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Introduction: Gender and Slave Emancipation in Comparative Perspective

From Brazil to Cuba to the U.S. South, from Jamaica to the British Cape Colony, from Martinique and Haiti to French West Africa, gender was central to slave emancipation and to the making of the nineteenth-century Atlantic world. For many participants in emancipation, including abolitionists, state authorities, and freedpeople themselves, the transformation and restabilization of gender relations and identities was a key component of the process. Ideas of masculinity and femininity shaped slaves' and abolitionists' understanding of the wrongs of slavery, consolidated notions of contract and liberalism, contributed to the organization of postemancipation wage labor and political economies, and influenced freedpeoples' dreams of freedom and family in racially charged postemancipation landscapes.

A gendered approach to the study of emancipation helps to answer more fully many of the questions about labor, contract, and formal politics that have traditionally been at the heart of comparative emancipation studies. It also raises important new questions. Women and men accessed and experienced citizenship, labor, and bodily freedom in different ways in postemancipation societies. We would argue that the transition from slavery to regimes more compatible with free wage labor ideologies was crucially dependent on the gendered organization of "free" labor which made women's work invisible. As we shall see, the claims to masculine entitlement forged through revolutionary struggles to end slavery, as in Haiti, as well as abolitionist and liberal assumptions that the individual freed from slavery was male, ensured the persistence of gender inequality in postslave societies.

Recognizing how gender shaped slave emancipation requires that we rethink narratives that have dominated the scholarship in this area. A gendered reading of emancipation that makes false claims to universality may itself drive the centrality of particular topics, such as labor and politics, to eman-

cipation studies. For example, for women the ending of slavery may have involved a challenge to a particular patriarchal order in which they often had been sexually abused as much as a transition to a new form of labor. Reflecting on emancipation from the point of view of women, and on how emancipation confirmed or disrupted existing gender relations, places issues such as violence, sexuality, and the gendered politics of public space at the heart of emancipation studies. Slave emancipation was not only experienced differently by men and women, it also served to reconstruct the very categories "man" and "woman."

The essays in this book draw on feminist theory which shows that gender involves "doing" rather than "being." Scholars such as Judith Butler and Jane Flax have argued that there are no presocial gendered essences. There are no "women" and "men" who have different experiences, only people whose bodily differences are, through social and discursive processes, fixed and categorized into two opposed groups: male and female. As Butler puts it, gender is not "the cultural inscription of meaning on a pregiven sex," but rather the "very apparatus of production whereby the sexes themselves are established."[1] For historians, this insight requires us to ask not only how women's experience of a process such as emancipation differed from that of men, but also how this and other processes work to produce and naturalize gendered categories and identities. The chapters in this book examine how those involved in emancipation also produced and reproduced gender difference. This could be expressed, for example, in the allocation of work, the organization of sexual relationships, the reconstruction of households, and freedpeople's political action.

Gender both helped construct and was itself constructed through class and racial categories.[2] For instance, increasingly from the late eighteenth century, race was being consolidated as a self-evident category in European thought. Both scientific discourse and European and colonial popular cultures came to see femininity as well as blackness as pathological.[3] Ideas about women as both marginal and threatening mirrored and came to enhance emergent racist ideologies about people of African descent.[4]

Discourses of race and their articulation with gendered ideologies and practices underwent transformations in the emancipation period. While tensions within slave societies predated the nineteenth century, the emancipation period coincided with a renewed attention by many slaveholding classes to the elaboration of the ideal of white womanhood. Individuals were gendered and raced in intertwined ways. Abolitionist gender politics, with its twin rhetorical

questions "Am I not a woman and a sister?" and "Am I not a man and a brother?" worked to fix black people within the newly defined versions of femininity and masculinity. But abolitionist rhetoric was ambivalent about whether it was the condition of slavery or slaves' "blackness" which produced their perceived divergence from the normative rules of abolitionist morality. Indeed some of the conflicts at the moment of emancipation involved struggles over the meanings of black or white womanhood.

The gendering of slave emancipation in the nineteenth-century Atlantic world arose from three main sources. It arose out of enslaved people's ideas of masculinity and femininity, that is, the gender ideals that they brought to emancipation. The destruction of slavery through military force in many places also tended to masculinize the emancipation process by granting men title to citizenship on the basis of military service, thus rendering women political minors in the postslavery landscape. Finally, gendered assumptions and exclusions were central to abolitionist discourses, whether these were produced from below as in Haiti or through the liberal ideals of freedom held by many of those who oversaw and participated in emancipation. Despite the diversity of processes and outcomes in the Atlantic world, slave emancipation everywhere took gendered forms, restructuring relationships between men and women and making men's entitlement to leadership of a family a central feature of postemancipation societies.

Rethinking the Atlantic World

This book begins the work of creating a comparative gendered analysis of slave emancipation, using the analytic construct of "the Atlantic world" as a framework. The literature on the British experience in North America has dominated the emerging scholarship on "the Atlantic world."[5] Implicit in much of this work is the notion that ideas and activity flow westward from Europe to the Americas, with Africa joining the Atlantic world primarily as a source of slaves. Paul Gilroy's influential work on the black Atlantic, as well as that of Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker on the creation of an eighteenth-century working class, suggests instead that the Atlantic world emerged from the engagement of different communities on all sides of the ocean.[6] Where many conceptions of the Atlantic world are primarily concerned with movement from East to West, our understanding implies the circulation of people, knowledge, and goods in all directions around the Atlantic littoral.[7] An "Atlan-

tic" approach to history is more useful when it examines a set of processes rather than an object.[8]

Indeed there were many Atlantic worlds, not a unitary and singular Atlantic world. They were made through the reiterative tracing of multiple and overlapping routes of communication and trade, and in particular by slavery and the slave trades. The imaginary Atlantic of a merchant in Luanda in 1750 might focus on Bahia and Lisbon; that of an enslaved person in Virginia in the 1790s could encompass Saint-Domingue along with the Gold Coast; while a London-born sailor's Atlantic would be different again. Furthermore, we would argue that people did not themselves have to move to be drawn into a broader Atlantic system.[9] The expansion of slavery in West and West-Central Africa in the era of the Atlantic slave trade is perhaps the clearest example of what might be called the "Atlanticization" of people who never themselves crossed the ocean.[10]

The ending of the slave trade, and later of slavery in the course of the nineteenth century, helped construct another Atlantic experience, one that created circuits of knowledge and practice that did not automatically flow east to west. For instance, the ending of the British slave trade and later the emancipations in the Americas initiated a movement from west to east into other parts of West Africa. The Saro community of Port Harcourt in Nigeria, for example, was made up of individuals the British recaptured off other countries' slave ships, as well as ex-slaves and people of African descent from the Americas who initially settled in Sierra Leone. These emancipations also witnessed the consolidation of the Afro-Brazilian Aguda communities in the Bight of Benin.[11]

The hybrid worlds around the Atlantic make particularly visible differences in gender ideologies and practices which, when analyzed in isolation, have a tendency to be naturalized, biologized, or pathologized.[12] Attention to the work of gender in the making of postemancipation societies demonstrates the extent to which emancipation was linked to wider histories of migration and nation building that dominated the nineteenth century. Slave emancipation was one strand of a wider long-nineteenth-century process of transformation of mercantilist empires into global markets. The new world of free trade was underpinned by explicit ideologies of liberalism and free labor, in which the ownership of persons was unacceptable, although in practice the elaboration of new forms of unfree labor was an important part of the transition. Taken together, the essays in this book demonstrate that gender ideologies were central to the reformulation of citizenship and labor relations that took place in this period, in both slave and nonslave societies.

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The Experience of Slavery and the Gendering of Emancipation

Recent literature on slavery and emancipation in the Atlantic World has emphasized the connections between freedpeople's aspirations for autonomy in economic and personal life. We argue that this widespread desire for autonomy, often manifested in attempts to access land and to reunite family members, can be better understood if we recognize that transformations in gender relations were an important part of what former slaves wanted from freedom. Enslaved people drew on a variety of sources for the elaboration of ideas about masculinity and femininity, including the gender conventions and ideologies of their particular African backgrounds,[13] the organization of gender in the specific slave society in which they lived, and their encounter with European gender ideologies.

