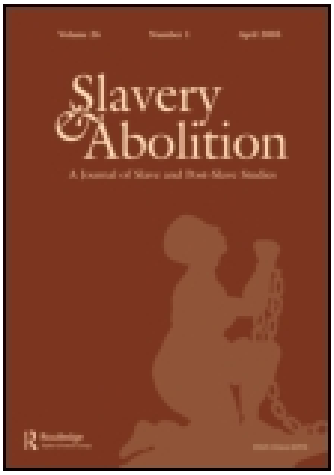

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Stephanie M.H. Camp
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'I Could Not Stay There': Enslaved Women, Truancy and the Geography of Everyday Forms of Resistance in the Antebellum Plantation South

STEPHANIE M.H. CAMP

Like many other antebellum planters, Sallie Smith's Louisiana owner hoped to control his labour force and to affirm his position as head of the plantation household by limiting the movement of enslaved people around and, especially, off his property. Accordingly, he forbade his bondpeople from leaving his plantation without a pass. When his enslaved people broke the rules that determined where they ought to be – in the field, in the yard, in their quarters – and when they ought to be there, Smith's owner punished them violently, as was his prerogative. After running away temporarily, Smith was tortured inside of 'a big barrel he kept to roll us in, with nails drove all through it'. But Sallie Smith continued to run away: 'I did not stay more than a month before I ran away again. I tell you, I could not stay there.'[1]

Unwilling or unable to 'stay there', Sallie Smith was like many other bondwomen who, for short periods of time, ran away from overwork and abuse on antebellum plantations. Smith was not a typical bondwoman in that most did not run away nearly so frequently as she. But many other enslaved women and men did run away on occasion throughout their lives. Called 'runaways' by antebellum Southern blacks and whites, and termed 'truants' and 'absentees' by historians, they did not intend to make a break for freedom in the North, but sought short-term escapes from work, from planter and overseer control and from the prying eyes of family and friends.[2] Their movement challenged the regulations dictating bondpeople's location, regulations that were designed to affirm slave holders' dominion over the movement of the enslaved and, thereby, to maximize the exploitation of bondpeople's labour.

Winthrop Jordan found that it was confinement 'more than any other single quality' that differentiated slavery from servitude in the early years

Stephanie M.H. Camp is in the Department of History, University of Washington, Box 353560, Seattle, Washington, 98195-3560.

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of American slavery's formation: 'enslavement was captivity.'[3] By the antebellum period, slave-holding elites had created a 'geography of containment' that aimed to control slave mobility in space and in time.[4] Bondpeople everywhere were forbidden by law and common practice to leave their owners' property without passes, and slave patrols attempted to ensure obedience to the law. With the rise of paternalism among the slave-holding elite in the early national years came great attention to black bodily minutiae: nutrition, dress, hygiene and pleasure all became the targets of planter meddling, as did black movement in space and in time. Advice manuals proliferated to help planters establish orderly plantations in large measure by dominating and controlling the bodies of the people they owned. Laws, customs and ideals came together into a systematic constriction of slave movement as one of the most important bases of mastery.

Mississippian William Ethelbert Ervin personified the paternalist paradigm of his class and historical moment. In December 1846, Ervin sat down to write out his ideal of slave behaviour. First, he indicated that plantation borders not only marked the edges of his estate, but also hemmed in his bondpeople: no one was to 'leave the place without leaf of absence'. Secondly, within those spatial borders, he added temporal limits that bound enslaved people's movement even more: 'at nine o'clock every night the Horne must be blown Which is the signal for each to retire to his or her house and there to remain until morning.' Ervin directed his overseers to check up on people in the quarters, and if anyone was found 'out of their places', they would be 'delt with ... according to discretion'.[5]

While planters dreamt and schemed about the creation of orderly plantations in which the location of enslaved people was neatly determined by curfews, rules and the demands of crops, enslaved people engaged in truancy with a persistence that disturbed and alarmed most slave holders. Though common, truancy never became an acceptable part of plantation life in slave holders' minds. Rather, truancy was the source of a fundamental conflict of interest between owner and owned. When bondpeople engaged in absenteeism, they withdrew their labour and they challenged the authority of their owners. Most of all, they created alternative ways of knowing and using plantation space that were inconsistent with planters' requirements. Their distinct mapping of the plantation might best be called a 'rival geography'.[6] Enslaved people's rival geography was not a fixed spatial formation for it included quarters, outbuildings, woods, swamps and neighbouring farms as opportunity granted them. Absentees' movement to and between these places wove them together into an alternative mapping of plantation space. Where planters' mapping of the plantation was defined by fixed places for its residents, the rival geography was characterized by

motion: the movement of bodies within and around plantation space.[7] Truancy, a practice that facilitated independent activity (thereby denying planters' desire for control of bondpeople's movement and their labour) was the foundation of this rival geography. As such, absenteeism was an endemic problem of labour and social discipline in the antebellum plantation South.

Much of the existent literature on the topic considers truancy to have been a 'safety valve' in plantation life; that is, an individual expression of dissatisfaction that released anger and frustration but posed no danger to the system.[8] This interpretation, however, misses the broader operation of politics in the Old South. Places, boundaries and movement were central to how slavery was organized, and to how it was resisted. Truancy threatened planters' sense of mastery and their security in the moneymaking purpose of their farms. At least as importantly, through absenteeism enslaved people established a form of spatial knowledge that granted them room and time for themselves, and that they would put to emancipatory uses during the Civil War.

Gender difference informed the practice of truancy. Compared with their numbers among permanent fugitives, women were much more highly represented among absentees, and while men and women both engaged in it, truancy served somewhat varying purposes for and imposed distinct responsibilities on each. In different time periods and in various parts of the South, women consistently made up a minority of those who ran away to permanent freedom in the North. In a recent study, John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger found that, between 1838 and 1860, Virginia's bondwomen were a mere nine per cent of fugitives, while women in South Carolina made up 19 per cent of the group. Fourteen per cent of North Carolina's and 12 per cent of Tennessee's runaways were women. Louisiana had the largest percentage of female runaways, still less than a third (29 per cent) of all fugitives.[9]

The factors that held women within plantation space more firmly than men were many. Paramount among them were women's family responsibilities and bondpeople's gender ideals. Women, as a group, were enmeshed in networks of extended family and friends where they played central roles in the black family. 'Abroad' marriages, the disproportionate sale of men into the slave-trade supplying labour to the new cotton lands in the deep South and the Old Southwest, and African cultural legacies resulted in many female-headed families throughout the antebellum South. Such 'matrifocal' families depended on women for their survival. Many women understood themselves as persons in terms deeply connected to community; and they identified as women in part through their activities on behalf of their families. Thus enmeshed in dense social relations, women

appear to have considered permanent escape to be even more difficult than did many men.[10]

