

Forthcoming in *American Literature*

By Sarah H. Salter (sarah.salter@tamucc.edu) and Jim Casey (jccasey@psu.edu)

“With, Without, Even Still: Frederick Douglass, *L’Union*, and Editorship Studies”

In the summer of 1862, editors across the United States howled almost in unison. Horace Greeley, editor-in-chief of the *New York Tribune*, had written a public letter to Abraham Lincoln, “The Prayer for Twenty Millions,” calling on the president to affirm the abolition of slavery as the Union’s highest priority. In his response, Lincoln refused to commit “either to save or destroy slavery,” offering only that his “paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union.”¹ News of such a clash between the country’s most famous editor and President Lincoln was sure to circulate wildly across the nation’s press. Some editors agreed with Greeley’s letter. Others disagreed. But nearly every white editor with a pen and a press responded.

For some editors in the Black press, however, joining these debates required a cautious and cagey approach to the craft of newspaper editing. In Rochester, Frederick Douglass responded to Lincoln and Greeley in his monthly journal by applying the standard practices of reprinting, a move that belied the decade and a half Douglass had spent carefully and deliberately cultivating the command of his editorship.² In New Orleans, an editorial collective translated Lincoln’s equivocation into a short, pithy phrase in French that became the motto and rallying cry of *L’Union*.

This essay takes up these two very different examples. One broke the rules of antebellum editing to justify the editorial authority of Frederick Douglass. The other bent the conventions of the newspaper format to obscure a radical critique of the United States. In this essay, we use these important examples from the Black press to theorize the practical language of editing as a flexible and complex mode of expression. Douglass and *L’Union*’s innovative uses of the forms

and formats of the newspaper provide an interpretive entry into the larger history of editing, editors, and editorship.

Attention to editing expands the scope of print and literary histories of the nineteenth-century United States. Editors have long served as minor characters in American literary history, dismissed as handmaidens or demonized as gatekeepers but hardly ever serving as the focus of any concerted studies. For one example, the extensive and invaluable *A History of the Book in America: The Industrial Book, 1840-1880* contains multiple chapters on the role of the press and periodicals, but mentions editors only in a single entry in the index for “Editing, as specialized occupation” (Casper 2007: 519). Yet it is difficult to find any corner of this period, not to mention those that followed, in which editors or acts of editing did not shape countless works of literature and the print environment. Editorship has a history. The history of editing in the United States brims with diverse and wide-ranging traditions in the craft of newspapers, books, and other print media. The status of newspaper editors changed greatly during the nineteenth century, in ways that have only begun to be reexamined. In the first third of the century, a professional class of editors emerged in the party and penny presses, followed by waves of intrepid, grassroots editors who ran reform, trade, women’s, and ethnic periodicals. Those traditions can do more than just offer another perspective on the publication of literary texts; the craft of editing is itself a distinct but long-running cultural mode in which editors could use the materials and formats of their publications as a means of layered expression and signification.

This essay presents a method for reading editorship through attention to editorial practices. Because editing is by nature a collaborative enterprise, it can be difficult to attribute any specific items or actions to an individual person. Editors and isolated acts of editing can be difficult to locate in the meandering circuits of print that encompass writers, printers, publishers,

distributors, and readers. This essay focuses on practices of editing that manifest in the formats of the page. Tracing a given periodical format through its rhythms and contours can reveal a great deal about any number of techniques, choices, and routines that we typically understand only in the aggregate as the practices and craft of editorship.

In general, the formats on a page are historically contingent and meaningful cultural artifacts that become established through habitual use. Every format is the end product of myriad underlying editorial choices, methods, or routines. Once established through conventional practice, the formats of a newspaper can be self-perpetuating. Editors can draw on an array of conventions for a particular format to decide what it should contain, how and when it should appear, and what readers should expect. Those formal rules help show that editing is largely an interpretive process of fitting new content into existing formats. At times, as *L'Union* and *Douglass's Monthly* demonstrate, editorial conventions also create the conditions for rupture and departure. When a standing format no longer suffices, for whatever reason, a new editorial practice can reshape its parameters. That process involves further choices about where and how to break from convention, often by tweaking or adapting prior formats into novel configurations. Those choices enable editors to express ideas, to communicate through the various formats and formal elements of a newspaper. As our readings explore, these two Black newspapers exploited the expressive capacity of editorship to make radical critiques of slavery and to call for Black rights in the very formats of their papers.

These two cases in 1862 offer a hint of the wider culture and longer histories of editorship. Nineteenth-century newspapers are an especially rich arena to begin this historical work because their formats had not yet been standardized. In millions of surviving newspaper pages are countless experiments and formal novelties that expose the seams of editorial craft. In

early newspapers, new practices or editorial methods regularly begin, drift, and then fade into the background of a paper's publishing routines. If scholars have long recognized the importance of editors as political figures, our examples offer a preview of how editorship studies might present fresh perspectives on the relationships between language, form, and politics. In short, editing has its own cultures and histories.

A growing critical mass of scholarship on multi-ethnic print culture has made it possible to ask these questions about editorship. Calling attention to the depth and importance of overlooked print histories, foundational scholars in a number of related subfields of multi-ethnic print culture studies have published broad surveys and case studies of specific editorial figures and periodical publications.³ Along with a groundbreaking set of special journal issues, a wave of recent work has begun to theorize more broadly across the intellectual currents and social histories tied to the multi-ethnic press.⁴ The continued push to read "beyond the book" has shown just how vital the periodical press was for seemingly every non-white culture from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries.⁵ The prevalence of editors and edited publications in this body of scholarship shows the tacit importance of editorship across many fields of print, literary, and historical study.

This essay presents our case for the study of editorship. Editors have long run serial publications as engines for public, print, and literary culture. The role of the press was particularly important during the nineteenth century for Black, Latinx, Native American, and multilingual communities. Given that editors are often invisible and publications tend to obscure their collaborative craft, the study of editorship necessitates a focus on the practices, habits, and techniques of editing as themselves objects of inquiry. In this essay, we identify a recognizable pattern of editorship. Across any number of practices and formats, communities and eras, editors

toggle between established formats and formal innovation. In the new and old, forms and formats, we find editorship's expressive languages.

We begin with a single moment during the Civil War that entangled editors across the country—from Horace Greeley and Frederick Douglass to their less-conspicuous peers at papers such as *L'Union*, a bilingual, Black Creole weekly in New Orleans. Across two distinct examples, this essay reads periodical formats as unique expressive modes that editors used to convey information, share values, and address challenges and potentials for their communities. Reading for formats requires attention to both latent and manifest content. In *Douglass's Monthly*, Douglass heightened his visibility as an editor by altering the format of editorial columns. For *L'Union*, remaking formats allowed just the opposite: the paper's editorial collective leveraged the invisibility of formats to condemn Lincoln's presidential politics. These examples illustrate how even the most instrumental, innocuous periodical formats become dynamic cultural fields, replete with their own economies, styles, and grounds for change.

The languages and routines of periodical editing point to the broader purchase of editorship studies. In the nineteenth-century press, editing involved any number of serial practices, forms, and meanings. Amid that work, some editors are easy to see. An editor might have been the face of a newspaper or the avatar of a magazine. The myriad forms of editing can be tougher to locate. Most editors worked behind the scenes. Their editing was all but invisible to readers. The wide spectrum between hyper-visibility and effective invisibility is one of the major touchstones for the study of editorship in the periodical press. This essay examines two very different approaches to editing in 1862 to demonstrate the range of possible applications of this rubric, the expectation that editing can be measured according to the choices and conversations that condition the visibility of editorship. Who can see the editing? When and how did that come

to be? These questions are most immediately applicable to periodicals, but they can apply to many kinds of edited texts, from those that frequently foregrounded an editor (e.g. slave narratives and anthologies) to those that largely obscured editorial interventions (e.g. novels, poetry, essays, and any kinds of writing attributed solely to an author).⁶ This approach offers a way to convert seemingly invisible editors or editorial practices into legible historical figures and forces across any number of print and literary contexts. Further work to describe larger historical patterns of editorial practice will make it possible to begin naming and following the unmapped cultures and consequences of editorship.

