

Sounds of Sympathy: William Wells Brown's *Anti-Slavery Harp*, Abolition, and the Culture of Early and Antebellum American Song

In a November 14, 1847 lecture that the antislavery activist and author William Wells Brown delivered to the female antislavery society of Salem, Massachusetts, he mentioned to his audience that he was before them that night to talk about “Slavery as it is, and its influence upon the morals and character of the American people” (*Lecture* 81). After Brown disclosed his topic for the evening, he told those in attendance that, try as he might, he would surely “fail to represent the real condition of the Slave” because, as he remarked, “Slavery has never been represented; Slavery never can be represented” (82). Uttered in an American intellectual climate that was increasingly skeptical of empiricism and valued subjective sensory experiences as a way to connect with and understand the world more deeply,¹ Brown went on to discuss how feelings could aid abolition. Indeed, while Brown doubted the ability of those never held in bondage to fully know and thus identify with the sufferings of American slaves, he was careful not to disavow the importance of appealing to the sentiments and sympathies of free Americans to aid the antislavery effort. As Brown made clear in his speech, he was so distraught by the lack of sentiment displayed for the “three millions of [his] brethren” (81) enslaved in America, that during his talk he asked his audience, “where is the public sentiment” (83) to be found in this nation for the plight of the slave? Brown returned to that question and answered it by telling those listening of his dismay that, although “[t]he American people [were] a sympathizing people” (91), they appeared to “sympathize with everything else but the American Slave” (92).

Brown’s Salem talk was just one of many speeches that he delivered in 1847 and 1848 as a lecturing agent for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. As several editorials printed in the *Liberator* in response to those speeches indicate, Brown’s events were often “crowded” with “attentive audiences” (“William W. Brown on Slavery” 211) that found his talks “riveting” to the point that “the attention of a large audience” in Lawrence, Massachusetts, for example, was held “for the space of nearly three hours” (“Our Friend” 211). Brown’s lectures—which ranged from “description[s] of the horrors of American slavery” (McCombe 195) to “the condition[s] of the poor whites at the South” (Allen 51)—were described by those who attended them as “thrilling” (“W. W. Brown in Upton” 151) and “soul-stirring” (Stowell 87); they were rhetorical performances that displayed Brown’s “great moral courage” (“William W. Brown” 10) and showcased his ability to provide a “powerful appeal to the meeting[s] [o]n behalf of his enslaved brethren” (McCombe 195). In reference to a lecture that Brown gave in Leominster, Massachusetts it was written that Brown “ha[d] left an impression on the minds of the people that few could have done. Cold indeed must be the heart that could resist the appeals of so noble a specimen of humanity, in behalf of a crushed and despised race” (“William W. Brown” 10). There were some who were skeptical of the “Christian benevolence and philanthropy, which [Brown]” in their opinion “pretended to have so nearly at heart” (“Our Friend” 211) when he spoke; but as the letter about Brown’s Leominster speech suggested, and as

his November 1847 Salem speech indicated, Brown meant to appeal to the sympathies of those who attended his talks.

Prior to working as a lecturing agent for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, Brown traveled throughout western New York to speak to antislavery societies that were active there. During those tours, Brown often broke into song during or after meetings. In February 1845, for instance, after an evening of discussion at the second annual meeting of The Western New York Anti-Slavery Society, "Brown surprised the audience . . . by singing a song" (Farrison 92). In the coming years, Brown continued to make singing a part of his lecture repertoire. For example, a December 3, 1847 *Liberator* letter that discussed a speech that Brown had delivered in Newburyport, Massachusetts noted that Brown "concluded" his lecture "with a song,—The Blind Slave Boy" (Ashby 195) by Gamaliel Bailey.² Given the emergence of the antislavery singing of the Hutchinson Family Singers as well as the growing presence of antislavery songbooks such as George W. Clark's *The Liberty Minstrel* (1844)—"which went through seven editions to 1848" (Eaklor, Introduction xxxiii)—music was playing an increasingly prominent role in the antislavery movement during the 1840s. As such, Brown's interest in song and sympathy while a lecturer deserves attention, especially since his strategy in *The Anti-Slavery Harp: A Collection of Songs for Anti-Slavery Meetings* (1848), was to rely on the antebellum American association between music and affect to generate antislavery sentiment among those who read, listened to, or sang to the lyrical narratives that he wove together in his text. Jacques Attali has argued that to understand how a culture sounds is to know how that culture is organized. "Music," he notes, "constitutes the audible waveband of the vibrations and signs that make up society" (4). I mention Attali here because, when listening to America, Brown must have heard the suffering that America's slave economy inflicted on African Americans and the national body politic. In that light, *The Anti-Slavery Harp* stands as Brown's effort to employ and amplify sound as a way of mobilizing abolition.

Published in July 1848 by Boston's Bela Marsh printing house, *The Anti-Slavery Harp* is a collection of abolitionist songs that Brown compiled, edited, and "[t]o all true friends of the Slave[,] . . . respectfully dedicated" (3). In total, the songbook consists of a poem by Thomas Campbell that serves as an epigraph to the collection, a brief preface by Brown, and forty-eight lyrics, with most though not all of the lyrics accompanied by popular tunes of the day, ranging from the minstrel favorite "Dandy Jim" to the traditional Scottish arrangement "Auld Lang Syne." While a majority of *The Anti-Slavery Harp's* lyrics were written by white abolitionists including James Russell Lowell, John Greenleaf Whittier, William Lloyd Garrison, and Jesse Hutchinson, Jr. of the Hutchinson Family Singers, it features African American voices as well, including two of Brown's compositions—"A Song for Freedom," and "Fling Out the Anti-Slavery Flag"—and "Song of the Coffle Gang," a work that George W. Clark has attributed to African American slaves in his *Liberty Minstrel* (22-23).

The history of *The Anti-Slavery Harp* has been one of critical neglect. William Edward Farrison has described the sources behind some of the text's songs; he has also touched on the political undercurrent contained within a handful of them (122-26). Also noteworthy has been John Ernest's suggestion that compiling and editing *The Anti-Slavery Harp* helped Brown develop into a "cultural editor" with *Clotel; or, The President's Daughter* (1853) (*Resistance* 23). With the phrase "cultural editor," Ernest is referring to Brown's practice of placing disparate narratives next to one another in a text to create narrative "patchworks" (23)—or bricolages, as Robert S. Levine has referred to them (7)—to "reveal the nationaldisunity" (Ernest, *Resistance* 34) that characterized ideas and discussions about race and slavery in antebellum America.