Such day-to-day realities reinforced gender ideals among enslaved people. Community sanctions against women abandoning their children normalized female dedication to the family, and were another pressure that limited the number of women who could escape to the North. Invoking a standard of respectable womanhood, Molly Horniblow chastised her granddaughter for even thinking of running away: 'Nobody respects a mother who forsakes her children.'[11] Taught community ideals, children held their mothers to them. Expressing a feeling of betrayal uncharacteristic among former bondpeople remembering their fathers' escapes from bondage, Patience M. Avery was heartbroken by her mother's escape: 'No, chile, I can never fergit dat. You see my mother gimme dem pennies to mek me hush cryin'. Yes, yes, I can 'member dis as good as ef 'twas yestidy; how my mother stole out and lef' me.' Avery murmured to her interviewer the plaintive refrain of ultimate loss: 'I was a po' motherless chile.'[12] Women, like Avery's mother, who did dare to escape left behind children whose grief would be a lesson to other women who considered running away.

The point must not be overstated: enslaved fathers were important to their families, as their families were to them. Most enslaved men did not attempt to run away at all, partly because of their own roots in their communities. And some women did leave lovers and families to head north.[13] But different roles within the family nonetheless created diverse responsibilities and conceptions of acceptable behaviour for women and men. These duties and gender norms helped to shape fugitive behaviour by diminishing women's rates of flight.

A final factor preventing women from running away in the same numbers as men was their relative lack of knowledge of geography beyond the plantation. Men in the skilled trades, men who performed transportation or communication work, and men with wives and lovers in other places had occasions to leave the farm on which they lived. For all of these reasons, men sometimes received passes and the opportunity to learn the lie of the land, roads and waterways, an opportunity implicitly denied to women. In addition to generally being unfamiliar with local geography, women were especially noticeable to passers-by. While it was dangerous for both men and women to be seen while escaping, it was more so for women. Men could have a plausible excuse for traversing roads and estuaries; enslaved men transporting letters, messages, goods and materials and men visiting their girlfriends and families were an ordinary part of the landscape – as was the mandatory presentation of the pass that legitimated their travel. Women, on the other hand, did not generally perform such work and thus rarely became familiar with neighbourhood geography or with watercraft. As

fugitives, if they needed to abandon the byways for a main road, they were sure to draw attention – and suspicion. Their conspicuousness would only have been highlighted by their awkwardness on unfamiliar terrain and by the possible presence of children, who would have further complicated matters: they needed to be fed, carried, hurried along and kept quiet.[14]

All in all, the social and the logistical difficulties were nearly insurmountable for the majority of women who even bothered to contemplate flight to the North. Most bondwomen apparently concluded that permanent escape was impossible or undesirable, and they were thus bound more narrowly than men. Yet, enslaved women did not submit to planters' schemes for spatial and temporal order by remaining obediently in their assigned places. Instead, like men, they chose truancy, a temporary escape from the plantation. Absenteeism, generally to the nearest woods or swamps and occasionally to nearby towns, allowed bondwomen to remain in immediate proximity to their families, yet offered escape from slave holders' demands and control. Truancy was particularly important in the lives of enslaved women, but not because it was a 'female form' of resistance. It was not: men made up the majority of truants most of the time. Rather, truancy is an important part of the story of women's lives in and resistance to slavery because women engaged in it more frequently than they ran away as fugitives, and because they played a critical role supporting other truants even when they themselves did not run away.

Women's participation in truancy on three plantations with exceptional documentation of the practice shows quite a contrast with their fugitive rates. All three plantation records come from the lower South: South Carolina and Mississippi. In general, planters from the lower South appear to have complained about truancy more than slave holders in the upper South. Or, at least they were driven to record their frustrations in their journals more commonly, a phenomenon that itself suggests that enslaved people in the lower South may have engaged in truancy more frequently and consistently than those in the upper South. Perhaps their great distance from freedom in the North, and the near-hopelessness of running away to the North made flight in other, more local, directions for shorter periods of time a more urgently needed, and therefore more commonly practised, method for escaping bondage. Much planter documentation also survives from the upper South, though. Moreover, black testimony comes from both sections; consequently, conclusions about distinctions between the upper and lower South must remain speculative.

In Adams County, Mississippi, John Nevitt presided over Clermont plantation, located on fertile land along the Mississippi River's south-western border of the state. Nevitt's bondpeople worked Clermont's land, producing cotton, tobacco and rice which Nevitt easily traded in nearby

Natchez whence it was quickly transported along the river.[15] But the production of these goods was not smooth; rather, multiple incidents of truancy per month marred Nevitt's ideal of orderly production and sale. Nevitt kept an extraordinarily methodical log of truants' escapes, mutual assistance, returns and punishment, providing an important source for the history of truancy. The frequency of absenteeism at Clermont may indicate that enslaved people there engaged in truancy more intensely than those in other places. Yet herein lies the diary's strength. While Nevitt's diary cannot (as no single source can) tell us about truancy everywhere, the heightened activity it documents allows us an unusual glimpse into patterns of gender difference.

Compared with their numbers among fugitives, women's rates of truancy are striking. When women on Nevitt's estate ran away, they generally represented significant proportions of the total numbers of incidents of absenteeism and of the number of truants: with two years excepted, women constituted from 19 to 41 per cent of truants.[16] The differing behaviours of men and women at Clermont plantation are similar to those in other, relatively more opaque but still instructive, plantation records. In the summer of 1828 the sole year documenting incidents of truancy at the Rockingham plantation in the Beaufort District of South Carolina, 55 per cent of the truants were women.[17] And during the peak of recorded truancy at James Henry Hammond's Silver Bluff plantation in South Carolina, the time between his assumption of ownership in December 1831 and the end of his first full and highly tumultuous year, 32 per cent of the truants were women.[18] Clearly, at least on these three plantations with detailed records of truancy, women made up a greater proportion of truants than they did of runaways.

