

Notes

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Introduction

1. Alexander Saxton, "Blackface Minstrelsy and Jacksonian Ideology" 27.
2. Since this work is still in the process of formation, any listing of it must be eclectic and inexhaustive: John Szwed, "Race and the Embodiment of Culture"; Barbara Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History" and "Slavery, Race, and Ideology in the United States of America"; Homi Bhabha, "The Other Question" and "Of Mimicry and Man"; Barbara Johnson, "Metaphor, Metonymy, and Voice in *Their Eyes Were Watching God*" and "Mirror Stages"; the essays in Henry Louis Gates, Jr., ed., *"Race," Writing, and Difference*; Stuart Hall, "Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity"; Hazel Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood*; Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*"; Philip Cohen, "Tarzan and the Jungle Bunnies"; the essays in Kobena Mercer, ed., *Black Film/British Cinema*; Richard Dyer, "White"; the essays in Cheryl Wall, ed., *Changing Our Own Words*; Andrew Ross, "Ballots, Bullets, or Batmen"; David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*; Tania Modleski, *Feminism Without Women* 115-34; Lauren Berlant, "National Brands/National Body"; Kobena Mercer, "Skin Head Sex Thing" and "'1968'"; bell hooks, "Representing Whiteness in the Black Imagination"; Vron Ware, *Beyond the Pale*; Michael Rogin, "Blackface, White Noise"; Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark*; and Christopher Looby, "'As Thoroughly Black as the Most Faithful Philanthropist Could Desire.'"
3. I am thinking here of Stuart Hall, "The Meaning of New Times" and "New Ethnicities"; Dick Hebdige, *Hiding in the Light*; Andrew Ross, *No Respect*; Mary Childers and bell hooks, "A Conversation about Race and Class"; and others.
4. This point is made forcefully in David Roediger, "'Labor in White Skin,'" and Stanley Aronowitz, "Writing Labor's History."
5. For some acute remarks on this missed chance, see Mike Davis, *Prisoners of the American Dream* 18-29.
6. On Lincoln's enjoyment of minstrelsy in Chicago, see Jesse Weik, *The Real Lincoln* 75, 85-86, and Albert Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln* 1:536, 597-98.
7. For a reading of *Black Like Me*, see Eric Lott, "White Like Me."
8. Michael Rogin, "Blackface, White Noise" 417-19.
9. Robert Cantwell, *Bluegrass Breakdown* 249-74; Robert Dawidoff, "Some of Those Days"; Armond White, "The White Albums" 21.
10. Robert Winans, "The Folk, the Stage, and the Five-String Banjo in the Nineteenth Century" and "The Black Banjo-Playing Tradition in Virginia and West Virginia." Those interested in hearing historical recreations of antebellum minstrelsy are directed to the recordings *Popular Music in Jacksonian America* and *The Early Minstrel Show*.
11. Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* 133-34, emphasis in original. I use

Williams's phrase "structures of feeling" to refer, as he does, to a "structured formation which, because it is at the very edge of semantic availability, has many of the characteristics of a pre-formation, until specific articulations—new semantic figures—are discovered in material practice" (134). Williams's concept is far more useful, it seems to me, than conventional, functionalist ideas of racial "relations" or "pathologies" because it inquires into the social and historical "lived" quality of meanings and values, and into the complex and historically variable relation between these and more formally held beliefs or ideologies.

12. In this I follow Stuart Hall's argument against the misleading view that "because racism is everywhere a deeply anti-human and anti-social practice . . . therefore it is everywhere *the same*—either in its forms, its relations to other structures and processes, or its effects." See "Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity" 23.

13. It may be that by the 1920s an imaginary proximity to "blackness" was so requisite to white identity and to the culture industry which helped produce that identity—witness the sudden vogue of the suntan—that the signifier of blackface had become redundant; the apposite development of forceful public black cultural production in the Harlem Renaissance also made itself felt. The death of minstrelsy as a (professional, not college fraternity) stage activity, however, does not speak to blackface's lingering presence on the motion picture screen—minstrelsy's somewhat baffling afterlife. I am grateful to Harry Stecopoulos for confirming my hunch about racial subjectivity in the 1920s; on blackface in the movies, see Joseph Boskin, *Sambo* 148–63, and Tania Modleski, *Feminism Without Women* 115–34.

14. The locus classicus for this view is Carl Wittke, *Tambo and Bones*, with its elision (but for assurances about the character of the "darky") of racial politics altogether. More recent examples of such nostalgia have been furnished by the United States Congress, with the disclosures that Representative Robert Michel (R-Illinois) and Senator Alan Simpson (R-Wyoming) respectively enjoyed and performed in minstrel shows.

15. For excellent exceptions, see Berndt Ostendorf, *Black Literature in White America* 65–94, and Robert Cantwell, *Bluegrass Breakdown* 249–74.

16. See, for example, Eve Sedgwick on the relation of representations of sexuality to social power in *Between Men* 7.

17. For examples of the first tendency, see Hans Nathan, *Dan Emmett and the Rise of Early Negro Minstrelsy* (on minstrel music and dance), or William Mahar, "Black English in Early Blackface Minstrelsy" (on dialect), both excellent pieces of research; for examples of the second tendency, see Carl Wittke, *Tambo and Bones*, Constance Rourke, *American Humor* 77–104, and Robert Toll, *Blacking Up*.

18. For a view of American Studies as a "cautionary example" to cultural studies (one the writer himself might have heeded), see Patrick Brantlinger, *Crusoe's Footprints* 26–33; on American Studies scholarship as radical cultural criticism, see Alan Trachtenberg, "Myth and Symbol"; on its relationship to British cultural studies and Marxism, see, for instance, Leo Marx, "The Long Revolution"; Gary Hentzi and Jon Anderson, "An Interview with Jonathan Arac" 7; Michael Denning, "The Special American Conditions"; Joel Pfister, "The Americanization of Cultural Studies"; and Cary Nelson, "Always Already Cultural Studies."

19. Raymond Williams, *Culture* 92–93.

20. For an extended discussion, see Michael Denning, "The Special American Conditions."

21. For examples of this tendency (notably the work of Lawrence Grossberg and John Fiske) and a partial exoneration, see Joel Pfister, "The Americanization of Cultural Studies" 205.

22. This possibility was suggested to me by a reading of Donna Haraway, "A Manifesto for Cyborgs"; see esp. 91.

23. For an analysis of Reagan-Thatcher "authoritarian populism," see Stuart Hall, *The Hard Road to Renewal*; on the social context of recent cultural theory, see Michael Denning, "The End of Mass Culture."

