examines the challenges faced and connections made in the writing of these spotlights, as well as the many learnings that both the spotlights and the creation of this episode prompted. From the frustrations with the gaps in records about Black women, to the transatlanticism of abolition, to the question of how to responsibly and ethically account for racial data in the WPHP, "Black Women and Female Abolitionists in Print" responds to the ethos of the current moment, centring the voices of Black people and the need for immediate and radical change, while acknowledging how bibliography can guide us to a clearer understanding of the interactions between gender, race, abolition, and print.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the reviewers and editorial team of *Romanticism on the Net* for their expertise and willingness to take on this format. Our thanks also to Colleen Thiesen and Kate Mitas for helping us access Roderick Cave's article, "The Stockdale Sisters Revisited."

Black Women's and Abolitionist Print History Spotlight Series

"Black Women's and Abolitionist Print History Spotlight Series" (introduction)
"The Woman of Colour: Don't Break the (Attribution) Chain" (Kandice Sharren)
"A Search for Firm Evidence: Ann Sancho, Bookseller" (Kate Moffatt)
"The First Slave Narrative by a Woman: *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave*" (Sara Penn)
"The Transatlantic Publication of Phillis Wheatley's *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*" (Amanda Law)
"Elizabeth Heyrick, Mother of Immediatism" (Victoria DeHart)
"Maria W. Stewart, Activist for 'African rights and liberty'" (Michelle Levy)
"Lydia Maria Child's Radical Appeal" (Hanieh Ghaderi and Kandice Sharren)

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Ann Sancho (firm, bookseller)

Sancho, Ann (person, bookseller)
Prince, Mary (person, author)
Wheatley, Phillis (person, author)
The Woman of Colour (title)
Heyrick, Elizabeth (person, author)
Child, Lydia Maria (person, author)
Hobomok (title)
Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans (title)
Stewart, Maria W. (person, author)
Productions of Mrs. Maria W. Stewart (title)
Light and Shade (title)
The Aunt and the Niece (title)
Eversfield Abbey (title)
Ann and William Sancho (firm, booksellers)
Sancho, Ignatius (person, author)
The History of Mary Prince, West Indian Slave (title, first edition)
The History of Mary Prince, West Indian Slave (title, second edition)
The History of Mary Prince, West Indian Slave (title, third edition)
Pringle, Thomas (person, editor)
Moodie, Susannah (person, editor)
Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral (title)
Ezekiel Russell (firm, publisher)
Hastings, Selina (person)
More, Hannah (person, author)
Immediate, not Gradual, Abolition (title)
Coltman, Eliza (person, author)
Opie, Amelia (person, author)
Meditations From The Pen Of Mrs. Maria W. Stewart (title)
Garrison and Knapp (firm, publisher)
Friends of Freedom and Virtue (firm, publisher)
The Oasis (title)
The Mother's Book (title)
The Frugal Housewife (title)
Priscilla, Sarah, and Frances Stockdale (firm, publishers)
Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho, an African (title)
Crewe, Frances Anne (person, editor)
Garrick, David (person, author)
Sterne, Laurence (person, author)

Johnson, Samuel (person, author)
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00:00:00	🎵	[music playing]
00:00:08	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Between June 19 and July 31, 2020, *The Women's Print History Project* published seven spotlights about "Black Women's and Abolitionist Print History." Spotlights are mini-essays that explore one of the records in the database, delving into the history of specific titles, people, and firms beyond the bibliographical, biographical, and business data accounted for in our data model. This was our first themed series of spotlights, developed collaboratively by our team in response to and celebration of the Black Lives Matter Movement.
00:00:38	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	The series focuses on the lives of Black women, and their allies, who are represented in our database: in it, we revisited the lives and books published by well-known Black female authors, acknowledged white female abolitionists' exploitation of print's potential to bring about the end of slavery, and even found a Black woman who was an active participant in the book trades—Ann Sancho, who we discussed in last month's episode, "Women in the Imprints."
00:01:02	🎵	[music playing]
00:01:10	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	This spotlight series sought to both recognize and highlight Black women in book history, and it has, we think, begun that work—even as the series has also made obvious the amount of work still left to do in grappling with the relationship between race and print at a systemic level.
00:01:25	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	These learnings have informed the way we will move forward with the database, as it was in brainstorming, researching, and writing of these spotlights that we found this series teaching us a thing or two—or twenty—about the work necessary to recover (and in some cases, to discover) Black women in England and the United States, as well as the print culture that supported them.
00:01:44	🎵	[music playing]
00:01:54	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Hello and welcome to *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*, the podcast for *The Women's Print History Project*. The WPHP is an open-access bibliographic database that collects information about women and book production during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. My name is Kate Moffatt—
00:02:10	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	and I'm Kandice Sharren—
00:02:12	Kate Moffatt	and we are long-time editors of the WPHP, and the hosts of this podcast. On the

	(co-host)	third Wednesday of every month, we'll introduce you to anecdotes, puzzles, and problems related to recovering evidence of women's involvement in print.
00:02:24	🎵	[music playing]
00:02:31	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	This episode is part of *Romanticism on the Net*'s special issue, "Romanticism, Interrupted," which called for "work that has been interrupted by the pandemic and work that has been stimulated or redirected by anti-racist and anti-authoritarian action." The script has been peer-reviewed, and we would like to thank the reviewers and editorial team of *Romanticism on the Net*, especially Matthew Sangster and Julia S. Carlson, for their expertise and willingness to take on this format.
00:02:58	🎵	[music playing]
00:03:05	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	The "Black Women's and Abolitionist Print History" spotlight series had a number of goals and aspirations. We began to work on it in early June 2020, as protests erupted in the United States, and then across the globe, against police brutality in the wake of the murder of George Floyd on May 25, 2020. The reinvigorated discussions about the legacy of violence against Black people across the African diaspora prompted our team to discuss how our research could meaningfully respond to this historical moment.
00:03:34	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	In its insistence on centering the voices of Black people and the need for immediate and radical change, we identified strong parallels between the rhetoric of the present-day Black Lives Matter movement and the transatlantic abolitionist movement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As a team with considerable expertise in the literature, culture, and history of this period, we felt that we could both contribute to understanding the legacy of violence and trauma wrought by the transatlantic slave trade and European colonization, as well as celebrate the achievements of Black lives of the past as they intersected with print.
00:04:07	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	In particular, we wanted to pay tribute to the uncompromising ethos of the present moment; in that spirit, all of our spotlights focus on either a Black woman's presence in print or a woman involved in the radical branch of the abolitionist movement known as "immediatism," which demanded the immediate and unconditional end of slavery.