Much of bondpeople's autonomous and semi-autonomous social activity depended upon truancy, as Christian worshippers and secular party-goers alike produced rare moments of leisure by absenting themselves to congregate in the woods, swamps or in outbuildings.[19] But absenteeism was often a solitary affair, frequently a spontaneous response to violence, which enslaved people saw as a physical violation and as offensive to their sense of human dignity. North Carolina slave holder George D. Lewis was disdainful of the behaviour of his 'negro girl,' but he probably accurately detected her outrage when she 'took umbrage at a little flagellation and left'.[20] 'Sometimes dey beat 'em so bad', William Brooks said of planters' treatment of women, 'dey run away an' hide in de woods.'[21] Women also ran away to evade sexual violence, of which they were the disproportionate targets.[22]

Absentees ran away to assert some control over their labour. 'Sometimes', Lorenzo L. Ivy recalled, 'slaves jes' run' 'way to de woods

fo' a week or two to git a res' fum de fiel', an' den dey come on back.' Chronic truant Sallie Smith went to the woods not only to escape her master's violence, but also to take a break from the demanding regimen of the plantation on which she lived. 'Sometimes', she said, remembering the distance she could obtain from the sounds of morning and the beginning of another workday, 'I'd go so far off from the plantation I could not hear the cows low or the roosters crow.'[23]

On Nevitt's farm, truants ran away more often at the beginning and end of the cotton-picking season's intensive labour. The number of incidents of truancy (for all years together) remained relatively steady between March and October, but rose in November, just as labour intensified around cotton picking. The number dropped again in December, perhaps in response to the holiday that Nevitt gave his enslaved labourers for Christmas. By January first, bondpeople at Clermont were back at work finishing picking the cotton crop, as well as clearing the fields, making fence posts and shingles, and repairing local roads, fences and the quarters. At the same time, the number of incidents of truancy once again rose, often at the very beginning of the month, suggesting that absentees may have been extending their holidays as well as evading the rush to complete the cotton harvest.[24]

Truants who left during November and January must have been in search of rest and amusement, but they may have also been escaping increased violence. Nevitt's demands for increased labour during harvest would certainly have been underscored by the lash, no doubt spurring some to run away. Furthermore, the consumption of alcohol was a part of harvest and holiday celebrations among both black and white men, and may have led to an escalation in violence by planters and overseers against bondpeople, and by bondmen against bondwomen. In addition, drinking might have incited more incidents of sexual abuse of women. The merciless work schedule may have combined with a rise in violence to impel more people to run away during this time of year.

The plantation's 'push' factors (exhaustion, desperation, terror, anger) were only some of the reasons people ran away. Marginal spaces offered opportunities that drew runaways to them. Bondmen ran away to visit their wives and girlfriends, for instance, hiding in their cabins or meeting them in the woods near the women's homes. Ellen Campbell knew a woman whose abroad husband once ran away to the woods near her home farm when he was denied permission to visit her. While he hid out, she went to the woods to meet him and to give him dinner, until he was caught one night and summarily shot dead.[25]

The separation of family members through sale and abroad marriages was one of slavery's greatest atrocities. But historians have shown that while separation was devastating to individuals, the slave family as an

institution adapted to, and was not annihilated by, personal loss.[26] When the distance was not too far, family separation was also remedied by secret visits in the night-time. Frederick Douglass's classic 1845 autobiography opened with his faint memories of his mother who lived some 12 miles from him in Maryland. 'I never saw my mother, to know her as such', Douglass recounted, 'more than four or five time in my life; and each of these times was very short in duration, and at night.' Douglass wrote with open admiration for his mother, who ran away from her hirer as often as she could, which was not very often, to visit him 'in the night, traveling the whole distance on foot after the performance of her day's work'. Douglass's account of his relationship with his mother is a mixture of bitterness about what slave holders did to the enslaved, sorrow that he did not have more time with his mother (his father was her owner), and tenderness for what his mother struggled to provide him. 'I do not recollect of ever seeing my mother by the light of day', he wrote. 'She was with me in the night. She would lie down with me, and get me to sleep, but long before I waked she was gone.' Douglass walked a delicate line, stressing the brutalities of the system, the lingering emotional trauma of early orphanage and the agency of his truant mother.[27]

In woods or swamps, runaways faced extremely difficult living conditions. They ate berries in the woods and, as one absentee put it, 'any thing we came upon'. They also were commonly blamed by their slave-holding neighbours for the disappearance of chickens and hogs. But not everyone was skilled at hunting, foraging or reappropriating; in any case, fruits and the occasional chicken made for skimpy fare. At times Smith experienced hunger so severe she 'could not sleep', and weather so cold she 'did not know what to do'. Often afraid to build a fire lest it call attention to their location, absentees had a difficult time staying warm in cold seasons. They collected branches, twigs, moss and leaves to make the 'brush harbors' in which they slept; and serendipity or detailed knowledge of the woods led some to tree hollows for shelter from the rain. Needless to say, such structures proved adequate only in mild weather; in the cold, wind, or rain, runaways could only endure. And all the while, they had to look out for patrols, whites in general and opportunistic bondmen, any of whom might turn them in. Absentees withstood these hardships for anywhere from a few days to two weeks; and sojourns of even several months were hardly unknown.[28]

The tenacity of female and male runaways was due in part to community efforts to assist them. Truants needed the collaboration of the larger community, and often they got it.[29] Women, in particular, supported runaways by extending the meals they prepared for their families to truants. In so doing, they turned their reproductive labour, which partially

functioned to maintain the labour supply and partially to sustain the people they loved or to whom they felt a sense of duty, into a source of resistance. Thus, even women who did not run away themselves were active in the alternative uses of plantation space. Men and women both created the rival geography, but women performed most of the reproductive work that enabled truants to occupy it for longer periods of time than would otherwise have been possible. When Lorenzo L. Ivy's grandmother ran away to the woods, as she did regularly to protest and prevent ill treatment, she would 'stay in hidin' in de day time an' come out onlies' at night. My mama say she used to always put out food fo' her an' she would slip up nights an' git it.'[30]

Among women, field and household workers alike secretly helped outlaws. Even favoured women, such as 'aunt Fanny' of Virginia, had lives hidden from their owners. When someone 'had the presumption to break in our meat house' the elite Aylett family initiated an investigation. Some suspected a new neighbour, and others believed that the longtime-runaway Jim was 'at the bottom of it all'. The Aylett family matriarch had always 'thought well of' Fanny, one of the 'house servants', and placed her above suspicion. But when 'Brother Henry had the servants houses searched on Friday', the source was found. In Fanny's house Henry found a reserve of food ('a basket of corn'), as well as 'a piece of bridling'. It would appear that Fanny was outfitting Jim for an escape on horseback, perhaps to the North. And that was not all: Jim, it turned out, had been 'staying [in] her house for the last 12 months'.[31]

Unlike Jim, most truants tended to move back and forth between relatively remote hiding places and the quarters, sometimes on paths with which only enslaved people were acquainted.[32] Hammond's runaways Nancy and Abram made a habit of going back and forth between the swamp and the quarters, where they would visit and be fed, but not only after dark. 'Day and night', Hammond fumed, they came in from the swamp where they were 'encamped' and passed their time 'about the lot'.[33] Women absentees ran to and fro not only to receive sustenance, but also to return at night and feed their families. Camilla Jackson's mother 'would run away ter the woods' when her mistress hit her, 'but at night she would sneak back to nurse her babies'.[34] Movement back and forth might have been easier and more common in black-majority counties, such as those of the Black Belt and coastal South Carolina and Georgia, than in other parts of the South where greater surveillance may have forced truants to be relatively more cautious and self-reliant.