24. For examples in which disgruntled blacks obstruct the development of a reconstructed welfare state, see J. Anthony Lukas, *Common Ground*; William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged*; Shelby Steele, *The Content of Our Character*; Jim Sleeper, *The Closest of Strangers*; Thomas Byrne Edsall and Mary D. Edsall, *Chain Reaction*.

25. Stanley Aronowitz, "Writing Labor's History" 172–73.

Chapter 1

1. Each of these positions is of course underwritten by an intellectual tradition as old as "mass" culture itself. The view of capitalist popular culture as a "culture industry" that systematically cretinizes and depoliticizes an ever more passive populace is best articulated in the writings of the Frankfurt School; its classic expression is Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, "The Culture Industry." The populist view of mass culture as a less mediated phenomenon of "the people" is perhaps most forcefully argued by Leslie Fiedler in *What Was Literature?*

2. My theoretical framework is indebted to Stuart Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing 'the Popular'"; Michael Denning, *Mechanic Accents*; and T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life* 205–39. More generally these formulations, and many that follow, are drawn from work on culture industry phenomena by scholars associated with the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, including Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy*; Stuart Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis*; Richard Johnson, "What is Cultural Studies Anyway?"; Paul Gilroy, "There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack"; and Dick Hebdige, *Hiding in the Light*. Like-minded work in the United States includes Fredric Jameson, "Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture"; Jean Franco, "What's in a Name?"; Tania Modleski, *Feminism Without Women*; and Hazel Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood*. The pervasive influence of the work of Steven Marcus should also be acknowledged here, especially his pioneering effort in *The Other Victorians* to make cultural sense of dubious text.

3. As does this minstrel conundrum: "Why are minstrel companies like midnight robbers? Because they live by their deeds of darkness" (*White's New Book* 31).

4. "Cuff"—a kind of common-denominator figure of nineteenth-century white fantasy about black people—shows up again in Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Parson's Horse Race" (1878), in which cultural appropriation is revealed to be a one-way street: "Cuff was the doctor's nigger man, and he was nat'ly a drefull proud critter! The way he would swell and strut and brag about the doctor and his folks and his things! The doctor used to give Cuff his cast-off clothes, and Cuff would prance round in 'em and seem to think he was a doctor of divinity himself, and had the charge of all natur" (472). Obviously this scene is insufficiently ironized—precisely *because* cultural appropriation is a one-way street; black borrowings from the dominant culture, according to whites, result by definition in absurdity. The scene affords a rather bleak, though probably unconscious, commentary on Reconstruction from the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

5. Mrs. Anne Mathews, *A Continuation of the Memoirs of Charles Mathews, Comedian* 1:239.

6. Carl Wittke, *Tambo and Bones* 75; *New York Herald* January 1, 1848.

7. Among these are Al Field, *Watch Yourself Go By* 113, and "Reminiscences" (I am

1. This story has been told best in Perry Miller's wonderful study *The Raven and the Whale*.

2. I am indebted to T. J. Clark's suggestive use of this essay in his discussion of the French *café concert* in *The Painting of Modern Life* 216–17. Gramsci's term "national-popular" is an analytical device of variable definition in the *Prison Notebooks*. Politically it was developed to conceptualize the ways in which the fascist ascendancy in Italy might be combated, not by directly seizing power (which was impossible) but by securing a cross-class alliance in a mass party that would contest its hegemony—a transitional stage ultimately leading to socialist democracy. Culturally it sought to articulate elements of an indigenous culture to a national will or mass desire for historical change. My use of the term emphasizes this connection between indigenous cultural forms and political formations—between, in particular, vernacular elements and the idea of the nation—though it will become clear how many contradictions accrue to such a notion in the American context. That, indeed, is one reason for my use of it. See Gramsci, *Selections from Cultural Writings* 196–286, and David Forgacs, "National-Popular."

3. Eliot, however, might have; in a deeply felt moment he said that his "nigger drawl" owed to his closeness to his native St. Louis. See Terence Hawkes, *That Shakespearian Rag* 86.

4. For a similar point, see Andrew Ross, "Ballots, Bullets, or Batmen" 41–44.

5. See the essays in Tony Bennett et al., *Popular Culture and Social Relations*. I take this particular emphasis from Bennett's essay "The Politics of 'the Popular'" 8, 19.

6. For a theoretical inquiry into the problem of constructing "indigeneity," see Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back* 133–45; see also Timothy Brennan, "The National Longing for Form," and Homi Bhabha, "DissemiNation."

7. Anderson links the rise of both the newspaper and the novel to the formation of national self-consciousness (28–40). See also Alexander Saxton, "Problems of Class and Race in the Origins of the Mass Circulation Press."

8. Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays* 115; Hans Nathan, *Dan Emmett* 159–88, 194–213, 70–97; Robert McDowell, "Bones and the Man"; Marshall Stearns and Jean Stearns, *Jazz Dance* 49–54; M. H. Winter, "Juba and American Minstrelsy" 42. Ralph Ellison and Albert Murray, of course, have insisted on the "mulatto" character of American culture for a generation or more. See particularly Murray, *The Omni-Americans*, but also Ellison, *Shadow and Act* and *Going to the Territory*.

9. It might be noted here that many scholars' overattention to textual evidence—primarily songsters (without music), in effect written "scores" for interactive affairs of performance—has skewed their view both of minstrelsy's inauthenticity and of the varied effects minstrelsy might have produced in antebellum audiences. My attention to other media in addition to print is an attempt to redress this imbalance.

10. There was indeed a peculiar unevenness in whites' appropriations of black material, resulting in an art in which black dances survived relatively intact even amid the burlesque of the lyrics. The question is why the racist filter did not produce a more uniform parody of all the "black" elements. My own feeling is that this is evidence, again, of the contradictory relationship whites had to black people and to black culture.

11. For a survey of the debates on the origins of black secular (and religious) music, see Lawrence Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* 19–30.

12. Herbert Gutman, *Work, Culture, and Society* 59; Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* 76 and *Life and Times* 54.

13. The former song can be found in *The Negro Forget-Me-Not Songster* 33, and the latter is mentioned in Carl Wittke, *Tambo and Bones* 224; Wittke lists Irish-nationalist titles at 200. On the Irish-black identification in Harrigan and Hart, see Robert Toll, *Blacking Up* 247, 249. A song called "The Darkey's Lament," according to one 1847 playbill, was a parody of "The Irish Emigrant's Lament" (Winans, "Minstrel-Show" 72).