The concept of the patriarchal household ordered slave societies throughout the Atlantic world.[14] Even in those plantation zones where owners were mainly absentees, the law and ideology of slave societies figured slaves as subordinate and inferior members of male-headed households. Some women did head slaveholding households, but they could only do so as widows or unmarried women, and they were almost always marginal and small-scale slaveholders.[15] In addition, maternity in most slave societies constituted the basis of slavery: the status of the mother determined if an individual was born free or enslaved. This practice was intrinsic to the patriarchal nature of slavery as an institution. The refusal of the social rights of fatherhood to enslaved men emphasized that slaves could not form their own households for the purpose of transmitting names or property but were incorporated into their owners' households.[16] Gender, as well as race, was thus fundamental to the continuation of slave societies.

In most of West Africa, from where many slaves in the Atlantic world came, gender was a crucial principle of social organization. Among the Yoruba and Igbo in the area of present-day Nigeria, for example, a sharp separation between men and women existed in daily life, and one's gender centrally determined one's social, economic, and political experience. The "dual-sex system" gave men and women specific and discrete social, economic, and political functions.[17] Women, especially elder women, had substantial institutional authority and political roles, as well as social autonomy.[18]

In contrast, in many of the societies of the South East African coast from which slaves were taken to Cuba and Brazil in the mid-nineteenth century, women were more clearly subordinated to men.[19] Women did primarily agricultural and household work while men engaged in seasonal heavy labor, trade,

warfare, and politics. Women were subject to the authority of their husbands and husbands' kin and enjoyed little formal political power, although widows and divorced women on the Swahili coast seem to have enjoyed some independence.[20] Women's status increased with age and with the production of children, but it did not equal that of men. In these regions women generally did not enjoy the degree of respect and autonomy experienced by women in many West African societies. Nevertheless, the spiritual arena gave women access to political power in East Africa, as mediums between ancestors and the living.[21]

The importance of spirituality as an avenue to power for women was shared across much of the subcontinent. Women also gained status by becoming wealthy, by joining women's title groups, by filling niche roles such as *griottes* (community singers and historians in parts of West Africa), and particularly by advising kings through the status of sister, wife, or mother.[22] Sandra Barnes has argued that women in Africa were "one of history's most politically viable female populations."[23] We still need more research to discover how enslaved people used their experience of women's roles in Africa to shape their understanding of gender in the Americas.

In plantation economies in the Americas, the status of slave entailed a reworking of gender roles. In contrast to labor regimes in both Europe and Africa, plantation work did not crucially depend on a gendered division of labor. Although plantation managers generally reserved specialized, artisanal, and managerial tasks for men, both women and men did agricultural work.[24] From the planters' perspective, women's performance of agricultural labor involved a denial of their femininity and thus emphasized both racial difference and inferiority. African men felt more acutely the transgression of gender roles when slaveholders forced them to do agricultural labor, which was often a predominantly female occupation in their original African societies.[25] Meanwhile, enslaved people on plantations across the Americas organized labor within their own communities along gender lines, with women in most places taking on the primary responsibility for domestic and reproductive tasks. Work in what has been called the "slaves' economy" made use of gender as an organizing principle, although in complex and varying ways in different slave societies.[26]

In much of Africa into the nineteenth century, domestic slavery, in which a family owned few slaves, was the dominant experience for most enslaved people, and the majority of slaves were women. Slavery took place within the existing gendered division of labor, with many female slaves sharing a great deal with free women, especially in patrilineal societies.[27] They could marry, and often married their owners, although not necessarily by choice; their

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children were often free, and enslaved women worked with free women in agricultural and other labor.

In towns and cities in Atlantic societies, enslaved people's work roles were more closely tied to gender than in rural areas. While most enslaved people on plantations worked at tasks which might be done by men or women, enslaved people in urban settings almost always performed gender-specific labor: women were laundresses, marketers, cooks, prostitutes, and looked after children; men were porters, stevedores, household servants, and sometimes artisans. Urban communities required large numbers of women to perform conventionally feminine jobs. As a result, the numerical predominance of male over female slaves was less pronounced in urban than in rural settings, and in many cities enslaved women outnumbered enslaved men.[28]

Particularly in Protestant areas of the nineteenth-century Atlantic world, slaves also forged their gender ideologies through encounters with missionaries and agents of colonial states. These individuals encouraged enslaved people to organize gender according to European bourgeois conventions. Protestant missionaries and preachers in the British Caribbean, the Cape Colony, and the U.S. South from the late eighteenth century actively encouraged slaves to transform their organization of sexual and family life by adopting monogamous marriage. They allied with "progressive" planters who hoped that transformations in sexual behavior would lead to increased reproduction and thus greater profitability.[29] Yet one should be wary both of flattening out enslaved people's gender ideologies and of overestimating the effects of missionary activity on them. Missionaries were keen to produce Christian subjects as evidence of their success. Documentation about converts who embraced monogamy and the Christian nuclear family is thus easily found in many missionary publications. Slaves who did not embrace such visions tend to fall out of the documentary record.

The pattern in the Catholic Atlantic world was somewhat different, both because the Catholic Church placed less emphasis on proselytizing and conversion than did evangelical Protestantism, and because the slave trade to the largest Catholic slave societies, Brazil and Cuba, only ended in the mid-nineteenth century. Slave communities in these regions had greater cultural autonomy, and also repeatedly had to integrate newly arrived Africans who brought with them African ideologies and cultural practices.[30] As a result, even though the Brazilian, Spanish, and French states tried to influence the marital and reproductive behavior of the enslaved people in their empires, for instance, through imperial slave codes that rewarded monogamy, African gender ideologies were less thoroughly ideologically challenged.[31]

The Course of Emancipation: A Brief Overview

While "slave emancipation" is usually taken to mean those dramatic moments of the full abolition of slavery with which this book is primarily concerned, these were almost everywhere preceded by smaller-scale emancipations resulting from self-purchase and manumission. In the Iberian colonies, imperial slave codes facilitated such processes, making them especially widespread. As several essays in this volume emphasize, self-purchase and manumission were gendered processes, accessible to men and women in different ways. For women, manumission was most likely if they had a child by their owner. Some women thus turned the male slaveholder's power to rape into a complex bid for freedom. Self-purchase and manumission were also ideologically gendered: women's acquisition of freedom through what became known as "concubinage" was in many places extremely important to the construction of the racist stereotype of the licentious black woman.

These smaller emancipations had crucial consequences for later postslavery societies, providing as they did the basis for the formation of substantial free populations of color, which in parts of the Atlantic world, especially Brazil and Spanish America, equaled or outnumbered the enslaved population by the time slavery was abolished.[32] A minority of free people of color became successful slave-owning planters. In some areas, perhaps most notably Saint-Domingue/Haiti and most of the small societies of the Eastern Caribbean, this minority went on to form a significant fraction of the postemancipation ruling class, while in others, such as Brazil, newly freed people joined an already large free population of color to form a postemancipation group with diverse experiences of becoming free. Emancipation was not simply a binary process in which black freedpeople confronted their white former owners. The relationship between freedpeople and former slave owners was also complicated by the presence of other significant groups such as indentured laborers from India and China in Trinidad, British Guiana, and Cuba; indigenous people in many parts of Africa and the Americas; and working-class southern-European immigrants in Brazil, Cuba, and Louisiana.[33] Different formations of "race" and "ethnicity" in postslave societies may have been responsible for different gender norms and conventions among working people and in sexual and labor relations across such societies.

As slaves became freedpeople they thus drew on complex and multiple sources for understanding gender. Indeed, many of the conflicts of the postemancipation era, whether over marriage and family life, the use of public

space, or labor, resulted from the different visions of manhood, and in particular of womanhood, constructed by these different groups.