00:04:28	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Through the spotlight series, we were able to amalgamate existing research and, we hope, generate synthesis and comparison that contribute to general knowledge about the history of Black women, as well as abolition. By providing us with a concrete paper trail, bibliography, as enabled by the WPHP, has guided us toward a sharper analysis of the interactions between gender, race, abolition and print.
00:04:54	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Brainstormed during one of our weekly Zoom meetings slash work sessions, the result was seven thoroughly researched and collaboratively edited pieces of writing. The process of working on this series together had the effect of bringing us closer as a team, drawing undergraduate students into the research process through mentorship by graduate students and our Project Director.
00:05:12	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	As the genre of the spotlight is one of our own making, we also had to think as a group, critically, about the structure the spotlights should take and the information we want them to convey. Given that this genre is not your typical academic essay—which made writing them an adventure for all of us—we especially want to acknowledge the work of our three undergraduate RAs who wrote their first spotlights last month, Amanda, Hanieh, and Victoria.
00:05:35	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Writing the spotlights, therefore, served multiple objectives: it provides what we hope will be a useful collection for scholars and students. It also served what we believe was an important pedagogical function for our team members, empowering our RAs by providing the opportunity to research and write for a public readership. In this month's episode, we're going to be joined by members of the WPHP team, who will reflect on the opportunities and challenges they faced in writing their spotlights, and what they took away from the experience.
00:06:03	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	First, though, a word about how to *find* our spotlights: The "Black Women's and Abolitionist Print History" spotlight series spotlights are actually linked in the Further Resources post for this episode, which you can find a direct link to in the description for this episode of the podcast, or on the WPHP website under the "Announcements" tab. You can also browse all of the spotlights we published on the WPHP by clicking on the "Spotlights" tab in the header. We divide them by the type of record they focus on: Title, Person, or Firm.
00:06:33	🎵	[music playing]
00:06:40	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Before we get into hearing from our wonderful team members, we'd like to chat about the process of how we decided which people, firms and books to feature.

This was in some ways the first challenge of the series: choosing, and in some cases identifying, the subjects of our spotlights.

00:06:56 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, some choices were obvious. Both Mary Prince and Phillis Wheatley are quite commonly taught in undergraduate classes, and they have actually both been taught by both me and our Project Director, Michelle Levy, and the authors of those two spotlights first encountered them in their undergraduate classes. I knew I wanted to write about *The Woman of Colour* almost immediately; it's an anonymous 1808 novel that intersects with quite a few of my research interests, and it's also worth noting that this is an increasingly popular choice in the classroom—there's a Broadview edition that was published in 2007, and edited by Lyndon J. Dominique.

00:07:36 Kate Moffatt (co-host) I found Ann Sancho somewhat serendipitously, as discussed on last month's podcast episode. The other three spotlight topics were trickier to settle on; we wanted to feature abolitionist texts, but many of the ones that we knew of made ameliorationist arguments, which represented slavery as a potentially 'civilizing' practice that could be gradually ended as enslaved people became educated to European standards and converted to Christianity—that, or they relied on tropes of helpful or grateful slaves. Although these ideas are historically significant, we didn't feel that these ideas were in the spirit of the series' radical focus, so we had to do a bit more research.

00:08:11 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Victoria DeHart did some research on abolition, and found a biography of Elizabeth Heyrick on the Abolition of Slavery Project website; she was excited by her uncompromising arguments in favour of "immediatism," or the immediate abolition of slavery.
Despite Heyrick's prominence in the abolitionist movement of the 1820s and 30s, and the fact that she has been the topic of current research by Felicity James and Rebecca Shuttleworth as well as others, none of us had ever heard of her before.

00:08:38 Kandice Sharren (co-host) We are also currently in the process of expanding the database beyond Great Britain and Ireland, to include American titles; given that the transatlantic world and our understanding of transatlanticism has been structured by Black slavery which created links between Africa, Europe, the Caribbean, North and South America, this series was an important opportunity to centre voices from the Black diaspora—what Paul Gilroy has called the "Black Atlantic"—and the abolition movement in this transatlantic expansion of our project.

00:09:14	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Since our team isn't as familiar with American literature before the 1830s, we had to do a bit more research to integrate American works that fit our theme.
00:09:25	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	The first work that sprang to my mind was Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl,* which is a major nineteenth-century text written by a Black woman. However, it was published in 1861, so it's too late for our database, which only goes up to 1836. However, doing some reading and research around it gave us some leads about who else we might be able to focus on. So, Jacobs' *Incidents* was edited by Lydia Maria Child, who I was familiar with as the author of *Hobomok*, a novel published in 1824. More research into her career revealed a long abolitionist publishing record, including the *Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans* that was published in 1833, and this work is notable for being an intensively researched history of slavery in America, the first of its kind.
00:10:16	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Reading more around Jacobs also led me to a digital collection of works by African-American women writers of the nineteenth century on the New York Public Library website, which includes Black author Maria Stewart's *Productions*, a work that was published also within the correct date range of 1835. This process of identifying Stewart and Child as possible spotlight subjects highlights the difficulties of searching for texts by gender or race of the author, especially if you don't have detailed field-specific knowledge already.
00:10:52	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Actually, a few weeks after we went through this process, I found out that it was in fact possible to search the *American Antiquarian Society Catalog* for titles by women or by Black people or by both thanks to a webinar hosted by the AAS [both laugh]. As you can imagine, I was both pleased and angry, which is not an unusual emotional state for me while conducting research. [laughs]
00:11:18	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Although the AAS enables these searches, there is no standard practice for identifying titles by women or Black writers across different libraries or resources, which makes them difficult to locate. It also results in a limited number of representative texts, which can easily become tokenistic. We're going to come back to this question of whether and how to categorize books and their producers responsibly, but it's important to note that these questions shaped the spotlight series from the beginning.
00:11:45	🎵	[music playing]
00:11:51	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Now that we've completed this spotlight series, we wanted to provide each member of the team with an opportunity to reflect on the spotlight they

		authored, and we're excited to share their contributions to this episode. They speak to the processes, the exploration, and the learning that resulted, from their work on the "Black Women's and Abolitionist Print History" spotlight series.
00:12:09	🎵	[music playing]
00:12:20	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	On June 19, the WPHP published Kandice Sharren's spotlight, "The Woman of Colour: Don't Break the (Attribution) Chain", which examines the authorship of the anonymous 1808 novel, *The Woman of Colour*. Its title page attributes it to "the author of Light and Shade, The Aunt and the Niece, Eversfield Abbey, &c. &c.," linking it to a chain of no less than twenty other titles with no definite author.
00:12:45	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	I first encountered *The Woman of Colour* in a course during the first year of my PhD, and I've been coming back to it ever since. Ironically, given my spotlight's focus on the novel's anonymous publication, the question of who wrote this novel is, in my opinion, one of its least compelling elements. I'm much more interested in the way that it uses literary conventions to investigate and challenge which characters readers will sympathize with and why.
00:13:10	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Despite its bizarre and over-the-top plot, it has a number of minor and quite striking scenes in which the kinds of social embarrassments typical in novels of what Deirdre Lynch terms "the Burney school" become an opportunity to represent the effects of what we would now call racial microaggressions on its heroine, Olivia. And yet, the question of authorship is important to so many different aspects of this book. The author's anonymity raises important questions about how we assess this novel's radical potential. In the absence of a specific historical figure with a clear-cut stance on abolition to whom we can attribute this novel, it's tempting to graft our own opinions about race and abolition onto it when we encounter interpretive ambiguities.
00:13:56	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	And, while the way that this novel represents Olivia is fairly straightforward—she is virtuous and morally upright throughout—other elements are less clear. For example, the novel concludes with Olivia claiming the status of a widow and returning to Jamaica after her husband's secret first wife, who was supposedly dead, reappears. This conclusion has been characterized as, on the one hand, a "triumph" by Lyndon J. Dominique, but "dystopic" on the other; according to Sara Salih, "racial distinctions are implicitly confirmed by a plot which effects the wrecking of an interracial marriage through the revelation that the white hero is