The flow of movement between hiding places and the quarters both helped and hurt absentees. On the one hand, truants needed the assistance of willing fellow bondpeople, and this support enabled them to survive and to

stay out longer than if they had been left on their own. As a Virginia planter informed the traveller Frederick Law Olmsted, the runaways were 'often hunted after, but it was very difficult to find them, and, if caught, they would run away again, and the other negroes would hide and assist them'.[35] On the other hand, much of slaves' rival geography – the quarters, outbuildings – was space to which planters had access and over which they had a large measure of control. When runaways ventured in from woods and swamps to these places, they at once helped themselves by gaining access to material support and increased their risk of capture. Louisiana planter Bennet Barrow, for instance, was able to capture runaways when they returned to the quarters. 'Caught a runaway yesterday', Barrow once wrote in his journal. 'Came to the hands.'[36] Olmsted, too, commented on the risk of detection raised by absentees' return to the quarters. He noted first of all that 'runaways ... almost always kept in the neighbourhood, because they did not like to go where they could not sometimes get back to see their families.' As a result, 'the overseer would soon get wind of where they had been; they would come round their quarters to see their families and to get food, and as soon as he knew it, he would find their tracks and put the dogs out again.'[37]

In an effort to get around the problem of capture in the quarters, some absentees and their helpers arranged meeting places in the woods. Cornelia Carney's mother 'used to send John, my oldes' brother, out to de woods wid food' for her father when he hid from his abusive owner.[38] Runaways and their supporters sometimes exploited their intimate knowledge of plantation geography, as did two enslaved women, Lorendo Goodwin and Hattie, who lived on a Louisiana sugar plantation. The two women coordinated the rhythm of Goodwin's fieldwork to Hattie's location in the woods bordering the cane fields. One morning Hattie waited at the edge of the woods where she hid for Goodwin who unknowingly worked her way toward Hattie. When Goodwin was 'getting toward the end of my row of cane I heard somebody over the fence in the woods calling me'. Goodwin spotted Hattie, who 'asked me to give her something to eat; and I did give her all I had in my bucket'. In like manner, when Sallie Smith got hungry she would, 'find out where the hands on the place were working, and if the overseer was away I'd get something from them'. She could even count on them to bring their food to her in the woods, once they knew she was there. She would go to the 'edge of the woods every day, and when they would come to hunt for me they called out in a low piercing voice, "Sallie! Sallie!" I'd come running and sometimes I was nearly perished.'[39]

Women's work supporting truancy complicates the distinction between individual and collective resistance, and between the personal and the political. Absenteeism was very often a sudden, solitary reaction to a

particular grievance. At the same time, individual truants partially depended upon others for assistance. Many bondwomen helped runaways because they understood runaways to be protesting their conditions of labour and life. Moreover, some bondpeople assisted truants because the distinction between wrongs committed against an individual and those committed against a group were less important within communities of extended family, friends, and occasionally even strangers. The distinction between individual and collective resistance, then, offers only an aphoristic description of truancy in practice. The reasons bondpeople ran away – violence, exhaustion, humiliation – resonated with wrongs others had suffered, or could, at any moment, be made to suffer.

Just as the difference between individual and collective resistance is misleading, so is the separation of political principal and personal sentiment. Many women helped truants – husbands, lovers, family members and friends – because they loved them or because they felt loyal to them. Perhaps otherwise disinclined to support opposition, some women were motivated by intimate feelings to help support the actions of people who defied their owners' authority, withheld their labour and who broke the law. Many people in enslaved communities recognized absenteeism for what it was: social protest in which many bondpeople participated collectively for political and personal reasons.[40]

But cooperation coexisted with ambivalence, fear and self-interest and many bondpeople refused to get deeply involved in punishable activities. When the weather turned too cold for the 'mossbed' Sallie Smith made for herself to sleep in at night, she sometimes stayed with different enslaved families. After being caught by the overseer in one home, Smith found it impossible to get shelter in the quarters.[41] Just as absentees' movement back and forth between hiding places and quarters connected these places in a common rival geography, so the cooperation of truants and their supporters blurred the difference between resistant and compliant bondperson. It was an elision that slave holders upheld, punishing those who helped runaways and exploiting truancy's collective nature to force absentees to return, and successfully undermining feelings of solidarity with the runaways that might have emerged in the quarters. Both James Henry Hammond and John Blount Miller, a South Carolina planter, cut off the meat allowance 'of all', as Miller put it, 'until return'.[42] The apparent success of this tactic indicates that there were limits to what residents would sacrifice for truants.

Truants knew the secret mapping of the plantation expertly, could locate other absentees and were thus in a perfect position to win favour with or payment from their owners by turning in other runaways. Men appear to have been especially able to do so; at Clermont plantation, every single one of the truants who turned in another was a bondman, probably because

women lacked the physical presence and the social authority to compel an absentee to return against his or her will. These men, mainly Rubin and Jerry, were unlikely intermediaries: they were themselves regular absentees. Rubin frequently visited his wife without a pass for days and even weeks at a time, and Jerry was once shot at while being chased from the neighbouring farm where his own wife lived. Yet again and again, these two men 'brought home' other truants for the benefits they gained: pardons for their own absences and sometimes pay. Once, when Rubin returned from a one-day absence, Nevitt turned him right around and 'sent him out for Maria', who had been gone for a few days. By evening Rubin had returned with her. As a reward, Nevitt 'forgave Rubin his fault an gave Maria a severe whiping'. Rubin and Jerry were hardly unique: neighbouring bondmen also returned truants to Nevitt, as they did on other plantations.[43] Cooperation between truants and their neighbours presented benefits as well as dangers.