14. Michael Feldberg, *The Turbulent Era* 44–45, 50–51; John Runcie, "Hunting the Nigs" 199–200; Bruce Laurie, *Working People of Philadelphia* 124–25; and David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness* 133–137.

15. See Osofsky's excellent "Abolitionists, Irish Immigrants, and the Dilemmas of Romantic Nationalism," as well as Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City* 153, and Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles* 263. For the best exposition of the contradictions that faced the attempted abolitionist–working-class alliance in these years, see Eric Foner, "Abolitionism and the Labor Movement in Ante-Bellum America." See also chapters 5 and 6.

16. As I noted earlier, a similar argument might be made for the twentieth-century Jewish involvement in black culture, from minstrelsy to jazz. See Irving Howe, *World of Our Fathers* 562–63; Michael Rogin, "Blackface, White Noise" and "Making America Home"; and Charles Musser, "Ethnicity, Role-Playing, and American Film Comedy." In addition, see Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City* 135–37, 181–84, and David Roediger's splendid account of the making of working-class Irish "whiteness" in *The Wages of Whiteness* 133–63. There was, to be sure, plenty of anti-Irish nativism registered in the minstrel show (though even this could in certain cases be a strategy of Irish "Americanization"). Consider this verse from "Old Paddy Whack" (early 1850s):

Dan [O'Connell] scolds de Yankee's wid a big figger,
Kase dey take care ob us poor nigger,
But slave holders am not worse by smash,
Dan he dat fobs de repealer's cash.

(*Negro* 91–92)

See Robert Toll, *Blacking Up* 175–80, for a review of minstrelsy's shifting portrayals of the Irish.

17. "Dem Niggers am Dead an Gone," *White's New Illustrated Melodeon Songbook* 59.

18. William Austin, "Susanna," "Jeanie," and "The Old Folks at Home" 44; see also the *Journal of Music's* equation of minstrelsy with national music ("National" 140). As one blackface songster put it, the cry of America's lack of a native music was "tauntingly reiterated, until our countrymen found a triumphant, vindicating APOLLO in the genius of E. P. Christy." *Christy's Plantation Melodies No. 4 v.*

19. *New York Herald* November 1, 1842.

20. As I observed in chapter 1, Stowe's Uncle Tom and Stephen Foster's sentimental slaves, the former arguably "radical" and the latter often reactionary, are *as types* nearly indistinguishable. The point is that the type had publicly emerged for the first time; what remained to be fought out were its political meanings. See William Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots*; William Gossett, *Race* 54–83; George Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind* 51–164; and Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny* 116–57.

21. See also *Broadway Journal* July 12, 1845, 13–14. Imagine patrician diarist George Templeton Strong's dismay when at Castle Garden, "instead of the accustomed orchestra, out came five hideous savages with black faces, who called themselves Nigger Serenaders, and began singing something about Miss Juliana Johnson" (Lawrence 372). Mid-twentieth-century British observers called on the very same equations to criticize the

deluge of American mass-cultural products—equations by then about a century old. See Dick Hebdige, *Hiding in the Light* 45–76.

22. I am indebted to Bruce Franklin's provocative discussion of this article, and of the relation of black arts to America's national culture, in *The Victim as Criminal and Artist* 73–123. Franklin's book had a formative influence on my project.

23. I have lifted this apt phrase from Berndt Ostendorf, *Black Literature in White America* 67.

24. "Negro Minstrelsy in London" 67.

25. Robert Faner, *Walt Whitman and Opera* 40; Walt Whitman, *An American Primer* 24.

26. Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado* 275. The famed American pianist and composer Louis Moreau Gottschalk wrote in 1853 a *Grand National Symphony*, which, performed solo as *American Reminiscence* or *National Glory*, included quotations of "Oh! Susanna" and "Old Folks at Home," perhaps the beginning of those tunes' lengthy middle-class institutionalization as national exemplars—and, simultaneously, of "black" culture's recruitment as an American "folk" culture. See William Austin, "Susanna," "Jeanie," and "The Old Folks at Home" 22. For interesting treatments of the minstrel show in different national contexts, see Dale Cockrell, "Of Gospel Hymns, Minstrel Shows, and Jubilee Singers"; George Rehin, "Blackface Street Minstrels in Victorian London"; Simon Frith, "Playing with Real Feeling"; Michael Pickering, "White Skin, Black Masks"; J. S. Bratton, "English Ethiopians"; and Richard Waterhouse, *From Minstrel Show to Vaudeville*.

27. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Cultural Writings* 349. The "historical origin" or "artistic aspect" of cultural material, Gramsci wrote of popular music, matters less than that a certain group of people has adopted it because it "conform[s] to their way of thinking and feeling" (*Cultural* 195). In this sphere of popular counterfeits, as Tony Bennett argues in "Marxism and Popular Fiction," nothing matters but the way certain artifacts momentarily secure their adherents and inspire various popular formations.

28. By contrast, very little cultural appropriation took place in the written form of the slave narrative. Mattie Griffith's fraudulent 1857 slave narrative, *Autobiography of a Female Slave* (by a planter's daughter), is a rare exception. Even if we include Harriet Beecher Stowe's work as an example of such appropriation—her use, for example, of the slave narratives of Henry Bibb and Josiah Henson in writing *Uncle Tom's Cabin*—suffice it to say that this was a second-order attempt at cultural incorporation, a kind that was far less pervasive than the formal consequences of minstrelsy, which, as we shall see, influenced the stage productions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* itself.

29. Smith-Rosenberg has demonstrated that the Crockett almanacs, which began to appear after 1835, can be read as a kind of fictional management, through the medium of the body, of antebellum American social dislocation. An out-of-hand adolescent in rebellion against paternal authority, Crockett as he is portrayed in the almanacs is a paragon of orality, scatology, and violent sexuality. Posed in all respects against the formation of an emergent bourgeois respectability, the almanacs nevertheless, according to Smith-Rosenberg, ultimately formed a "paean to the free individual" at a time when America was witnessing the most thoroughgoing institutionalization in its history (107–8) rebelliousness, in short, embodied (provided a Barthesian mythology for) the bourgeoisie's belief in uncontained, unfettered selves even as they resisted the material historical developments underwriting this ideology.