I. Mr. Editor, If You Please

Following the Lincoln-Greeley exchange, editors across the country continued to debate the president's words, even after Lincoln issued a provisional Emancipation Proclamation in late September. The ranks of these editors included Frederick Douglass, who reprinted Lincoln's "Letter to Horace Greeley" in the October issue of his latest paper, *Douglass' Monthly*.

Following custom, Douglass added a brief headnote of commentary with the letter, a pedestrian and rather typical usage of reprint format by an editor in the nineteenth-century United States.

For all his felicity with editorial convention, Douglass was no ordinary editor. His relatively unusual position in the periodical press dated back to his earliest forays into editing. When Douglass started *The North Star* in 1847, he was already well on his way to becoming one of the most famous Americans, celebrated or reviled across the country for his famed 1845 *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, his endless speaking tours, and his advocacy for the rights and freedoms of African Americans. Departing from the approach adopted by many Black editors, who positioned their papers as community bulletins, Douglass sought to address the nation. From his editorial chair he was ambitious to weigh in on political matters on a national stage. By 1862,

Douglass could speak with the commanding voice of a leading editor because he had spent the past fifteen years formulating a deceptively complex set of maneuvers that would allow a Black editor to contend within the national (white) press. He cultivated the craft of editing over decades.⁷

Douglass had started *The North Star* in 1847 with a bold vision for his role as an editor. In the first issue, he penned a short column titled “Our Paper and Its Prospects.” The column makes a case for Black editors, himself included:

We are now about to assume the management of the editorial department of a newspaper, devoted to the cause of Liberty, Humanity and Progress. The position is one which, with the purest motives, we have long desired to occupy. It has long been our anxious wish to see, in this slave-holding, slave-trading, and negro-hating land, a printing-press and paper, permanently established, under the complete control and direction of the immediate victims of slavery and oppression.

The North Star, of course, was not the first newspaper edited by a formerly enslaved person, but it was among the first to aspire to such a wide sphere of influence. Given that he had started *The North Star* to break away from William Lloyd Garrison and other white abolitionists who had tried to exercise something akin to editorial control over his speaking and writing, becoming a newspaper editor promised Douglass a platform of his own.

Douglass had good reason to expect that he could become an influential editor. He had already built a considerable reputation for himself. He was among the most prominent antislavery orators, a national leader of the Colored Conventions movement, and, by 1845, a best-selling author. He could ostensibly translate that acclaim into the prevailing model of the antebellum press known as personal journalism.

Personal journalism was a model of editorship that had ushered in the advent of a mass press in the United States starting in the 1830s. Newspapers began to achieve a wider sphere of influence due to a brash group of editors, such as James Gordon Bennett and Benjamin Day, who made their charismatic public persona a key feature of periodical publishing.⁸ For famous white editors, such as Bennett or Horace Greeley, personal journalism created an artifice of immediacy and kinship for readers. For a penny or two, newspapers sold an affective relationship with an accessible, trustworthy, even avuncular famous editor who could provide sure-handed guidance to the rapidly changing worlds of antebellum culture, society, and politics.⁹ Following the commercial success and expediency of this model, most newspapers came to be defined by an editor's persona. Importantly for Douglass, the editor at the center of personal journalism was a self-reliant man (it was almost always assumed to be a man) who was individually in command of all aspects of each issue's selections, columns, and ideas. By yoking his newspaper to his public persona, Douglass could encourage readers to send in their subscription dollars as a way of forging a relationship with the famed orator, hero of the inspiring *Narrative*, and now editor of *The North Star*.

The first issue of *The North Star* emphasized the identity of its editor as its main selling feature. In the opening column, Douglass retells his life story as a journey from slavery to editorship. He recalls that "nine years ago...we were held as a slave," before self-emancipating, finding work as a daily laborer, and becoming a "Lecturer on Slavery." Fearing recapture, he sailed for England where the same people who "ransomed us from slavery" also, and "generously, placed in our hands the necessary means of purchasing a printing press and printing materials" to start a newspaper. His path to freedom leads to his becoming an editor. The "I" at the heart of his *Narrative* becomes the editorial "we." Anticipating objections that he was

detracting from other papers, such as *The Liberator*, he argues the epistemic privilege of a formerly enslaved editor. His decision to become an editor “has resulted from no unworthy distrust or ungrateful want of appreciation of the zeal, integrity, or ability of the noble band of white laborers...but, from a sincere and settled conviction that such a Journal, if conducted with only moderate skill and ability, would do a most important and indispensable work, which would be wholly impossible for our white friends to do for us.” “The man who has *suffered the wrong*,” he adds, “is the man to *demand redress*” (italics in original). Beyond advocating for themselves, he takes a wider view: “In the grand struggle for liberty and equality now waging, it is meet, right and essential that there should arise in our ranks authors and editors, as well as orators, for it is in these capacities that the most permanent good can be rendered to our cause.”¹⁰ In making the case for Black editors, Douglass offers intimate access to his public persona. The subject of his *Narrative* had moved into an editor’s seat.

Unfortunately for Douglass, the reigning model of personal journalism presumed a white editor. White leaders of the abolitionist movement had spent the preceding year trying to persuade Douglass against starting his own paper, warning against the financial risks and viewing the idea as an affront to Garrison’s *Liberator*. Shortly after Douglass began publishing *The North Star* at the end of 1847, rumors began to come from those same circuits casting doubts about who was actually running *The North Star*.¹¹ These racist rumors traded on the reality of the collaborative group behind *The North Star*. Douglass employed a larger staff over time than any other antebellum Black-edited periodical, with such notable co-editors as Martin R. Delany, Peter H. Clark, William Cooper Nell, John Dick, and Julia Griffiths. All of them shaped the conduct of the paper, but the presence of Dick and Griffiths, his white co-editors, helped fuel insidious rumors that Douglass was a mere figurehead. In effect, they denied a Black editor’s

attempts to adopt the model of personal journalism.

White abolitionists could dispute Douglass's editorship because of the implicit convention against attributing individual acts of editing. In antebellum newspapers, the author of an article might be credited, but there were no standard rules for attributing any editorial writing or revisions. The logic of personal journalism meant that readers could reasonably assume that any opinion columns were speaking as the voice of the paper. Most reporting was anonymous. Newspapers only began to print reporter's personal names in large numbers during the Civil War.¹² Rumors that white co-editors were in command of Douglass's personal journal directly undermined his editorial authority.

The ordeal compelled Douglass to redirect his focus as an editor to devising new techniques that would allow him access to the full powers of editorship. His personal acclaim was apparently not enough. He would need to foreclose the vulnerability of editorship to misattribution, moving beyond the current norms and typical formats used by antebellum editors. Nine months into the life of *The North Star*, Douglass wrote a short item to announce that

“in compliance with the wishes of numerous correspondents, we shall hereafter append our own initials—F. D.—to all articles from our pen published in the North Star. Our friend and colaborer, M. R. Delany, will probably append his initials to articles written by himself. This arrangement is adopted solely to gratify our readers, and not because there is the slightest division of sentiment between ourselves” (1848: “Initials”).