In discussions of Brown and music more generally, scholars have focused on how the minstrel songs of the 1840s and '50s informed his work. John Ernest and Paul Gilmore, for example, have claimed that in *Clotel* and *The Escape; or, A Leap for Freedom* (1858), Brown rewrote several minstrel songs and inserted those rewritings into his texts to undermine the racist narratives that the songs deployed on stage. As Gilmore has argued, Brown infused his works with the songs and characters that one would expect to find on the minstrel stage because "the minstrel show . . . foregrounded the slippage between performative and essential notions of blackness" (745). According to Gilmore, by revealing the performative nature of race Brown could assail the racially disparaging stereotypes that were required to structure the socioeconomic and sociopolitical order of antebellum America. Paralleling Gilmore's assessment, Ernest has pointed out how, in *The Escape*, Brown paired antislavery lyrics with such well-known minstrel tunes as "Dandy Jim" to mock the messages of the originally performed songs (Introduction xxxiv-xxxv). Ernest and Gilmore have correctly stressed the important role that minstrelsy played in *Clotel* and *The Escape*. In this essay, however, I want to move in a different direction by arguing that instead of minstrelsy it was the antislavery hymn and the slave song that most heavily influenced how music worked in Brown's writings, for it was these two genres that first convinced him that sound could be one of his greatest allies in the abolitionist effort. As *Clotel* and *The Anti-Slavery Harp* illustrate, Brown thought that the affective nature of these two types of music could generate sympathy for those who were enslaved in the U. S., and could do so better than the written or spoken word, or by using minstrelsy to critique American racial constructions.

Brown's dedication to his *Narrative of William W. Brown, A Fugitive Slave* (1847) affirmed his belief, as did some of his other writings, that sympathy was important to the antislavery effort.³ And while Brown's *Narrative* offers no personal testimony revealing his opinion of or experience with music while he was living as a slave near St. Louis, judging by how he wrote about music in *Clotel*, Brown's time as a slave likely acquainted him with the affective power of slave songs. Music appears only briefly in *Clotel*, but its appearance comes at a key moment. Immediately following the death and funeral of the slaveholding Reverend John Peck, Brown directs attention to the Peck family slaves who have gathered to celebrate Peck's death with song and dance. Witnessing the jubilation expressed by the Peck slaves is Georgiana Peck, the daughter of the Reverend Peck, and her suitor Carlton, both of whom are walking about the plantation grounds when they hear the slaves singing a song about Reverend Peck.

Come, all my brethren, let us take a rest,
 While the moon shines so brightly and clear;
 Old master is dead, and left us at last,
 And has gone at the Bar to appear.
 Old master has died, and lying in his grave,
 And our blood will awhile cease to flow;
 He will no more trample on the neck of the slave;
 For he's gone where the slaveholders go.

Chorus

Hang up the shovel and the hoe—
 Take down the fiddle and the bow—
 Old master has gone to the slaveholder's rest;
 He has gone where they all ought to go. (153-54)

As Georgiana and Carlton listen to the song unbeknownst to those singing it, it continues with the same chorus and several more verses illustrating the slaves' glee that Reverend Peck shall now have to face God's judgment and be delivered to Hell because of his actions as a slaveholder.

Gilmore has argued that Brown's *Clotel* lyric "recalls," "rewrit[es]," and "redeploys" (758) Stephen Foster's "Massa's in De Cold Ground" (1852), a song about slaves mourning the death of their owner. Dale Cockrell has written that "Massa's in De Cold Ground" challenged the stereotype that African Americans were unfeeling and thus fit to be slaves ("Nineteenth-Century Popular Music" 172). While Foster's "Plantation Melodies" did portray slaves more sympathetically than had earlier vocal incantations of minstrelsy, Brown clearly takes issue with Foster's song by recasting its lyrics to undermine the idea that slaves were content with their conditions, something that Foster's song never disputes. In this sense, Brown's move does criticize the racist narratives that minstrelsy often disseminated; but what this moment best illustrates is Brown's desire to highlight how slave songs were capable of arousing in listeners sympathy for slaves. Brown accomplished this by apprising readers of Georgiana's reaction to the song that she hears the Peck slaves sing. Rather than reacting adversely to the lyrics, Georgiana tells Carlton once the singing has ended that "[i]t is from these unguarded expressions of the feelings of the negroes, that we should learn a lesson" (155). What is crucial to note about Georgiana's comment is that she subordinates the lyrics of the song—which present a powerful critique of slavery—to the emotional upwelling that the *tone* of the music generates in her. By emphasizing the tone of the music, Brown was participating in an African American literary trope. Eight years prior to *Clotel's* publication, Frederick Douglass had noted in his 1845 *Narrative* that more than the lyrical content of slave songs, it was the their "tone" that offered him his "first glimmering conception of the dehumanizing character of slavery" since "[e]very tone was a testimony against slavery, and a prayer to God for deliverance from chains" (38). Douglass then noted that "those songs still follow me, to deepen my hatred of slavery, and quicken my sympathies for my brethren in bonds" (38).

Douglass was not alone in suggesting that it was the tone of slave songs that accounted for their power. Martin Delany made the same point in *Blake* (1859-62) by describing the "wailing lamentations" of slave boatmen working on the Mississippi "whose sentiment of song and words of lament are made to reach the sympathies of others" (100). Martha Nussbaum, Nancy Chodorow, Alison Jaggar, and others working in the field of affect theory have argued that emotions are culturally constructed because they are rooted in the matrix of relations that characterize any given social milieu.⁴ Insofar as the tone of slave songs amplified the suffering that slavery inflicted on those who endured it, the decision that Brown, Douglass, and Delany made to include slave songs in their work and to emphasize the power of their tone makes sense, for this tone seemed capable of igniting feelings of shame or sympathy in a way that oration, pamphlets, and novels could not: a point that Douglass made by writing that he "thought that the mere hearing of those songs would do more to impress some minds with the horrible character of slavery, than the reading of whole volumes of philosophy on the subject could do" (*Narrative* 38).

In the ensuing years, Douglass continued to laud music as a friend to antislavery efforts. Overcoming his initial antipathy toward minstrelsy (Gac 202), Douglass, whose self-professed "love of music" ("Gavitt's" 2) had compelled him to attend minstrel concerts even when uncomfortable with them, so believed in the ability of music to generate antislavery sentiment that, somewhat to his dismay, he conceded in a March 19, 1855 lecture to the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society that minstrel songs had indeed aided the antislavery cause. In his address, Douglass remarked that

[i]t would seem almost absurd to say it, considering the use that has been made of them, that we have allies in the Ethiopian songs. . . . They are heart songs, and the finest feelings of human nature are expressed in them. "Lucy Neal," "Old Kentucky Home," and "Uncle Ned," can make the heart sad as well as merry, and can call forth a tear as well as a smile. They awaken the sympathies for the slave, in which anti-slavery principles take root, grow and flourish. ("Anti-Slavery Movement" 329)