Slavery ended in the Atlantic world over the course of more than a hundred years, beginning with the Haitian Revolution and ending with the halting and uneven emancipations in Africa under colonial rule in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[34] The first great emancipation took place in Haiti in the 1790s, creating the first state ever to completely abolish slavery, and (after the United States) the second independent state in the Americas. During roughly the same period, many northern states in the newly established United States began cautious and gradual emancipation, mainly using "free birth" laws that left all current slaves still in bondage. Similar forms of emancipation took place in Spanish South America in the early nineteenth century. All these emancipations were in some way linked to anticolonial struggles.[35]

The next substantial emancipation took place in the British Empire in the 1830s, where the imperial state imposed abolition on slaveholding elites. Emancipation in most parts of the empire proceeded gradually, with a four-year intermediary period of "apprenticeship." This form of emancipation consolidated rather than challenged colonial rule. The same was true in the remaining French colonies, where immediate emancipation was achieved in the wake of the 1848 revolution. The impact of emancipation in the French colonies was felt in other parts of the Caribbean. Slaves in both the Danish and Dutch West Indies were inspired by disturbances in Martinique and Guadeloupe. In the Dutch colonies (excepting Suriname) planters were unable to sustain the coercive power necessary to maintain slavery, and the system effectively, although not legally, came to an end in 1848. In Saint Croix in the Danish Virgin Islands, slaves rebelled in 1848, and in response the governor decreed emancipation. By 1860, the remaining slave societies in the Americas were the United States, Brazil, Suriname, and the Spanish colonies that had not yet won independence. Nevertheless there were still millions of slaves in the Atlantic world, augmented by the illegal slave trade to Cuba and Brazil, by the natural increase of the U.S. enslaved population, and by the expansion of plantation slavery in West Africa as a result of the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade.

In the United States, slavery was destroyed through the Civil War of 1860–65. Suriname ended slavery in 1863, but former slaves there had to serve a period of "apprenticeship," as they had in the British colonies. Cuban abolition was a protracted process, begun in the Ten Years' War (1868–78) but not completed until 1886. In Puerto Rico, where slavery was less economically

significant than in Cuba, the system was abolished in 1873. Brazil's abolition process was also gradual, extending from the "Free Womb Law" of 1871 to the final emancipation decree in 1888, with which Brazil became the last American society to abolish slavery.

There were still large numbers of slaves in many African societies by the time of the "Scramble for Africa" in the 1880s and 1890s. Emancipation in Africa was, with the exception of the British Cape Colony, a much slower process than in the Americas, imposed by colonial powers that wanted to abolish slavery while maintaining access to unfree labor. In practice, colonial authorities in Africa moved very slowly against slavery. While all powers made trading in people illegal, most did not enforce these laws for many years.[36] In French West Africa, slavery was formally abolished in 1848, but as Klein and Roberts argue in this volume, in the second half of the nineteenth century more people were being enslaved than were being freed. The recent revitalization of slavery in some parts of Africa under the pressures of neoliberal globalization reminds us that slave emancipation is not a historical process with a neat endpoint.

Haiti as Precedent: Militarism and Citizenship

The process of emancipation in Haiti demonstrates many of the key characteristics of the gendering of emancipation in other parts of the Atlantic world. Haitians achieved emancipation through an anticolonial struggle that made powerful connections among military service, citizenship, and the nation. Similar connections were made in other places where the ending of slavery was tied to attacks on colonial rule. Saint-Domingue had been the jewel in the French imperial crown, the annual importer of thirty thousand African slaves, and the producer of two-fifths of the world's sugar and more than half the world's coffee in the 1780s.[37] This society, founded on massive violence and exploitation, began to unravel as its members participated in the upheavals precipitated by the French Revolution. The slave uprising of 1791 put the complete abolition of slavery on the agenda; the actions of the French Jacobin Léger Félicité Sonthonax and the Haitian revolutionary general and former slave Toussaint Louverture formalized abolition. Toussaint's revolutionary army defeated the imperial armies of Napoleon (who aimed to restore slavery), Britain, and Spain, creating a new nation whose achievements were, in Michel-Rolph Trouillot's words, "unthinkable history."[38]

While the revolution swept away white privilege, it reinscribed gender in-

equality. All Haitian citizens were defined as black, but not all black Haitians were citizens. The 1805 constitution reserved voting, for instance, for men. The founding fathers of the Haitian nation, Toussaint, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, Henri Christophe, and Alexandre Pétion, all contributed to the construction of a masculinist and patriarchal nationalism. Haiti here showed its ideological links to the Enlightenment and to the French Revolution, which made the same connection between revolutionary citizenship and masculinity.[39]

Part of the reason for this association in Haiti was the deep connection among military participation, masculinity, and nationalism. The revolutionary army conscripted men in massive numbers, both during the revolution and in independent Haiti, maintaining a large standing army in case of renewed French attempts to retake the former colony. Soldiers were seen as the founders of Haitian freedom. The 1805 constitution declared that "no one is worthy of being a Haitian if he is not a good father, a good son, a good husband, and above all a good soldier." But women could not be soldiers, and this had more than symbolic consequences. Under Dessalines and Christophe, the non-militarized sector of the population, of which women formed a substantial majority, had to undertake compulsory fieldwork on the plantations, many of which were now owned by the state. Pétion embarked on a policy of land distribution in 1809, in which each soldier received fifteen acres from state lands. As a result, women received no land in this founding act in the formation of the Haitian peasantry.[40] In addition, the heavily militarized politics of nineteenth-century Haiti left little space for women to participate in government.

Other societies where slavery ended as part of an assault on colonialism similarly linked citizenship, military participation, and national identity. Thus in mainland Latin America, Simón Bolívar's republican army included many conscripted male slaves. Those who survived the military campaign were freed. Conscription and manumission of male slaves was also a significant part of the emancipation process in the rest of Spanish South America. According to Robin Blackburn, after independence the coastal haciendas of Peru "were left with slave crews containing disproportionate numbers of women, children, and old people."[41] In Cuba, male slaves participated extensively in the Ten Years' War and the Guerra Chiquita. Here too, as Michael Zeuske notes in his contribution to this volume, the participation of black men in the revolutionary army became a crucial sign of their citizenship. The discourse of the independence movement constructed Spain as decadent and feminized and the insurgent forces as manly and virile. The inclusion of black men within this concept of manliness defined the nation as antiracist, but at the

cost of excluding women from the national story.[42] Similarly, in French West Africa, military participation was a long-standing route to emancipation for men but one that was denied to women.[43]

Societies where slave emancipation occurred through military campaigns and/or revolutionary violence articulated the linkages between masculinity and citizenship very explicitly. But the connection of citizenship to masculinity was germane to all postemancipation societies, as we shall see later in our discussion of contract theory and citizenship in the postemancipation Atlantic world.

The Conservative Road to Emancipation

In Haiti, and in most places where emancipation took place as a result of an acute political crisis, the precise way slavery would end was obviously not planned in advance. In contrast, other emancipations, of which those in the British Empire and Brazil are the most notable, were relatively managed. Of course, these emancipations emerged out of complex struggles among different contending groups; they were not top-down processes. In the British Empire even the precise terms of emancipation—for example, the timing of the ending of apprenticeship—emerged from former slaves' actions.[44] In Brazil, emancipation was proclaimed through the "Golden Law" of 1888, but only after thousands of slaves had taken their freedom, making slavery unsustainable. Nevertheless, in contrast to the anticolonial and revolutionary contexts of emancipations in Haiti and Cuba, for instance, the British and Brazilian ruling classes were able to seize the day: to present emancipation as a gift bestowed from above.[45]

In both the British Empire and Brazil, slave emancipation came at a point when gender relations were in flux due to the changes resulting from the development of capitalism, and when they were the subject of much anxiety and debate.[46] As a result, the ending of slavery in the British Empire was explicitly ideological in its approach to gender relations. A central goal of British imperial emancipation was to transform colonial gender relations. Slaves, imperial officials and others believed, had been degendered by their enslavement. Emancipation, then, should make them properly into men and women.