What the article omits, as most readers would have known, was that editorial bylines in the antebellum era were exceedingly rare. Using initials disaggregated the identities of *The North Star* and its editors. Despite Douglass's claims to the contrary, the new practice offered a way to print Martin Delany's letters without endorsing his ideas. The new bylines differentiated the

political positions of Douglass and Delany, a departure from standard practices that served to manage public perceptions of Douglass's editorship. This novel approach to editing and its conventions called attention to the work behind the scenes to edit the paper.¹³ The change in protocol was relatively minor in its effect on the paper's day-to-day operations. It would not become an influential model. Yet in the larger view, internal debates and external opposition had inspired an innovative way around the standard model of antebellum newspapers which presumed that the organizing persona would be a white man. Through a small formal change, *The North Star* had created an alternative.

Douglass and his co-editors would rely on the use of initials, as an improvised solution to the problem of personal journalism's racial boundaries, for another three years until the paper re-named itself, stitching the initials into the fabric of the paper. In June 1851, *The North Star* became *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, carrying the initials "F. D." over onto the name and face of the paper. Douglass could now relinquish a policy on initials that "originated in a desire to remove certain doubts...as to who wrote the leading editorials" ("F. D."). The name of a newspaper was not the usual place for enacting an editorial persona. By shifting the terrain of that persona into a typically instrumental component, Douglass had recast the expressive capacities of antebellum editorship.

With his eponymous persona, Douglass had recast his ability to express himself as an editor, speaking not just in writing but through the formats, the columns and title, of his newspaper. The title change doubled down on the practice of signing Douglass's name, reinforcing his claim to the personal journalism model of editorship. Readers and rivals could trust that the editor was responsible for everything in the paper because he had literally put his name atop it. In a twist on his paper's naming practice, Douglass joked in 1851 that personal and professional identity had

merged seamlessly: “We shall now, therefore, dispense with [initials], and assume fully the right and dignity of an *Editor*—a Mr. Editor if you please!” (“F. D”) His name remained atop *Frederick Douglass’ Paper* until it gave rise to *Douglass’ Monthly*, running uninterrupted up to the moment in 1862 when his fellow editors feverishly debated the words and intentions of Abraham Lincoln in “Letter to Horace Greeley” and the Emancipation Proclamation. Douglass was able to participate in these debates using the typical tools of an editor because he had spent fifteen years developing the requisite editorial arsenal, securing his ability to use the devices of editing as a means of expression. Having introduced the practice of signing his name to editorial columns, and transposed that practice into the newspaper’s title, Douglass extended the formal and signifying potential of editorship, the versatile powers of “a Mr. Editor.”

II. Editorship, Even Still

While national debates on the role of slavery in the Civil War raged on in 1862, a fledgling newspaper in New Orleans joined in carefully. *L’Union* was a tri-weekly newspaper published between 1862-64 by French-speaking free people of color. Unlike most, *L’Union* did not echo the emancipatory demands of Greeley’s “The Prayer for Twenty Millions.” Nor did it follow editorial conventions by reprinting and commenting on Lincoln’s response, which read:

“My paramount object in this struggle *is* to save the Union, and is *not* either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing *any* slave, I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing *all* the slaves, I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that” (italics in original).

Lincoln’s explanation—in parallel sentences with a simple rhetorical structure—provided quotable language, a mantra to explain the war’s vicissitudes and political dilemmas. The

language allowed Lincoln to avoid committing to any clear public position even as he privately prepared to issue the Emancipation Proclamation only a few months later.

Instead of the traditional reprint format, which might have included citation, attribution, and some commentary, *L'Union* distilled and translated Lincoln's letter into a single French sentence: "L'Union!.. l'Union avec des esclaves, l'Union sans esclaves – l'Union quand même!.. ABE LINCOLN. ("The Union! The Union with the enslaved, the Union without the enslaved, the Union even still/all the same!")¹⁴ The translation appeared on the front page, right next to the title flag, a traditional space for the motto (Fig. 1). These lines soon moved to the paper's masthead on page two, where nineteenth-century newspaper readers could usually find practical information on a paper's subscription rates and the publisher's location. This surprising use of the masthead, an instrumental space, enabled the paper to subtly condemn Lincoln's equivocation without increasing the risk of racial violence. *L'Union* reframed Lincoln's equivocation over the role of slavery in the war as tantamount to disregard for enslaved people. The translation lent an ironic distance. Held out in relief, indecision about emancipation was the same as perpetuating slavery.

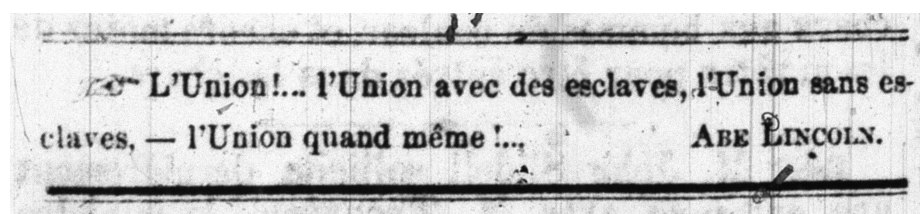


Figure 1: Untitled, *L'Union*, 5 Oct 1862, 1

The Union Army had begun to occupy New Orleans in May of 1862, but their presence did little to defuse the standing threats of racial violence in the city. The Union Army was commanded by General Benjamin Butler, who banned French in schools and forced several major newspapers to close or observe new censorship rules.¹⁵ Butler enforced strict martial law

in the city, heightening tensions in an area long defined by its status as the South's largest port for the trade of enslaved people. "The presence of the Federal troops gave ["colored Creoles"] free expression," as Michel Fabre notes, but *L'Union*'s activism risked "provoking the resentment of conservative Southern whites, who threatened to kill [the editor] and to set fire to the newspaper's office" (1998: 40).

This precarious context explains why *L'Union*, unlike Douglass, was only able to join the national Lincoln-Greeley debate surreptitiously. Surrounded by seceded territory, the paper positioned itself against both anti-Black and pro-Union forces. These positions made it vitally important to avoid exposing any of its staff to serious personal harm, particularly by making anyone the face of the paper. Instead of organizing its politics through the persona of a singular editor, *L'Union* needed to cultivate alternative forms of editorship. Where famous men like Douglass could lean on the model of personal journalism, multilingual editors in New Orleans leveraged their facility with language to improvise new ways of speaking through the otherwise instrumental formats of their publications. Absent an open setting for political speech, they contrived new containers, or forms, to advocate for their civil rights in a nation indifferent to their collective safety even within Union-controlled territory. This inventive practice points to the expressive horizons of editorship. Experimenting with forms allowed *L'Union* to pick up and put down different kinds of political commentary. Some of those experiments would take root, drifting from convention to innovation and back again as formats emerged, evolved, failed, or re-circulated.

Publishing by people of color in New Orleans had long been a dangerous enterprise. *L'Union* emerged within the city's small *gens de couleur libres* community that had developed its own publishing tradition reaching back at least a generation before the Civil War.¹⁶ The

community had long been careful to manage the wider legibility of its publications.¹⁷ After the Haitian diaspora and Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the free, French-speaking population of color began creating coterie publications, mostly in periodicals, that demonstrated the “interdependence of literature, history, and political propaganda” (Guenin-Lelle 2016: 127). In 1830, local legislation banned the writing, publishing, or distributing of “anything having a tendency to produce discontent among the free coloured population of this state, or to excite insubordination among the slaves” (Amelinckx 1994: 46-47). The law threatened “imprisonment at hard labor” and even “death.” For these writers, a literary, republican-inflected radicalism developed into a powerful critique of US institutions and hemispheric racial capitalism.