30. In addition to Stuart Hall, I am indebted here to T. J. Clark's study *The Painting of Modern Life* 205–39.

31. "Negro Minstrelsy—Ancient and Modern" 73; "Who Writes Our Songs?" 52;

William Austin, "Susanna," "Jeanie," and "The Old Folks at Home" 79; T. W. Higginson, "Negro Spirituals" 685.

32. Stanley Aronowitz, "Defining the Popular"; see also Dominick LaCapra, *History and Criticism* 45–69, for some cautions in regard to Ginzburg's project, particularly its implicit formulation of peasant culture as a fully reconstructed, static whole. For discussions of the appropriation of English and Native American oral traditions, see Gene Bluestein, *Voice of the Folk* 1–15, and Arnold Krupat, "Native American Literature and the Canon."

33. See Iain Chambers, *Popular Culture* 140–44, for the ways the color bar was broken in radio; see, among others, Jules Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment*, or C. L. R. James, *Beyond a Boundary*, for the world-historical struggles that may obtain in the world of sport.

34. Quoted in David Roediger, "Labor in White Skin" 293.

35. Karl Marx, "A Criticism of American Affairs" 211; Marx is referring specifically to the progress of the Civil War. The first sections of Greil Marcus, *Lipstick Traces* (1–152), constitute an extended meditation on punk music's relation to its late-1970s social history.

36. In *Subversive Genealogy* Rogin brilliantly reads Melville's career through political developments that roughly parallel the European context; but for brief explicit statements on that context, see 15–23, 102–6. See also Larry Reynolds, *European Revolutions and the American Literary Renaissance*.

37. Rogin, *Subversive Genealogy* 148, 130; Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* 180–201.

Chapter 5

1. For Rice's career, see Molly Ramshaw, "Jump Jim Crow!"

2. See, for example, Nathan Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance* 270, 273, and Jules Zanger, "The Minstrel Show as Theater of Misrule."

3. Uncatalogued playbills in the Harvard Theatre Collection.

4. Another writer, the theater historian Laurence Hutton, noted in 1889 that many blackface performers had made names for themselves, "to say nothing of the bands of veritable negroes who have endeavored to imitate themselves in imitation of their white brethren in all parts of the land" (144). As if in response to this cultural effect, in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* Stowe has Mr. Shelby hail George and Eliza Harris's little boy as "Jim Crow" (44).

5. S. Foster Damon, *Series of Old American Songs* no. 13.

6. "Negro Minstrelsy—Ancient and Modern" 73.

7. Richard Dyer, *Heavenly Bodies* 138–39; emphasis in original.

8. S. Foster Damon, *Series of Old American Songs* no. 17.

9. Insurrection was no small concern in the 1830s and early 1840s, as an editorial in the *New York Sun* makes clear. When Joshua Giddings introduced a resolution in Congress that commended the slaves who revolted aboard the *Creole* and steered it to Britain, the *Sun* (March 25, 1842) compared him to "Robespierre, Brissot and Marat," who "set themselves up as champions of the freedom of speech and of the negroes, and led the way to deeds of blood, the history of which will appall the world throughout all time to come" (quoted in Saxton, "Problems" 233). For an excellent treatment of the ironies attending the issues of slavery and revolution in these years, see Eric Sundquist, "Slavery, Revolution, and the American Renaissance"; for a brilliant analysis of the overdetermined proximity in T. W. Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (1867) of black male bodies, weapons, and the sort of homoerotic interest I review in this discussion, see Christopher

City" 193, 202–3, 234–76; Leonard Richards, "Gentlemen of Property and Standing" 140–41. Alan Dawley notes that while "white workers feared the competition of nonwhite laborers and shared the racism of a white-Anglo-Saxon-Protestant culture, they hated the institution of slavery, identified with the slave, and grouped overbearing Lynn manufacturers together with slavemasters as 'a set of lordly tyrants'" (65). I find rather overreaching the argument of David Roediger that working-class support for abolitionism arose from a wish to "follow middle class leaders who emphasized the *differences*" between white mechanic and black slave and thus distanced their relative conditions from each other (*Wages* 86).

27. In fact the two traditions often contradicted each other, the presence of Paineite artisans frightening evangelical antislavery supporters away. Jentz, "Artisans, Evangelicals, and the City" 208–15.

28. Jentz, "Artisans, Evangelicals, and the City" 215; Joseph Rayback, "The American Workingman and the Antislavery Crusade" 153.

29. Jentz, "Artisans, Evangelicals, and the City" 213–14; Bernard Mandel, *Labor* 82. This is to argue strongly against Lorman Ratner, *Powder Keg*, which assumes labor's hostility toward both organized abolitionism and antislavery views generally; labor was often hostile to the former but usually in agreement with the latter. For a nice riposte to Ratner, see Jentz, "Artisans" 232. For a succinct summary of the contradictions in the relationship of abolitionism and labor, see W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America* 17–26; see also Bruce Laurie, *Working People of Philadelphia* 66; Herbert Shapiro, "Labor and Antislavery"; and Bruce Levine, *Half Slave and Half Free* 156–59. In "Ideology and Race in American History," Barbara Fields insists on the contradictory nature of popular racial feeling: "[Racial] attitudes . . . are promiscuous critters and do not mind cohabiting with their opposites. Indeed, they sometimes seem to be happier that way" (155).

30. Alexander Saxton, "Problems of Class and Race" 232. See Arthur Schlesinger, *The Age of Jackson* 424–27, for a quick summary of the Democratic splits over slavery.

31. A labor pamphlet from 1850, for instance, indicts the abolitionists for being, simply, the "Hollow-Hearted Swindlers of Labor": "These men know by experience the preference of CHEAP HIRED LABOR over Chattel" (quoted in Rayback, "American" 154). See also Bernard Mandel, *Labor* 62.

32. John Jentz, "The Anti-Slavery Constituency in Jacksonian New York City" 108; Rayback, "The American Workingman and the Antislavery Crusade" 153. For the class connotations of the mutually reinforcing movements of abolitionism and evangelicalism see Schlesinger, *The Age of Jackson* 136–40, 350–60; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery*; Lawrence Friedman, "Confidence and Perseverance in Evangelical Abolitionism"; Paul Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium*; Eric Foner, "Abolitionism and the Labor Movement"; and Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic* 145–49, 305. Had workers in New York City and other northeastern centers converted like their counterparts in the Burned Over District of upstate New York, one might suppose the lessened opposition to evangelicalism to have contributed to the antislavery vanguard. At least in New York City, writes Sean Wilentz, workers did not in any great number sign on to the evangelical cause (279–80). Yet this produced no firm ideological result; secular traditions of antislavery persisted as much as did the reaction to "Tappanism"—itself perhaps the result of evangelicalism's organizational headquarters' being housed in New York City.

