

```
Aarons, Charlie, 57
                                              Alabama, 61, 66, 77, 79, 85, 100, 105,
abolitionist
  challenge to racial stereotypes, 106
  use of resistance, 22, 25-26, 28-33, 40,
  use of slave narratives, 11
  view on breeding, 143
  view on leisure, 174
  view on punishment of women, 82
  view on sex, 136-140
                                              assault
  view on trustees, 56-57, 60-61, 64, 66,
    74,80
  view on work, 98, 104-106
accommodation
  and resistance, 2, 9, 21-22, 64-65, 80,
    93, 103, 122, 213-214
Adams, Will, 77
Adamson, Frank, 155
Africa
  culture of honor, 177
  negative views of, 135
  negative views of Africans, 124
  positive views of Africans, 47
  old, 13, 40, 74, 164, 206, 209
agency
  and discipline, 59, 76-77, 79
  and resistance, 21, 25, 64
  and violence, 181
  and work, 95, 99, 108, 110, 112, 113,
  historiography on, 8-10, 102, 182,
    213
```

```
115-116, 132, 152, 171, 173, 192, 209
amalgamation, 135
American Revolution, 23
  and virtue, 23, 32
  rhetoric of, 29, 35, 45
Anderson, William, 137
Anti-Slavery Record, 97, 98
Arkansas, 47, 73, 75–76, 120, 144, 164
  of enslaved man, 118, 180-182, 194,
    196, 207
  of enslaved woman, 133, 139, 148
Atlantic slave trade, 143
authority
  and masculinity, 17, 49-50, 55, 59,
    65-70, 79-81, 83, 86, 88
ax. See axe
axe, 133, 148, 151, 154, 192, 198
Ball, Charles, 67, 77, 79, 107, 123, 132,
    139, 145, 177
Baltimore, William, 84
Banks, Jourden, 30, 39, 63
Banks, Sina, 81, 114
Baptist, Edward, 7, 13-14
Barker, Anna, 167
Barner, L. B., 46
Barrow, Bennet H., 50, 54, 57-58, 136, 201
Barrow, Robert Ruffin, 53
Bates, Anderson, 155
bear, 176
Bederman, Gail, 3
```



240 Index

Berry, Daina Ramey, 146 use of weapons, 183 Bibb, Henry, 28, 104-106, 115, 137-138 competition biting, 188, 198, 202-203, 205 and masculinity, 172, 174-175, 177, 180, blacksmith, 89, 91, 97, 120 190, 195, 199, 209 Blassingame, John, 11, 60 cross-plantation, 201 Block, Sharon, 130 organized by gender, 172 Body, Rias, 159 Connell, R. W., 3 Bond, Priscilla Munnikhuysen, 58 cooper, 101 Boone, Andrew, 162 Cooper, Manda, 161 Coppin, Levi, 65 boxing, 175-176, 201 corn husking, 187, 192 breeding and masculinity, 158, 160, 162-163 corn shucking, 171-172, 175, 186, 188, as rape, 146 193, 200-201 Brer Lion, 176 Cotton Belt, 51 Brer Mosquito, 190 cotton farm, 40 Brer Rabbit, 176 cotton plantation, 50, 75, 80, 144, Brer Wasp, 190 Brevard, Keziah, 71, 82 Court of Magistrates and Freeholders, Brown, John, 27, 106, 145 South Carolina, 118, 156, 180-182, Brown, William Wells, 30, 38, 62, 106 187-189, 196 coward, 41, 45, 47 Bruce, Henry Clay, 122 Bruner, Peter, 43 craven, 41, See coward Bryant-Davis, Thema, 130 Creole rebellion, 29 Buckner, Timothy, 12 culture of dissemblance, 141 burned alive, 26, 43 Burnett, Midge, 176 dancing, 175 Butler, Judith, 3 as competition, 156, 188, 190, 197, 199, Butler, Marshal, 163 20 T Davis, Louis, 76 California, 52 Dawson, Mollie, 161 Campbell, Israel, 35, 45, 55, 103 Day, James, 89, 94 De Bow's Review, 95 Caribbean, 25 carpenter, 91, 97, 101, 107, 120 Deep South, 62, 143, 171 carriage driver, 71, 164 Depression, 13, 110, 125, 171 Carson, James Green, 136 Desch Obi, T. J., 64 Caster, Peter, 12 Diedrich, Maria, 138 dirk, 149 Childress, Wiley, 203 Choice, Jeptha, 158 Dirt, Rufus, 66 Christmas, 174, 201 dogs Civil War, 16, 26, 171 use on slaves, 46, 165 Clarke, Lewis, 21, 178 domestic slaves, 60, 71 class tension, 52 Dortch, Charles Green, 120 Clay, Thomas, 100, 111 Douglass, Frederick, 25, 29, 31, 42, 48, 84, coach driver, 97 143 Cole, John, 165 drinking combat alcohol, 44, 174, 176, 178, 180, 185, and agency, 181 187, 197, 208 and masculinity, 172, 176-180, 186-187, driver, 51, 54, 56-61, 64-66, 71-72, 75, 190, 195, 198, 200, 204, 209-211 77, 79, 82-85, 87, 101, 138, 167, as entertainment, 202-203 205-207, 211, See trustee rules of, 197 Dusinberre, William, 64-65