This tradition helps explain why *L'Union* first appeared in French, with only occasional issues later published in English.¹⁸ The paper was funded by Dr. Louis Charles Roudanez, a “black Creole visionary” with two medical degrees (Rouzan 2008: 54). *L'Union*'s editor was Paul Trévigne, responsible for the “well-written. . . lively rhetoric frequently interspersed with erudite quotations” (Fabre 1998: 40). Following established traditions in *gens de couleur* publishing, Roudanez and Trévigne's title and choice of language associated the paper with the Union cause at arm's length. The paper's major contributors and founders were also French-speaking free men of color from Louisiana embedded in a transnational linguistic community.¹⁹ This collective group was responsible for the paper's “militant” dedication to “ending slavery and the oppression of black people” (Rouzan 2008: 55-56). Publication in French may have provided limited insulation for their often antagonistic relationship with the United States.²⁰

Given the paper's hemispheric Creole identity and ambivalent US nationalism, the paper's motto was a format that pushed the boundaries of race and language in occupied New Orleans through both editing and translation. The paper translated Lincoln's words into a three-

part expression: “l’Union avec des esclaves, l’Union sans esclaves – l’Union quand même!”

Installed as a motto, this translation sends both legible and latent messages, showing the expressive powers of translation and editing.²¹ Translation and editing can signify in the process of transmitting language.

Translation drove the paper’s dissent. Translation in the paper was a give-and-take, a clash between what Lawrence Venuti describes as the competing forces of “foreignizing and domesticating” (2008).²² In a foreignizing translation, a reader encounters language that breaks from their familiar linguistic patterns. Those departures invoke the text’s original language and culture. Conversely, a domesticating translation privileges the reading audience over the original author. This approach often results in dramatic shifts to the syntax, diction, or connotative webs of the original, as the author’s language is altered for the contexts of the intended audience. Translation, Venuti reminds us, is always an act of violence (2008: 18). Either the author (in this case, Lincoln) suffers from translation’s inevitable violation, or the reader does.

L’Union’s Lincoln motto is both a domesticating and a foreignizing translation. Most immediately, *L’Union* removes Lincoln as an agent of his own message. While the original emphasizes presidential authority, the translated motto offers no sense that Lincoln controls the structure or trajectory of the Union. Instead of conveying presidential intentions about the nation and its legal relation to millions of enslaved people, the motto offers a compressed description that leaves no trace of Lincoln as an influential participant. Shifting focus to the Union, the translation further hollows out Lincoln by eschewing verbs as the carriers of action. Instead, the motto highlights an abstract entity that will remain “quand même” (“all the same/even so”) no matter the status of enslaved people. This final phrase is both descriptive (“even so”) and

exclamatory. Through a shift in language, *L'Union* alters the grammatical content and tone of the original text, adapting it into a kind of political slogan.

The translation retains the aphoristic, mobile form of the source text. This translation dramatizes the form, compressing Lincoln's complicated equivocation, his textual struggle with presidential responsibility and national morality, into a few short phrases. Formally, the motto's structure dilates around "L'Union" as a linguistic entity. Each of the three short descriptive phrases begin with that noun. By alienating Lincoln from himself, removing the letter's careful negotiation of presidential options, the translation shifts emphasis from a singular actor to a collective abstraction. Not incidentally, the final phrase—"quand même"—also operates as an interjection, signifying an expression of emphasis: "No, really!" or "No kidding!" Here, the motto springs its critique, burnishing description with ironic disdain. While the linguistic register alters the tone of Lincoln's letter from formal to vernacular, that alteration also emphasizes the aphoristic quality of the original English phrase.

The motto's changes in French make it both stranger and more familiar to itself, distancing Lincoln while bringing his Union closer into the foreground. The translated version renders Lincoln a Bartlett-esque celebrity figure, a purveyor of pith removed from the lived struggles of millions, those linguistically abstracted into the noun "esclaves" and presented as incidental to the Union "quand même." It is these abstracted individuals, the enslaved millions in the United States, that both Greeley and *L'Union* purport to represent.

Within the nineteenth-century press, *L'Union*'s translation of Lincoln's phrase is recognizable, if aslant, as a reprint with a difference, a resignified format. Lincoln's original message conveys the president's complex ideas about the purpose of the war. These ideas and commitments, shared between president and editor, are news. What begins as a newsworthy

exchange between Lincoln and Greeley becomes, on the front page of *L'Union*, a call to arms for its readers and a component of the paper's proposed outlook. *L'Union* recreates Lincoln's original message, already designed for wide dissemination, into a reminder of the social erasure of enslaved people from civic life and of the abstract power of the Presidential Figure, here (re)figured as a voice from on high.²³ The aphoristic form emphasizes the distance between Lincoln's power as a voice of the nation and the political and material dearth of such power for enslaved people. In this motto, no persons suffer the price of an enduring Union. The biting criticism of Lincoln's deferred decision is evident in a rhetorical shrug of presidential shoulders: "It's all the same to me; No kidding!"

This translation, as a revision, an "almost-reprint," flexes a recognizable editorial format in a way *Douglass' Monthly* or other papers do not. The translation's significance only becomes legible through editorship. The paper bends newspaper conventions by drawing on the aesthetics of aphorism to shift between the news and the editorial tasks of selection and commentary. In rendering this news of Lincoln's political conscience increasingly aphoristic and serialized, and placing it in a paratext, where the newspaper generally prints repeat, utilitarian information, *L'Union* translates its political position into a formal element. By refashioning the news into a motto, instead of reframing the content of the news as politics, *L'Union's* Lincoln motto illustrates a distinct capacity of editorship.

Editorship in *L'Union* reverberates beyond what can be explained through close reading or textual analysis. The pages of *L'Union* present many additional examples, the most overt being the decision to publish intermittently in French and English. The paper's dual editions appeared for a year, between 1863-1864, though only nine English editions, with non-continuous issue numbers, remain.²⁴ These conjoined editions are not simple translations. Their variations

imply meanings neither random nor inchoate. The first two English editions appeared in 1863 on meaningful dates: Bastille Day (July 14) and Emancipation Day (August 1). Both are notably silent about these conspicuous dates, but the paper's location in New Orleans and the presumptive audience of *gens de couleur* from across the Caribbean suggest that the very appearance of simultaneous bilingual editions might have operated as coded commemorations of liberty and freedom.²⁵ Celebrations of rebellions on Bastille Day in New Orleans during the Civil War could activate multiple associations and significations.²⁶ An editorial column in French on July 14 vehemently invoked the “true sons of France” against “oppression [or] tyranny.”²⁷ A week before the first number of *The Union* in 1863, *L'Union* ran a translation of the U.S. Declaration of Independence, another echo of its radical spirit of resistance.

Translation evokes much more than multiple language communities. Its presence in *L'Union* reveals the shared capacity of both translation and editing to inflect and signify in the transfer and framing of language. The paper set out to subvert US white supremacy and nationalism—both Northern and Southern iterations—in ways that drew deliberately on the salient qualities of nineteenth-century newspaper formats. Both the French and English editions show the cultural footprint of editorship in their use of the typical, quotidian components of a nineteenth-century newspaper as potential devices for offering coded commentary and veiled protest. *L'Union* could make rhetorical use of such mundane elements as the information printed about the newspaper's publication schedule, its offices, the schedule for deliveries, or even the (disjointed) numbering of the paper's volumes and issues. The not-quite parallel editions of *L'Union* and *The Union* exemplify the potential for editorship to create overriding, implicit contexts. *L'Union*'s multilingualism invites speculation across multiple registers, none of which emerge from the texts alone.

Style in periodicals exceeds editorial choices about visual design.²⁸ Among many other editorial practices, reprints are broadly formal and historically specific techniques through which editors introduce aesthetic dimensions: the textual, visual, and tonal decisions about how to interpret and recreate the meaning of the reprinted materials in that week's newspaper. *L'Union's* motto, reprinted and translated, demonstrates an imaginative range achieved through deliberate multilingualism, the estrangement of Lincoln's perceptions as an English-speaking politician into a compressed poetic formulation partaking of several linguistic registers while refusing the possibilities expressed in Lincoln's reflection. That is, the shift in language also marks a shift in purpose. *L'Union* is not sharing the news of Lincoln's careful consideration, but instead proliferating the idea that the Union imagines its relation to enslaved people as incidental, a notion the paper found abhorrent. The example of *L'Union's* Lincoln motto illustrates the refashioning of news into the enduring formats of the paper, a process that touches on varied practices in the mode of editorship.