		polygamous, and the despatching of the heroine of colour out of England back to Jamaica."
00:14:45	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Similarly, the representation of the enslaved character, Dido, presents another interpretive ambiguity. Her depiction relies heavily on dialect, and her excessive loyalty to the lighter-skinned Olivia strikes an uneasy chord. How much of this is an accurate representation of a lower-status Black Jamaican woman of the period, and how much is it a strategy to reassure white readers of some kind of racial and class hierarchy, despite the book's stated position in favour of abolishing the slave trade?
00:15:17	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	How would the way we interpret the novel's conclusion or characters like Dido change if we were to learn, definitively, that the author was (or was not) a Black woman? And how would it change our understanding of any other works attributed to that same author? That's assuming that, if we were to identify a female author, we would be able to confirm her race, which is unlikely, considering that we often know little more about the women in our database beyond their names.
00:15:48	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	I want to conclude by noting that the confusion around the identity of this author has also played a role in bringing attention back to *The Woman of Colour* in the twenty-first century. The republication of this work by Broadview Press in 2007 is, in itself, a testament to the importance of bibliography to recovery work; the novel first came to attention as the result of Peter Garside, James Raven, and Rainer Schöwerling's bibliography, *The English Novel: 1770–1829*, which noted the messy attribution chain that my spotlight tries to trace.
00:16:20	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	While many works were published anonymously during the period, few were embroiled in such a convoluted chain of attributions. Thus, the absence of a readily identifiable author for such a rich work becomes an enticing mystery that spurs further attention by creating the possibility of discovering another and all too rare example of Black female authorship in our period.
00:16:44	🎵	[music playing]
00:16:55	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	On June 26, the WPHP published Kate Moffatt's spotlight, "A Search for Firm Evidence: Ann Sancho, Bookseller", which explores the limited information that we have about the only Black female member of the print trades we have identified in our period. As the wife of the composer and man of letters, Ignatius Sancho, in some respects Ann Sancho has been remarkably well documented for a

woman of this period; however, when Kate tried to identify the titles of books that Ann Sancho had published, the trail went cold. Here's Kate on the questions this process provoked.

00:17:28 Kate Moffatt (co-host) When we started discussing this spotlight series back at the beginning of June, my mind immediately turned to the Black mother and son booksellers I had discovered a year or so ago while trying to bring women-run firms into the database. I couldn't remember their names—I couldn't remember the resource I'd found them in—and I couldn't find the notebook where I distinctly remember writing down their names and underlining them—twice.

00:17:51 Kate Moffatt (co-host) I did, however, recall that evidence of the woman involved, who I now know to be Ann Sancho, was hidden in a very *large* paragraph of information—an absolute brick of text—and that was what led me back to Ian Maxted's *Exeter Working Papers*, whose entries range anywhere from a couple of sentences to a paragraph longer than a single-spaced page. The *Exeter Working Papers*, however, much as we love it for being the thorough resource that it is, has no way for users to search its data by gender or by race, a feature it has in common with nearly every other resource we use.

00:18:24 Kate Moffatt (co-host) It was in returning to every page in this resource to re-find Ann Sancho, eyes peeled for hefty paragraphs in which my elusive Black bookselling mother and son could be hidden, that I began very seriously questioning the limitations that make it particularly difficult to discover women of colour involved in the book trades. How do we begin to search for these women in ways that actually allow them to be found? It prompts questions like, how does one account for gender or race responsibly? Ethically? How do we bring these questions into our presentation of that data in the WPHP?

00:18:57 Kate Moffatt (co-host) These questions highlight just how much we have to trust our sources. As a team based in Canada, we have limited access to archives and primary materials—we are almost entirely reliant on the information that is included in digital and print resources, and these resources, in our experience over the last five years, do not present racial data in any way that is readily discoverable. Can we trust our sources to have systematically accounted for race, and draw the conclusion that the reason we have not identified any other Black booksellers is because Ann and William Sancho were the only ones?

00:19:29	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	As we discussed last month, Ann Sancho is exceptional— her husband Ignatius makes her far more visible than the average woman bookseller. But further information about Ann's involvement in the book trades, about her involvement in the business, is negligible. What is available about Ann Sancho leaves me only with more questions— not just about Ann Sancho, but about the other Black women and women of colour who remain unfound, and how their discovery and recovery can be supported.
00:19:56	🎵	[music playing]
00:20:05	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	On July 3, the WPHP published Sara Penn's spotlight, "The First Slave Narrative by a Woman: *The History of Mary Prince, West Indian Slave*." This narrative detailed Prince's life in slavery in Bermuda, Turks Island, and Antigua, and her eventual freedom upon her arrival in England as told to Thomas Pringle and Susannah Moodie, the abolitionists who supported its publication. In particular, Sara's spotlight draws attention to the complexity of trying to determine categories such as 'author' and 'genre' in a work that attempts to represent the oral in print, and that uses the form of the memoir to make a political argument about abolition.
00:20:45	Sara Penn (RA)	My spotlight on Mary Prince blossomed from my undergraduate class with Kandice a few years back when we read Prince's narrative, so I'm happy to have worked on this spotlight series to help make visible Black women of the past. When researching Prince, I discovered James Olney's essay, "'I was Born': Slave Narratives, Their Status as Autobiography and as Literature", which argues for the reclassification of slave narratives due to the similar experiences they recount from 'autobiography' to 'political writing'.
00:21:18	Sara Penn (RA)	Although he focuses on Frederick Douglass's *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (written a decade after *The History of Mary Prince*) we have taken into account this aspect of his argument and have included Prince's narrative in our database in the genre of Politcal Writing. Olney's scholarship vividly transformed my understanding of slave narratives, and I'm glad that his work can inform our title record data. It was challenging to record the famously elusive second edition of *The History of Mary Prince* in our titles.
00:21:56	Sara Penn (RA)	A *preface* to the second edition, included in the third edition, describes the second edition as a "Cheap Edition." Possibly since this edition was reproduced at a lower cost, no copies have survived. The first and third editions, however, are