Easter, 174	Gilmore, David, 4
education	Gladdy, Mary, 85
of slaves, 71, 104, 140	gouging, 205
Elder, Callie, 46	Grandy, Moses, 57
emasculation	Green, Everard, 95, 100
and sex, 146, 158-160, 199	Green, Jacob, 190
historiography on, 5-8, 19, 212-214	Green, William, 101–102, 119
of white men, 58, 84	Grimes, William, 198, 203
Ervin, William Ethelbert, 100	grudge
Estes, Matthew, 25, 135	leading to violence, 184, 188, 190,
Eubanks, Jerry, 164	192–193, 197, 200, 204
execution	Gullins, David Goodman, 51, 175
following resistance, 37-38, 43	
of slave, 148	Harper, William, 24
	Harris, Emily Liles, 208
Fairley, J. W., 119	Harris, Virginia, 51, 76, 211
Falls, Robert, 20, 33	Hathaway, J. C., 142
Fedric, Francis, 26, 74	Hawkins, C. H., 132
field slaves, 89	Hazzard, W. W., 111
fights	headbutting, 192, 202, 205
as entertainment, 172, 178, 195, 202–203	Henson, Josiah, 27, 31, 35, 69-70, 79, 98
regulations of, 182, 194-197, 202	108, 177
Finnely, John, 202	Hine, Darlene Clark, 7, 22, 136, 141
Fitzhugh, George, 96	Hinton, Elizabeth Ross, 156
flogging. See whip	Hodges, Willis, 32
folklore, 87, 117, 190	honesty
foreman, 52, 73, 77, 81, 85, 119, 184,	and masculinity, 70, 78-80, 120
See trustee	and work, 55, 115, 119, 121–122
Forret, Jeff, 131, 133, 179, 181, 208	honor
Foster, Thomas, 168	and clothing, 73
Fraser, Rebecca, 142	and masculinity, 58, 70, 78, 80, 84, 95,
Friend, Craig Thompson, 4	98, 139, 181, 185
frolics, 173, 175, 197, 201	and resistance, 17, 30, 35
fugitive narratives	and violence, 177, 181, 185
and resistance, 26, 40-42	Hooper, Scott, 102
and trustees, 60	Howard, Emma, 53
conventions, 12, 54, 136	Huff, Easter, 101
historiography on, 10, 12	humiliation
Furr, Anderson, 195	and masculinity, 5, 156, 165, 182, 188,
, , , , , , ,	191, 200
Gabriel's rebellion, 38	Hundley, Daniel, 96
Gaffney, Mary, 166	Hungary, 32
gambling, 176, 178, 184, 207	hunting, 91, 124–125
gang labor, 51, 92	
Garnet, Henry Highland, 1, 21, 27, 34, 139,	industry
160, 211	and intimacy, 117
Georgia, 32, 51–52, 68–69, 75, 79, 101,	and masculinity, 55, 66–67, 72, 76, 90,
106, 111, 123, 136, 145, 152, 159,	93-94, 102, 106, 108-110, 113, 116
163, 165, 173, 175–177, 195, 198, 205	121–124, 187
Gilbert, Gabriel, 105	as comparison, 67–69, 80, 115
Gilliard, Jim, 79	of poor whites, 123



```
informal economy, 18, 91, 93, 100, 103,
                                              Liddell, Moses, 100
    105-106, 110-112, 116, 118
                                              log-rolling, 174
Ingraham, Joseph, 25, 31, 115
                                              Lost Cause, 110, 125
Ingram, Mary, 145
                                              Louisiana, 32, 40, 50-51, 53, 56, 58, 60,
insults
                                                  63, 78, 80, 82, 86, 92, 100, 105, 121,
  leading to violence, 182-186, 188-190,
                                                  138, 140, 145, 160-162, 167, 176,
    193-195, 201, 204, 207, 209
                                                  183, 196, 198-199, 201, 233
  response to, 84, 150, 178, 192
                                              Love, Hunton, 86
  to enslaved women, 37, 188
                                              Lowcountry, 91
                                              Lowery, Irving, 172
insurrection, 25-26, 32, 37, 104, 211
                                              Lussana, Sergio, 8, 34, 179, 181
Jackson, Carter, 171
                                              lynching, 129, 141
Jackson, John Andrew, 136
Jackson, Lula, 208
                                              Manigault, Charles, 72, 135, 143