In its eventual disappearance from the paper, the Lincoln motto highlights how form and content can swap positions in periodicals. As stylized political commentary, the motto is an evanescent statement in an ephemeral package. With the paper's shift to occasional bilingual issues, the motto dropped away entirely. Perhaps the critique it conveyed found expression in other overlaps or misalignments of cultural meaning as *L'Union/The Union* began addressing expanded audiences. The Lincoln motto is a formal collage that grew out of a moment when *L'Union's* editors confronted the limits of the standard formats for nineteenth-century newspapers, compelling them to find new and expedient uses for older editorial techniques. This process shows that innovations within established formats can modify and renew editorial registers of meaning. Even if this version of compressed ironic commentary did not exemplify

L'Union's aesthetic or political approach in the long term, the form of the motto served clear signifying purpose as both a public-facing call-to-arms and an editorial experiment in carefully guarded politics.

The registers of meaning in the paper's content and non-linguistic instruments point to the wider terrains of editorship. With more concerted attention, it will become possible to see such editorial practices on their own historical terms. This small motto shows the shifting scales of editorship, its potential to extend granular formal features into the formats that serve as the infrastructure of a periodical publication.²⁹ These formats, in turn, help knit communities, sustain political actions, reclaim collective agencies, and open up unanticipated aesthetic experiences.

III. The Patterns and Prospects of Editorship Studies

In 1862, debates about slavery and the Civil War engulfed the nation's press. A letter from one of its most famous editors, Horace Greeley, to President Abraham Lincoln brought those debates to a new pitch. The exchange between Greeley and Lincoln was an important moment in national print culture, a moment whose near universal rate of participation amounts to a vibrant archive of editorship. Many editors protested Lincoln's indifference using a standard tool of editing in the nineteenth-century: commentaries on reprinted texts. Wielding the tools of editorship required a certain amount of public stature, a stature that non-white editors could not easily presume. Frederick Douglass's unflinching participation in these debates reflected decades spent carefully crafting his editorial persona. A French Creole paper in New Orleans tried something new. When *L'Union* paraphrased a snapshot of Lincoln's argument, and installed its aphoristic translation as an enduring part of the paper, its editors were pursuing a quiet, guarded mode of commentary. These print strategies were useful during the city's unequal wartime regime in which free expression was freer for some. The illegibility of agency in the paper's

response to Lincoln was not accidental or neutral. It was an evasive maneuver designed to be opaque and to exploit the capacities of editorship.

Mapping the parallel cycles of editorship in these two seemingly different papers suggests a generalizable framework for the study of editing. Editorship develops in a recognizable cycle, a cycle in which reactive, improvised actions fall into rhythms and form a publication's enduring components. At first, *The North Star* and *L'Union* tried to use two prevailing tools of editing — the magnetic persona at the heart of antebellum journalism and the ubiquitous practice of reprinting. They quickly ran up against the limits of these techniques. Racist rumors undermined Douglass's claims to an editorial persona. The menace of racial violence in New Orleans stifled *L'Union*'s willingness to reprint anything approaching outright protest. In response, both papers had to modify or even revamp conventional approaches. Douglass and his co-editors began the practice of signing their initials, redoubling their claims to public authority. *L'Union* translated Lincoln's words into an epigram that served as the paper's motto, reprinting and reiterating its dissent with each issue. These two examples use only a few of many possible forms, which include, but are hardly limited to, the title flag, masthead, motto, paper, type size and style, subscription information, addresses, dates, volume number, issue number, column layout, and even the marks to differentiate articles or images.

In the serial craft of editing, forms accrue a set of specific expectations, procedures, and meanings. Once the parameters are established between papers and their readers, forms require no explanation. This complex process relies on a shared understanding of the meaning and expectations for a given form. Changing forms, such as variations in nineteenth-century reprints, can have far reaching consequences for the prevalent formats of newspapers or magazines in a given place, time, or community.³⁰ The internal mutability of formats shows that there are deep

rules, expectations, and negotiations in a newspaper or magazine, a practical grammar of editing that shapes the role and influence of periodical publishing in larger political, cultural, or social systems.

The cycle of forms shows that editing works like a language. As Sean Latham and Robert Scholes have argued, periodicals are more than “merely. . . containers of discrete bits of information” (2006: 517). Following Douglass and *L’Union* reveals that those containers are themselves, in Latham and Scholes’s words, worthwhile “autonomous objects of study” (518). That is true both for the overall paper and for its individual components. Discrete forms and formats exist in larger constellations governed by implicit rules (often lumped together as “editorial policy”). A change or departure in usage can unsettle those implicit rules. In the interplay between whole and part, formats provide for habitual reuse or novel inflection, operating on a spectrum between structure and play. Editing has its own semantic systems; editorship speaks in formats.

Reading the formal language of editorship helps us see the work of editing even when editors elude us. The second part of our approach, a focus on the labor of editorship, has particular promise for the study of non-white publishing histories. The serial nature of periodical publishing obliges a division of the endless duties of editing into routines organized by habit, function, or department. The formats we can see on the page mark these divisions of editorial labor. Formats and their underlying, routine practices can be conditioned by any number of factors (e.g. editors’ skills, technological affordances, distribution networks, and changing cultural contexts) and aimed at any number of goals (e.g. cultural agendas, political aims, and commercial profit motives). Once ensconced, formats’ production routines can be difficult to dislodge. That inertia is why formats can be said to dictate the protocols, the implicit rules and

specific modes, through which people can participate in the production or consumption of a publication.

A sense of the craft of editing on *Douglass' Monthly* and *L'Union* hints toward the larger possible histories of editing. A starting point for editorship studies in any given sub-field will be to identify the prevailing patterns of formats on the page and labor behind the scenes. Careful study of their implicit rules, rhythms, and relationships might reveal much about the choices made during the routines of editing to fit or interpret new content into familiar formats. Those choices can add up over time into a house style and distinguishing perspectives.

Initial attempts to locate the craft of editing on the page, however, often do not reveal much. Seemingly unremarkable moments of editing encourage us to seek out the crucible in the near or distant past when the prevailing formats or routines were established or remade. We can inquire into any particular moment of formal rupture and change, tracing its causes and following its consequences. Historicizing editorial practices can help identify the exigencies and expediencies that, while perhaps out of view on the page, explain how editors develop their papers into vehicles for speaking in formats while simultaneously operating as circuits of exchange at the center of larger political or social systems.

Rather than derive a singular theory of editorship, we observe that editing has an enormous and unmapped history, sprawling with genealogies of method, format, and style that developed across different eras and places. There is no such thing as an “editor function” that characterizes editorship across time and space. Douglass and his counterparts in New Orleans are only two rich entries in those longer traditions of editing. Non-white communities have long looked to the tools of editing to advance causes that ran against the tides of racism, sexism, xenophobia, and state violence. Editorship is always unfolding in relation to technologies,

materials, markets, and the political, literary, or artistic movements of the day. In any given field of literary and cultural studies, we see opportunities to locate editors and editing. In any of these histories, even a small practical change in the craft of editing may have radical, transitive properties. Editing can beckon new worlds.

This essay was written, and edited, in full and equal collaboration between the authors.