		readily available on *Google Books*, which made my job of finding them a lot easier! I was also pleasantly surprised to learn that a lot of scholarship on Prince and her narrative is from Margôt Maddison-MacFadyen, creator of maryprince.org and SFU alumna. Many of the photos I used on the spotlight are from her incredibly comprehensive website.
00:22:36	Sara Penn (RA)	Working on this spotlight also allowed me to understand the semantics of discourse about slavery, as described by P. Gabrielle Foreman in her useful community-sourced document (this can be found linked at the bottom of the spotlight). She notes, for example, that describing a person as "enslaved" as opposed to calling them a "slave" works to emphasize the immoral act of enslavement. Learning this necessary language for describing slavery was valuable to me and something that I will carry forward.
00:23:10	🎵	[music playing]
00:23:19	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	On July 10, the WPHP published Amanda Law's spotlight, "The Transatlantic Publication of Phillis Wheatley's *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral.*" Its publication was complex; Wheatley was unsuccessful in publishing *Poems* by subscription in Boston, and had to travel to London to see the work into print. In London, she met with a wealthy patron, and was examined in a court of law to determine her ability to author her work—only then was *Poems* published. Amanda's spotlight examines the publication history of *Poems'* with a critical eye to the circumstances and systems in which it was produced.
00:23:54	Amanda Law (RA)	I wrote my spotlight on Phillis Wheatley's *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* because I studied this text previously in a Romantic literature class and was interested in learning about the publication process. My class focused on studying Wheatley's poems themselves, but writing this spotlight has shown me the complex publishing history that made it possible for me to even study these poems in a class in 2019. If Wheatley had given up on publication when her deal fell through with Ezekiel Russell in Boston and had not sought out her wealthy patron, the Countess of Huntingdon, we may not have this title today.
00:24:25	Amanda Law (RA)	It was no surprise that one of the major obstacles Wheatley faced was racism. If Susanna Wheatley had not used her privilege and connections as a wealthy white woman to put Phillis in contact with Russell and the Countess, Wheatley would not have had access to publication. I want to stress here what I did *not* in my spotlight, that no matter how helpful or vital the Wheatleys were to the

		publication of *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*, they were Phillis Wheatley's enslavers and that by enslaving her, they were contributing to the very system and prejudices that were keeping Phillis Wheatley from publishing a text on her own terms.
00:25:00	Amanda Law (RA)	Some information didn't make it into the final version of my spotlight. For example, I learned that after the Wheatleys emancipated Phillis, she submitted a proposal for a second collection of *Poems* in 1779, which was never published. Some of the poems intended for her second collection were published in newspapers and pamphlets or surviving manuscripts. But we do not have the complete book manuscript today. Wheatley did not have the wealth or the connections on her own to push her work into publication.
00:25:27	Amanda Law (RA)	She died impoverished and ill in 1784 after losing her husband and two infant children. Her third infant son passed soon after her. I bring this up because I want to highlight how, after she was freed, despite the relative fame she garnered through her book and various other poems she published, American and British society did not treat her fairly, let alone kindly. It was true when Wheatley was alive and remains true today that it is not enough to be "free" or even to abolish slavery because racism is embedded in and permeates throughout the system.
00:25:59	Amanda Law (RA)	When I think of Phillis Wheatley, I will always wonder what she would have had to say in her second collection as a free woman. In her poem "Ocean", which was one of the titles included in the proposal for her second book and one of the few poems intended for the second collection that we have access to today, Wheatley seems to critique the slave trade through the imagery of a soaring eagle being shot down by a ship from Boston. Perhaps she would have been more outspoken about slavery, as this manuscript poem implies, or perhaps she would have written the same style of poems as in her first collection. We will never know, and what a loss this is for the world.
00:26:32	🎵	[music playing]
00:26:43	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	On July 17, the WPHP published Victoria DeHart's spotlight, "Elizabeth Heyrick, Mother of Immediatism." Heyrick was a radical abolitionist, and Victoria shares Heyrick's critique of some of the leading abolitionist figures of the day, her involvement in forming anti-slavery societies and organizing boycotts on plantation-produced products, and her successful urging of women, in particular, to join the abolition cause.

00:27:09 Victoria DeHart (RA) My spotlight is on Elizabeth Heyrick. She became a famous figure of the Abolition movement during the 1820s and 1830s, but today she has remained relatively unknown outside of abolition scholarship. Instead, much attention has been given to prominent abolitionist figures like William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson. I was searching for a female abolitionist and came across a website called *The Abolition of Slavery Project*. *The Abolition of Slavery Project* provides a great overview of the campaign and short biographies of some of its key figures, including William Wilberforce, Hannah More, Mary Prince, and Elizabeth Heyrick. None of us were familiar with Heyrick or her work prior.

00:27:48 Victoria DeHart (RA) There has been a lot of recent scholarship on Elizabeth Heyrick, but compiling her work and piecing together her early career was a challenge. Heyrick is often confused with another author from Leicester, Elizabeth "Eliza" Coltman. Many libraries holding Eliza Coltman's literature still give credit to Heyrick, including the British Library and the Toronto Public Library, as well as catalogue records from *Google Books* and *Archive.org*. While researching for the spotlight, I came across a book entitled: *Other British Voices: Women, Poetry, and Religion, 1766-1840* by Dr. Timothy Whelan.

00:28:22 Victoria DeHart (RA) By using manuscripts, diaries, and letters, Whelan navigated through—as he describes it, "a maze of authorial confusion." He concludes that by the end of the twentieth century, all of the published material written by Eliza Coltman was attributed to Heyrick. "Coltman," was Heyrick's maiden name, and both of the women often published anonymously, ran in the same social circles, and lived and published their work around the same time, mainly between 1800 and 1830. For that, we are very grateful to Dr. Timothy Whelan for untangling this confusing web of misattribution.

00:28:53 Victoria DeHart (RA) I was unaware of the extent to which women were involved in the fight for abolition and in anti-slavery societies. Female abolitionists came from different social classes but most were wealthy, educated, and many were Quakers. They were highly influential and wielded their power by campaigning and donating funds to support the Anti-Slavery Society and Abolitionism. Heyrick rattled the other Abolitionists; and one of the more shocking things I learned was that some figureheads of the society, mainly William Wilberforce, tried to suppress the distribution of her pamphlet, *Immediate, not Gradual, Abolition*.