33. Foner, "Abolitionism and the Labor Movement" 66.

34. *De Susannah, and Thick Lip, Melodist* 73; Bruce McConachie, "'The Theatre of

the Mob'" 35. See Wilentz, *Chants Democratic* 180–81, for a sense of the routineness of anti-Tappanism.

35. The impetus for this brief investigation is, of course, the extraordinary work on popular rioting and mobbing produced by George Rudé (*The Crowd in History*), E. P. Thompson ("The Moral Economy of the English Crowd"), and others. I have drawn my narrative from these accounts: Gustave de Beaumont, *Marie*, "Appendix"; Alvin Harlow, *Old Bowery Days* 289–93; Linda Kerber, "Abolitionists and Amalgamators"; Leonard Richards, "Gentlemen of Property and Standing" 113–22; Jentz, "Artisans, Evangelicals, and the City" 245–55; Paul Weinbaum, *Mobs and Demagogues* 23–27; Wilentz, *Chants Democratic* 264–65; Peter Buckley, *To the Opera House* 184–90; and Paul Gilje, *The Road to Mobocracy* 162–70.

36. Richards, "Gentlemen of Property and Standing" 151–55; Jentz, "Artisans, Evangelicals, and the City" 247–48.

37. Peter Buckley carefully notes that these separate actions "became part of a seamless organism" in the minds of contemporary observers (190), given the "mobocratic" spirit (as a young Abraham Lincoln was to call it) of those days. See Lincoln's 1838 "Address to the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield."

38. Quoted in Jentz, "Artisans, Evangelicals, and the City" 249.

39. Jentz, "Artisans, Evangelicals, and the City" 251–55 (the quote is from Jentz, "The Anti-Slavery Constituency in New York City" 117); David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness* 110.

40. The text here is reprinted in Gary Engle, ed., *This Grotesque Essence* 1–12. It dates from 1856, but Hans Nathan observes that it derives from the original. Although no plot summary survives from the early performances, the playbill synopsis of a companion piece, *Bone Squash*, is in almost complete agreement with its 1856 printing, and the names of the characters in *O Hush!* are virtually identical with the earlier play's. See Nathan, *Dan Emmett* 67.

41. Richards, "Gentlemen of Property and Standing" 114–15. In Gustave de Beaumont's *Marie* (1835), whose pivotal episode is based on the July riots, the antiabolitionist violence interrupts the wedding ceremony of a Frenchman and a mulatto, rather nicely underscoring the link between the rioters' motives and fears of amalgamation.

42. Emma Jones Lapsansky's "'Since They Got Those Separate Churches'" is very good on the emergence of the black dandy as an ideological fiction—its class sources and its regulation of black behavior. Black responses to the fiction included an 1838 Philadelphia *Colored American* article that asserted, "The same class of vagabonds who mob abolitionists, would as readily mob . . . the aristocracy could they do it with the same impunity" (72), casually making clear the class resonance of abolitionism. See also Gary Nash, *Forging Freedom* 254–59.

43. Indeed, Lapsansky observes that in Philadelphia it was not amalgamation per se but amalgamation for the purposes of *upward mobility* to which rioters objected (62).

44. Jentz, "Artisans, Evangelicals, and the City" 192 and "The Anti-Slavery Constituency in Jacksonian New York City" 110.

Chapter 6

1. Emmett's account, a more elaborated and convincing narrative than those of Billy Whitlock and G. B. Wooldridge, appeared in the *New York Clipper* May 19, 1877; the other accounts were published there a year later (April 13, 1878). Despite Hans Nathan's assessment, the evidence may support E. P. Christy's claim of having organized (in Buffalo, New York) the first minstrel band, though Emmett's was no doubt the first in New

York City. See *Dan Emmett* 116–18, 143–46; more generally, see C. B. Galbreath, *Daniel Decatur Emmett*.

2. On charivari, and for further references, see E. P. Thompson, “‘Rough Music’”; Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* 97–123; and Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* 24.

3. The argument of this chapter has been influenced by the brilliant analysis by Stuart Hall et al. in *Policing the Crisis* of the British “mugging” scare of the early 1970s—an attempt on the part of “law and order” to regain lost ground in the wake of the “crisis” of the 1960s.

4. *New York Herald* February 6, 1843.

5. Hans Nathan is very precise about the makeup of the first minstrel shows. See *Dan Emmett* 118–34, 143–53.

6. This assertion is still perhaps a controversial one, based as much on guesswork as on insurmountable evidence. About all that can be adduced on the matter is the recollection of the late nineteenth-century performer Lew Dockstader that the early interlocutor’s lack of “darky dialect” contrasted with his black makeup; on the basis of this statement, Robert Toll concludes in *Blacking Up* (63, n.63) that interlocutors generally appeared in blackface. Certainly there is a considerable *lack* of evidence of a whiteface interlocutor in this period, much less songbook illustrations featuring blackface companies with a sole whiteface performer. Reminiscences such as that of Mark Twain, which does support the claim of a white interlocutor, seem influenced both by regional particularity (Twain saw shows in Hannibal) and by minstrelsy’s later incarnations—more accurate in spirit than in all their facts. The ease with which the mask accommodated a variety of dialects—Irish brogues, the b’hoys’ slang, even parodic, German-inflected English—perhaps indicates less of a contradiction between the blackface mask and genteel dialect than one might have expected. The white interlocutor, at least in urban centers, appears to have been a later development.

7. In this respect the minstrel show is not unrelated to television situation comedy; see Patricia Mellencamp, “Situation Comedy, Feminism, and Freud.” For some interesting remarks on the minstrel show’s structure, see W. T. Lhamon, “Constance Rourke’s Secret Reserve” xxxiv.

8. See, for instance, George Rehin, “Harlequin Jim Crow”; Robert Winans, “Early Minstrel-Show Music”; Gary Engle, “Introduction,” *This Grotesque Essence*; and William Mahar, “Ethiopian Skits and Sketches.”

9. By “right-minded black comedy” I mean anything from Spike Lee’s films to Bill Cosby to the unfortunate “In Living Color.”