British imperial visions of freedom had been heavily gendered long before the passage of the Emancipation Act in 1833. As Moira Ferguson has shown, the practice of criticizing slavery by attacking its impact on gender relations

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reached back to the seventeenth century.[47] In the nineteenth century this critique was written into colonial policy. Gendered assumptions were evident in British policy toward "liberated Africans"—those rescued from illegal slave-trading ships—in the 1810s and 1820s. These individuals were subject to work regimes that countered their expectations of how labor should be organized by gender. The British imperial authorities barred women from most agricultural labor.[48] Brazilian debates about slavery also frequently invoked gender. In 1871, for instance, debates around slavery focused in particular on the prostitution of enslaved women as a symbol of the corrupt relationship between slave owner and slave.[49]

The moment of full emancipation in the British Empire in 1838 saw a widespread effort by both missionaries and colonial officials to persuade freedpeople to organize their family lives around monogamous Christian marriage and domesticity. Characteristic of this effort was a newspaper article published in the Cape Colony, praising emancipation in the following terms: "Freedom . . . offers something in addition to personal enjoyments. The Freeman becomes the Head of a Family. . . . The Father, however poor, however overlooked or despised by the world, is now an object, in one place at least, not only of love but reverence. There is now a circle where, if he chooses, he may reign as a King."[50] This vision of emancipation conceptualized the meaning of freedom as patriarchal authority for freedmen. Women were to be released from slavery, but into a new kind of subordination and dependence.

In postemancipation Brazil, similar goals were expressed in a more authoritarian way. Elites' concern to "civilize" racially mixed urban populations led to police crackdowns on prostitutes and to campaigns to persuade the urban poor to marry and to adopt bourgeois gender norms. The authorities suspected poor women of immorality and prostitution when they did not adhere to the new standards of "civilization" but instead remained present in public space. While such campaigns were directed at the lower orders as a whole, regardless of their status prior to abolition, in practice many of the targets were freedpeople, including those who had migrated to the cities in the wake of emancipation.[51]

Throughout the Atlantic world, state officials and reformers encouraged freedpeople to adopt monogamous patriarchal marriage and female domesticity as a mark of their civilization. Like Brazil, postemancipation Puerto Rico saw campaigns to "moralize" and "civilize" the poor, including attacks on prostitutes and consensual unions.[52] In Martinique the Société des Femmes Schoelcheristes, named after the French abolitionist Victor Schoelcher, was founded in 1849, one year after emancipation. It aimed to promote religiosity

and marriage among the freed population, and in doing so it particularly directed its attention to those women engaged in "concubinage" with white men.[53] In the United States, the Freedmen's Bureau circulated a book titled *John Freeman and His Family*, which was intended to teach freedpeople how to adapt to their new situation. In the book, the former slave John Freeman took a new name and made a contract for his labor. His wife, Mrs. Freeman, had to learn to keep a clean house.[54] The similarity of efforts to establish patriarchal families and attempts to curtail women's independence across a range of societies suggests a deeply embedded conception of gender within the liberal idea of freedom.

Such efforts worked in parallel with attempts to reform the gender relations of other subordinate groups across the Atlantic world. Immigrant laborers, indigenous peoples, and working classes were subjected in the nineteenth century to both moralism and legal forces that aimed to transform their gender relations. In the United States, for instance, the General Allotment Act (Dawes Act) of 1887 imposed a system of private landholding on Native American tribes, distributing what had been communally held land to male "heads of families" and single people. The process meshed with efforts of missionaries and reformers to "civilize" native peoples in many societies in the Atlantic world by persuading them to adopt male-dominant nuclear family structures alongside private property.[55] Efforts to impose a different understanding of gender on former slaves were thus part of the wider formation of liberal capitalist societies in which a particular form of bourgeois patriarchy was seen as appropriate. In this process, proponents of liberalism attacked "old-fashioned" forms of patriarchy such as the slaveholding household, the aristocratic patriarchy of the European and Latin American great landed estates, and the honor codes of Latin American elites. While these attacks opened up spaces in which women were able to claim new rights, the main outcome was the reconfiguration, rather than the overturning, of gender inequality.

Gender and Postemancipation Freed Communities

Emancipation created spaces for struggle to define the meaning of freedom in ways that rarely perfectly matched the visions of liberty participants brought to the experience. Nevertheless, freedwomen and freedmen could order their lives with greater autonomy than they had been able to as slaves. The extent of this change, of course, depended on where they lived. Where the plantation system and the planter class remained strong, as in the Cape Colony, Bar-

bados, Southeast Brazil, and parts of the United States and French West Africa, states subjected freedpeople to harsh controls intended primarily to enforce their participation in "free" wage labor, and to prevent their becoming "dependent" on state support. Such controls assumed and thus sought to impose a particular construction of gender. For instance, vagrancy, poor relief, and bastardy legislation all worked toward the goal that men should act as heads of households and provide for their families.[56]

Planter classes were less successful in imposing gendered class legislation when freedpeople had wider opportunities. For instance, in societies such as Jamaica and Dominica, where freedpeople managed to secure some land for themselves and engage in peasant farming, they were less subject to, although not completely free from, colonial or plantocratic intervention.[57] In this sense, state and ruling-class control of gender is one aspect of a wider set of questions about the degree to which freedpeople were able to control their own lives.

Former slaves constructed postemancipation communities that drew powerfully on visions of extended and fictive families.[58] Men and women's connections to and roles within these families sometimes confirmed and sometimes were in tension with the visions of male authority and female domesticity contained in official blueprints for emancipation. Child rearing was probably universally allocated to women, but much else seems to have been variable. The precise content of these gendered ideologies is only just beginning to be unpacked, but as the essays in this book show, marriage, politics, land, and family are emerging as central areas for examination and comparison. At least as substantial as the overlaps were the ways in which the gender conventions of former slaves differed from those that were imposed upon them. Substantial evidence demonstrates freedwomen's active engagement in the politics of their communities, including efforts to control their men's votes. Laura Edwards has shown that in North Carolina, for instance, freedpeople had distinctive understandings of the meaning, rights, and obligations associated with marriage and other sexual relationships.[59] Similarly, the work of Jean Besson on the pan-Caribbean institution of family land—that is, land that is passed down to all descendants, male and female, of an original ancestor, who may also be male or female—demonstrates a very different idea of property to those embedded in legal inheritance practices.[60] The challenge for research is to investigate the gender norms in play in situations where they did not match the norms of white observers.

The similarities and differences between the gendered conventions of freedpeople and the ruling classes they confronted are not, however, the only issues

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that need discussion. Such an analysis of the gendering of emancipation risks understanding gender as merely an aspect of class and/or race formation and relations, rather than a contradiction and power relation in its own right. We cannot assume the existence of a coherent and conflict-free set of gender norms within each class group, in which ruling classes seek to impose one set while former slaves adhere to another. Both feminist theory and empirical evidence point to the conclusion that relations between men and women of the same "race" and/or class involve power and conflict.[61] For instance, a number of scholars have documented cases in which freedwomen experienced and resisted domestic violence and other forms of abuse from their husbands and partners.[62]

Yet freedmen's power over freedwomen was limited. The widespread African diasporic pattern of separate and autonomous control of property by men and women, along with the prominence of female-headed households throughout the diaspora, meant that relatively few freedmen were in a position to use economic power to dominate freedwomen.[63] The model of domesticity assumed that men would be able to provide for their wives and children, but this was rarely even a realistic possibility in most of the postslave societies discussed here. In many areas, most significantly Barbados and small islands in the Eastern Caribbean, lack of jobs led to male migration, leaving behind a predominantly female population.[64] In other areas it simply meant that women had to perform some kind of income-generating work, whether that was waged work, household manufacture, or peasant farming. As a result, even had they wanted to do so, it was impossible for all but a few of the most economically successful former slaves to adopt in full the ideology that was supposed to mark their transition to freedom and civilization. This had obvious costs in terms of impoverishment, but it also prevented the consolidation of a family-wage or peasant-based patriarchy among former slaves.

Liberalism, Gender, and Citizenship

Throughout the Atlantic world, the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed the consolidation of liberal political economy as the dominant model of social and economic organization. Liberalism was inflected differently in its French, Anglophone, Hispanic, and Lusophone iterations, but it always countered the image of slave society with the ideal of a society in which each person was an autonomous individual able to make contracts. As David Brion Davis has demonstrated, the processes that led to slave emancipation in

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the Atlantic world involved the intellectual and moral rejection of human bondage in favor of an ideology of free waged labor that stressed the value of the contract.[65]

Liberalism was, of course, a contradictory and protean ideology. Liberals' commitment to formal equality and to contract-making everywhere coexisted with hierarchies and exclusions based on race and class.[66] Such exclusions were particularly marked in postslave societies, where a wide range of unfree and semifree labor systems prevented ex-slaves and other workers from acting as the contract makers of liberal theory. Many of these systems, which included sharecropping, *métayage*, convict labor, indenture, debt bondage, and coercive vagrancy legislation, were intrinsically connected to gender hierarchies within familial relationships. Meanwhile, varying combinations of racial violence, racist laws, and poverty prevented freedpeople from exercising political rights.