Far from understanding truancy as a routine part of plantation life and taking it in stride, slave holders viewed it as an egregious violation of labour and social discipline. One reason that planters objected so strenuously to truancy was that truants withheld their labour from their owners for the period of time they were absent: crops were neglected, livestock untended, maintenance chores undone. Contemporaries noticed the economic cost that absentees caused. Olmsted met one Virginia farmer who compared the economic sabotage caused by bondpeople who feigned illness and by absentees, concluding that a 'more serious loss frequently arises, when the slave, thinking he is worked too hard, or being angered by punishment or unkind treatment, "getting the sulks," takes to "the swamp," and comes back when he has a mind to.'[44] Household bondwomen's absences were disruptive, as well; someone had to do their work. At times, fellow bondwomen took up the slack; on other occasions a slave-holding woman was forced to make up the difference. When Clarissa, a household bondwoman 'took it into her head to run away', a miserable Mahala P. Eggleston Roach found herself 'obliged to work some'. Clarissa returned two days later and Roach delivered what may have been the kindest punishment an enslaved person ever received: Roach 'would not speak to her'.[45]

The most basic requirement of slavery as a system was the presence of labouring slaves; by creating absences, truants initiated an ongoing struggle with slave holders. Slave patrols were charged with the task of capturing runaways of any sort and bringing them back to work.[46] But planters were not above personally venturing out to search for absentees, to 'hunt' them as they often put it. Alone, in teams and sometimes with dogs, planters pursued truants ruthlessly. When one of the 'negro dogs' that Bennett Barrow and his neighbours regularly used to chase truants once caught a

man, they stood by as the animal 'nearly et his legs off – near killing him'.[47] Generally, such 'hunts' failed to locate their prey, and absentees were driven back by hunger and cold, encountering grave punishments on their return.[48]

In the inchoate language of violence, planters registered strong objections to truancy.[49] A great many truants were flogged, often along with other abuses – a combination that was neither rare nor a trifle, even in the very violent Old South.[50] Absentees were also forced 'to work harder den ever', put on bread-and-water diets 'for long time', caned, put in stocks, shackled with a ball-and-chain at their feet, chained from the leg to the neck, confined alone in outbuildings, and jailed.[51] One man had an iron cage with bells on it locked over his head for three months; another received a 'decent smoking' in the smoke house; one was made to 'ware womens cloths'; more than a few were even shot at or shot.[52] Some truants were sold, as were many captured fugitives; John Nevitt and John Blount Miller both sold their greatest recidivists.[53] Repeat offenders were not the only ones cast into the slave market: enslaved North Carolinian Hasty made for the woods after her mistress slapped her. Upon her return, Hasty learned that she had been sold.[54] Bennet Barrow, who shot at, shot, chained, whipped, clubbed and ducked his truants in water – and whose treatment of runaways did not stand out among his neighbours – explained why he punished absenteeism so severely: 'I had rather a negro do any thing Else than runaway.'[55]

Women's sex did not protect them from the full force of their owners' indignation; they were whipped, chained, put in stocks and sold for their transgressions, just as men were.[56] In many instances female gender seems to have served as a license for planters' full expression of violent rage, exposing women to cruel punishment more consistently than men. On John Nevitt's plantation there were disparities in the distribution of punishment along gender lines. In the diary entries that record a punishment, women were slightly more consistently punished – by flogging, shackles, ball-and-chain, or jail – than men. Whereas three-quarters of male truants were reported to have been punished, 83 per cent of women were; and while Nevitt 'forgave' a quarter of male runaways, only 16 per cent of women were absolved.[57] In part the skewed distribution of punishment was due to Nevitt absolving Rubin and Jerry for running away when they turned in other truants. But other men were acquitted, so other reasons were at play as well.

According to the customary norms of the rural South, there were potentially legitimate reasons for enslaved men to leave plantations, while there were almost none for women. Planter's expectations regarding women's locations, then, may have varied from those they had for men; what counted as truancy in women may have been somewhat more acceptable in men, who had families to visit, as many of Nevitt's men did.

Women's alternative movement, then, may have been more easily perceived as a trespass, and more quickly punished. Another issue may have been that Nevitt viewed women as easier to punish and to use as examples. Overall, it is clear that Nevitt's bondwomen were subjected to disparate treatment based on their gender.

In his travels, Olmsted came to a similar conclusion. The 'severest corporeal punishment of a negro' that he ever 'witnessed at the South' was visited upon Sall, a woman truant. Sall had 'slipped out of the gang when they were going to work', her overseer explained to Olmsted. 'She's been dodging about all day', he complained. Furious that 'she meant to cheat me out of a day's work, and she has done it, too', the overseer stripped the woman from head to foot and laid into her. The sadistic act became a lewd spectacle before Olmsted's eyes, as he watched the overseer give Sall 'thirty or forty blows across the shoulders' with a rawhide, and another set of the same number on 'her naked loins and thighs'.[58]

Truancy impacted the two major forms of labour organization in the Old South differently, but introduced similar conflicts of interest to the spatial and temporal logic of each. For the majority of enslaved people who worked in the gang system, absenteeism punctuated their gruelling, 'sunup to sundown' labour, especially during harvest seasons, granting them escapes from otherwise almost unrelenting work and the violence required to make it possible. For those who worked in the task system, truancy extended the late afternoon and evening 'off-times' that shaped the core of slave life and culture in the South Carolina low country into days and weeks for oneself. In both cases, absenteeism muddied the vision of spatial and temporal order toward which slave holders strove, occasionally provoking questions about their mastery. Ada Bacot spoke out loud the anxiety planters sometimes felt when bondpeople ran away, on the day she discovered that 'some of my young negroes have been disobeying my orders[.] they were found away from home without a pass.' Though Bacot had 'never had any trouble with them until now', their autonomous movement caused her to worry. 'I hope that I may be able to make them understand', she fretted, 'that I am mistress and will be obeyed.'[59]

But more was at stake than money; more, indeed, was at stake than even mastery. Truants' greatest accomplishment was in furthering bondpeople's long-term freedom struggle. During the Civil War, enslaved people ran to advancing Union lines, seeking freedom under the aegis of the federal army. The fugitives, who quickly came to be called 'refugees', received diverse treatment from the Yankees, but their growing numbers placed tremendous pressure on the Union army to make a uniform policy. A reluctant Abraham Lincoln followed the example of many of his officers in the field and decided to admit blacks into the army, but first he had to emancipate them.