I have been oriented in this project by several excellent discussions of pleasure: Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*; Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema”; Fredric Jameson, “Pleasure”; and Colin Mercer, “Complicit Pleasures” and “A Poverty of Desire.” Also helpful are John Lowe, “Theories of Ethnic Humor” John Morreall, *Taking Laughter Seriously* 27–37; and Werner Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity* 131–41.

10. *Knickerbocker* 16, 1 (July 1840), 84.

11. If the symbolic depends on reflection and lack, writes Christian Metz, “the cinema is a body . . . a fetish that can be loved” (57). Barbara Freedman’s *Staging the Gaze* argues that the same might be said of the actor’s presence in the theater (47–77).

12. “Peabody’s Lecture, On the Great Soger Camp-Meeting,” *White’s New Book of Plantation Melodies* 79.

13. *White’s New Book of Plantation Melodies* 13; *White’s New Illustrated Melodeon Songbook* 31.

14. S. Foster Damon, *Series of Old American Songs* no. 37.

15. Steven Marcus, *The Other Victorians* 266–86. Edward James’s *Amateur Negro Minstrel’s Guide* advises that three quarters of an inch of lipstick will “make the face look all mouth when opened to its full extent” (8).

16. S. Foster Damon, *Series of Old American Songs* no. 39.

17. *Popular Music in Jacksonian America*, side 2.

18. “Now Hold your Horses, will You!” *Christy and Wood’s New Song Book* 9; see also George Christy, *Essence of Old Kentucky* 46–47.

19. A third possibility is that some audience members experienced a marginally more positive nostalgia for nurture rather than infant rage; this was true, we shall see, for the wave of sentimental black images that would soon begin to flood the minstrel stage. I have been influenced here by Michael Rogin’s psychohistorical interpretation of white attitudes toward Native Americans in the antebellum period. See *Fathers and Children* 3–15, 114–25; see also Sander Gilman, “Black Bodies, White Bodies” 256.

20. Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* 192. This argument refines ideas drawn from symbolic anthropologists such as Mary Douglas, who have written of the body as a symbolic representation of the social forces that produced it—bodily functions and boundaries, points of entry and of exit signifying societal relations and values. See, for example, Douglas, *Natural Symbols* esp. 65–81.

21. Paul Faler, “Cultural Aspects of the Industrial Revolution” and *Mechanics and Manufacturers* 100–138; Paul Johnson, *A Shopkeeper’s Millennium* 55–61, 79–83; Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic* 271, 277–84, 305.

22. For a similar argument, see David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness* 97, 100, 110, 118, and, regarding theatrical portrayals of the Irish, Bruce McConachie, “The Cultural Politics of ‘Paddy.’”

23. Slavoj Žižek, “Eastern Europe’s Republics of Gilead” 57; see also Sylvia Wynter, “Sambos and Minstrels” 152–54.

24. F. C. Wemyss, *Theatrical Biography; or, The Life of An Actor and Manager* 179.

25. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness* 133–34, 150–54; Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles* 267.

26. Peter Stallybrass and Allon White make an excellent statement on how this formation comes about in *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* 193–94. Julia Kristeva terms this predicament “abjection.” Kristeva writes of the abject that “‘unconscious’ contents remain . . . excluded but in strange fashion,” clearly enough “for a defensive *position* to be established” yet “not radically enough to allow for a secure differentiation between subject and object.” Thus blackface’s white spectator, in Kristeva’s terms, “never stops demarcating his universe whose fluid confines . . . constantly question his solidity and impel him to start afresh” (7–8).

27. See Christian Metz, *The Imaginary Signifier*, for an account of how the castration threat is managed by replacing it with a fetish substitute: “The fixation on [the fetish’s] ‘just before’ [castration] is thus another form of disavowal. . . . The fetish signifies the penis as absent, it is its negative signifier; supplementing it, it puts a ‘fullness’ in place of a lack, but in doing so it also affirms that lack” (70–71). The minstrel show exemplified and worked several permutations on this theme, as will become clear.

28. *Christy and Wood’s New Song Book* 30; for further examples, see “Gal wid de Blue Dress on,” *White’s New Illustrated Melodeon Songbook* 65, and “White Cat and Black Cat,” *White’s New Ethiopian Song Book* 49.

29. Michael Denning, *Mechanic Accents* 146–48.

30. In thinking about racial and gender disguise, and about theater spectators’ varying identifications with blackface characters, I am indebted once again to Carol Clover’s “Her Body, Himself.”

31. See, for instance, Amy Bridges, "Becoming American" 170-73, 176. On various aspects of the depression, see Samuel Reznick, "The Social History of an American Depression"; Robert Ernst, "Economic Nativism in New York City"; Ira Leonard, "The Rise and Fall of the American Republican Party"; and Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic* 299-359.

32. For this figure of "aristocratic" self-satisfaction, see Peter Buckley, *To the Opera House* 197-205.

33. In *Strangers in the Land*, John Higham connects nativism with racism (4). Whereas single-minded class radicalism had had variable racial results in the 1830s, the complexities and constrictions of class feeling in the 1840s tended to produce a corollary sense of racial impatience and disdain.

34. See Bernard Mandel, *Labor* 79-80, 89-95; Eric Foner, "Abolitionism and the Labor Movement" 67-71; Williston Lofton, "Abolition and Labor" 254; and Joseph Rayback, "The American Workingman and the Antislavery Crusade" 152-53.

35. W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America* 21; Mandel, *Labor* 76-84; Rayback, "The American Workingman and the Antislavery Crusade" 155-56; Lofton, "Abolition and Labor" 269; Marcus Cunliffe, *Chattel Slavery and Wage Slavery* 19-31; David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness* 72-80.

36. Foner, "Abolitionism and the Labor Movement" 67-71; Lofton, "Abolition and Labor" 272.

37. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness* 97, 110, 116, 127.

38. In "Writing Labor's History," Stanley Aronowitz offers some excellent insights regarding what he sees as the internally split formation of the American working class, which encompassed not only an artisan republicanism developed in opposition to a consolidating bourgeoisie but also proletarian substrata resisting artisan culture itself (180-85). See also Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness* 110.

39. See, for instance, Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women*.

40. From an 1857 poster for a Boston performance of Christy's Minstrels (New York Public Library Theatre Collection).

41. On the internally contradictory (but finally conservative) character of the petite bourgeoisie, see Arno Mayer, "The Lower Middle Class as Historical Problem."

42. I rely here on "Heroes of the Burnt Cork," which includes one of the most detailed descriptions of antebellum cross-dressing.