These race- and class-based exclusions were integrated with liberalism's gendered premise. As Carol Pateman has shown, the model of liberal individualism implicitly assumed that the individual making contracts was a man whose right and ability to do so arose from his status as head of a family of dependents.[67] It was the marriage contract that rendered men and women's relationship to the family so different. Marriage made a man head of a family or potential family. It defined him as having the independent status required of a contract-making individual. In contrast, marriage rendered a woman permanently the subordinate of her husband. Through marriage, women became minors. The father's right to make contracts on behalf of his daughter was in essence transferred to the husband.

Married women's position in contract theory was, of course, echoed by the legal position of slaves. Slaves were also legally unable to make contracts. In the transition to emancipation, then, the acquisition of the right to make contracts was symbolically crucial. Emancipation's propagandists always stressed this point, even when the actual social relations created by emancipation allowed former slaves little space to make contracts. For freedwomen, the ability to contract was even more tenuous than it was for their male peers. If they married, as moralists and missionaries wanted them to do, they were in danger of losing a capacity that was represented to them as the essence of their freedom. No wonder women did not always show great enthusiasm for married life.

The promise of emancipation was, to some extent, a gendered one: that is, men were promised the entitlement of masculinity, of being head of a household. Women, in contrast, were liberated into dependence. What was to

change for women was that they would be dependents of the right person, their husband or father, rather than the wrong one, their master.[68]

Visions of patriarchal authority vested in the family thus girded many plans for emancipation. Male dominance was legally enshrined throughout many ex-slaveholding societies. For instance, in many places, freedmen gained suffrage at or soon after emancipation. Casting a vote became freighted as a symbol of freedom and citizenship in the United States, the French colonies, and many of the British colonies (where it was somewhat less significant because of property qualifications, but still important).[69] No postemancipation state allowed freedwomen to vote. To have done so would have been an extraordinarily radical step, given that women did not vote anywhere in the Atlantic world at this time. Nevertheless, the explicitness with which the vote was allowed to men and not to women was a significant statement about who was a citizen and who a dependent in these new societies. Even in places like Brazil which excluded most freedmen along with all freedwomen from citizenship—the Brazilian republican constitution of 1891 limited "active citizenship" to literate males aged twenty-one and over—women's exclusion *because they were women* emphasized the postemancipation state's deep commitment to gender hierarchy.[70]

The inscription of male authority into the legal discourses of many postemancipation societies was the product of a momentary union of popular and bourgeois male interests in managing emancipation. In a process similar to that described by Eileen Suárez Findlay in her study of late nineteenth-century Puerto Rico, emancipation created a short-lived alliance between men, which helped to confirm masculinity as a key criterion of the fully emancipated individual.[71] For freedmen, this alliance came at a price. Emancipation, as envisaged by its planners, involved an ideological move whereby freedmen were to trade their visions of economic independence for power over the family. By emphasizing the authority and independence of freedmen within the family, their lack of authority and continued dependence outside of it was de-emphasized.

Yet freedwomen and freedmen shaped gender systems that were far more complex than abolitionist rhetoric allowed for. While states may have intended to grant citizenship only to freedmen, freed communities and in particular freedwomen did not always accept this limitation. Studies of Louisiana and of Richmond, Virginia, indicate that freedwomen believed that they could and should play a role in formal politics.[72] Similarly, Mimi Sheller has shown that in Jamaica women were actively involved in the political life of the postemancipation black community, while Gilbert Pago describes the participation of freedwomen in political rallies for all the candidates in the 1848 elec-

tions in Martinique.[73] Similar work remains to be done on many of the other postslave societies of the Atlantic world, but it seems likely that citizenship rights were widely reinterpreted by freedpeople along more inclusive lines than authorities had intended. Despite the theoretical inability of the married woman to contract, married women in many situations did in fact sell their labor, making implicit and explicit contracts to do so. Their work was essential to the functioning of the capitalist economy, both in industrializing regions and in postemancipation plantation societies.[74]

In practice, the wage labor demands on freedwomen in postslave societies frustrated both the sexual contract of liberal political economy and the masculine promise of emancipation. Even while abolitionists and missionaries, along with planters in some regions such as the French ex-slave colonies and the U.S. South, promoted patriarchal families as a way of maintaining order and lessening ex-slaves' dependence on the state, perceived labor shortages after emancipation also led to calls for freedwomen to labor. The problem faced by colonial legislators, planters, and factory owners was how to keep the model of the masculine provider intact while not only allowing but strongly encouraging freedwomen as well as freedmen to engage in wage labor.

The tensions surrounding freedwomen's ability to contract expose the interrelations of class, racial, and gendered identities. In many slave and postslave societies, white women's possession of both whiteness and femininity became linked to their ability to avoid labor outside the home. Elite whites expected that freedwomen, on the other hand, would work outside of as well as within their own households. This work confirmed for many whites the racially subordinate status of freedwomen, as well as their tenuous claim to womanhood. Freedwomen's membership in ex-slave communities, and/or in an emergent working class, trumped their status as women. Meanwhile the ambiguous position of poor white, indentured, formerly free black, and "mixed-race" women (named variously colored, brown, *métisse*, *mulata*, *sang-mêlé*, etc.) could both challenge and confirm these raced and gendered equations with regard to labor. Race and gender statuses were thus protean, circumstantial, and highly political.

Themes

This book addresses enduring themes in the historiography of slave emancipation: how the emancipations of the long nineteenth century involved new visions about what it meant to work, to be a citizen, and to engage in politics.

The chapters show that those new ideals derived some of their contemporary power from their affirmation of deeply held gender norms. This combination of factors helped inscribe ideas about men's supremacy into postemancipation societies.

The chapters also address newer historiographical themes, such as the mutual constitution of racial and gendered identities and the politics of sexuality. The contributors begin to address questions of representation and epistemology, of how historians know what we claim to know. Can archives compiled by slaveholding regimes or through the lenses of postemancipation ruling classes' preoccupations with crime and labor yield truths about the experiences of slaves and freedpeople? Slavery and postslavery studies have been surprisingly silent on this quandary. Foregrounding questions about the constitution of the archives allows historians to understand the limits of historical documents even as we seek to make them speak. Attending to this is particularly important, because women's experiences as well as questions of gender are often silenced and oblique in the sources.[75]

The chapters that follow offer detailed analyses of slave emancipation in specific societies or groups of societies. Collectively, they demonstrate the gains that a gendered approach can provide in understanding the complex processes and representations of emancipation. Slave and postemancipation societies were diverse. The work presented here discusses all the main players in emancipation: enslaved and freedpeople, abolitionists, free people of color, state officials, and slave owners.

Part 1, "Men, Women, Citizens," explores the importance of gender ideologies for processes of emancipation as well as for the construction of citizenship in postemancipation societies. Pamela Scully's chapter argues that historians of emancipation need to grapple more explicitly with how power relations constructed the colonial archives: she asks if historians can confidently interpret freedpeople's reported speech as easily accessible and self-evident in meaning. In order to fully appreciate the agency of freedpeople we must develop a wider understanding of politics and citizenship in the postemancipation era than that promoted by the colonial state and abolitionists. This concern to problematize the transparency of sources, as well as to develop broader understandings of political behavior and ideas is a point generalizable across many postslave societies. Likewise, Sue Peabody's analysis of initiatives by women slaves to obtain manumission in the French Caribbean, and of the way that gender was implicated in the general emancipations of the late eighteenth and mid–nineteenth century, confirms a central theme of this

book: that emancipation tended to benefit men more than women, particularly in the political sphere.