Lincoln announced the Emancipation Proclamation in September of 1862, effective January 1863, manumitting bondpeople in the Confederate states, and allowing the federals to arm these refugees and muster them into the army, along with free blacks in the North. Military expediency demanded the use of 'the power which slaves put into the hands of the South', as W.E.B. DuBois put it. DuBois detailed the effect of the exodus – which he termed a 'general strike' – on the morality of the war: 'with perplexed and laggard steps, the United States Government followed the footsteps of the black slave.' Enslaved people's massive movement out of slavery to what they believed would be freedom with the Union army forced emancipation onto the federal war agenda.[60]

Wartime migration did not erupt suddenly and without precedent. Rather, it was the product of a history begun in slavery and in the tradition fostered in truancy of moving beyond the bounds of the plantation's legitimated spaces. During their bondage, enslaved people had established alternative ways of knowing and using Southern space that violated the laws and customs constricting black mobility. In so doing, they created a mapping of Southern space that would play an important role in the exodus from slavery during the Civil War. Truant bondpeople – not fugitives who left the South – gained and transmitted to others the infrastructure of geographical knowledge that was a considerable and crucial part of the foundation of wartime activity. The role that enslaved people played in their own emancipation had been long in the making. During their enslavement women and men – in rage, indignation and desperation – fled the worst aspects of their bondage, paving as they did so the routes that would become in wartime literal roads to freedom.

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NOTES

1. Sallie Smith interview in Octavia V. Rogers Albert, *The House of Bondage, or Charlotte Brooks and Other Slaves* (1890; New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp.91–2.
2. I use the words 'runaway', 'truant' and 'absentee' synonymously; 'fugitive' will refer to those who ran to the North. I sparingly use the term 'slave', which risks flattening the complex history of slavery and essentializing bondpeople's personhood, in favour of 'enslaved person', which implies the active historical processes involved in subjugating those who were enslaved, and 'bondperson', which connotes the status of being enslaved,

rather than a state of being. Truancy is a form of escape distinguished from both fugitive activity and from *marronage* by its temporary nature. In the Caribbean context, truancy is often referred to as *petit marronage*, in distinction to *grand marronage*, the establishment of independent societies. See Gad Heuman, 'Introduction', in Gad Heuman (ed.), *Out of the House of Bondage: Runaways, Resistance and Marronage in Africa and the New World* (London: Frank Cass, 1986), p.4.

3. Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1968), pp.55–6, 107. 'I was a slave', Henry Bibb wrote, 'a prisoner for life': Henry Bibb, *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, Written by Himself* (New York: Published by the Author, 1849), p.17. See also (in chronological order): Philip J. Schwarz, *Twice Condemned: Slaves and the Criminal Laws of Virginia, 1705–1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), p.22; Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), p.113.
4. The phrase 'geography of containment' is Houston Baker's in his response to Michael Hanchard, 'Temporality, Transnationalism and Afro-Modernity' (paper presented to the 'Reshaping Afro-American Studies' seminar at the Center for the Study of Black Literature and Culture, 27 March 1997).
5. William Ethelbert Ervin Diaries, 31 Dec. 1846, Southern Historical Collection (hereinafter SHC). See also Richard Eppes Diary for 1858: Eppes Diary, 8 Oct. 1851, 14 Oct. 1851, 1 Dec. 1851, 27 March 1852, 28 March 1857, 2 Sept. 1859 (Eppes Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society, hereinafter VHS). For more on planter uses of time and space as disciplinary tools in the colonial and antebellum South, see Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (1982; New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1988), pp.11–87; John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp.5–36; Mark M. Smith, *Mastered by the Clock: Time, Slavery and Freedom in the American South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996).
6. 'Rival geography' is Anne Godlewska's and Neil Smith's phrase as cited in Matthew Sparke, 'Mapped Bodies and Disembodied Maps: (Dis)placing Cartographic Struggle in Colonial Canada', in Heidi J. Nast and Steve Pilev (eds.), *Places Through the Body* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), p.305.
7. John Vlach discusses the 'black system of place definition' and its emphasis on natural world and motion in *Back of the Big House*, pp.13–14.
8. This article builds on the pioneering work of Deborah Gray White, who first pointed out truancy's gender dimensions. Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1985), pp.74–7. Other historians have also discussed truancy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including: Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, Vintage Books, 1972), pp.648–57; Peter Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1974), pp.241, 263–8; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), pp.319–20; John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.98, 234. This article is informed by James Scott's portrait of the political significance of everyday resistance in *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) and *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).
9. Franklin and Schweninger, pp.211–12. These figures are consistent, though not identical, with those arrived at by Freddie L. Parker, who found that 18 per cent of North Carolinian runaways were women between 1775–1840. See Parker, *Running for Freedom: Slave Runaways in North Carolina, 1775–1840* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), pp.70–72; see also White, p.74.