Acknowledgements: We would like to acknowledge the newspaper collection in the Rosemonde E. and Emile Kuntz Collection in the Tulane Special Collections Library. This work has benefited from conversations in several NEH Summer Institutes, including the “City of Print” (2015) and “What is Gained in Translation?” (2017), as well as feedback from John Ernest, Mark Noonan, and the anonymous readers at *American Literature* and beyond who helped to strengthen the essay.

Biographies

Sarah H. Salter is an assistant professor of English at Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi. Her scholarship has appeared in journals including *Acomà*, *Lit: Literature, Interpretation, Theory*, and *MELUS*; her current research focuses on the forms and traditions of periodical editorship. Salter is Co-Editor of the journal *American Periodicals*. On the study of editors, Salter and Casey have collaborated on a symposium at the American Antiquarian Society (2018), a forum in *American Periodicals* (2020), and panels at past meetings of the MLA, C19, and the NEH/Library of Congress.

Jim Casey is an assistant professor of African American Studies, History, and English at Penn State, where he serves as the managing director of the Center for Black Digital Research. With P. Gabrielle Foreman, he is co-editor of *The Colored Conventions Movement: Black Organizing in the Nineteenth Century* (UNC Press 2021). Along with a current book project on the history of editors, he is the president of the Research Society for American Periodicals. On the study of editors, Salter and Casey have collaborated on a symposium at the American Antiquarian Society

(2018), a forum in *American Periodicals* (2020), and panels at past meetings of the MLA, C19, and the NEH/Library of Congress.

¹ Greeley (1862). Lincoln's (1862) reply read: "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that."

² Our understanding of reprinting is indebted to McGill 2007 and Cordell 2015.

³ On Black print culture, see Bacon 2007, Danky 1999, and Foster 2005, 2010; on the Spanish-language press, see Gruesz 2001 and Kanellos 2000; on the US history of Indigenous print, see Round 2001. For early field surveys, see Hutton 1992 and Miller 1987. For recent case studies, see Chapin 1996, Coronado 2013, Wilson 2013, Gardner 2015, Saldívar 2006, K. Silva 2017.

⁴ Recent special issues and forums include *American Periodicals* (2015) "Black Periodical Studies"; *MELUS* (2015) "African American Print Cultures"; *American Periodicals* (2020) "Forum: Locating the Practices of Editors in Multiethnic Periodicals." On Black citizenship in print culture, see Spires 2019; on the Spanish-language exile press, see Kreitz 2018; on circulation networks of Indigenous print, see Senier 2017; for a computational analysis of editors, see Klein 2020. On Pan-African multilingual print cultures see the work of Zita Nunes. On theoretical concerns for periodical studies, see Hammill, Hjarson, and McGregor 2015a and 2015b, Philpotts 2015; the foundational call is Latham and Scholes 2006.

⁵ See Cole 2020, Radus 2018, Wright 2016, Fielder and Senchyne 2019.

⁶ On editorship's gender politics, see Okker 1992, Harris and Garvey 2004; on literary editing, Spadaccini and Taléns 1992, Jackson 2007, Eggert 2009, Greenberg 2018, and Groenland 2020. The wider body of scholarship on slave narratives offers an important complement to this current essay's focus on periodical editors. Following Andrews 1986 and Gates 1987, many studies of slave narratives focus on the questions of who can speak and who can edit by parsing the ways that Black voices and white auditors tried to manage their visibility in the text. For examples that speak to editorship studies, see Sekora 1987, Foster 1994, Painter 1997, Baumgartner 2001, Moody 2003, Ernest 2009 and 2011, and Banner 2013.

⁷ Douglass began as contributing editor on a militant paper, the *Ram's Horn*, in 1847, shortly before he founded the *North Star* (1847-1851), followed by a series of papers: *Frederick Douglass' Paper* (1851-60); *Douglass' Monthly* (1859-1863); and the *New National Era* (1870-1874). At Colored Conventions, he steered debates on a national press for African Americans. Comparatively little work has focused on Douglass as an editor; see Fagan (2016 and 2021).

⁸ See Baldasty 1992, Crouthamel 1989, Dicken-Garcia 1989, Huntzicker 1999, Mott 1930, and Schudson 1978.

⁹ For a comprehensive study of the avuncular editor, see Bergmann 1995.

¹⁰ Note that the usage of "meet" is correct, per the *OED* definition of meet, adj., as "Suitable, fit, proper for some purpose or occasion, expressed or implied."

¹¹ See Fanuzzi 2001. On *The North Star* and Douglass's editorship, see Ernest 2011, Fagan 2016, Fee 2011, Meer 2009, and Pride 1997, Hutton 1992, McFeely 1991, Quarles 1948.

¹² In the nineteenth century, editors and journalists remained almost universally anonymous. Journalists began to use bylines during the Civil War. Editorials began to attribute authors in the twentieth century with the advent of op-ed columns. See Hudson 1873, Schudson 1978, and Dicken-Garcia 1989.

¹³ On Douglass, Delany, and editorship at *The North Star*, see Levine 1997.

¹⁴ Discussed below, "quand même" conveys literal meaning ("even still" or "all the same") and a tonal register that is more idiomatic. Specifically, "quand même" here suggests an ironically dismissive or cavalier attitude: "all the same/so what."

¹⁵ On French as an educational language, see Blokker 2012. On Butler's censorship of newspapers in New Orleans, see Hearn 1997 and Caskey 1938 especially Chap. 3.

¹⁶ See Fabre 1998, Latortue and Adams 1979, Pratt 2015. On the diversities of *gens de couleur* communities, politics, and social practices, see Midlo Hall 2009.

¹⁷ For a discussion of pre-Purchase Creole and enslaved communities, see Midlo Hall and Tregle Jr. in *Creole New Orleans* 1992.

¹⁸ Hard copies of *L'Union* are rare. The most complete collections rest at Tulane University (New Orleans, LA), the Western Reserve Historical Society Newspaper Project (Cleveland, OH), and the Wisconsin Historical Society Newspaper Project (Madison, WI). The most widely available copies of *L'Union* are courtesy of *Miscellaneous Negro Newspapers*. Washington, D.C.: Microfilmed by the Library of Congress for the Committee on Negro Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies, 1947.

¹⁹ On the longer history of Roudanez and his newspapers, see Roudané 2018. On multilingual cultures of New Orleans, see Fabre 1998, Gruesz 2006, and Edward Ticknor 1933.

²⁰ For more on veiling strategies in nineteenth-century African American literary history, see Fulton 2006, Stepto 1991, and Zafar 1997.

²¹ See Foreman 2009 on “histotextuality” and Gates 1988.

²² In addition to Venuti, see Appiah 2000, Apter 2013, and Berman 2009. Cassin 2004 and Cho 2016 provide alternatives to translation theory’s oppositions. On translation as archival method and archival metaphor, see Edwards 2012.

²³ Dana Nelson discusses this as “presidentialism.” See *National Manhood*, esp. “Afterward” (1998: 204-238).

²⁴ The first available bilingual issue, 07/14/1863, is listed as “Vol. 1, No. 4.” We have been unable to locate previous bilingual issues (presumably, No. 1-3) in the available collections. The next bilingual issue, 08/01/63, is numbered Vol. 1, No. 12.

²⁵ In many Northern cities in the antebellum period, African Americans celebrated Emancipation Day on August 1 (Quarles 1969: 123-29). In 1882, the *New Orleans Daily Picayune* prints “Programme of the French National Fete of July 14, 1882” (14 July, 1882).

²⁶ As Diane Roberts glosses, “‘Jacobin,’ as in the most ferocious enfants de la patrie of 1789, has a long history in the South. The Haitian Revolutionaries were called Jacobins. . . the term carries with it. . . the taint of radical politics” (2007: 132).