Mimi Sheller discusses the importance of masculinity to Jamaican emancipation, analyzing the interplay of racial with gendered ideas about the individual and society. Showing that the discursive reconstruction of freedmen's masculinity was also, and inextricably, a reconstruction of blackness, she argues that a postslavery masculine subjectivity was produced not only in contrast to ideas about whiteness and femininity, but also through the exclusion of indentured migrants, termed "Coolies," from claims to citizenship.

The last two chapters in part 1 deal with abolitionism, in Brazil and the United States, respectively. Roger Kittleson shows how the success of the abolitionist movement in Brazil depended not just on women's activism but also on mobilizations of particular representations of femininity as virtuous and moral. Kittleson's chapter echoes, but also modifies, historiographies of British and North American abolitionism. He suggests that the Brazilian abolitionist movement's use of representations of traditional femininity emphasized its claim to the moral high ground, enabling it to mobilize wide public support. Unlike abolitionism in Britain and the United States, Brazilian antislavery did not produce wider claims to women's rights as citizens.

Carol Faulkner similarly emphasizes the intersection between the role of actual women and of gendered ideologies in abolitionism, focusing on the work of two white U.S. abolitionist women with the Freedman's Bureau after the Civil War. Josephine Griffing and Julia Wilbur, she argues, used their experience as women struggling against their own gender subordination to develop an understanding of economic and political dependence among former slaves which was much less negative than that of the dominant Freedman's Bureau.

Part 2, "Families, Land, and Labor," charts the relationship between women, the household, gendered labor ideologies, and postemancipation political economy. Scholars of the British Caribbean have long noted freedwomen's "flight" from plantation labor in the postemancipation period. Bridget Brereton's chapter suggests that women's withdrawal from labor must be contextualized by paying attention to women's choices and to the context of struggle over women's and children's labor in the years before full emancipation in 1838. In addition, she shows that the "withdrawal" has been exaggerated: many women did continue to work for wages. Her chapter reiterates the need for historians to scrutinize the bias of the historical record. The master narrative of women's flight owes as much to the perceptions of the people who wrote the records as to the experiences of the people being written about.

Martin Klein and Richard Roberts's contribution examines the meaning of a different form of women's flight and speaks to the specificity of West African emancipations. Focusing on French West Africa from the mid-nineteenth century to 1914, they demonstrate that domestic slavery of women increased alongside colonial conquest of the region. In 1905 the French outlawed the sale of people, although they did not make real efforts to enforce the law. Women slaves ultimately forced the hand of the French by fleeing their husbands, who were also sometimes their owners, and using colonial courts to achieve freedom by obtaining divorces. But, as Klein and Roberts show, after 1910 courts tended to make women return to their husbands, even if these husbands were also former masters.

Michael Zeuske's close study of material processes of class formation in Cuba examines the interdependence of class, race, and gender formation. He shows the difference in men's and women's routes to acquiring land and suggests that paying attention to women's participation in the construction of freed communities will require rewriting the narrative of Cuban emancipation. Ileana Rodríguez-Silva argues that, despite elite efforts to define them out of the category of "worker," freedwomen in Puerto Rico managed both to write themselves into that category and to bargain at least as effectively as freedmen over the conditions of their labor.

Slave emancipation instigated a dramatic expansion of the public sphere. Colonial and postcolonial authorities depicted former slaveholding households as sites for the illegitimate exercise of private authority and tried to replace such authority, at least theoretically, with contractual relations. The contributors to part 3, "The Public Sphere in the Age of Emancipation," examine the implications of these transitions for freedpeople, former slaveholders, and the larger communities of postemancipation society.

Focusing on the relationship between free people of color and the white plantocracy in Barbados, Melanie Newton shows that both groups redefined gender in the wake of emancipation. The philanthropic activity widespread among elite whites and free people of color, she argues, played a crucial role in the generation of a new form of masculinity, defined in contrast to the figure of the debauched planter-rake. Philanthropic movements were thus at least as much about the disciplining of the gender behaviors of members of their own class as they were about regulating or supporting the lower orders to whom their efforts were officially directed. The philanthropic associations of free people of color, meanwhile, worked to produce male dominance within that community at the same time as they asserted its respectability.

Emancipation set in train the reformation of class and race as well as gen-

der, and these reformations took place in complex interrelated ways. Examining urban culture in St. Vincent, Sheena Boa demonstrates the importance of women's reputation as a marker of class status: the ability—or desire—to maintain the "proper" domestic role of women became a key means of distinguishing among the elite, the "middle," and the poor. Poor women, she argues, had a complex relationship to ideas of "proper" femininity, seeking to emulate its standards even while subverting many of its codes. Class and race, in effect, came to be symbolized by women's public use of their bodies. Martha Abreu also analyses popular culture and the public sphere in her chapter on the gendered representations of different racially defined categories of person in Brazilian popular culture. Analyzing the *lundu* form of popular song, she shows that representations of the mixed race woman, the *mulata*, changed depending on the performer and the context of performance. She demonstrates that apparently racist images could also be used satirically to undermine contemporary ideas about blackness and femaleness.

Gender was both at stake and a weapon in a range of struggles in slave and postemancipation societies, whether these took the form of violent slave rebellions or the polite but charged words of the debating chamber. In the context of the post–Civil War Arkansas constitutional convention discussed by Hannah Rosen, political debates about suffrage became intimately linked to discussions of sexuality and gender, and in particular to the possibility of marriage between white women and black men. As Rosen shows, for southern whites both suffrage and marriage to white women, as signs of black male citizenship, had the potential to undermine racial categories and hierarchies. The fact that the Fourteenth Amendment made it illegal to ban the former made attacks on the latter all the more necessary. African American delegates, meanwhile, were prepared to accept a resolution deeming all interracial sexual relationships inappropriate, an acceptable compromise from their point of view because it included condemnation of white men's rape of black women.

The formal political debates analyzed by Rosen are played out in practice in the horrifying case of Eliza Pinkston of Louisiana discussed by Marek Steedman. Here we have an example of an intimate relationship between a black woman and a white man, a relationship that could not, by the norms of its time and place, lead to marriage. Pinkston was one of the women about whom the black Arkansas delegates could have been talking. She later chose to marry a man of "her own color," a decision that created tension between her black husband and her white former lover, expressed through political conflict as well as labor disputes, leading ultimately to extreme violence. Steedman's analysis of the case emphasizes the complex reformulations of the idea of the

household in the Reconstruction South, as Eliza Pinkston and her husband tried to assert the autonomy of their own household against whites who believed that former slaves should remain part of plantation households.

Toward a Gendered History of Slave Emancipation

The essays in this book focus on a wide range of societies and present an important series of arguments which collectively demonstrate the importance of gender to understanding many of the questions with which scholars of postemancipation societies have long been concerned, as well as raising new questions. They do not however, attempt to provide a complete and fully gendered comparative and transnational history of slave emancipation in the Atlantic world. Such a history remains to be written, but the research published here and elsewhere allows us to begin to imagine what it will look like.

A fully gendered comparative history of slave emancipation would uncover the involvement of gender in many of the struggles during and after emancipation, including those that have traditionally been interpreted as primarily about race and/or class. This would include, for example, recognition of the ways that struggles among competing ruling groups to achieve hegemony in postemancipation society involved contested gender conventions. Examples would include the challenge to the dominant hard-drinking, sexually promiscuous masculinity of Caribbean planters by more "polite," bourgeois metropolitan masculinities, as well as the important gendered dynamic of struggles over freedpeople's labor, at the heart of which was the issue of whether women would or would not become plantation wage workers in the new society. A gendered comparative history of emancipation would recognize that, while all freedpeople faced the enormous difficulties of attempting to make new lives as unpropertied people in a capitalist world, postemancipation societies were structured in certain legal, institutional, political, and economic ways that made these difficulties more severe for freedwomen than for freedmen. It would need, however, to explain not only the subordination of women but also the relationship of that subordination to the specific targeting of freedmen *as men* for hostility and violent attack in some societies, seen most notably in the history of lynching in the postemancipation United States.