Jacobs, Harriet, 26, 37, 39, 137
                                              maroons, 157
Jeffries, Moses, 164
                                              marriage
Jenkins, Earnestine, 7, 22
                                                abroad, 100, 102, 120
Jennison, William, 115
                                                challenges to, 156
Jim Crow, 13
                                                encouraged by slaveholder, 135, 145
John, Zeno, 160
                                                forced, 138, 142, 146
Johnson, Katie Blackwell, 147
                                                male prerogative, 147
Johnson, Sarah L., 114
                                                rejection of, 152, 164
Johnson, Walter, 10, 50
                                                reproductive pressure in, 137, 144, 164
Johnston, James Cathcart, 55, 68
                                              Martin, Sella, 74
                                              Maryland, 61, 101
Jones, Friday, 99
                                              Matthews, William, 162
Jones, Mandy, 110
Jones, Thomas H, 42
                                              Mayfield, John, 5
                                              McCree, Ed, 175
Kemble, Frances, 56, 96, 167
                                              McCullough, Willie, 146
Kentucky, 43, 45, 70, 103, 122, 190, 201
                                              McIntosh, Susan, 75
Kimmel, Michael, 4
                                              Meachum, John B., 108
King Jr., Rufus, 112
                                              memory, 14, 19, 46-47, 79, 163, 169, 192
King, Silvia, 167
                                              Millett, Harriett, 80-81
knife, 54, 154, 158, 182-184, 187, 191,
                                              Mills, John, 56
                                              Mississippi, 52-53, 71, 80, 83, 95, 95, 100,
    194, 196-198, 204
                                                  105, 110, 112, 117, 121, 135, 164,
Latin America, 25
                                                  166, 176, 196, 198
                                              Missouri, 81, 114, 122
  and work, 109-111, 115-116, 118,
                                              money
    124-125, 187
                                                disputes over, 182, 208
  of overseers, 53
                                                of slaves, 54, 73, 89, 99, 101, 104,
leadership
                                                  110-111, 114, 115-116, 118-119,
  in organizing flight, 40
                                                  121, 199
  in rebellion, 37
                                              monogamy
  in resistance, 47
                                                and masculinity, 139-140
  in work, 60, 69, 78, 119-120
                                                rejection of, 158
  of maroons, 157
                                              Moore, Van, 147
                                              moral economy, 76
Legree, Simon, 139
leisure, 110
                                              Morgan, James, 47
  and agency, 174
                                              Morris, Aldon, 7, 22
  and enslaved women, 175
                                              Morris, Christopher, 156
                                              Morrow, Mandy, 107
  and homosocial spaces, 176, 179, 185
                                              Moye, Calvin, 69
  restrictions on, 192-193
```