10. White, p.76; Fox-Genovese, p.320; Ann Paton Malone, *Sweet Chariot: Slave Family and Household Structure in Nineteenth-Century Louisiana* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pp.15–18, 259–60; Brenda E. Stevenson, *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp.215–23; Wilma King, '"Suffer With Them Until Death": Slave Women and Their Children in Nineteenth-Century America', in David Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine (eds.), *More Than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), pp.147–68; Brenda E. Stevenson, 'Gender Conventions, Ideals and Identity among Antebellum Virginia Slave Women,' in Gaspar and Hine (eds.), pp.174–5, 180; Edward E. Baptist, *Creating an Old South: Middle Florida's Plantation Frontier before the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
11. Molly Horniblow cited in Wilma King, 'The Mistress and Her Maids: White and Black Women in a Louisiana Household, 1858–1868', in Patricia Morton (ed.), *Discovering the Women in Slavery: Emancipating Perspectives on the American Past* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1996), p.92.
12. Mrs. Patience M. Avery in Charles L. Perdue, Thomas E. Barden and Robert K. Phillips (eds.), *Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-Slaves* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), p.14.
13. William Wells Brown, *Narrative of the Life of William W. Brown, A Fugitive Slave* (Boston: Published at the Anti-Slavery Society Office, 1848), p.30; Harry Smith, *Fifty Years of Slavery in the United States of America* (1891; Grand Rapids, Michigan: Michigan Printing Co. (Clark Historical Library Reprint), 1973), p.67.
14. White, 76; Fox-Genovese, 319; Bibb, pp.16–17, 26. Of course, many men knew nothing about boating and navigation techniques, but for examples of those who managed to gain skills ranging from the rudimentary to the expert see John Brown, *Slave Life in Georgia: A Narrative of the Life, Sufferings, and Escape of John Brown, A Fugitive Slave* (1855; Savannah, Georgia: The Beehive Press, 1972), p.82; Wells Brown, *Narrative*, 22, 30; Eppes Diary, 30 Nov. 1851, 2 Sept. 1859, 22 May 1860.
15. United States Census, Schedule Four, Agricultural Census, Adams County, Mississippi, 1850.
16. In 1826 and 1829 women's participation was unusually low: no women ran away in 1826 (and only four men did), and only one woman absented herself (but 15 men did) in 1829. The percentages of women among truants in the other years are: 1827, 36 per cent; 1828, 41 per cent; 1830, 30 per cent; 1831, 19 per cent; 1832, 20 per cent. John Nevitt Diary, SHC.
17. Rockingham Plantation Journal, Special Collections Library, Perkins Library, Duke University (hereinafter SCL).
18. James Henry Hammond, 1831 slave list, Plantation Records for Silver Bluff Plantation (1831 to 1855), James Henry Hammond Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina (hereinafter USC). Hammond's 1831 slave list shows an even sex ratio, the demographic pattern that predominated by the antebellum period. The 1850 census also shows an even sex ratio at Clermont plantation. See United States Census, Schedule Two, Slave Population, Adams County, Mississippi, 1850. In all likelihood, Rockingham plantation also had an even sex ratio.
19. On slaves' 'hidden institution', the black church, see Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The 'Invisible Institution' in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press,1978). On enslaved people's secular hidden institution, illegal parties, see Stephanie M.H. Camp, 'The Pleasures of Resistance: Enslaved Women and Body Politics in the Plantation South, 1830–61', *The Journal of Southern History*, 68, 3 (August 2002).
20. George D. Lewis to William L. Lewis, 7 Oct. 1854, Lewis Family Letters, SCL. See also, Edwin Adams Davis (ed.), *Plantation Life in the Florida Parishes of Louisiana, 1836–1846 as Reflected in the Diary of Bennet H. Barrow* (New York: AMS Press, 1943), 27 Oct. 1838, 16 Sept. 1841 (hereinafter *Barrow Diary*).
21. William Brooks in Perdue et al., p.57. See also: Cornelia Carney and Mrs. Louise Jones in Perdue et al., pp.67, 186; Lily Perry in George P. Rawick (ed.), *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, 19 vols. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1972): Vol.15:2, p.165; Camilla Jackson in Rawick (ed.), Vol.13:4, p.257; 'Compilation Richmond

County Ex-Slave Interviews,' Louise Eliphant [interviewer], in Rawick (ed.), Vol.13:4, p.292.

22. 'Compilation', in Rawick (ed.), Vol.13:4, p.292.
23. Lorenzo L. Ivy in Perdue et al., p.153; Sallie Smith interview in Albert, pp.91–2; Hammond Journal, 22 Jan. 1835. C.L.R. James wrote that, 'ordinary people are rebelling everyday in ways of their own invention' in order to 'regain control over their own conditions of life and their relations with one another.' James found that oftentimes, 'their struggles are on a small personal scale'. C.L.R. James, Grace C. Lee and Pierre Chaulieu, *Facing Reality* (1958; Detroit: Benwick Editions, 1974), p.5. Enslaved people's everyday battles for regaining a measure of control took place on very 'personal' terrain: the location and uses of their bodies.
24. In all years together, the following number of incidents occurred each month: January, 19; February, 14; March, 8; April, 10; May, 5; June, 9; July, 8; August, 7; September, 8; October, 8; November, 14; December, 6. Nevitt Diary, *passim*. For incidents at the beginning of January, see 1 Jan. 1828, 9 Jan. 1829, 6 Jan. 1830, 11 Jan. 1830, 8 Jan. 1831, 8 Jan. 1832.
25. Ellen Campbell in Rawick (ed.), Vol.13:4, pp.224–5. See also Alice Green in Rawick (ed.), Vol.12:2, p.34; Nevitt Diary, 12 Feb. 1831, 20 Feb. 1831; Bibb, p.26. Philip D. Morgan's work on runaways in colonial South Carolina also concluded that visiting was an important incentive, especially for men looking for mates. See Morgan, 'Colonial South Carolina Runaways: Their Significance for Slave Culture', in Heuman (ed.), *Out of the House of Bondage*, pp.69–74.
26. Herbert Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976); Malone; Stevenson, *Life in Black and White*.
27. Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave* (1845; New York: Anchor Books, 1989), p.2. See also Sallie Smith in Albert, pp.94–7.
28. Sallie Smith in Albert, pp.88–9, 94, 96; Liza Brown, Charles Crawley and Lorenzo L. Ivy in Perdue et al., pp.63, 78, 153; Frederick Law Olmsted, *The Cotton Kingdom*, ed. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr. (1861; New York: The Modern Library, 1984), pp.76, 450; Nevitt Diary, *passim*; Hammond Journal, 24, 26 Jan. 1832, 2 Nov. 1833; John Brown, *Slave Life*, 74; *Barrow Diary*, 1 April 1838, 11 April 1841, 22 Sept. 1841, 22 June 1842, 7 May 1843.
29. Olmsted, *Cotton Kingdom*, pp.76, 450; Mollie Booker and Samuel Walter Chilton in Perdue et al., pp.54, 71.
30. Lorenzo L. Ivy in Purdue et al., p.154. See also Cornelia Carney in Perdue et al., p.67.
31. Rosalie P. Aylett to William Roane Aylett, 8 April 1851, Aylett Family Papers, VHS.
32. Midge Burnett in Rawick (ed.), Vol.14:1, p.156.
33. Hammond Journal, 1831 slave list, 18 July 1832.
34. Camilla Jackson in Rawick, (ed.), Vol.13:4, p.257.
35. Olmsted, *Cotton Kingdom*, p.76.
36. *Barrow Diary*, 19 Oct. 1843. See also Nevitt Diary, 18 March 1832.
37. Frederick Law Olmsted, *Journey in the Back Country* (New York, 1860), p.48. See also Hammond Journal, 18 July 1832, 19 July 1832; John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p.196; Drew Gilpin Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), p.95.
38. Cornelia Carney in Perdue et al., p.67.
39. Lorendo Goodwin in Albert, *House of Bondage*, pp.70–71; Sallie Smith in Albert, *House of Bondage*, pp.88–9.
40. See Eric Hobsbawm's discussion of social banditry for more on the importance of 'individual' protest in the eyes of peasant classes in *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1959), pp.5–17. James Scott discusses the self-interested nature of organized as well as unorganized politics in *Weapons of the Weak*, pp.291–6.
41. Lorendo Goodwin in Albert, pp.88–92. See also Hammond Journal, 8 July 1832.
42. Faust, *Hammond*, 95; 'Rules for negroes' [*c*.Jan. 1847], Cornhill Plantation Book, McDonald Furman Papers, SCL.
43. Nevitt Diary, 21 April and 28 April 1826; 25 Jan., 9 July, 21 Aug., 2 Oct., 9 Nov. and 13 Nov.