²⁷ “Et en effet, le fait seul d’une oppression ou d’une tyrannie n’est-il pas un titre aux sympathies des vrais fils de la France (Indeed, the mere fact of oppression or tyranny is not a claim to the sympathy of the true sons of France)” in “Une Petition Modele” (1863).

²⁸ This is, to some degree, what scholars of Victorian periodicals are conveying in analyses of illustrations and serial fiction. See, for example, Leighton and Surridge 2008, Kooistra 2016.

²⁹ Our understanding of infrastructure is indebted to Bowker and Star 2000 and Star and Ruhleder 1996.

³⁰ Others have implied this process in periodical histories. Cole describes the development of the comic strip: “As their editor, Block regularized their use of panels, repetitive storylines, and caricature--formal characteristics. . . [which] resulted in the consistent, multi-panel format that became the standard” (2020: 26-27). Mary Ganster claims that formal conventions of newspaper advertising “naturalize a given ideology so effectively that the absurdity, self-interest, and cruelty of the underlying ideological assumptions are invisible” (2015: 432). See also Noonan 2020 on periodical “printscape.” In *The Form of News*, Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) offer a useful survey of the business and conceptual models of news journalism.

Works Cited

- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. 2000. "Thick Translation." In *The Translation Studies Reader*, edited by Lawrence Venuti, 389-401. New York: Routledge Press.
- Apter, Emily. 2013. *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability*. New York: Verso Books.
- Amelinckx, Frans C. 1994. "Forgotten People, Forgotten Literature: The Case of Creole Authors of Color." *Louisiana Literature: A Review of Literature and Humanities*, 11, no. 2: 45-54.
- Bacon, Jacqueline. 2007. *Freedom's Journal: The First African-American Newspaper*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Baldasty, Gerald. 1992. *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Barnhurst, Kevin G., and John C. Nerone. 2001. *The Form of News: A History*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Berman, Antoine. 2009. *Toward a Translation Criticism*. Translated by Françoise Massardier-Kenney. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2009.
- Bergmann, Hans. 1995. *God in the Street: New York Writing from the Penny Press to Melville*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Blokker, Laura Ewen. 2012. *Education In Louisiana*. State of Louisiana, Dept. of Culture, Recreation and Tourism, Office of Cultural Development.
- Bowker, Geoffrey C. and Susan Leigh Star. 2000. *Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

- Casey, Jim and Sarah H. Salter. 2020. "Forum: Locating the Practices of Multiethnic Periodicals." Including Kelley Kreitz, Jewon Woo, Jacqueline Emery, Ayendy Bonifacio, Todd Thompson. *American Periodicals* vol. 30, no. 2: 101-125.
- Caskey, Willie Malvin. 1938. *Secession and Restoration of Louisiana*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- Casper, Scott E., Jeffery D. Groves, Stephen W. Nissenbaum, and Michael Winship, eds. 2007. *A History of the Book in America: Volume III: The Industrial Book, 1840-1880*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Cassin, Barbara, ed. 2004. *Dictionary of Untranslatables: A Philosophical Lexicon*. Translations edited by Emily Apter, Jacques Lezra, and Michael Wood. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Chapin, Helen Geracimos. 1996. *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996.
- Cho, Heekyoung. 2016. *Translation's Forgotten History: Russian Literature, Japanese Mediation, and the Formation of Modern Korean Literature*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Cole, Jean Lee. 2020. *How the Other Half Laughs: The Comic Sensibility in American Culture, 1895-1920*. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi.
- Cordell, Ryan. 2015. "Reprinting, Circulation, and the Network Author in Antebellum Newspapers." *American Literary History* 27 no. 3, 2015: 417-445.
- Coronado, Raúl. 2013. *A World Not to Come: A History of Latino Writing and Print Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Crouthamel, James L. 1989. *Bennett's New York Herald and the Rise of the Popular Press*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Danky, James P., and Maureen E. Hady, eds. 1999. *African-American Newspapers and Periodicals*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Dicken-Garcia, Hazel. 1989. *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Douglass, Frederick. 1847. "Our Paper and Its Prospects." *The North Star*, 3 Dec. Manuscript/Mixed Material. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/sn84026365/1847-12-03/ed-1/>. Accessed July 19, 2021.
- . 1848. "Initials." *The North Star*, 15 Sept. Manuscript/Mixed Material. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/sn84026365/1848-09-15/ed-1/>. Accessed July 19, 2021.
- . 1851. "F.D." *Frederick Douglass's Paper*, 26 June. Manuscript/Mixed Material. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/sn84026366/1851-06-26/ed-1/>. Accessed July 19, 2021.
- . 1862. "Reasons for Issuing the Proclamation of Emancipation." *Douglass's Monthly*, Oct. Accessible Archives.
- Edwards, Brent Hayes. 2012. "The Taste of the Archive." *Callaloo* 35, no. 4: 944-972.
- Eggert, Paul. 2009. *Securing the Past: Conservation in Art, Architecture, and Literature*. Cambridge University Press.
- Ernest, John. 2009. *Chaotic Justice. Rethinking African American Literary History*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

- . 2011. *A Nation Within a Nation: Organizing African-American Communities before the Civil War*. Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee, Inc.
- Fabre, Michel. 1998. "The New Orleans Press and French-Language Literature by Creoles of Color." In *Multilingual America: Transnationalism, Ethnicity, and the Languages of American Literature*, edited by Werner Sollors, 29-49. New York: New York University Press.
- Fagan, Benjamin. 2016. *The Black Newspaper and the Chosen Nation*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- . 2021. "The Organ of the Whole: Colored Conventions, the Black Press, and the Question of National Authority." In *The Colored Convention Movement: Black Organizing in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by P. Gabrielle Foreman, Jim Casey, and Sarah Lynn Patterson, 195-210. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Fanuzzi, Robert. 2001. "Frederick Douglass's 'Colored Newspaper': Identity Politics in Black and White." In *The Black Press: New Literary and Historical Essays*, edited by Todd Vogel, 55-70. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ Press.
- Fee, Frank E. 2011. "To No One More Indebted: Frederick Douglass and Julia Griffiths, 1849-63." *Journalism History* 37, no. 1 (Spring): 12-26.
- Fielder, Brigitte and Jonathan Senchyne, editors. 2019. *Against a Sharp White Background: Infrastructures of African American Print*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Foreman, P. Gabrielle. 2009. *Activist Sentiments: Reading Black Women in the Nineteenth Century*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