00:29:27 Victoria DeHart (RA) I discussed the extent to which women's anti-slavery groups were involved in the emancipation movement but I only mentioned a few names: Amelia Opie, Anne

		Knight, and Mary Lloyd. In fact, there were many women, like Heyrick, who were involved with the movement, writing pamphlets, and campaigning. The same strategies of pamphlet writing, canvassing, and petitioning became essential to the women's suffrage movement in the late nineteenth and the early twenties centuries, and a large number of women abolitionist became early suffragettes, including Jane Smeal, Eliza Wigham, Elizabeth Pease, and Anne Knight.
00:29:58	Victoria DeHart (RA)	Elizabeth Heyrick's use of print enabled boycotts, changed public opinion, and contributed to the end of colonial slavery. She also helped shape how future movements, like the suffrage movement, use print as a tactic for political reform.
00:30:10	🎵	[music playing]
00:30:20	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	On July 24, the WPHP published Michelle Levy's spotlight, "Maria W. Stewart, Activist for 'African rights and liberty.'" Maria W. Stewart was the first African American woman to lecture publicly on political, religious and racial issues, and the first to leave a record of her thoughts and speeches. Her lectures were reprinted in William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator*, before being collected in the *Productions of Mrs. Maria W. Stewart: presented to the First African Baptist Church & Society of the city of Boston* in 1835, along with recollections of her early life.
00:30:56	Michelle Levy (project director)	Maria W. Stewart was a fascinating discovery, for me, in a number of ways. As an educated, free woman, living in the Northeastern United States, Stewart's writing is very different than that of enslaved (or formerly enslaved) women like Mary Prince, who seek to describe, first-hand, the horrors of slavery. As a free woman, Stewart is witness to the pervasive racism within the North, and can describe its deleterious impact on free men, women, and children. Her outspokenness about the causes and consequences of this racism radiates from every page.
00:31:36	Michelle Levy (project director)	Of course, we do not know if the written lectures we have were written before they were delivered or transcribed after, nor do we know how closely they approach the words actually spoken. But we can safely assume that the written words bear a close resemblance to the speeches given; access to the voice of a Black woman in the 1830s is a rare gift. When working on this spotlight, I was teaching Frances E. W. Harper's *Iola Leroy: Or, Shadows Uplifted* for the first time, and was amazed at the similarities between the two women and their writing; both were born free and became leading activists, lecturers and writers, who

documented the atrocious effects of white supremacy in the South *and* North, both before *and* after the Civil War.

00:32:28 Michelle Levy (project director) What is incredible to me about Stewart is that she was writing over sixty years before Harper, and thirty years before the start of the Civil War. Stewart's writing intertwines politics and religion, and it is not possible to separate the two. Yet it is the religious tenor of her work that has attracted the least attention. Even Marilyn Richardson, in her superb edition of Stewart's writing, includes only selections from Stewart's 1832 collection of prayers, *Meditations from the Pen of Mrs. Maria W. Stewart*.

00:33:04 Michelle Levy (project director) In this way, Stewart is neglected like many women writers of religious texts; although their writing was very influential and the genre of religious writing by women is among the most significant, numerically speaking, it is also rarely recovered (at least for women writing after the Early Modern period). Given the way we have structured our data, we are able to select only one genre per title, and our decision was to categorize Stewart's work as political (and hence not religious) though this is, in Stewart's case, a problematic choice.

00:33:42 Michelle Levy (project director) There were a few frustrations with working on Stewart. One is that most of her writing has not been digitized. Access to digital copies is so important for the kind of bibliographical work we do. In this case, the books themselves are very rare, so absent a visit to a (now closed) archive in the United States, digital copies presented my only chance to engage directly with the writing as it was printed during her lifetime. We did, however, have access to the full run of *The Liberator*. To me this is an example of how digitization can be uneven, and how women and in this case a Black woman, can be left out.

00:34:25 Michelle Levy (project director) Also, somewhat incredibly, it was impossible to find a verified photograph of Stewart. While several photos claiming to be of her pop up on various websites, none offer any authenticating information. Given how long Stewart lived, and how well-known she was, I would have thought there would be a photograph of her. And it is possible there is one, but we simply have no proof. Finally, researching Stewart reminded me of the importance of bibliography to recovery efforts as well as to understanding the nature of the period's print culture.

00:35:02 Michelle Levy (project director) Tracking down Stewart's publications took a great deal of work, and I am grateful that Amanda helped me with that research! Stewart published in newspapers, in pamphlets, and in books. Her writing was reprinted and repackaged in different

		venues, possibly for different audiences, so the textual history of her writing is complicated. She originally published and collected her writing in the early 1830s, and collected it again in the late 1870s.
00:35:33	Michelle Levy (project director)	Studying her publications we also learn about the importance of free print to the abolition movement. Her first two titles were published by Garrison and Knapp, the publishing duo responsible for *The Liberator*, and her third title was published by the "Friends of Freedom and Virtue." She self-published her last work only when she could afford to do so, after she was awarded a military pension following the death of her second husband.
00:36:00	🎵	[music playing]
00:36:10	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	On July 31, the WPHP published a co-written spotlight by Hanieh Ghaderi and Kandice Sharren, "Lydia Maria Child's Radical *Appeal*." The spotlight examines Child's *Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans*, the first book by a white woman written in support of the immediate emancipation of enslaved people in the United States. The product of three years of research and writing, Child's *Appeal* offers a detailed and systemic analysis of slavery, and racism more generally, in America.
00:36:40	Hanieh Ghaderi (RA)	I wrote this spotlight with Kandice on Lydia Maria Child's *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans*. I am a gender studies student, and the fact that the author was an early feminist was interesting to me. I usually read feminist works written in the twentieth and the twentieth-first centuries, by more recent authors such as bell hooks, Adrienne Rich, Simone de Beauvoir, Judith Butler, and Roxane Gay. Reading a feminist book from the nineteenth century was an amazing and unusual experience to me, especially when I faced the differences between Child's ideas and the more modern feminist thoughts.
00:37:26	Hanieh Ghaderi (RA)	For example, it was so interesting how Child uses Christianity to argue in favor of women's education and against slavery, as religion is not often invoked by present-day activists. I believe that we should always pay attention to the context in which a work is written. For instance, Christianity has played an important role in abolitionist arguments, and it is not strange at all that Child uses the same arguments in her discussions.
00:38:00	Hanieh Ghaderi (RA)	Child was an American abolitionist, a women's rights activist, and also a Native American rights activist, who wrote in favour of marginalized and oppressed people in society. She is famous for her feminist novels, where she makes