Such a history would have to come to terms with freedwomen's contradictory experience of the doubleness of gender, as both symbol of freedom and source of oppression. Because slavery had denied all enslaved people the

autonomy to organize gender according to their own understandings, both freedmen and freedwomen had reasons to support the maintenance and even strengthening of gender divisions among them. And yet for freedwomen emphasizing differences between men and women was problematic, because their position as women also served as a site of oppression, experienced through, for example, wage discrimination, lack of access to citizenship, sexual violence, and disproportionate responsibility for reproductive labor.

A gendered history of emancipation would reveal difference as well as similarity in societies across the Atlantic world. Probably the biggest differences would be found between the experience of the Americas and the Cape Colony on the one hand, and the rest of Africa on the other. European bourgeois gender conventions did not dominate among the rulers of African societies as they did, to varying degrees, in other parts of the Atlantic world. The end of slavery in the Americas and the Cape led to reconstructions of racial hierarchy, often linked to debates about "miscegenation" and/or "whitening," which were always in part about sexuality. In contrast, in much of the rest of Africa "race" was connected to emancipation primarily because the latter was imposed on African societies by European colonial regimes, which construed African slavery as evidence of African barbarism. The consolidation of plantation slavery in parts of West Africa and East Africa in the nineteenth century also helped affirm and create racial and religious difference, as Muslim Africans used religious difference to justify their enslavement of Africans who practiced indigenous religions.

Nevertheless, the gender dynamics of emancipation in American societies should not be homogenized. As we suggested above, the means by which emancipation was achieved had major implications for gendered claims to citizenship and gendered understandings of the nation. Other important differences could, we suspect, be traced between societies in which postemancipation ruling classes brought in large numbers of predominantly male laborers to maintain plantation production, and those where this did not occur; between urban and rural spaces; between plantation and nonplantation societies, and so on.

Throughout Atlantic societies, slave emancipation involved, and to some extent ignited, struggles over access to land, resources, and political power, as well as over definitions of freedom, labor, and culture. Gender was always at stake in these battles. Individuals entered the postemancipation world already gendered and with understandings of masculine and feminine personhood already in place. The essays that follow suggest that the battles and conflictual processes that shaped the world of freedom provide a moment in which such

understandings about gender and their connection to race and class were made transparent. Emancipation both drew on existing ideas about the meaning of manhood and womanhood, about the content of the categories "man" and "woman," and contributed to new ideologies and practices of gender.

Notes

1 Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 7; Jane Flax, "Postmodernism and Gender Relations in Feminist Theory," *Signs* 12, no.4 (1987): 621–43; Denise Riley, *"Am I That Name?" Feminism and the Category of "Women" in History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1988).

2 See Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "African-American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race," *Signs* 17 (1992): 251–74.

3 Nancy Stepan, "Race and Gender: The Role of Analogy in Science," *Isis* 77 (1986): 261–77.

4 This paragraph is based on Pamela Scully, "Race and Ethnicity in Women's and Gender History in Global Perspective" in *Women's History in Global Perspective: Themes*, ed. Bonnie G. Smith (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

5 E.g., Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British America* (London: Tauris, 1987); Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); and Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

6 Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon, 2000).

7 For an East-to-West version of Atlantic history, see Bailyn, *Peopling of British America*.

8 For a thoughtful exploration of the many meanings of Atlantic histories, see David Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," in *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800*, ed. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 11–27. In an otherwise subtle discussion, Armitage argues that the Atlantic world was a European creation (16–17).

9 For an innovative reconceptualization of Atlantic history, see Kristin Mann and Edna G. Bay, "Shifting Paradigms in the Study of the African Diaspora and of Atlantic History and Culture," in *Rethinking the African Diaspora: The Making of a Black Atlantic World in the Bight of Benin and Brazil*, ed. Kristin Mann and Edna G. Bay (London: Frank Cass, 2001), 3–21.

10   Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

11   Mac Dixon-Fyle, *A Saro Community in the Niger Delta, 1912–1914: The Potts-Johnsons of Port Harcourt and Their Heirs* (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 1999); Robin Law, "The Evolution of the Brazilian Community in Ouidah," in Mann and Bay, *Rethinking the African Diaspora*, 22–41.

12   We are grateful to an anonymous reader for Duke University Press for this observation.

13   Scholarly debate about the significance of African "origins" and "continuities" in slave cultures and societies originates with the work of Melville Herskovits, who argued for continuity between African and African diasporic cultures in response to claims that slavery had wiped out any cultural links with or memory of Africa; see his *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston: Beacon, 1967 [1958]). Sidney Mintz and Richard Price placed more emphasis on the elaboration of culture in New World societies; see their *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (Boston: Beacon, 1992 [1976]). Recent work on the slave trade traces concrete historical rather than speculative connections between slaves in different regions of the Americas and specific African societies. See Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identity in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); David Northrup, "Igbo and Myth Igbo: Culture and Ethnicity in the Atlantic World, 1600–1850," *Slavery and Abolition* 21, no. 3 (2000): 1–20; and João José Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia*, trans. Arthur Brakel (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

14   Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Laura F. Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Robert C.-H. Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652–1838* (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 1994); Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550–1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 287–94.

15   Kathleen Mary Butler, *The Economics of Emancipation: Jamaica and Barbados, 1823–1843* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), chap. 6, esp. 95; Hilary McD. Beckles, "White Women and Slavery in the Caribbean," *History Workshop Journal* 36 (1993): 66–82.

16   Of course, this was true primarily in legal and ideological rather than practical terms. In practice slaves did form coresidential units, have a socially recognized place for fatherhood, and transmit property.

17   The term "dual-sex system" is widely used in the historiography of gender in West Africa. For a discussion of the political empowerment of women in this system, see Beverly Stoeltje, "Asante Queen Mothers: A Study in Female Authority," in *Queens, Queen Mothers, Priestesses, and Power: Case Studies in African Gender*, ed. Flora

Edouwaye Kaplan, Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, vol. 810 (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1997).

18 Niara Sudarkasa, "The 'Status of Women' in Indigenous African Societies," in *Women in Africa and the African Diaspora*, ed. Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, Sharon Harley, and Audrea Benton Rushing (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1987), 25–41; Ifi Amadiume, *Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in an African Society* (London: Zed, 1988); Agnes Akosua Aidoo, "Asante Queen Mothers in Government and Politics in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Black Woman Cross-Culturally*, ed. Filomina Chioma Steady (Rochester, Vt.: Schenkman, 1981), 65–77; Edna G. Bay, *Wives of the Leopard: Gender, Politics, and Culture in the Kingdom of Dahomey* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1998).

19 David Eltis, "The Export of Slaves from Africa, 1821–1843," *Journal of Economic History* 37, no. 2 (1977): 409–33; Elizabeth Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe, 1870–1939* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1992); Marcia Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women: Life Stories from East/Central Africa* (New York: Lillian Barber, 1993); Holly Hanson, "Queen Mothers and Good Government in Buganda: The Loss of Women's Political Power in Nineteenth-Century East Africa," in *Women in African Colonial Histories*, ed. Jean Allman, Susan Geiger, and Nakanyike Musisi (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 219–36.

20 Jonathon Glassman, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856–1888* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1995); Margaret Strobel, *Muslim Women of Mombasa, 1890–1975* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1979).

21 See Terence Ranger, "Connexions between 'Primary Resistance Movements' and Modern Mass Nationalism in East and Central Africa," part 1, *Journal of African History* 9, no. 3 (1968): 437–53, and part 2, *Journal of African History* 9, no. 4 (1968): 631–41.

22 Allman, Geiger, and Musisi, *Women in African Colonial Histories*.

23 Sandra T. Barnes, "Gender and the Politics of Support and Protection in Precolonial West Africa," in Kaplan, *Queens, Queen Mothers, Priestesses, and Power*, 2.

24 See, e.g., Marietta Morrissey, *Slave Women in the New World: Gender Stratification in the Caribbean* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989), chap. 5; Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), esp. Berlin and Morgan's introduction and the essays by Richard S. Dunn and Lorena S. Walsh; and David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 100–101.

25 Hilary McD. Beckles, *Centering Women: Gender Discourses in Caribbean Slave Society* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 1999), 6–10; Mona Etienne, "Women and Men, Cloth and Colonization: The Transformation of Production-Distribution Relations among the Baule (Ivory Coast)," in *Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock (New York: Praeger, 1980), 214–38.