43. See Christine Stansell, *City of Women* 78-80, 55-62, 89-100; Foster's remark is quoted at 94. Elsewhere, Foster makes the connection (without, I think, understanding it) between these women's work and their (resistant) sense of style: "The pretty book-folder and the pale seamstress, the buxom housemaid and the ambitious laundress, slave cheerfully all the week in the dreariest and most monotonous occupations, that they may obtain the means of making a handsome appearance at the Saturday night dance." See *New York in Slices* 111.

44. *New York Clipper* November 1, 1873; Olive Logan, "The Ancestry of Brudder Bones" 698; George Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* 5:396; Robert Toll, *Blacking Up* 140; "The Dancing Lucy Long," *White's New Illustrated Melodeon Songbook* 46; Ralph Keeler, "Three Years as a Negro Minstrel" 77.

45. S. Foster Damon, *Series of Old American Songs* no. 31; *White's New Illustrated Melodeon Songbook* 47.

46. Robert Stoller, *Sex and Gender* 185, 176-86, 214-15; conversely, in "Transvestism" Ethel Person and Lionel Ovesey argue that transvestism seeks to allay separation anxiety, not castration anxiety, by using women's clothes as a substitute for the mother (308). See also Marjorie Garber's remarks on Stoller in *Vested Interests* 94-98.

47. Olive Logan, "The Ancestry of Brudder Bones" 698. The *New York Herald* wrote of one "wench" performance: "Such a strapping pair of colored ladies have not been seen for many a day. Fine fun may be expected" (November 7, 1842).

48. Lisa Jardine, *Still Harping on Daughters* 9-36; Katharine Eisaman Maus, "Playhouse Flesh and Blood"; Stephen Orgel, "Nobody's Perfect."

49. Lillian Schlissel, "Sexual Disguise"; Robert Toll, *Blacking Up* 144, 142. For searching discussions of the relationship of transvestism to homoerotic desire, see Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests* 28-65, and Carole-Anne Tyler, "Boys Will Be Girls."

Chapter 7

1. I am indebted to Michael Rogin's excellent discussion of this article in *Subversive Genealogy* 104-5.

2. The *Journal of Music* noted that Christy's Minstrels performed 312 times in 1853 and netted \$47,972 ("Black" 108); one songster boasted that Christy's Minstrels had given 69 concerts as early as 1842, yielding \$1,847.52 (*Christy's No. 4* v); Robert Nevin wrote that Stephen Foster's commissions for "Old Folks at Home" alone totaled \$15,000 (614); and in the *New York Herald*, a "card" published by Christy's Minstrels asserted that George Christy (who had ungratefully broken from the troupe) earned \$19,680 in his two and a half years with them (November 7, 1853).

3. Not all of these lyrics, however, arose from minstrel performance; my guess (based partly on existing playbills) is that only a portion of the printed songs were ever performed onstage, though the ones that were probably supported songbook sales, and performed or not, songbook lyrics plugged the performers in whose names the books were published. In other words, to some extent the songbooks constituted an independent realm of literary production. While I have found little information concerning the circumstances of this production, minstrel songbooks did issue—voluminously—from urban dime novel or "fiction factory" publishing houses which depended on a highly organized system of speedy prose manufacture, and it is likely that much minstrel-show verse originated in the same way. It is even possible, given that many songs have a headnote marking their recent performance at such and such a music hall, that blackface artists used the verses fiction factories turned out rather than the other way around, perhaps setting them to tunes already in their repertoire—hence "De New Ole Dan Tucker" or "Old Tucker's Wedding" or even "Mrs. Tucker." (The fans at home, of course, could follow the same path.) Another interesting example of this culture industry collaboration is Tony Pastor, *George Christy: A Story of Minstrel Life* (1877), a dime novel extremely loosely based on the life of the famous blackface performer. The songs just mentioned are from the *Negro Forget-Me-Not Songster* 59, 110, and *White's New Illustrated Melodeon Songbook* 67. On the fiction factories, see Michael Denning, *Mechanic Accents*, chap. 2; Frank Schick, *The Paperbound Book in America*; and Madeleine Stern, ed., *Publishers for Mass Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century America* 35-50, 93-96, 101-14, 229-35.

4. William Austin, "Susanna," "Jeanie," and "The Old Folks at Home" 25. The *Journal of Music* eventually reprinted an 1854 article, "Obituary, Not Eulogistic: Negro Minstrelry Is Dead," which sneered: "Fashion sent her cohorts to mingle with the unwashed million at the shrine of Gumbo, and negro sheet-music had immense sales, being found upon almost every piano in the land . . ." (118).

5. My use of "mythology" here is loosely derived from Roland Barthes's *Mythologies*, in which *myth* is defined as an instance of "depoliticized speech" (143), what Fredric Jameson would in certain cases call an "ideologeme"—in short ideology *narrated*, that is,