murder	Pettigrew, William, 55, 59, 84, 207
as manslaughter, 156	Phillips, Rebecca, 71
of enslaved man, 118, 153-154,	157, Phillips, Ulrich B., 11
183, 198, 208	pistol, 156, 189
of enslaved woman, 148, 151	Pittsburgh, 108
of free black man, 192	pornography, 129
of free black woman, 149	Powers, Betty, 144
7 17	Price, John, 79
National Colored Convention, 108	Price, Lafeyette, 71
National Negro Convention, 1	provider/protector, 28
Native American, 54, 165	and masculinity, 7, 17, 28, 64, 70–71,
Nesbitt, Israel, 103	73-75, 90, 92, 99, 101-104, 109, 111,
North Carolina, 20, 30, 55, 89, 95	, 173, 113, 116, 120, 124, 139, 211
180, 190–191, 218, 220, 222,	
	punishment
228–230, 232–234, 236–238	
Northup, Solomon, 25, 57, 60, 64-	
111, 164	death from, 53
ONI 1 W/:II:	following resistance, 26, 62, 75
O'Neal, William, 40, 121	for assaulting slave, 182
Ohio, 70	for domestic abuse, 136
Oklabury, Julia Grimes Jones, 77	for refusing new partner, 140, 161
Oklahoma, 79	Pye, Charlie, 51
Olmsted, Frederick Law, 53, 56	
overseer	Quarls, Harre, 158
black men as, 56, 65–66, 68, 73,	75, quilting, 175
77-79, 81, 86-87, 123	
comparison to black men, 54	racial views
dismissal of, 59, 82	on free blacks, 106
hiring of, 50	on resistance, 24
killed by slave, 53	on sex, 18, 129, 134-135, 145, 147
plot to murder, 150	on theft, 78
resigning position, 53	on work, 73, 95, 112, 125, 135
resistance to, 35, 39, 45, 53-54,	62, 64, rape, 130, 134, 136, 138
84, 118	rebellions
rules for, 78	and emasculation, 37-39, 74, 103
sexual abuse by, 138	lack of, 24
suspended, 53	response to, 39
use of rewards, 72, 112	restrictions on, 25, 33
use of violence, 167	Redpath, James, 30, 36-37, 50, 63, 104,
white violence against, 52	113
overwork, 91, 100, 108, 115, 121,	123 religion
	and discipline, 78
Parker, Henry, 28	and masculinity, 7
Parker, J. M., 107	and resistance, 28, 31, 43, 211
Parker, William, 28, 39	and sex, 139
Parsons, Charles Grandison, 57, 11	
party, 47, 158, 188, 192	of slaveholders, 20
paternalism, 23, 50, 79, 92, 95–96,	
patrollers, 20, 47–48, 140	pressure on, 132, 142–145, 161, 168
Paul, Sallie, 174	resistance
Payne, Ellen, 101	active, 22
Peculiar Institution, 1, 50, 59	against trustee, 85
Pennington, James, 20, 62	and collective punishment. 74



```
resistance (cont.)
                                                 as accommodation, 163, 166
  and emasculation, 23, 25, 28, 30, 33-34,
                                                as competition, 142, 155-156, 159, 161,
    39, 41, 48, 64, 82, 84, 103, 126
  and enslaved women, 26, 37, 48
                                                 as reward, 161, 163, 165
  and homosocial networks, 42
                                                 forced with breeder, 145
  and masculinity, 1, 7, 17, 21, 23, 26-31,
                                              sexual exploitation, 18, 83, 127, 134,
                                                   136, 138, 142-143, 153, 160, 162,
    33, 35, 37-39, 41-44, 46-48, 58, 61,
    63, 75, 85-86
                                                   167, 170
  and political rights, 30, 32
                                              Sheets, Will, 109
                                              Shine, Polly, 198
  as a choice, 34-36, 39, 41-42, 44, 47-48,
                                              shotgun, 85
  as form of comparison, 22, 36, 43-44, 46,
                                              Sidbury, James, 38
                                              Simms, Bill, 162
    48, 56, 61-62, 64, 103, 212
  day-to-day, 85
                                              Sims, Allen, 173
                                              Singleton, William Henry, 173
  historiography on, 22, 179
  restrictions on, 33
                                              Sinha, Manisha, 27
  to sexual abuse, 130, 141, 160, 166-168
                                              slave community
                                                 historiography on, 6, 33, 60, 213
  violent, 7, 30, 45, 54, 86, 139
respectability
                                              Smedes, Susan Dabney, 117
  and masculinity, 58, 122
                                              Smith, Gus, 52
  and work, 18, 55, 93, 114