		arguments about issues such as interracial marriage, domestic labour, and the necessity of education for young girls. She also wrote other antislavery works, including *The Oasis*, a book with stories and poems aiming to familiarize the public mind with the idea that Black people have the exact same rights as whites. Child lived for a long time and wrote over thirty-five books.
00:38:48	Hanieh Ghaderi (RA)	Our database stops collecting titles after 1836, so our data only captures a small portion of her career. I do recommend taking a look at her works to see some of her unexpectedly modern arguments about women's and Black people's rights. I would like to add that when I was trying to work on this spotlight, I realized that some of her books (like the *Mother's Book* and the *Frugal Housewife*) went into dozens of editions and were retitled at least once, making it hard to establish a comprehensive bibliography.
00:39:32	Hanieh Ghaderi (RA)	I find her extremely inspiring because at that time she wrote, she felt like racism *was* her problem, no matter her own race. She was an activist for *all* excluded groups of people, including Black people. She challenges the intersecting power dynamics oppressing Black people and does not act like it is none of her business because she is white. I believe that this is what makes her a true activist.
00:40:03	🎵	[music playing]
00:40:13	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	As a co-author on Hanieh's spotlight, I was struck by how both *The Woman of Colour* and the *Appeal* grapple with the effects not just of slavery, but also of racism. However, they take dramatically different strategies to do this: so *The Woman of Colour* focuses on the inner life of a mixed race woman in London, while the *Appeal* takes a wide-ranging systematic approach, even though it does also rely on detailed case studies to make its appeal.
00:40:43	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	On a purely pragmatic level, I was also struck by how easy it was to find information about Lydia Maria Child compared to what I was able to find about the elusive author of *The Woman of Colour*. So, if you want to see how difficult it was to even get a sense of which other books were attributed to this author, there's a flow chart, which is a complete disaster, that I included in my spotlight on the site, so you can go take a look at that. But it was very hard to even kind of get a sense of which books were included in that attribution chain. By contrast, as a prolific writer whose works were popular, and who has been the subject of extensive current scholarship, Child's life and writing were well documented and widely digitized.

00:41:35	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	The differences Kandice noted between the information available about the mysterious author of the Woman of Colour and the information available about Lydia Maria Child was a common thread throughout the spotlights: Overall, we noticed significant disparities in knowledge about the different figures we researched for this series.
00:41:52	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Considering these disparities led us to identify common challenges, common themes, common questions, and how we could use those to adjust the way we collect data—or even how we present data—moving forward in our project.
00:42:05	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	The diverse range of women and titles that we feature in our spotlight series, and the small sample size, makes it hard to claim that our findings are in any way representative, but we have identified a number of common threads and throughlines.
00:42:19	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Some of these are similar to problems we've faced before, in our ongoing efforts to present coherent, quantitative data about women's print history, but they also illustrate some of the unique and particular challenges involved in working with data for Black women.
00:42:33	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Gaps in records were a consistent problem. Throughout the spotlight series we struggled with these considerable gaps that we found in records, which sometimes prevented us from finding out basic information. *The Woman of Colour* is the most obvious, perhaps, in its anonymity, which leaves us wondering if its author was a Black woman but offering no concrete evidence.
00:42:57	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	But we also have questions like, what was Ann Sancho's role in her bookselling business with her son?
00:43:03	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	What happened to Mary Prince after the libel cases in which she was called as a witness?
00:43:08	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Why don't we have an image of Maria W. Stewart? We don't have images of Prince either, but we think that might be a bit of a different issue. She probably didn't live when photography was a thing. But, it should be noted that we don't know.
00:43:20	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	These kinds of gaps aren't unfamiliar to us, but in the case of working with records of Black women, they begin to illustrate how Black women's lives were documented, how they were documented differently, and some of the particular

challenges that this form of documentation creates. So not all documentation is the same; it varies based on status, class, fame, etc. Class and status in particular can have a huge effect on who is and is not visible and therefore identifiable.

00:43:52 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So for example, while we don't know everything there is to know about Ann Sancho by a long shot, we do know she was a bookseller because she appears on insurance documents as a business owner. And this business owner status is particularly important because it marks her out as being middle-class. While researching for this episode, we found a short article by Roderick Cave that discussed the Stockdale sisters, a family of female printers who lived and worked in Bermuda, which is exciting and thrilling, and we are going to try and find out more about them [laughs].

00:44:25 Kandice Sharren (co-host) But it also, and very frustratingly, noticed the presence of Black servants within the business while providing almost no additional information about them. Even noting that it was impossible to tell based on the surviving records whether they had free or slave status. Since they did not own the business their details weren't recorded.

00:44:50 Kate Moffatt (co-host) We've already talked about Child being a famous author, but class also plays a role in how well women's lives were recorded: Heyrick, for example, came from a wealthy and educated manufacturing family in Leicester, and her family and friends kept detailed written records. And even so, scholars have been conflating her writing with Elizabeth Coltman until recently, as Victoria noted in her spotlight.

00:45:09 Kate Moffatt (co-host) But the information is all there, even if it is occasionally conflated, which suggests that her class, as well as her high-profile activism, ensured that details of her life were recorded. Heyrick, her family, and her friends were written about in Leicester papers and also in publications by friends and family (including a publication about their family by her brother). Heyrick was also a member of a network of Midlands women heavily involved in abolition whose correspondence has also been partially preserved.

00:45:39 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Phillis Wheatley, by contrast, occupied a very different status and the information we have about her reflects that. So, Wheatley was a Senegalese woman who was captured as a young child and enslaved by the Wheatleys in Boston. They taught her how to read and write. We have a lot of information about her, in part because of her status as an enslaved person—this means that there were records of

her arrival in America as well as her eventual manumission when the Wheatleys were finally kind of persuaded to free her. The process of publishing her poems was also heavily documented, as Amanda noted; she underwent extensive scrutiny by a court to prove that she was capable of writing the poetry, and that was included in the paratext of the book.

00:46:32 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

The scrutiny that Black women were often subject to when they did enter public discourse draws attention to how heavily their presentation was mediated by white voices and white institutions. Some ways they are mediated include:

- the actual representation of these voices and how they're authenticated and augmented (usually by white folks)
- the publication process for these women, and the fact that it was often necessary for publishers to be willing to foot the bill
- And the repetition of the data about them in resources and sources and how this seemingly factual information is often framed in explicit or silent ways.

For example: Phillis Wheatley's publication and education was made possible by her enslavement by a wealthy white family and her publication made possible by a wealthy white patron.

00:47:16 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

Similarly, Mary Prince's slave narrative was recorded, edited and published by white abolitionists in London. Beyond the narrative itself, our information about Prince primarily comes from court documents discussing her ability to go back to Antigua and remain free, but that is the end of it! We don't know what happened to her after that point, whether she lived, whether she died, whether she stayed in London, whether she moved somewhere else. Essentially once she ceases to be an object of interest to white anti-slavery groups, her life becomes obscured. And it's worth noting too that this legal framework continues to inform how we read Prince's narrative: modern editions, such as the *Penguin* edition, frame Prince's narrative in terms of these court documents and include them alongside the narrative.