Foster's "Plantation Melodies" were of course far less disparaging to African Americans than songs like "Miss Lucy Long" or Dan Emmett's "Old Dan Tucker," a song that Dale Cockrell has noted "is about delineation and representation—and it is not a pretty sight. Dan Tucker is stupid, horrendously ugly, with no refinement at all (in fact he has animal characteristics), and is violent, drunk, and oversexed. In text it is of the racist genre commonly assumed to characterize minstrel songs" (*Demons* 156). When pairing Cockrell's comment with Eric Lott's point that "Old Dan Tucker," as performed by Emmett's Virginia Minstrels, made blackness a spectacle and "secure[d] the position of white spectators as superior controlling figures" (140-41) in the narrative scene that unfolded on the minstrel stage, it is astonishing that Douglass could put aside his negative feelings toward minstrelsy at all. In fact, what disturbs Cockrell and Lott about "Old Dan Tucker" is precisely what angered Douglass about minstrelsy in the 1840s and caused him to exclaim in the *North Star* that minstrels were "the filthy scum of white society, who have stolen from us a complexion denied to them by nature, in which to make money, and pander to the corrupt taste of their white fellow citizens" ("Hutchinson Family" 2). Surely, Douglass's attitude toward minstrelsy in his 1855 Rochester speech resulted from the genre's evolution from the songs of groups such as the Virginia Minstrels and Christy's Minstrels—although such acts remained popular—to Foster's more refined sentimental songs that could be heard in concert halls and in middle- and upper-class homes because of the burgeoning sheet music business. Fully aware that the class, ethnic, and racial dynamics of minstrelsy remains a complex and difficult issue to unpack—as any survey of minstrel scholarship demonstrates—Douglass's association of Foster's "Plantation Melodies" with a brand of sympathy that he thought helped more than hurt the antislavery cause shows the considerable influence that the nexus of music and affect exerted over the minds of those who thought about how to mobilize support for abolition.

Brown's attraction to music as an abolitionist tool was also grounded in the emergence of American antislavery singing, particularly by groups like the Hutchinson Family Singers. Since their inception as an ensemble in November 1840, the Hutchinsons sang primarily about temperance reform, but at the urging of abolitionist Nathaniel Peabody Rogers in January 1843, the Hutchinsons began to include antislavery songs in their repertoire as well. Already interested in emancipation—as evidenced by their attendance at abolitionist meetings in Milford, New Hampshire, their hometown and a fertile site of abolitionist sentiment—the Hutchinsons were soon singing "Get Off the Track!" and "The Old Granite State," two of their signature antislavery songs. Soon thereafter, and at the request of William Lloyd Garrison, the Hutchinsons sang at the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society on January 25, 1843 at Boston's Faneuil Hall; this was only weeks after they had added antislavery songs to their set list. In that Boston audience were abolitionists such as Douglass, Garrison, and Wendell Phillips (Gac 53-68). As the *Liberator* reported, the Hutchinsons performed at Faneuil Hall to the "great gratification of the audience" ("Eleventh Annual Meeting" 19). The audience found the Hutchinsons' singing to be so "inspiring" and "thrilling" (19) that "the thousands at Faneuil Hall spr[ang] to their feet simultaneously . . . with a cheering that almost moved the old revolutionists from their stations on the wall" (qtd. in Gac 61).

The success of the Hutchinsons' Faneuil show netted them an invitation from Garrison to perform at the National Convention of the American Anti-Slavery Society that was to be held in New York City in May 1843. There, they were the event's main attraction, and when they did not take the stage from the outset of the Convention—they were up the street admiring Niblo's Garden Saloon—disappointment spread throughout the crowd (Gac 53-68). When they did finally take the stage, however, the Hutchinsons were greeted with the "[t]hunderous cries" (64) of an

audience that had been hollering to hear them sing. With the emergence of the Hutchinsons' antislavery singing, especially since many of their "songs from 'The Bereaved Mother' to 'My Mother's Bible' depended on an ability to evoke sympathetic responses from the listener" (200), it is not surprising that music vaulted to the forefront of a movement that, in Garrison's words, "aim[ed] to abolitionize the consciences and hearts of people" (qtd. in Gac 49). Indeed, as Scott Gac has written of the Hutchinsons: "[t]he group's transition from singers and private abolitionists to singing abolitionists cultivated a sudden interest in music within antislavery reform" (60).

By all accounts, Brown did not attend his first National Anti-Slavery Convention until 1844; and while he clearly knew of the Hutchinsons by the time that *The Anti-Slavery Harp* was published—evident by his inclusion of some of their songs in his songbook, such as "Flight of the Bondman," which Elias Smith had dedicated to Brown—it is unclear if Brown had heard them sing prior to that time. Despite that possibility, the Hutchinsons' antislavery songs had an enormous impact on the antislavery meeting circuit, strengthening the connection between singing and abolition that had been growing from the early 1830s onward.⁵ Yet not everyone who was associated with the antislavery effort was pleased that music was becoming an important component of the movement.

Just as many Puritan ministers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries felt that ecstatic psalm-singing during church service undermined the sermon, challenged ministerial authority, and disrupted the solemnity needed for godly prayer (Broyles 35, 41-42; Cooke 82, 85), the Quaker element of the antislavery movement, which was an important and influential one, believed that music, as a vainglorious and wasteful entertainment, subsumed the earnestness and piety of the antislavery work to be done. It would be unfair to say that Quakers disapproved of music per se. In *A Portraiture of Quakerism* (1806), for example, Thomas Clarkson, before delineating why Quakers disapproved of music, admitted that instrumental "[m]usic . . . may be made productive of a kind of natural delight" (42). But despite his concession, Clarkson mostly argued in *Portraiture* that music was "a sensual gratification" (49) and "a criminal waste of time" (44) that ended up "depriving those of maturer years of hours of comfort, which they now frequently enjoy, in the service of religion" (50). Clarkson held vocal music in even lower esteem, equating it with poison since vocals could carry messages that corrupted the mind, and also because vocal music was frequently associated with excessive drinking and bacchanalian behavior in general (51-58). Given that the Hutchinsons were singers, and that most Quakers were averse to vocal music, it is not surprising that Lucretia Mott, a leading Quaker abolitionist, penned a letter that voiced her displeasure that the Hutchinsons were scheduled to perform at the May 1843 American Anti-Slavery Convention in New York that she and other Quakers planned to attend (Gac 56-57). Nevertheless, neither Mott's dislike of music nor the longstanding aversion that most Quakers felt toward the art (Keller and Koegel 54-55) could diminish the popularity or the importance of antislavery singing to the abolitionist movement from the early 1840s onward.