1827; 3 Jan., 2 March, 6 Dec. and 26 Dec. 1828; 24 July, 9 Nov. and 3 Dec. 1830; 12 Oct. 1831; 4 Feb., 3 Aug. and 2 Sept. 1832. See also: 7 May and 9 Sept. 1829; 2 May and 12 June 1831. Nevitt paid neighbouring bondmen for similar services: Nevitt Diary, 24 July 1830, 3 Aug. 1832. See also *Barrow Diary*, 25 Dec. 1839, 16 April 1841, 17 July 1841; Hammond Journal, 1 Nov. 1833, 11–12 May 1835, 1 Aug. 1835.

44. Olmsted, *Cotton Kingdom*, p.75.
45. Mahala P. Eggleston Roach diary, 12 April 1850, 14 April 1850, VHS.
46. For more on slave patrols see Gladys Marie Fry, *Nightriders in Black Folk History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975); Sally E. Hadden, *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001).
47. *Barrow Diary*, 15–16 Oct. 1844, 9 Nov. 1844, 15 Oct. 1845, 27 Oct. 1845, 11 Nov. 1845; quote in 15 Oct. 1845 entry. See also Nevitt Diary, 29 May 1830, 27 April 1832 and *passim*; Hammond Journal, 13 June 1832, 27 June 1832, 1 Aug. 1834.
48. Annie Stevenson in Rawick (ed.), Vol.15:2, p.314; *Barrow Diary*, 29 Sept. 1837, 4 Dec. 1840, 21 July 1841. See also Benjamin Johnson in Rawick (ed.), Vol.12:2, p.324; Hammond Journal, 16 July 1832; Nevitt Diary, 29 May 1830, 7 June 1830, 13 Nov. 1830, 27 April 1832; *Barrow Diary*, 18 July 1840, 4 Dec. 1840, 26 March 1841, 15–18 Oct. 1844, 9 Nov. 1844, 28–30 Sept. 1845, 14 Oct. 1845, 27 Oct. 1845; Bethany Veney, *The Narrative of Bethany Veney, A Slave Woman*, in Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (ed.), *Collected Black Women's Narratives* (1889; New York: Oxford University Press,1988), p.12; Hammond Journal, 16 July 1832, 12 Aug. 1833, 4 Oct. 1833.
49. Kali Nicole Gross discusses violence as a language in 'The Dismembered Body of Wakefield Gaines and Other Tales of African-American Female Criminality in Philadelphia, 1880–1910' (PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1999).
50. Jennie Hendricks in Rawick (ed.), Vol.13:3, p.5; Mollie Mitchell in Rawick (ed.), Vol.13:3, p.133; Henry James Trentham in Rawick (ed.), Vol.15:2, p.365; Alice Green in Rawick (ed.), Vol.12:2, p.34; Nevitt Diary, *passim*; Wells Brown, *Narrative*, p.22; Bibb, p.26.
51. Lizzie Williams in Rawick (ed.), Vol.15:2, p.396; Eppes Diary, 8 Oct. 1851; Nevitt Diary, 21 April 1826, 29 April 1827, 9 Nov. 1827, 17 July 1828, 26 March 1832, 3 April 1832, 18 July 1832, 2 Sept. 1832, 4 Nov. 1832; John R. Lyons to 'Uncle Billy', 4 April 1854, William Renwick Papers, SCL; *Barrow Diary*, 4 Oct. 1839, 15 Sept. 1840.
52. Cage with bells in John Brown, *Slave Life*, 76. William Wells Brown received a 'decent smoking,' in his *Narrative*, 22. 'Womens cloths' quote in *Barrow Diary*, 20 April 1838; see also 21 July 1839. For instances of truants being shot at and shot, see: Rachel O'Conner to Mary Weeks Moore, 7 May 1844, in *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters, 1823–1845*, ed. Allie Bayne Windham Webb (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983); *Barrow Diary*, 16 Nov. 1837, 19 Nov. 1837, 24 May 1837, 28 Sept. 1838, 11 Dec. 1839, 16 Sept. 1841.
53. Diary of John Nevitt, 1 Jan. 1829, 23 Dec. 1829, 13 Feb. 1832; 'Negroes' [n.d.], 'Runaway Negroes, +c.' [*c*.Jan. 1847], Cornhill Plantation Book; See also: D.W. Parrish to Charles Johnston, 12 Dec. 1844, Charles C.W. Johnston Papers, SHC; John R. Lyons to 'Uncle Billy', 4 April 1854, William Renwick Papers, SCL.
54. *Clagon* v. *Veasy*, 7 Iredell Eq. (Supreme Court of North Carolina, June 1851), p.176. See also Charles Crawley in Perdue et al., p.78.
55. *Barrow Diary*, 3 Oct. 1839 and *passim*.
56. Frances Ann Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838–39*, ed. John A. Scott (New York: New American Library, 1975), pp.230, 238; A.R. McCall to George Noble Jones, 21 June 1856, in Ulrich B. Phillips and James David Glunt (eds.), *Florida Plantation Records from the Papers of George Noble Jones* (St Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1927), pp.156–7; Alex Woods in Rawick (ed.), Vol.15:2, pp.416–17; Dosia Harris in Rawick (ed.), Vol.12:2, p.108; Alice Green in Rawick, (ed.), Vol.12:2, p.34.
57. Nevitt Diary, *passim*. Nevitt used the word 'forgave' in the 20 July 1827, 10 Aug. 1827 and 5 Feb. 1831 entries.
58. Olmsted, *Cotton Kingdom*, pp.453–6.
59. Ada Bacot Diary, 11 Feb. 1861, USC.

60. W.E.B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860–1880*, ed. David Levering Lewis (1935; New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), pp.55, 81; Ira Berlin, Barbara J. Fields, Thavolia Glymph, Joseph P. Reidy and Leslie S. Rowland, 'The Destruction of Slavery', in Berlin et al. (eds.), *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867*, Ser.1, Vol.1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp.1–56; Eric Foner, *Reconstruction, 1863–1877: America's Unfinished Revolution* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1988), pp.1–11.