00:48:10 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

Documentation of Black lives intersects with the way that their voices were framed in the nineteenth century, and it's important to be aware of how we continue to frame them in modern editions, and to consider how they informed their initial publication. All of the Black voices that came to light in this series share this framework of validation by white voices. Ann Sancho's husband,

		Ignatius, who was well-known and is largely the reason we know about Ann, had his letters published after his death by a white acquaintance.
00:48:37	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Notably, this acquaintance indicates in the preface that Ignatius Sancho did not speak of the publication of his letters prior to his death, and he did not write them for that purpose. She writes that she published them in the hopes that they, and this is a quote, "[shew] that an untutored African may possess abilities equal to an European."
00:48:55	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	That she included this justification at the time of publication confirms she expected the scrutiny that Black writers faced. Other slave narratives by Black men, such as those by Frederick Douglass and Olaudah Equiano, included similar testimonials. Ignatius Sancho's connections to celebrated white figures of the period such as David Garrick, Laurence Sterne, and Samuel Johnson further frame the information we have about Ignatius, the records kept about Ignatius, and, accordingly, the information and records that we have about Ann.
00:49:25	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	In 1861, Lydia Maria Child took on a similar role when she edited Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl.* And even the fictional *Woman of Colour,* which is a novel, acknowledges and replicates the framing of Black voices by white people to an extent; its conclusion consists of a conversation between a fictional "editor" and her friend in which they discuss the morals of the tale. So this framework of white authentication around the Black production of texts is often made manifest in the texts themselves, in paratextual materials such as introductions, footnotes, and materials verifying authorship and the truth of events.
00:50:08	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	This is particularly fraught for slave narratives, which simultaneously tried to present the cruelties of slavery in authentic terms and present their authors as sympathetic by white standards. So, for example, Black authors who were often enslaved and had little agency in their lives, had to meet sexual and religious standards of European morality, in order to be considered sympathetic, which sometimes meant glossing over events in their lives or behaviour that they engaged in that might undermine public sympathy for them.
00:50:49	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Rachel Banner has spoken about this, and she talks about the necessity of understanding the slave narratives as performative; by this she means that rather than parsing them for the truths that they reveal about slavery or in an attempt to interpret the silences and recover the so-called "true" experience of enslaved

people, we should in fact consider them as, and this is a quote, "a rich performance of the negotiations, collaborations, usurpations, and performed mysteries of [the slave narrative] form."

00:51:27 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, Banner focuses on the more "textual" paratexts, and by this I mean those things that are openly acknowledged in the published pamphlet itself—such as this sort of editorial interventions, the amanuensis for the person who wrote the text down, the verifying documents that surround the narrative—but, some of the key negotiations and collaborations that go into this kind of production of the slave narrative are a bit less obvious.

00:52:00 Kandice Sharren (co-host) I really want to focus on the role publishers and booksellers, and also printers to an extent, play in this. They are also collaborators, and it's worth considering that the appearance of Black writing simply in the form of a book could be a form of authorization. This is something that Joseph Rezek has talked about in relation to our friends Ignatius Sancho and Phillis Wheatley, they come up together a lot—we are going to talk about that in a minute— about that he says: "eighteenth-century print culture, and specifically the meanings readers assigned to the printed book as a class of material texts, helped determine the way writers like Wheatley and Sancho were received and how their work influenced debates about slavery."

00:52:48 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, essentially what he is saying here is that the book itself as a valuable object in the eighteenth century, quite an expensive object, was a mark of value of what it contained in itself. So, by publishing in book form Black writers were presenting their work as fundamentally valuable in some way. However, Rezek also acknowledges that this form of publication and dissemination had limitations for those Black people who chose to engage in, or were able, or privileged enough in whatever way to engage with it. And about that, he says: "Book publication, as distinguished from other kinds of printing, made these writers uniquely available to white readers as 'specimens,' as sites for the discussion of racial hierarchy, and, ultimately, as evidence either to support or to oppose the institution of slavery."

00:53:50 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, because there were such barriers to publication for Black people, those handful that did manage to make it into print in books were sort of singled out as "specimens" or as tokenistic. In working on this series, we've really become aware of the ways in which our focus on print and books potentially replicates Black authors as "specimens" or as token figures. As we addressed in the introduction to this episode, we struggled to find more than a handful of Black female authors,

and that is partly because, in our period, there were such significant barriers to publication in book form.

00:54:34 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Even though our database has a capacious definition of "book," that includes everything from pamphlets and broadsheets, we *don't* include periodicals, so we exclude writers who only published in serialized forms, as well as the many people who engaged in other ways of knowledge-sharing, like oral performance, although print and oral performance can have a complementary relationship, as Mary Prince's recorded oral narrative indicates.

00:54:59 Kate Moffatt (co-host) There are substantial limits to our focus on print, specifically books, even loosely defined. A big one is that Black writing in periodicals was important, especially in America. Elizabeth McHenry has explored the importance of Black-owned and run newspapers, which, and this is a quote, "promoted the development of literary character and extended the formation of literary community among free blacks in the urban North." We also ran into this issue with the Maria Stewart spotlight, where we can't account for all of the ways that she appeared in print, because much of it was in the Garrisonian newspaper, *The Liberator*.

00:55:33 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Another limitation of our database is that we don't include manuscript material. So for example, some of Phillis Wheatley's manuscript material survives, and it is available in part through the American Antiquarian Society website and the website of the Massachusetts Historical Society, if it's something that you are interested in looking at. As Amanda noted in her spotlight and her recording earlier, Wheatley tried (and failed) to get a second book published during her lifetime.

00:56:01 Kandice Sharren (co-host) We don't have the full manuscript, just a list of titles of poems that would have been included, but some of those poems do survive, and were published either in newspapers or continued to exist in manuscript form. For example, the poem "Ocean," which would have been included, was rediscovered when it sold at auction in 1998 and was first printed by Julian Mason in a 1999 issue of *Early American Literature.* By only accounting for print material, we have to be aware that we are, in some ways, potentially replicating Wheatley's partial exclusion from print by not including materials that she perhaps wanted to publish but was excluded from publishing.

00:56:50 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Likewise, we only have ways to document oral testimony that later appeared in printed form. So for us, Stewart and Prince raise questions about the relationship

of our materials to oral forms of dissemination. It's worth noting that print and manuscript materials can create records of oral culture, but they *cannot* preserve oral culture itself—it is necessarily and fundamentally changed by its remediation.

00:57:26 Kandice Sharren (co-host) And this relationship between written records and forms of performance, like oral performance, is something that Diana Taylor takes up in her book *The Archive and the Repertoire,* where she discusses how the documents and records that make up the archive are privileged over the repertoire, or types of "embodied memory" such as "performances, gestures, orality, movement, dance, singing." And she also, and I think very importantly, highlights that this relationship is informed by and a structure of colonialism. So, the colonial archive is something that will often override or efface or overpower the repertoire.