Music claimed such prominence in the antislavery movement in part because, despite Quaker assertions to the contrary, it was increasingly thought of by many antebellum Americans as a moral organ. The nexus between music and morality that antislavery activists seized on owed much to the cultural shifts of the early nineteenth century that transformed American sacred music. In a discussion of the hymnodic reforms that occurred in New England between 1800 and 1830, Michael Broyles has argued that the era's evangelical revivalism resulted in part from the "desire for personal freedom and individual choice [that] erupted in the American consciousness" at the time. Noting how the American family was shifting from a patriarchal organization to a nuclear one, Broyles has illustrated how the "newly awakened possibility of individual choice" (54) during the early American Republic

“placed an unprecedented burden on individuals to make their own moral choices” (55), something that the declining prominence in American life of orthodox Calvinism and its doctrine of predestination further ensured. With life less structured by family and religion than it previously had been—although family and religion remained obvious bedrocks—a widespread concern for America’s moral bearings arose, a concern that played out in best-selling seduction novels such as Susanna Rowson’s *Charlotte Temple* (1791) and Hannah Foster’s *The Coquette* (1797), each of which illustrated the moral dilemmas that women confronted when negotiating their desires amid the confining gender expectations of the early American milieu. It is also at this time “that we find the emergence of hymnody” and the nascent “position of the [hymnodic] reformers” to be “that music ha[s] no greater end than moral persuasion” (Broyles 57)—a position that flourished in the ensuing years. From Lowell Mason’s success at instituting music education in Boston’s public schools in the late 1830s (Broyles 62, 64) to Margaret Fuller’s essays that discussed the reformative power of music to the music for the masses movements in England (Russell 25-29) and to a lesser extent America, music was believed to be a tool of moral uplift and social betterment by many who were concerned with their nation’s social and civic health (Brooks 36-37; Preston 197-98).⁶ In such an environment it became common by the 1840s to encounter comments like those made by John W. Moore, a well-known New Hampshire musician, writer, and newspaper editor, who wrote that “[m]usic has contributed to . . . the strengthening of moral feelings” in America (qtd. in Tawa 265).

The link between music and morality was crucial to the abolitionists’ attraction to the art. George Clark’s Preface to his *Liberty Minstrel* exemplifies the nexus of abolition, music, and morality that emerged. Clark explained in his Preface that one of his motivations behind compiling a collection of antislavery songs was his belief that “music” might “go forth with its angel voice, like a spirit of love upon the wind, exerting upon all classes of society a rich and healthful moral influence” (iii). Clark continued on in his Preface by noting that the moral influence of *The Liberty Minstrel*’s songs specifically targeted slavery.

I have long desired to see . . . sentiments of love, of sympathy, of justice and humanity, so beautifully expressed in poetic measure, embalmed in sweet music; so that *all the people*—the rich, the poor, the young, and the old, who have hearts to feel, and tongues to move, may sing of the wrongs of slavery, and the blessings of liberty, until every human being shall recognise in his fellow an *equal*. (iv)

The spirit of moral reformation that colored Clark’s discussion of music was indebted to the sacred-music reforms of evangelical revivalism and emblematic of Garrisonian abolitionism, which, also indebted to revivalism, held that moral suasion, rather than the political agitation and intervention favored by the Liberty Party, was the best way to gain converts for abolition. As distraught as Garrisonians were with the U. S. Constitution, which they interpreted as allowing slavery, and the Congressional gag order of 1836-44, which banned all petitions to discuss slavery, the turn to music as moral force is understandable, which is why, prior to Clark’s *Liberty Minstrel*, works such as *Songs of the Free, and Hymns of Christian Freedom* (1836) and *Freedom’s Lyre* (1840) also embraced moral suasion as a means for achieving social reformation.⁷ Garrison would do so himself by organizing the all-African American Garrison Juvenile Choir to sing at antislavery meetings, the effectiveness of which can be gauged by a letter to the *Liberator* that was written by an attendee at one of those meetings. “I do sincerely believe” the writer of that letter stated, “that a concert of that kind, will do more towards curing people of prejudice . . . than the best sermon which the most able orator could give” (qtd. in Eaklor, Introduction xxi).

Not everyone believed that music was a moral engine. Long-held associations among music, drinking, illicit sex, and decadence in general remained entrenched in the minds of many. Again, Quakers steadfastly associated music with decadence (Clarkson 42-58), but others, such as Thomas Hastings and John Hubbard—vanguards

of the early nineteenth-century sacred-music reformation in America—disparaged secular songs by connecting them to the social and bodily corruption to be found in taverns and similar places (Broyles 57-58). Since temperance had built momentum throughout the century—especially during the 1830s and 1840s—the association of music with drinking would have been especially difficult for many people to overcome. The era's literature also associated music with vice. In sensational works that included the anonymously written *The Female Marine* (1815), George Thompson's *City Crimes; or, Life in New York and Boston* (1849), and George Foster's *New York by Gas-Light* (1850), music often facilitated licentious behavior at brothels, dance halls, stripteases, and taverns.⁸ The connection of music to such locales and the behavior that readers imagined to occur there fueled the idea that music that was played or sung at such places could be considered immoral by that association alone.⁹ But just as some of the era's literature linked music with vice, authors such as Walt Whitman and Herman Melville, and painters such as William Sidney Mount went in the opposite direction by recognizing the moral and community-building possibilities of the art,¹⁰ which is precisely what antislavery activists were striving for by adopting music for the cause.

Beyond the moral aesthetic that observers attributed to music, many who thought and wrote about the art argued that music was the language of the emotions. Articles published in serials such as the *Dial*, *Harbinger*, and *Dwight's Journal of Music* attest to this. For example, in the inaugural "Musical Review" (1845) for the *Harbinger*, John Sullivan Dwight wrote that "[m]usic is the natural language of Sentiment" (12). In the August 20, 1853 edition of *Dwight's Journal*, Dwight noted that music "is the language of the *emotions*, of the passions, of the prompting impulses of the soul" ("Age" 156). Others, including Margaret Fuller and Christopher Pearse Cranch, held similar opinions about music and the emotions.¹¹ The link between music and affect that prevailed in many serials can be traced to the influence that German writers such as Ludwig Tieck, Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, and E. T. A. Hoffmann—each of whom discussed the connection in their work—had on those who were writing about music in New England.¹²

Also crucial to the nineteenth-century bond among music, affect, and reform was the evangelical revivalism of The Second Great Awakening.¹³ From the August 1801 Cane Ridge, Kentucky meeting—where reportedly, some 20,000 people attended—until the early 1830s, Methodists and Baptists preached that salvation was not reserved for the few as orthodox Calvinism had long held. Revivalists preached that since all were sinners, all could be saved. Beyond the populist spirit of camp-meeting messages, gatherings were hotbeds of emotional outpouring. Falling exercises, convulsive jerking exercises, barking exercises, and sexual dalliances were common, as were ecstatic singing performances offered in the name of spiritual renewal (Hankins 7-18; Reynolds 126-36). Some of the camp-singing was spontaneous, as attendees were inspired from above, but hymnbooks, including Joshua Smith's *Divine Hymns or Spiritual Songs* (1784), Samuel Holyoke's *The Christian Harmonist* (1804), and Jeremiah Ingalls's *The Christian Harmony* (1805)—texts composed of sacred-songs, folksongs, and a mixture of the two in the case of *The Christian Harmony*—circulated at revivals (Cooke 99-102) and helped announce through song "the availability of God's grace to all" (Cooke 101). It is difficult to overstate the influence that the emotional and populist spirit of revivals had on antebellum American culture, especially its culture of reform. Indeed, Barry Hankins has argued that the shift from orthodox Calvinism to Arminianism precipitated by the Second Great Awakening "created in many Americans a sense that it was their God-ordained task to reform their own society" (86). The result, according to Hankins, was that revivalism was largely "responsible for antislavery becoming a radical national movement" (88) along with the many other reform movements that swept across America, a point that others have forwarded as well.¹⁴ While one can argue about the extent to which