14. Thomas Gossett, *Uncle Tom's Cabin and American Culture* 278–80.
15. The Aiken version has seen many reprintings; I have used the edition in Montrose Moses, ed., *Representative Plays by American Dramatists*. The Conway version has not been reprinted, was indeed considered lost until recently; a promptbook manuscript from an 1876 Boston Museum production is now held at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas. There are some problems with this text: act four is largely reprinted from Aiken, and several of Conway's scenes in act three are missing. As Bruce McConachie has pointed out, these scenes can be supplemented by a Boston Museum program from December 7, 1852 (Boston Public Library), reference to which indicates that the 1876 production was in other respects virtually identical to the 1852 performances. See McConachie, "Out of the Kitchen and into the Marketplace" 25 n.2.
- Stowe's construction of a female polis in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, her "domestic feminism," has been illuminated by Ellen Moers, *Harriet Beecher Stowe and American Literature* 20–26; Leslie Fiedler, *What Was Literature?* 145–78; Jane Tompkins, "Sentimental Power"; Gillian Brown, "Getting in the Kitchen with Dinah"; Elizabeth Ammons, "Stowe's Dream of the Mother-Savior"; and Stephen Railton, *Authorship and Audience* 74–89. Such defenses of Stowe, however, usually entail the elision of racial matters, as Hortense Spillers argues in "Changing the Letter"; see also the critique of the feminist literature on *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Rachel Bowlby, "Breakfast in America." For an argument that Stowe's novel was even more radical in its questioning of patriarchal structures than her partisans have recognized, see Christina Zwarg, "Fathering and Blackface in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*."
16. In the novel itself, as even some of its contemporaries remarked, Stowe's representations of blacks resemble those of minstrelsy. See *Literary World* December 4, 1852, 357.
17. Cf. H. J. Conway's remark in a letter to Moses Kimball: "We must [partially] depend for our comic parts on Topsy (hard thing to do as a female negro)" [*sic*]. Quoted in Bruce McConachie, "H. J. Conway's Dramatization of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*" 150.
18. *New York Herald* May 14, 1853.
19. Louis Althusser, "Contradiction and Overdetermination" and *Reading Capital*; Nicos Poulantzas, *Political Power and Social Classes*.
20. See Karl Marx, "The North American Civil War," "The Civil War in the United States," and "A Criticism of American Affairs"; Charles and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* 2:3–7, 36–41; William Appleman Williams, *The Contours of American History* 284–319; Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* 111–5; David Potter, *The Impending Crisis* 32–35, 41–43.
21. Quoted in Montrose Moses, "George L. Aiken's Dramatization" 610–11.
22. Joseph Ireland, extra-illustrated edition of *Records of the New York Stage* 2:xvi.
23. In this and the next several paragraphs I am much indebted to Harry Birdoff, *The World's Greatest Hit*, for the detective work crucial to reconstructing the *Uncle Tom* feud (7–99, 107–26).
24. See Barnum's advertising copy alleging that, "while thoroughly anti-slavery in its sentiment, [Conway's play] contains not a single word calculated to offend those whose opinions on this topic favor its non-agitation." J. N. Ireland, extra-illustrated edition of *Records of the New York Stage* 2:xvi.
25. The *Knickerbocker* indulged its contempt for houses such as the National: "We went to the National Theatre the other evening, to behold the 'Rural Habitation of Uncle Thomas,' vulgarly known as 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' and we would n't go to see it again for a large sum of gold" ("First" 210).
26. T. Allston Brown, *History of the American Stage* 6; Montrose Moses, "George L. Aiken's Dramatization" 608.
27. Playbill, June 2, 1854, Harvard Theatre Collection.
28. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* 340. This conflict is submitted to lengthy and intelligent discussion in Charles Foster, *The Rungless Ladder* 49–57. Foster speculates that Stowe's portrait of St. Clare was inspired by Orestes Brownson's 1840 "The Laboring Classes," which equated the exploitative systems of capitalism and slavery and predicted class war eight years in advance of *The Communist Manifesto*. I believe Foster underemphasizes St. Clare's ultimate siding with the northern worker against the southern slave; and it is interesting to note that in Brownson's own development the positions of "The Laboring Classes" were soon elaborated into apologies for slavery. See, for example, Arthur Schlesinger, *The Age of Jackson* 299–304, 407–8, 425.
29. Of course the displacement of labor struggles onto Britain, in accordance with the abolitionist belief in American "free labor," might also have given working-class audiences trouble; but in most cases, as far as I can judge, the rhetoric of "European" working conditions seems to have functioned both as a figure for the northern states of America and as a useful fiction, in which workers still believed, that lifelong wage work was not yet an American affliction.
30. The *Tribune* did note that Barnum later altered this "deformity" of Conway's play, no longer defending so vehemently the white worker. Somewhat ambiguously, it added: "Now let him [Barnum] kill Uncle Tom and all will be right" (December 2, 1853).
31. Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men* (on the Republican party) and Jean Baker, *Affairs of Party* (on the Democratic party), both enlarge on this purpose.
32. Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men* 156, 158, 154; Joseph Rayback, *Free Soil*. See the excellent review of northern intellectual response to the growth of sectional thinking in the North in George Fredrickson, *The Inner Civil War* 36–50.
33. Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men* 155, 237, 239, 165.
34. Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men* 157–58.
35. See, for example, Alexander Saxton, *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic* 127–82.
36. Helene Zahler, *Eastern Workingmen and National Land Policy* 102; see also Bernard Mandel, *Labor* 120–24. The title of one pamphlet said it all: *Slavery . . . To Be Made the Universal Condition of the Laboring Classes of Society. The Supporters of This Doctrine Vote for Buchanan* (Rayback, "American" 161).
37. See Iver Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots* 75–77, 85–86, 91–93, 99–100, 123–24.
38. See, for example, the white working-class anger expressed in the 1850s in John Hopkins, *The American Citizen* 132, and H. B. Mullins, *A Voice from the Workshop* 10–11; see also W. J. Rorabaugh, "Rising Democratic Spirits" 157.
39. For a reading of Lincoln's political rhetoric in the heat of this process, see Eric Lott, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Abraham Lincoln."

Afterword

1. In an early letter to his brother, Michael Rogin notes, Melville signed himself "Tawney," and his first books mixed travel writing with anti-imperialist critique (*Subversive* 43). *Moby-Dick* (1851), written during the Compromise of 1850 debates, seems (as many have pointed out) an allegory of the Compromise itself. See Willie Weathers, "Moby-Dick and the Nineteenth-Century Scene"; Charles Foster, "Something in Emblems"; and Alan Heimert, "Moby-Dick and American Political Symbolism." For all three writers, the Union in Melville's allegory is destroyed by monomania: for Weathers, Ahab is William Lloyd Garrison, whose slogan was "No Compromise with Slaveholders"; for

Foster, Ahab is Daniel Webster, advocate of the Compromise and thus the betrayer of New England's moral hopes; and for Heimert, Ahab is John C. Calhoun, who would have preserved slavery not through compromise but at the expense of the Union.

2. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands* 1:284, 43; for a similar view, see *Journal of Music* 5, 17 (1854), 134. For a brief account of Greenfield's career, see Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans* 103–4.

3. Unfortunately this mournful, even nostalgic tone persists; one popular example is Ken Burns's television documentary "The Civil War" (1990).

4. For more on this ambivalence, see Caroline Moseley, "'When Will Dis Cruel War Be Ober?'"

5. Albon Man, "Labor Competition and the New York Draft Riots of 1863"; Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City 172–74*; Bernard Mandel, *Labor 189–94*; Iver Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots* 3–42.

6. *Christy's Bones and Banjo Melodist* 57.

7. Du Bois wrote, "It was easy to transfer class hatred so that it fell upon the black worker" (*Reconstruction* 103–4).

8. David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* 251; Alan Dawley, *Class and Community* 196, 238–39.

9. Karl Marx, *Capital* 301; see also the clarity of Bernard Mandel, *Labor* 204. For an excellent gloss on Marx's words, see David Roediger, "'Labor in White Skin'" 290–91.