                                              Smith, Harry, 201
                                              Smith, J. L., 46
  politics of, 12, 122
responsibility
                                              Smith, William, 201
  and work, 66, 90, 93, 101, 104, 108, 114,
                                              Smithers, Gregory, 166
    120, 122
                                              South Carolina, 56-57, 71, 73-74,
Revolutions, European, 32
                                                   82, 91, 103, 107, 112, 118, 124,
rewards
                                                   142, 153, 155, 157, 172-173,
  as dividing slave communities, 56, 66, 72,
                                                   177, 181, 183-185, 187, 198,
    74, 80, 92, 108, 110-111, 115, 119
                                                   208, 231
rice plantation, 56, 82
                                              Southall, James, 116
Robinson, Solon, 23, 112
                                              Southern Agriculturalist, 112
Roper, Moses, 136
                                              Springs, John, 95
Ruffin, Edmund, 96
                                              stab, 149, 154, 158, 181-184, 192,
runaways, 12, 27-28, 30-32, 35-36,
                                                   207-208
                                              Stagolee, 87
    39-40, 43, 45, 57, 74, 79, 88, 198
                                              Stapleton, Wright, 105
sale
                                              Steward, Austin, 47
                                              Stewart, Frank Henderson, 181
  as threat, 169
  of enslaved people, 20, 36, 39, 42, 62, 80,
                                              Still, Peter, 116
    143, 167-168, 203, 205
                                              Stone, Asa, 68, 78
  of trustee, 85
                                              Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 138
Scott, Joan, 3
                                              Strayhorn, Eva, 75
self-hire, 100
                                              strength
self-made man, 90, 93, 95, 109, 112, 119,
                                                and age, 207-208
                                                 and competition, 172, 175
sex
                                                 and masculinity, 47, 51, 62, 162, 175,
  and agency, 131-132, 138, 145, 147,
                                                   177-179, 208
    149, 152–153, 158, 161, 164, 166, 168
                                                 and work, 89, 104
                                              sugar plantation, 59, 121
  and masculinity, 18, 83, 127, 131-132,
    134, 146-147, 149, 152, 154, 157,
                                              suicide, 65
    159, 162, 164-165, 169, 189, 200
                                              Sutton, James R., 80
```



```
concern from slaveholders, 196-197
task labor, 91
Tennessee, 20, 45, 89, 116, 145, 203, 220,
                                                in courtship, 155
                                                sexual, 130, 132, 145, 148, 150
    232
test
                                                to enslaved women, 1, 132, 147-148,
  of masculinity, 4, 9, 86, 174, 176, 179,
                                                  150, 153
                                              Virginia, 24, 38, 54, 56, 89, 108, 117, 122,
    186, 198
Texas, 53, 69, 77, 81, 89, 101, 114, 119,
                                                  133, 147-150, 153-155, 157-159,
                                                   182-184, 186-188, 192-194, 197,
    144, 147, 158, 161, 164, 166-168, 171
theft
                                                  200, 204-208
  from enslaved people, 77, 79, 118, 186
                                              virility
  to protect women, 99
                                                and emasculation, 156, 164
Thomas, Bill, 46
                                                and masculinity, 130-131, 188
Thomas, Lynn, 213
                                                and resistance, 38
Thomas, Nancy, 75
                                                and sex, 18, 159-160, 162, 164