revivalism fueled antebellum American reform culture, it is difficult to dispute that the key role singing played in camp-conversions helped the association among music, affect, and reformation to coalesce. If ecstatic music could reform an individual's soul, it could, reasoned many, help reform the nation's moral and social soul as well, an idea that Garrisonian abolitionists in particular embraced, as moral suasion was thought by them to be the best approach to abolition. Altogether, the emotional and moral aesthetic that was then associated with music helps explain why singing played a key role in antislavery meetings, for music was thought to be an effective way to begin and end them, ultimately functioning in this capacity to build moral and affective concord among those in attendance by generating sympathy for slaves that could be harnessed for abolition. It is within this culture that antislavery songbooks rose to prominence and Brown devised and constructed *The Anti-Slavery Harp*.

The title of Brown's songbook suggests the role that he envisioned for it. The harp, in particular the Aeolian harp, was a trope of nineteenth-century Romanticism. The fascination with the instrument resulted from its workings. A box with sound holes and strings tuned in harmony, an Aeolian harp would be placed on a window sill and would emit sounds as its strings vibrated in the wind. Given Romanticism's belief in the connectedness of all things, the sublimity of nature, and the valuation of feeling as a way to apprehend the world (Goodman 20-33), one can see why the instrument inspired such writers as Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Ralph Waldo Emerson,¹⁵ and why the Hutchinsons first called themselves the Aeolian Vocalists (Gac 129-30): the harp's music conveyed what Romantics interpreted to be the Platonic harmony of nature and the sublimity of being. By including "Aeolian" in its name, the Hutchinsons signaled the connections they had made among music, affect, and reform. Like nature, music could be a transformative force. The Hutchinsons were not singing about abolition that early in their history of course, but their temperance songs showed the spirit of reform that directed them. Susan Bernstein has argued that the Aeolian harp emerged for American and British Romantics alike as a "figure" that "present[ed] a syncopated subjectivity in which music and language cooperate[d] to form a bond between self and other" (70-71). Except for his own songs, Brown most likely did not choose the musical airs in his songbook. Nevertheless, Brown's *Anti-Slavery Harp* should be approached with Bernstein's idea in mind, for its title announced that music and language when combined could precipitate communion between nature and culture and among people as well, exactly what abolition required as a movement and hoped for as the national outcome of the cause.

Beyond the nexus of lyric and air, one of the features enhancing *The Anti-Slavery Harp's* effectiveness was Brown's skill at configuring the songs into narrative sequences in which individual pieces complemented those around them in sentiment and theme. Brown's editorial effort is hinted at in the Preface, in which he informs his audience of his wish to "collect together, and present to the public, the songs contained in this book" (3). As the songbook's epigraph, Thomas Campbell's poem features the crucial themes of the collection: hypocrisy, the political expediency of feeling, and African American suffering.

United States, your banner wears
 Two emblems,—one of fame;
 Alas, the other that it bears,
 Reminds us of your shame.
 The white man's liberty entype,
 Stands blazoned by your stars;
 But what's the meaning of your stripes?
 They mean your Negro-scars. (3)

After the epigraph and Preface to the songbook, Brown begins his with "Am I Not a Man and Brother?" set to "Bride's Farewell." "Am I Not a Man and Brother?" opens with a slave pleading for sympathy and asking people to recognize that Jesus sacrificed himself for everyone.

Am I not a man and brother?
Ought I not, then, to be free?
Sell me not one to another,
Take not thus my liberty.
Christ our Saviour, Christ our Saviour,
Died for me as well as thee. (5)

In Joycelyn Moody's *Sentimental Confessions*, a study of nineteenth-century African American spiritual narratives, she has argued that one of the "distinction[s] of sentimental literature is that it offers a reader evidence outside of herself that she has the capacity to form a deep emotional, ethical, or psychological alliance with another person or ideal" (10). Much the same can be said of "Am I Not a Man and Brother?" because it reaches out to bond with an audience, which is what happens at the end of the lyric when a voice that has listened to the slave's appeal agrees with the plea and invites the slave to "Join with us to praise and pray" (6).

Alone, the prose of "Am I Not a Man and Brother?" is enough to generate the desired sympathy for the lyric's slave; but the piece is even more affecting because of the musical air that accompanies it. In Celeste Langan's discussion of the collections of national airs, melodies, and songs that became popular around the turn of the nineteenth century in Great Britain and Ireland, she has argued that the musical airs that accompanied the lyrics in such song collections as Robert Burns's *Scots Musical Museum* (1787-90) and Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies* (1808-34) "haunt, or . . . hover slightly beyond, the printed page" (30). Langan goes on to claim that even if the air was unknown by a person reading Moore's *Irish Melodies*, for example, the designated air still had a "haunting presence" (29) in the text as it signaled that the text was "a mediation—the transmission of one (oral-acoustic) medium by another (print-visual) medium" (30). It is in this haunting or hovering fashion that "Bride's Farewell" functions in "Am I Not a Man and Brother?" and the other musical airs work in *The Anti-Slavery Harp*. In accordance with Langan's contention, even if the tune was unknown by those using *The Anti-Slavery Harp* the air signaled that music accompanied the lyric. With that suggestion being made in a cultural milieu where music, morality, and affect were often associated with one another—especially in antislavery circles—the song's message would have been all the more moving to someone like Brown, or to those he would have expected to purchase and use his text. Indeed, insofar as suffering can be made audible, even if at a remove, it is attempted, and it helps carry the text.

Together, Campbell's poem and "Am I Not a Man and Brother?" set the tone for the sequence of lyrics that follow them: "O, Pity the Slave Mother," "The Blind Slave Boy," "Ye Sons of Freemen," "Freedom's Star," and "The Liberty Ball."

"O, Pity the Slave Mother," set to "Araby's Daughter," and "The Blind Slave Boy," set to "Sweet Afton," each show the devastation that slavery has wrought on the African American family. The two lyrics also appeal to sympathy and Christian morality in order to develop antislavery sentiment. "O, Pity the Slave Mother" opens by displaying the grief of a slave mother whose child is to be sold away from her.