26 "The slaves' economy" refers to provision ground and kitchen garden agriculture, the raising of livestock, hunting and fishing, household production, and the marketing of surpluses produced through these activities. See Betty Wood, *Women's Work, Men's Work: The Informal Slave Economies of Lowcountry Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995); Josephine A. Beoku-Betts, " 'She Makes Funny Flat Cakes She Call Saraka': Gullah Women and Food Practices under Slavery," in *Working toward Freedom: Slave Society and Domestic Economy in the American South*, ed. Larry E. Hudson Jr. (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 1994), 211–31.

27 Martin Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule in French West Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, eds., *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 28; Claire Robertson and Martin Klein, eds., *Women and Slavery in Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

28 Mieko Nishida, "Manumission and Ethnicity in Urban Slavery, Salvador, Brazil: 1808–1888," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 73, no. 3 (1993): 361–91; Kimberly S. Hanger, *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places: Free Black Society in Colonial New Orleans, 1769–1803* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997), 22–23; B. W. Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807–1834* (Mona, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 1995), 118–19.

29 Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992), chap. 9; Melanie Newton, " 'New Ideas of Correctness': Gender, Amelioration and Emancipation in Barbados, 1810s–50s," *Slavery and Abolition* 21, no. 3 (2000): 94–124.

30 Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil*; Franklin W. Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba during the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), esp. chap. 3.

31 Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba*, 129–30.

32 For comparative population figures, see David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene, eds., *Neither Slave nor Free: The Freedmen of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972).

33 This "presence" should not, of course, be naturalized: indentured laborers and immigrant European workers alike came to postslave societies as a direct consequence of former slave owners' manipulation of state policy to serve their economic interests. See Madhavi Kale, "Making a Labour Shortage in Post-Abolition British Guyana," *Itinerario* 21, no. 1 (1997): 62–72.

34 The most comprehensive comparative study of emancipation is Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (London: Verso, 1988), which does not, however, discuss emancipation in the Cape Colony, Cuba, Brazil, or West Africa. For a short overview of emancipations, see Stanley L. Engerman, "Emancipation in Comparative Perspective: A Long and Wide View," in *Fifty Years Later: Antislavery, Capitalism and Modernity in the Dutch Orbit*, ed. Gert Oostindie (Leiden, the Netherlands: KTLV Press, 1995), 223–41. The literature on individual emancipation processes is too extensive to cite here. For full references see the bibliographic essay in this volume.

35   Frederick Cooper, Thomas C. Holt, and Rebecca J. Scott make a similar point in the introduction to their *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Postemancipation Societies* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 13.

36   Suzanne Miers and Richard Roberts, "The End of Slavery in Africa," in *The End of Slavery in Africa*, ed. Suzanne Miers and Richard Roberts (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 20.

37   David Geggus, *Slavery, War, and Revolution: The British Occupation of Saint-Domingue, 1793–1798* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 6. Figure for slave imports is from Jaime E. Rodríguez O., "The Emancipation of America," *American Historical Review* 105, no.1 (2000): 135.

38   Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "An Unthinkable History," in *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon, 1995). For a recent short overview of the Haitian Revolution and its scholarship, see Franklin W. Knight, "The Haitian Revolution," *American Historical Review* 105, no.1 (2000): 103–15.

39   Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988); Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996); Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

40   Mimi Sheller, "Sword-Bearing Citizens: Militarism and Manhood in Nineteenth-Century Haiti," *Plantation Society in the Americas* 4, nos. 2–3 (1997): 233–78; James Leyburn, *The Haitian People* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966 [1941]), 56.

41   Blackburn, *Overthrow of Colonial Slavery*, 342–60; quote on 360.

42   Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation and Revolution, 1868–1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

43   Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule*, 104.

44   Michael Craton, "The Transition from Slavery to Free Wage Labour in the Caribbean, 1780–1890: A Survey with Particular Reference to Recent Scholarship," *Slavery and Abolition* 13, no. 2 (1992); Diana Paton, *No Bond but the Law: Punishment, Race, and Gender in Jamaican State Formation, 1780–1870* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004), chap. 3.

45   Richard D. E. Burton, *Afro-Creole: Power, Opposition, and Play in the Caribbean* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997), 103–8; Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 120.

46   Sonya O. Rose, "Protective Labor Legislation in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Gender, Class, and the Liberal State," in *Gender and Class in Modern Europe*, ed. Laura L. Frader and Sonya O. Rose (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), 193–210; Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830–1864* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Sueann Caulfield, *In Defense of Honor: Sexual Morality, Modernity, and Nation in Early Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Durham, N.C.: Duke Univer-

sity Press, 2000); Susan K. Besse, *Restructuring Patriarchy: The Modernization of Gender Inequality in Brazil, 1914–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Magali Engel, *Meretrizes e doutores: saber médico e a prostituição no Rio de Janeiro (1840–1890)* (Sao Paulo: Brasiliense, 1989).

47 Moira Ferguson, *Subject to Others: British Women Writers and Colonial Slavery, 1670–1834* (New York: Routledge, 1992). Ferguson's focus, and that of other scholars, such as Clare Midgley, who have attended to the gendering of antislavery ideology, is on representations produced by women. However, the antislavery discourse of male abolitionists and missionaries was equally inflected by gender, although in somewhat different ways. See Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 112–13; Diana Paton, "Decency, Dependence, and the Lash: Gender and the British Debate over Slave Emancipation, 1830–1834," *Slavery and Abolition* 17, no. 3 (1996): 162–84.

48 Rosanne Marion Adderley, " 'A Most Useful and Valuable People?' Cultural, Moral, and Practical Dilemmas in the Use of Liberated African Labour in the Nineteenth-Century Caribbean," *Slavery and Abolition* 20, no.1 (1999): 59–78.

49 Sandra Lauderdale Graham, "Slavery's Impasse: Slave Prostitutes, Small-Time Mistresses, and the Brazilian Law of 1871," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 33, no. 4 (1991): 669–94.

50 *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 1 Dec. 1838.

51 Caulfield, *In Defense of Honor*, 55–63; Teresa Meade, *"Civilizing" Rio: Reform and Resistance in a Brazilian City, 1889–1930* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1997), esp. 37–42; Martha de Abreu Esteves, *Meninas perdidas: Os populares o cotidiano do amor no Rio de Janeiro da belle époque* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1989).

52 Eileen J. Suárez Findlay, *Imposing Decency: The Politics of Sexuality and Race in Puerto Rico, 1870–1920* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999), chap. 3.

53 Myriam Cottias, "La séduction coloniale: Damnation et stratégies—Les Antilles, XVIIe–XIXe siècle," in *Séduction et sociétés: Approches historiques*, ed. Cécile Dauphin and Arlette Farge (Paris: Seuil, 2001), 125–40.

54 Amy Dru Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract: Wage Labor, Marriage, and the Market in the Age of Slave Emancipation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 38–39. State officials directed similar propaganda at freedpeople during emancipation in the French colony of Réunion in the Indian Ocean. The official who brought the emancipation decree to the island in 1848 declared, "Work elevates man in God's eyes; it makes him a citizen; it calls him to found a family." Françoise Vergès, *Monsters and Revolutionaries: Colonial Family Romance and Métissage* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999), 58–68; quote on 59.

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Colonial Hegemony: State and Society in Africa and India, ed. Dagmar Engels and Shula Marks (London: British Academic Press, German Historical Institute, 1994), 110–30; On similar anxieties about the gender relations of immigrants in Argentina, see Donna Guy, *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family, and Nation in Argentina* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990).

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69 On suffrage in the United States, see Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988); Julie Saville, *The Work of Reconstruction: From Slave to Wage Laborer in South Carolina, 1860–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 172–77. On the French colonies, where male ex-slaves acquired the vote in 1848 only to lose it in 1851, see Blackburn, *Overthrow of Colonial Slavery*, 496–500; on the British colonies, see Gad Heuman, *Between Black and White: Race, Politics, and the Free Coloreds in Jamaica, 1792–1865* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1981); Swithin Wilmot, "Race, Electoral Violence and Constitutional Reform in Jamaica, 1830–1854," *Journal of Caribbean History* 17 (1982), 1–13; Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, chap. 7.

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