Thompson, John, 36, 61
                                              virtue
Thornton, Laura, 116
                                                and resistance, 12, 17, 28-29, 38, 61
thrift, 78, 110, 112, 119
                                                and work, 95, 104, 106, 110, 115-116,
Tradewater river, 45
                                                  124-125
traitors, 40
                                                feminine, 27-28
trust
                                                ordinary, 93
  and masculinity, 78-81
                                                sexual, 135, 139
  and work, 78-80, 103, 119
                                              Walker, David, 34, 74, 103, 160
  agency, 55, 72, 81-82
                                              Ward, Rochelle Allred, 79
  and authority, 51, 54, 56, 82, 85
                                              Washington, George, 23, 29
                                              Washington, Madison, 29
  and class tension, 52
  and honor, 65, 79
                                              Watkins, James, 43
  and mastery, 56, 58, 69-70, 81, 86
                                              Weeks, Emma, 102
  and sexual exploitation, 83, 138, 167
                                              Weeks, Rachel, 53
  competition for role, 66, 68, 72, 76
                                              Weld, Theodore Dwight, 143
  killed slave, 77
                                              West, Emily, 142
  material privileges of, 72-73, 75
                                              whipping
  protection of fellow slaves, 64-65
                                                and masculinity, 172, 181, 208
  punishment of, 57
                                                and sexual abuse, 132, 138, 166-167, 169
  response to resistance, 58, 66
                                                as punishment, 37, 46, 57-58, 65, 76
  use of discipline, 49, 59, 62, 64, 71,
                                                as threat, 45, 182, 184, 186-187, 189
    76-78, 80, 84-85
                                                by women, 83
Tubman, Harriet, 27
                                                resistance to, 44, 47, 60-62, 84, 86, 203
Turner, Nat, 39, 159
                                              white masculinity
                                                and honor, 4, 177
Uncle Tom, 64, 87
                                                and mastery, 5, 96
Uncle Tom's Cabin, 138
                                                and resistance, 23
Underground Railroad, 35
                                                and sex, 127, 132, 134, 137–140
Upper South, 142
                                                and work, 94-96
                                                historiography on, 4
vernacular history, 13-14, 47
                                              Williams, Frank, 176
Vesey, Denmark, 38, 103
                                              Williams, James, 44, 60
                                              Williams, Nancy, 53, 78
violence
  and masculinity, 17-18, 87, 156,
                                              Williams, Rose, 128, 168
    176-179, 181, 184-186, 193, 195,
                                              Williams, Willie, 162
    199-203, 206, 208, 210
                                              Willis, Sampson, 119
```



246 Index

Wilson, Lulu, 165
work
and emasculation, 96, 103, 120
and energy, 18, 89–90, 94–96, 102, 106,
113, 121, 126, 211
and enslaved women, 50, 97, 99, 101,
109, 114
and industry, 18, 55, 90, 93, 95, 108,
110, 112, 113, 115, 117, 121–123, 126
and masculinity, 7, 17, 67, 90, 93–94, 97,
99–101, 104, 106, 108–109, 113–114,
116, 121–122, 126
and mastery, 97
as form of comparison, 51, 68, 80, 90, 94,
102, 105, 107, 111, 115, 122–123, 125

in free black communities, 108–109 skilled, 20, 89, 97, 100, 107

Works Progress Administration (WPA), 10, 12–14, 20, 46, 52–53, 66, 73–76, 78, 83–84, 89, 102, 105, 109–110, 114, 120, 128, 132, 141–142, 146, 151–152, 171, 173, 175–176, 196–197, 202–203, 211

wrestling, 172, 175–176, 180, 188, 198, 201, 209

Wyatt-Brown, Bertram, 4, 181

X., Malcolm, 87