O who can imagine her heart's deep emotion,
As she thinks of her children about to be sold;
You may picture the bound of the rock-girdled ocean,
But the grief of that mother can never be known. (6)

The narration then points out how slavery has not only crushed the mother's soul and "blighted each blossom, / That ever has bloomed in her path-way below" (6),

but also “crushed by oppression” (6) the spirits of her parents and her husband. The lyric illustrates the immediate and generational impact of slavery on families, a narrative that “The Blind Slave Boy” continued to announce.

In “The Blind Slave Boy,” the effect of family separation is viewed from the perspective of a blind child who has been taken from his mother and sold at a slave auction.

Come back to me, mother! why linger away
From thy poor little blind boy, the long weary day!
I mark every footstep, I list to each tone,
And wonder my mother should leave me alone! (7)

After the child’s viewpoint is given, the narrator answers the child’s lament while appealing to the feelings of listeners, readers, and singers.

Poor blind one! No mother thy wailing can hear,
No mother can hasten to banish thy fear;
For the slave-owner drives her, o’er mountain and wild,
And for one paltry dollar hath sold thee, poor child!
Ah! who can in language of mortals reveal
The anguish that none but a mother can feel,
When man in his vile lust of mammon hath trod
On her child, who is stricken and smitten of God! (7)

Marianne Noble has noted that nineteenth-century American sentimental literature is replete with moments that “feature mother-child separation as a core trauma, if not *the* core” trauma of the text because the trope “awaken[ed] a trauma with which all people can identify” even if “to different degrees” (65, 66). Antislavery songs were no exception. Alone, *The Anti-Slavery Harp* includes twelve songs that lament familial rupture, eight of which feature mothers and children being separated; and as any perusal of Vicki Eaklor’s *American Antislavery Songs* (1988) shows, there are legions of antislavery songs that focus on family separation. The Hutchinsons’ “The Bereaved Mother” is one of them. Set to “Kathleen O’Moore” in *The Anti-Slavery Harp*, “The Bereaved Mother”—which appears in the middle of the songbook—details and makes audible “the anguish of the slave mother’s heart, / When called from her darling for ever to part” by a “harsh auctioneer, to sympathy cold,” who “Tears the babe from its mother and sells it for gold” (19). “The Bereaved Mother” concludes by asking “kind mothers” to “list . . . to the cries of the slave” (19). The appeal made by “The Bereaved Mother,” “O, Pity the Slave Mother,” and “The Blind Slave Boy” for an audience to hear an “anguish that none but a mother can feel” occurs within a cultural milieu that Jane Tompkins has noted privileged the “sanctity of motherhood and the family” (134) and valued “the story of salvation through motherly love” (125). Given Elizabeth Barnes’s point that “familial attachment” formed “the basis of social organization and national identity” that “structure[d] seduction and domestic narratives for nearly a hundred years after the inception of the American democratic republic” (91), it is easy to see how the affective power of “O, Pity the Slave Mother,” “The Blind Slave Boy,” and “The Bereaved Mother” was cemented; but because the lyrics are delivered with mournful airs that “haunt” them, the appeals to family sanctity and motherhood are all the more affecting.

Following “O, Pity the Slave Mother” and “The Blind Slave Boy,” Brown arranged three lyrics designed to inspire those who had reviewed or sung the previous two pieces. The opening lines of “Ye Sons of Freemen” dovetail rather effortlessly off of the lamentation that “O, Pity the Slave Mother” and “The Blind Slave Boy” have highlighted.

Ye sons of freemen wake to sadness,
Hark! hark, what myriads bid you rise;
Three millions of our race in madness
Break out in wails, in bitter cries. (8)

Set to "Marseilles Hymn," an air of the French Revolution, "Ye Sons of Freemen" is a martial piece that attacks the decadence and corruption of the Southern plantation system by warning of

The fearful storm—it threatens lowering,
Which God in mercy long delays;
Slaves yet may see their masters cowering,
While whole plantations smoke and blaze! (8)

"Ye Sons of Freemen" makes pain audible by portraying the wailing of slaves; it also sounds out the collective feeling of anger about the culture that caused those cries by voicing a desire to set plantations ablaze. In light of Denmark Vesey's plot two decades earlier to burn Charleston, South Carolina to the ground, Nat Turner's 1831 revolt in Virginia, and Henry Highland Garnet's "An Address to the Slaves of the United States of America" (1843), an event that Brown attended in Buffalo, New York, which argued that slaves' revolting against their owners would be the quickest and most effective way to abolish slavery (Garnet 115-21), the militancy and urgency of "Ye Sons of Freemen" would not have been lost upon its audience. But as militant as the lyric is, it also suggests that further violence against slaves and the potential violence against slave owners could be averted if with "all hearts resolved" America takes "pity on the slave" to help ensure that "these captives shall be free" (8).

Placed between "Ye Sons of Freemen" and "The Liberty Ball"—the culminating piece of the songbook's opening narrative—is "Freedom's Star." Set to "Silver Moon," a serenade to celestial beauty, "Freedom's Star" pays homage to the North Star for its role as a guide for "the slave on his journey afar" (9) to the North; it also laments the American slave economy. One of the more powerful works in *The Anti-Slavery Harp*—especially since Brown had escaped from slavery—"Freedom's Star" associates the North with the salvation of slaves and the nation, the narrative that "The Liberty Ball" extends. In all likelihood, "The Liberty Ball" was a Liberty Party response to "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too," a popular Whig Party song during William Henry Harrison's 1840 presidential campaign that referenced a twelve-foot-diameter ball in Pennsylvania that was painted like an American flag (Gac 114). Set to "Rosin the Bow," an up-tempo Irish melody that would become the tune of the 1860 "Lincoln and Liberty" presidential campaign, "The Liberty Ball" asks Democrats, Whigs, and "all ye true friends of the nation" (10) to create a "blest union" (10) by ridding the nation of slavery. Since "Freedom's Star," "The Blind Slave Boy," and "O, Pity the Slave Mother" illuminate the suffering that America's slave economy has inflicted on individuals and families, the power of "The Liberty Ball" can be found in its hopeful sentiment. "Rosin the Bow" is a tune about better times coming, exactly what "The Liberty Ball" is about:

The Liberty hosts are advancing—
For freedom to *all* they declare;
The down-trodden millions are sighing—
Come, break up our gloom of despair. (10)

In many respects, "The Liberty Ball" is as much about fulfilling foundational American ideals as it is about illustrating the brutality of slavery. Slavery is portrayed in "The Liberty Ball" as the progenitor of despair, but it is also cast as the impediment to a just and well-functioning civic state. "The Liberty Ball" closes with such an argument:

And when we have formed the blest union
We'll firmly march on, one and all—
We'll sing when we meet in communion,
And *roll on* the liberty ball. (10)

That "The Liberty Ball" ends with communion and song is noteworthy, as it allows us to see just how deeply music and abolition were wedded in Brown's mind when he constructed *The Anti-Slavery Harp*.