- Foster, Frances Smith. 2005. "A Narrative of the Somewhat Interesting Origins and (Somewhat) Surprising Developments of African-American Print Culture." *American Literary History* 17 no. 4: 714-740.
- . 2010. "Genealogies of Our Concerns, Early (African) American Print Culture, and Transcending Tough Times." *American Literary History* 22, no. 2: 368–380.
- Fulton, Doveanna S. 2006. *Speaking Power: Black Feminist Orality in Women's Narratives of Slavery*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Ganster, Mary. 2015. "Fact, Fiction, and the Industry of Violence: Newspapers and Advertisements in Clotel." *African American Review* 48 no. 4: 431-444.
- Gardner, Eric. 2015. *Black Print Unbound: The Christian Recorder, African American Literature, and Periodical Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gardner, Eric and Joycelyn Moody, editors. 2015. *Black Periodical Studies*, special issue of *American Periodicals* 25 no 2.
- Gates Jr., Henry Louis. 1988. *The Signifying Monkey*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Greeley, Horace. 1862. "The Prayer of Twenty Millions." *New-York Daily Tribune*, Aug 20.
- Greenberg, Susan L. 2018. *The Poetics of Editing*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Groenland, Tim. 2020. *The Art of Editing: Raymond Carver and David Foster Wallace*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Guenin-Lelle, Dianne. 2016. *The Story of French New Orleans: History of a Creole City*. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi.
- Gruesz, Kirsten Silva. 2001. *Ambassadors of Culture: The Transamerican Origins of Latino Writing*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- . 2006. "The Gulf of Mexico System and the "Latinness" of New Orleans." *American Literary History* 18 no. 3: 468-495.
- Hammill, Faye, Paul Hjartarson, and Hannah McGregor. 2015. "Introduction: Magazines and/as Media: Periodical Studies and the Question of Disciplinarity." *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies* 6 no 2: iii-xiii.
- . 2015. "Introducing Magazines and/as Media: The Aesthetics and Politics of Serial Forms." *ESC: English Studies in Canada* 41, no. 1: 1-18.
- Harris, Sharon M. and Ellen Gruber Garvey. 2004. *Blue Pencils and Hidden Hands: Women Editing Periodicals, 1830-1910*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.
- Hearn, Chester G. 1997. *When the Devil Came Down to Dixie: Ben Butler In New Orleans*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- Hudson, Frederic. 1873. *Journalism in the United States, from 1690-1872*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Huntzicker, William. 1999. *The Popular Press, 1833-1865*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Hutton, Frankie. 1992. *The Early Black Press in America, 1827 to 1860*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Jackson, Leon. 2007. *The Business of Letters: Authorial Economies in Antebellum America*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Kanellos, Nicolás. 2000. *Hispanic Periodicals in the United States, Origins to 1960: A Brief History and Comprehensive Bibliography*, Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage Project Publication. Houston, TX: Arte Público Press.
- Klein, Lauren F. 2020. "Dimensions of Scale: Invisible Labor, Editorial Work, and the Future of Quantitative Literary Studies." *PMLA* 135, no. 1: 23-39.

- Kooistra, L. J. 2016. "Charting Rocks in the Golden Stream: Or, Why Textual Ornaments Matter to Victorian Periodicals Studies." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 49 no. 3: 375-395.
- Kreitz, Kelley. 2018. "American Alternatives: Participatory Futures of Print from New York City's Nineteenth-Century Spanish-Language Press." *American Literary History* 30 no. 4: 677-702.
- Latham, Sean and Robert Scholes. 2006. "The Rise of Periodical Studies." *PMLA* 121 no. 2: 517-531.
- Latortue, Regine and Gleason R.W. Adams, translators and editors. 1979. *Les Cenelles: A Collection of Poems by Creole Writers of the Early Nineteenth Century*. Boston, MA: G.K. Hall & Co.
- Leighton, Mary Elizabeth and Lisa Surridge. 2008. "The Plot Thickens: Toward a Narratological Analysis of Illustrated Serial Fiction in the 1860s." *Victorian Studies* 51, no. 1: 65-101.
- Levine, Robert S. 1997. *Martin Delany, Frederick Douglass, and the Politics of Representation*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Lincoln, Abraham. 1862. "A Letter from President Lincoln. Reply to Horace Greeley." *The New York Times*, August 24, 1862.
- McFeely, William S. 1991. *Frederick Douglass*. New York, W.W. Norton.
- McGill, Meredith. 2007. *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting 1834-1853*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Meer, Sarah. 2009. "Douglass as Orator and Editor." *The Cambridge Companion to Frederick Douglass*, edited by Maurice S. Lee, 46-59. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- "Meet, adj." 2020. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. www.oed.com/view/Entry/115844. Accessed 29 April 2020.

- Midlo Hall, Gwendolyn. 1992. "The Formation of Afro-Creole Culture." *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization*, edited by Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, 58-87. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- . 2009. *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Miller, Sally M. 1987. *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Miscellaneous Negro Newspapers. 1947. Washington, D.C.: Microfilmed by the Library of Congress for the Committee on Negro Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies.
- Moody, Joycelyn and Howard Rembsy II, editors. 2015. *African American Print Cultures*, special issue *MELUS* 40 no. 3.
- Mott, Frank Luther. 1930. *A History of American Magazines, Volume I: 1741-1850*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957.
- Nelson, Dana. 1998. *National Manhood: Capitalist Citizenship and the Imagined Fraternity of White Men*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Noonan, Mark. 2020. "Printscapes." *American Periodicals* 30, no. 1: 9-11.
- Okker, Patricia. 1995. *Our Sister Editors: Sarah J. Hale and the Tradition of Nineteenth-Century American Women Editors*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Painter, Nell Irvin. 1997. *Sojourner Truth: A Life, a Symbol*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Philpotts, Matthew. 2015. "A Return to Theory." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 48 no. 3: 307-311.

- Pratt, Lloyd. 2015. *The Strangers Book: The Human of African American Literature*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Pride, Armistead Scott, and Clint C. Wilson. 1997. *A History of the Black Press*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press.
1882. "Programme of the French National Fete of July 14, 1882." *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, July 14, 1882. Nineteenth-Century US Newspapers.
- Quarles, Benjamin. 1948. *Frederick Douglass*. Da Capo Press, 1997.
- Quarles, Benjamin. 1969. *Black Abolitionists*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Radus, Daniel. 2018. "Margaret Boyd's Quillwork History." *Early American Literature* 53 no. 2: 513-537.
- Roberts, Diane. 2007. "Loving That Briar Patch: Southern Literature and Politics." *The Global South* 1, no. 1: 127-134.
- Roudané, Mark Charles. 2018. *The New Orleans Tribune: An Introduction to America's First Black Daily Newspaper*. Mark Roudané.
- Round, Philip. 2001. *Removable Type: Histories of the Book in Indian Country, 1663-1880*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Rouzan, Laura V. 2008. "Dr. Louis Charles Roudanez: Publisher of America's First Daily Black Newspaper." *South Atlantic Review* 73 no. 2: 54-58.
- Saldívar, Ramón. 2006. *The Borderlands of Culture: Américo Paredes and the Transnational Imaginary*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Schudson, Michael. 1978. *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers*. New York: Basic Books.
- Silva, Noenoe K. 2017. *The Power of the Steel-tipped Pen*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

- Senier, Siobhan. 2017. "The Continuing Circulations of New England's Tribal Newsletters," *American Literary History* 29, no. 2: 418–37.
- Spadaccini, Nicholas and Jenaro Taléns, editors. 1992. *The Politics of Editing*. Minneapolis, MI: University of Minnesota Press.
- Spires, Derrick R. 2019. *The Practice of Citizenship: Black Politics and Print Culture in the Early United States*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Star, Susan Leigh and Karen Ruhleder. 1996. "Steps toward an ecology of infrastructure: Design and access for large information spaces." *Information Systems Research* 7, no. 1: 111-134.
- Stepto, Robert B. 1991. *From Behind the Veil: A study of Afro-American narrative*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Ticknor, Edward L. 1933. *Bibliography of the French Newspapers and Periodicals of Louisiana*. Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society.
- Tregle Jr., Joseph G. "Creoles and Americans." *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization*, edited by Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, 131-188. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- "Untitled." 1862. *L'Union*, 5 Oct. Microfilm. Miscellaneous Negro Newspapers, Library of Congress Photoduplication Service (1947): Reel 107.
- "Une Petition Modele." 1863. *L'Union*, 14 July. Microfilm. Miscellaneous Negro Newspapers, Library of Congress Photoduplication Service (1947): Reel 107.
- Venuti, Lawrence. 2008. *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.

- Wilson, Ivy G. 2013. "The Brief Wondrous Life of the Anglo-African Magazine: Or, Antebellum African American Editorial Practice and Its Afterlives." In *Publishing Blackness: Textual Constructions of Race Since 1850*, edited by George Huchinson and John K. Young, 18-38.. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Wright, Nazera Sadiq. 2016. *Black Girlhood in the Nineteenth Century*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Zafar, Rafia. 1997. *We Wear the Mask: African Americans Write American Literature, 1760-1870*. New York: Columbia University Press.