00:58:12 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, what does it mean that we, a database focused on print history, are in some ways upholding this hierarchy? And is it possible for a database project focused on print, especially the book, a kind of monumental form of print, to gesture towards alternative forms of dissemination and knowledge-sharing? How might we do so? This is a big existential question [laughs] and not one that we are prepared to tackle today! But it's im[prtant to note that these are questions that have been brought to the surface by this series.

00:58:51 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Despite the limitations we've identified above, focusing on print *has* allowed us to understand the movement of people and ideas in material and transatlantic terms. As we talked about in the opening of this podcast episode, the transatlantic world was fundamentally shaped by the triangular trade, and bibliography makes this visible. Many of these spotlights draw out the connections between persons and titles that crossed the Atlantic. Enslaved people like Prince and Wheatley, and others like Ann Sancho, moved across the Atlantic, and sometimes multiple times.

00:59:21 Kate Moffatt (co-host) In the posthumously-written "The Life of Ignatius Sancho" by Joseph Jekyll, Jekyll even writes that Ignatius Sancho was born on a slave ship. It is often repeated in accounts of Ignatius, although Brycchan Carey argues that it is very unlikely to be true. And Ann Sancho, his wife, was born somewhere in the Caribbean, before settling in London. Ignatius Sancho mentions Phillis Wheatley in one of his letters; apparently they met when she went to England to get her poems published. We can literally see Wheatley's transatlantic movement in the imprint of *Poems*, which indicates it was printed in London and sold in Boston.

00:59:55	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Lydia Maria Child talks about both Ignatius Sancho and Phillis Wheatley in her *Appeal*. In addition to their transatlantic travel, both forced and voluntary, the repeated links between Sancho and Wheatley suggest that they were understood as part of the transatlantic community of Black intellectuals, which allows us an early glimpse of the "Black Atlantic" tradition than Gilroy identifies. Abolition was also a transatlantic movement, as we can see in our listing of reprints of abolitionist works: Immediatism, which Heyrick's pamphlet called for, was picked up by William Lloyd Garrison (and became a central tenet of Garrisonian abolition); her pamphlets were widely reprinted in America.
01:00:33	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Lydia Child's works on household management and the education of children were widely reprinted in Britain as well as America. She also named Heyrick in an 1838 letter as the source of immediatism, saying, "Has not the one idea that rose silently in Elizabeth Heyrick's mind, spread until it has almost become a world's idea?" Starting from a bibliographical approach lets us begin to see the extent to which transatlanticism was a phenomenon that informed countless Black lives, the abolition movement, and print in our period.
01:01:07	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Throughout the creation of the spotlight series, we've run up against some critical problems and questions. A big one has been that many of our resources that we've been using over the last five years don't indicate race, so what, given that, are some strategies we can use for identifying Black-authored titles or Black people's involvement in texts in other ways? Another question that has kind of come up through this is how are we going to, moving forward, potentially include and present this kind of data in the database?
01:01:44	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	But our work on this spotlight series—and on this podcast episode—has also begun to answer these questions, and it has brought us into contact with projects that are already doing some of this work. So, we've already talked a bit about the American Antiquarian Society, which accounts for both race and gender in its *Catalog* by using subject headings, which allows users to search for women as authors, Blacks as authors, women, I forget exactly what the subject heading is, but it's something like "women in the print and book trades", etc.
01:02:20	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	We've also encountered *The Black Bibliography Project*, which is working to create web-based bibliographies for major African-American authors. So our own project will benefit immeasurably from these strategies and initiatives moving forward, by considering how the information they make accessible and their methodologies can inform ours.

01:02:44	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	One of the ways we've already shifted our practice is that we've started documenting our searching strategies. We're also working to establish a list of keywords that can be used in searches both in existing resources and in our own database to identify primary sources that may have involved Black individuals in their production. This includes geographical keywords, such as "West Indies," "Africa," and "Afric"; language descriptive of race, such as "Colour"; national identity categories, such as "West Indian" or "African" or "Creole"; and language around slavery: "abolition," "slave," "slavery," or "slave trade." We do recognize the limitations of these keywords and the search results that they may produce. We understand that this is not comprehensive.
01:03:27	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	But it is a start!
01:03:38	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	It is! We are also—another starting point for us—we are starting to try and figure out how to include racial data in our database. Many of our sources don't include racial data—but that doesn't mean that *our* database, which accounts for gender (something else many resources don't do), needs to necessarily replicate that model. This spotlight series has spurred, you know, an important conversation about developing a strategy that can account for racial data. It's still in an early stage, but it's in conversation.
01:04:01	🎵	[music playing]
01:04:11	Michelle Levy (project director)	In reflecting on the process of researching and drafting the spotlights for this series, we can reach two potentially opposing conclusions. On the one hand, we might emphasize the difficulties in finding the information we need to populate our database, the gaps that exist in the archive, in digital and other scholarly resources, and how these limits impact the already-marginalized position of Black women and their allies in the struggle against slavery and racism. In this view, we are perpetually hampered by the paucity of the archive and the way these absences rebound upon the women whose lives and words we want to recover and celebrate.
01:04:50	Michelle Levy (project director)	On the other hand, we could point to the success that our spotlight series has had in finding and amalgamating existing information and adding new bibliographical knowledge, which deepens our understanding of these women and their books, and the influence they enjoyed. The spotlight series also enables us to identify, as Kandice and Kate have done, the common threads that have

		bound women, of different races and nationalities, together. Ultimately, both of these narratives—that of loss and limitations that frustrate knowledge and that of discovery and possibilities that foster understanding—are true. We are thwarted and we find workarounds; we delve into the resources we have and think about how to present more inclusive and transparent data to the next generation of readers and scholars.
01:05:45	Michelle Levy (project director)	Our spotlight series is wholly indebted to those who have done the work of listening, recording, preserving, publishing, and republishing the voices we attempt to call to life in our series. This includes the early abolitionists, publishers, printers, and booksellers who used print to disseminate the voices of Black women and anti-slavery activists, even though we must acknowledge the potential for distortion that these mediations often entailed.
01:06:14	Michelle Levy (project director)	We are also indebted to the scholars that have edited and republished the writing of women like Mary Prince, Maria Stewart, and Phillis Wheatley, and the anonymous author of *The Woman of Colour*. By examining how these women represented authorship, by studying the publication and reading histories of their writing, and by reconstructing some of the social and publication networks that developed over time and space, our contribution to bibliographical knowledge will, we hope, enable us to learn more, and think differently, about Black women and female abolitionists.
01:06:49	🎵	[music playing]
01:06:58	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	This has been the third episode of *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*. We will be releasing an episode every third Wednesday of the month. If you're interested in learning more about what we discussed today, we've compiled a list of suggestions for further reading and links to some relevant entries in the WPHP in a blog post that you can find at womensprinthistoryproject.com.
01:07:22	🎵	[music playing]