The opening narrative sequence of *The Anti-Slavery Harp* establishes a powerful antislavery sentiment, but throughout the text are song sequences that present narratives of suffering and calls for sympathy. For example, Brown paired “The Fugitive Slave to the Christian” with “Rescue the Slave.” In “The Fugitive Slave to the Christian” an escaped slave recounts, for a free Christian living in the North, the “Red, dripping” (28) of the lashings the escapee had received while a slave as well as the sexual “insults that [his] mother bore” (28) while enslaved. After “The Fugitive Slave to the Christian,” “Rescue the Slave”—a song about George Latimer’s plight as a fugitive being held in a Boston jail awaiting his owner and a return to the South—asks listeners to “[t]hink of his agony” and “feel for his pain” (28) and wonder “[s]hould his hard master e’er hold him again” (28). It is a brilliant editorial job by Brown that details how sending fugitives in the free North back into the slaveholding South would be un-Christian and would ensure, as “Rescue the Slave” states, that “liberty is dead” and that “Slavery is knocking, at every gate” (29)—a line that would have resonated with abolitionists, who worried that slavery might push westward into new territories and states after the Mexican-American War. The sequence also dramatized the Northern quandary about how to treat fugitives, a quandary that eventually led to the passing of The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.

Just as “The Fugitive Slave to the Christian” and “Rescue the Slave” work together, so too do “Jefferson’s Daughter,” “The Slave Auction,” and the Hutchinsons’ “Get Off the Track!” “Jefferson’s Daughter”—a poem about the rumor that an African American daughter of Thomas Jefferson had been sold at auction—illustrates slavery’s corruption of familial bonds. “The Slave Auction” furthers that theme by featuring the “agonizing woe” (24) of a brother and sister who are sold at auction and separated thereafter. Juxtaposed with the “heart-string cries” (25) of “The Slave Auction” is the Hutchinsons’ “Get Off the Track!” Set to “Old Dan Tucker,” an up-tempo minstrel tune, “Get Off the Track!” summons “All true friends of Emancipation,” to “Haste to Freedom’s railroad station” (26) where “the car Emancipation” departs and “Rides majestic thro’ our nation (25). “Get Off the Track!” functions as “The Liberty Ball” does in the opening song sequence. After Brown has presented lyrics that highlight the impact of slavery on African Americans and the national body politic, an up-tempo song is deployed to amplify what antislavery sentiment should sound like: inspired, urgent, and unrelenting.

Throughout the songbook we find other song sequences, among the most notable being the final three songs of the text, “What Mean Ye?,” “Light of Truth,” and “The Flying Slave,” but Brown’s own songs in *The Anti-Slavery Harp* perhaps best illustrate the importance of the aural element to both Brown and his text. “A Song for Freedom,” set to “Dandy Jim,” and “Fling out the Anti-Slavery Flag,” set to “Auld Lang Syne” use the tone of music that is most appropriate for supplementing the sentiment of the prose. For example, the up-tempo “Dandy Jim” helps Brown do with “A Song for Freedom” what he would frequently do in his letters to the *Liberator* in the late 1840s: mock America’s standing as a Christian nation that espouses personal and political freedom.¹⁶

Chorus. My old massa tells me O
 This is a land of freedom O;
 Let’s look about and see if ’t is so,
 Just as massa tells me O.

But now we look about and see,
 That we poor blacks are not so free;
 We’re whipped and thrashed about like fools,
 And have no chance at common schools

 Our preachers, too, with whip and cord,
 Command obedience in the Lord;

They say they learn it from the book,
But for ourselves we dare not look.
Chorus. Still, my old massa tells me O,
This is a *Christian* country O. (37-38)

Set to the poignant and popular air “Auld Lang Syne,” Brown’s “Fling Out the Anti-Slavery Flag” tracks a different course. Instead of mocking the nation’s hypocrisy, he notes that emancipation can redeem the nation of its failings.

Fling out the Anti-Slavery flag,
Forever let it be
The emblem to a holy cause,
The banner of the free. (21)

It has been written that “Fling Out the Anti-Slavery Flag” “is devoid of the fervor essential to the best lyric poetry” (Farrison 125), but Brown’s song surely exceeds the poesy and power of Garrison’s “Song of the Abolitionist” and “Song of Welcome” and, for that matter, any of the many other antislavery songs that were set to “Auld Lang Syne.” Indeed, “Fling Out the Anti-Slavery Flag” is affecting within the confines of *The Anti-Slavery Harp*, for it aligns abolition with piety and social justice, encapsulates Brown’s attempt to deploy sound and affect for abolition, and is one of the few works in the songbook written by an African American. Given the song’s authorial context, the marriage between lyric and air in “Fling Out the Anti-Slavery Flag”—one that Brown likely chose himself—is especially poetic and moving in moments like that occasioned by the second stanza, where Brown writes about liberating all slaves.

Fling out the Anti-Slavery flag,
And let it onward wave
Till it shall float o’er every clime,
And liberate the slave. (21)

Simply singing “Fling Out the Anti-Slavery Flag” to oneself illustrates the power that Brown aimed at with the songs and the narrative sequences that compose *The Anti-Slavery Harp*. One can only imagine that singing such songs with others at an anti-slavery meeting—particularly alongside someone like Brown or Douglass, who had escaped from slavery—would have had a mobilizing effect, since the singing would have been performed as a group. Singing together would surely have strengthened the sense of community and purpose felt by those in attendance, which is what abolitionists needed to accomplish and then sustain for the success of the movement.

Walter Ong has written that “[s]ounds . . . register the interior structures of whatever it is that produces them” (71). Ong’s point is helpful when thinking about the sentiments conveyed by Brown’s two songs in *The Anti-Slavery Harp*, for “A Song for Freedom” is disdainful, and “Fling Out the Anti-Slavery Flag” is hopeful, yet somber. When combining Brown’s first-hand knowledge of slavery with his work alongside those who were pained by and hoped to eradicate it, it is safe to say that Brown’s feelings about America must have alternated, as his songs did in *The Anti-Slavery Harp*, between hatred and love. Thus perhaps the best way to understand Brown’s use of music as an antislavery tool is to realize how involved the art was in shaping American perceptions. One has only to recall Douglass’s abovementioned comment about slave songs—“that the mere hearing of those songs would do more to impress some minds with the horrible character of slavery, than the reading of whole volumes of philosophy on the subject could do” (*Narrative* 38)—to understand what America sounded like, and to know that that sound resulted from the nation’s slave culture. If *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* was Harriet

Beecher Stowe's effort to get people to "feel right" (624; original emphasis) about slavery, then *The Anti-Slavery Harp* was Brown's effort several years prior to get free Americans to do the same by making audible and then amplifying the pain and suffering of slaves as well as the sentiments of those who opposed slavery. Doing so could generate sympathy for slaves, mobilize antislavery sentiment, and help usher in what would be, and thus what would sound like, a free nation. If Brown could change the way America heard itself, then he could potentially transform how it thought of itself, how it was organized, and how it would move forward as a nation.

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Notes

1. For a discussion of the views of empiricism, affect, and knowledge that coursed through British and American Romanticism, see Goodman 14-23. Also see Philip F. Gura, *American Transcendentalism: A History* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2007), 50, 55, 70, 91.

2. See also "The Fugitives in Kingston." In this February 9, 1849 letter to the *Liberator*, it was noted by an attendee at an antislavery meeting that featured talks by Brown and newly escaped fugitive slaves William and Ellen Craft that, "after a song from Mr. Brown, the meeting closed" (Bicknell 3).

3. In Brown's *Narrative* dedication, he wrote that if not for the "compassion" (iv) of the Quaker Wells Brown—who, along with his wife, had sheltered, fed, and clothed him in Southern Ohio—he probably would not have completed his journey to Cleveland, the city he was fleeing to as a fugitive from St. Louis (102-04). Brown would also champion sympathy as an antislavery tool in a June 3, 1853 letter to the *Liberator* that hailed Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). In his letter, Brown wrote that "*Uncle Tom's Cabin* has come down upon the dark abodes of slavery like a morning's sunlight, unfolding to view its enormities in a manner which has fastened all eyes upon the 'peculiar institution,' and awakening sympathy in hearts that never before felt for the slave" ("Letter from William W. Brown" 97).

4. See Nancy J. Chodorow, *The Power of Feelings: Personal Meaning in Psychoanalysis, Gender, and Culture* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1999), 129-71; Alison M. Jaggard, "Love and Knowledge: Emotions in Feminist Epistemology," in *Gender/Body/Knowledge: Feminist Reconstructions of Being and Knowing*, Alison M. Jaggard and Susan R. Bordo, eds. (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1988), 145-71; and Martha C. Nussbaum, *Love's Knowledge: Essays on Philosophy and Literature* (New York: Oxford UP, 1990), 261-85.

5. For an overview of the growing importance of music in the antislavery movement, see Eaklor, Introduction xx-xxx.

6. For a discussion of Fuller's belief that music could help heal the nation of its social, economic, and political ills, see Aaron D. McClendon, "Harmonizing the Nation: Margaret Fuller and the Music of Antebellum America," *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 6 (2009): 47-63.

7. My discussion here is drawn from Eaklor, Introduction xiv-xvi, xxxii; Hankins 86, 90; and Reynolds 188-93.

8. In *The Female Marine*, a novella about a woman who is trapped into becoming a prostitute and later escapes disguised as a man to become a sailor in the War of 1812, music is associated with Boston's night-haunts where "blacks . . . sailors, and their intoxicated strumpets" gather among "the discordant and jarring sounds of violins, clarionets and tambourines" that can be heard "issuing from their stenchified 'dancing halls'" (91). In another description of Boston night-haunts and slums, Thompson writes in *City Crimes*, that

Ann street was "all alive" at that hour; from every cellar came forth the sound of a fiddle, and the side-walks were crowded with a motley throng of Hibernians, Ethiopians, and Cyprians of an inferior order. Talk of Boston being a moral city! There is villainy, misery and vice enough in Ann street alone, to deserve for the whole place the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah. (297)

Just as Thompson associated music with Boston's underbelly, in *New York by Gas-Light*, Foster wrote of a Manhattan striptease that was "half filled with a pretty hard-looking set" of people who listened to the music of a "villainous fiddle" and "rheumatic piano" (78). Foster also placed music at the center of licentious locations like brothels and dance halls (122-23).

9. For a discussion of the role that mental association played in the consideration of music and immorality, see Eaklor, "Music" 48-52.

10. See Whitman, "Something about Children," in which he suggests that teaching "Songs" to children would "result in a wider and more thorough moral and intellectual improvement of the young, than all

the sermons, essays, lectures, and dry precepts that ever were written by the pen, or spoken by the mouth of a man" (259). Also see Whitman, "Art-Singing and Heart-Singing," in which he writes that "music acts . . . upon the nation's very soul" as it can "tinge the manners and morals" of people "even in the choice of legislators and high magistrates" (202).

In Melville's description of Liverpool's Prince's Dock in *Redburn* (1849), he writes about how music can generate sympathy for those on the lower socioeconomic strata, such as the sailor who has suffered an injury at sea, and now, to help support himself, composes and sings with "a full, noble voice" original songs that illuminate the struggles of those living in and around the poverty-stricken area (264, 265).

See Mount's *Rustic Dance after a Sleigh Ride* (1830) or his *Dance of the Haymakers* (1845), where music is portrayed by the painter as a communal glue that binds people and races.

11. See, for example, Fuller. She wrote that Beethoven's music "seems to have chronicled all the sobs, the heart-ravings, and god-like Promethian [*sic*] thefts of the Earth-spirit" (151). Later on in the same essay, Fuller compared Mozart's music to a "love which never found its home on earth" (173). Cranch discussed Mozart's music from a standpoint that was similar to Fuller's. In his "Address Delivered before the Harvard Musical Association," Cranch remarked that Mozart's music "describes not the sublime ideal life, but the deeply tender and pathetic moods, the alternating smiles and tears of this changeful earthly existence" (90).

12. Beginning with Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder and continuing with Ludwig Tieck and E. T. A Hoffmann, the relationship between music and the emotions received considerable attention in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German writing. In their own way, each of the aforementioned writers argued that music puts listeners in touch with their emotions better than other arts could. For example, Lippman has pointed out that music was for Wackenroder "the language of feeling" (qtd. in Lippman 205). Tieck extended Wackenroder's ideas by writing of music that nothing could "be more astonishing than that through human art and effort, suddenly in the silence invisible spirits arise which storm our heart with rapture and bliss, and conquer it" (qtd. in Lippman 206). Hoffmann wrote about the link between music and affect in many of his works, although most prominently and famously in his "Review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony," a landmark essay of music criticism. See esp. 236-38.

13. Cooke has argued that, after the Second Great Awakening, the dominant "mode of religious singing in the early 1800s . . . seems to have been marked by spontaneity, immediacy, [and] emotionality" (99).

14. See, for example, Eaklor, Introduction xiv-xv.

15. For the Aeolian harp's influence on Emerson's writing, see Cynthia A. Cavanaugh, "The Aeolian Harp: Beauty and Unity in the Poetry and Prose of Ralph Waldo Emerson," *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature* 56.1 (2002): 25-35.

16. See Brown's "My First Visit to Philadelphia" (1848), in which he criticizes Philadelphia's black and white churches for not welcoming him. As Brown wrote of the black church in particular:

[S]hame upon the hypocritical religion of the colored man which will prompt him to shut his door against a brother slave, who comes to him with his back all scarred with the driver's whip, and who wished to tell of the wrongs committed upon his race. Such religion is no better than that which keeps the millions in fetters upon the rice, the cotton and sugar plantations of the South. And the sooner such a religion is swept from the face of the earth, the better it will be for bleeding humanity. (137)

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