

Slavery and the Family

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Introduction

From the earliest historical studies on Atlantic slavery to the present day, historians have been interested in the development of family ties among enslaved people. They have debated, denied, questioned, and celebrated the ability of enslaved people to forge meaningful family relationships and kinship networks in the face of the traumas and violence of slavery. Arguments over the legacies of slavery and the actions of enslavers and enslaved alike in the context of family life have extended beyond the academic world; histories of the slave family have been used and abused in political debates, addressed and expressed in popular culture, and connected to contemporary concerns relating to social structures, racial politics, and gender dynamics across the Americas. In broad terms, scholarship on the slave family has moved beyond a focus on rigid consanguineal links or a biologically-based model, as well as challenged Eurocentric perceptions as to the normality of nuclear or patriarchal structures in family life. Instead, historians have revealed the diverse forms of kinship and family relations found across and within the Atlantic world, noting connections, adaptations, and retentions among the various actors present in the slaving zones of the Atlantic world. Historians have done tremendous work in connecting the destruction and reconstruction of familial units in slavery to wider themes relating to resistance, trauma, and survival in the face of oppression. Pioneering work on enslaved women, and attention to the reproductive and productive exploitation women faced, has likewise revealed the centrality of sex, gender, and the family to the strategies of domination employed by enslavers in the Americas. These scholars also revealed how family life could provide a measure of respite, act as a site of pleasure, and serve as the foundation of a culture of resistance for enslaved people. Debates on the slave family thus provide insight into the most personal and intimate areas of enslaved people's lives and reveal the complex power dynamics, negotiations, contest, and resistance between enslavers and enslaved people in the Atlantic world. In the rest of this piece I shall outline key texts relating to the slave family, focusing on scholarly monographs and structured roughly by geography. Scholarly articles have not been referenced, outside of one or two significant pieces, but readers should make use of the specific journals cited to explore the topic of the slave family. Select online databases and banks of primary source material are also listed.

Key Journals

Slavery & Abolition, and ***Journal of Global Slavery***, are the only journals dedicated specifically to world slavery across regions and covering antiquity to modern day. ***Slavery & Abolition***, in particular, has published a number of influential articles relating to the slave family, as well as special editions dedicated to family, gender, and sex. Leading journals in North American, Caribbean, and Atlantic History (***William & Mary Quarterly***, ***French Colonial History***, ***Journal of Caribbean History***) have articles addressing slavery, family, and gendered norms and structures in

periods of slavery, while journals focused on gender and women's history (***Journal of Women's History***, ***Gender & History***)) have also published articles exploring family life in slaving zones.

**Slavery & Abolition*[<https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/fsla20>]*

Leading journal of slavery and slave studies and has published many influential articles and special editions relating to the slave family, gender, and sexual exploitation. Required reading.

**William & Mary Quarterly*[<https://oieahc.wm.edu/publications/wmq/>]*

Leading journal of early American history and culture. Strong emphasis on North America in earlier editions but increasingly focused on the wider Atlantic world. Has published number of influential articles and pieces related to slavery and slave life.

**Hispanic American Historical Review*[<https://read.dukeupress.edu/hahr>]*

Pioneering journal for study of Latin American history and has published number of articles and special editions relating to slavery in Latin America.

**Journal of African History*[<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-african-history>]*

Leading journal in the field of African history, with wide-ranging geographic and temporal focus. Influential articles in slavery, colonialism, and gender can be found here.

**Journal of Women's History*[<https://www.press.jhu.edu/journals/journal-womens-history>]*

First journal devoted to the international field of women's history. While not explicitly focused on slavery, has published a number of articles and special editions exploring gender in slave zones and in periods of slavery.

**French Colonial History*[<http://msupress.org/journals/fch/>]*

Leading journal in the field of French colonial history, including essays and articles addressing the French Caribbean and Atlantic world.

**Journal of Caribbean History*[<https://www.uwipress.com/journals/the-journal-of-caribbean-history/>]*

Important journal for Caribbean history, includes essays on slavery, colonialism, and emancipation.

**Gender & History*[<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/14680424>]*

Important journal relating to the study of gender, femininity, and masculinity. Has some articles relating to slavery and useful for providing theoretical perspectives on family and gender relations.

**Journal of Global Slavery*[<https://brill.com/view/journals/jgs/jgs-overview.xml>]*

Journal focused on global slavery, addresses historiographical and theoretical issues alongside social and cultural histories of slavery. Has published work relating to the slave family, demography, and resistance.

**Journal of Family History*[<https://journals.sagepub.com/home/jfh>]*

Leading international journal focused on the history of the family. Not specifically focused on slavery but has published essays on enslaved family life, demographic patterns, and resistance in slave societies across the Atlantic world.

Primary Source Collections

The last few decades have seen an explosion of digitization projects relating to slavery, with particular strengths for scholars of North America and the United States. Online databases addressing demography and quantitative aspects of slave life (*Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, *Louisiana Slave Database*) provide a framework for studying family and kinship, while slave narratives, images, and contemporary writings (*Documenting the American South*, *Last Seen: Finding Family After Slavery*) showcase the depth of family feeling among the enslaved, the damage wrought by slavery, and efforts of enslaved people to resist interference in the most intimate areas of their lives.

*Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers'

Project[<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/snhtml/snhome.html>]*, 1936–1938.

Contains over 2,000 interviews with former slaves conducted as part of the Federal Writers' Project in the 1930s. Many discuss family life, childhood, and the slave community.

Conrad, Robert Edgar, ed. *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983.

Useful introductory edited collection of primary sources relating to slavery in Brazil. Contains sections addressing wet nursing, slave marriage, enslaver-enslaved relationships, sexual exploitation, and resistance.

*Documenting the American South (DocSouth) "North American Slave Narratives" [

<https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/index.html>]*

Online collection of books and articles that document the individual and collective story of African Americans struggling for freedom and human rights in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early

twentieth centuries. Extensive detail on enslaved family life in narratives from the colonial era through to the twentieth century.

Eltis, David, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein. *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database[<https://www.slavevoyages.org/>]*.

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database now comprises 36,000 individual slaving expeditions between 1514 and 1866. Records of the voyages have been found in archives and libraries throughout the Atlantic world. They provide information about vessels, routes, and the people associated with them, both enslaved and enslavers. Vital source of information on demography and movement in the Atlantic world. Provides wealth of material to aid in study of slavery, culture, community, and the family.

Last Seen: Finding Family After Slavery[<https://informationwanted.org/>].

Provides access to the thousands of “information wanted” advertisements taken out by former slaves searching for long last family members after emancipation in the US. Provides a heart-breaking insight into the violence and traumas of enslavement, the significance of family bonds among the enslaved, and structures of kinship and community.

#The Louisiana Slave Database and the Louisiana Free Database: 1719–1820[<http://www.ibiblio.org/laslave/>].

Database designed by Professor Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, with over 107,000 entries documenting the lives of enslaved people in Louisiana from 1719-1820. Contains information on naming practices, genders, ages, occupations, illnesses, family relationships, ethnicity, places of origin, prices paid by slave owners, and slaves' testimony and emancipations.

Slavery Images: A Visual Record of the African Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Early African Diaspora[<http://www.slaveryimages.org/s/slaveryimages/page/welcome>].

Collection of over 1,000 images from wide range of sources, mostly dating from the period of slavery. It contains dedicated sections to slave settlements, family life, child care, and slave culture and is an excellent resource for students and scholars interested in the histories of enslaved peoples in the Americas.

Slave Societies Digital Archive[<https://www.slavesocieties.org/>].

The Slave Societies Digital Archive (formerly Ecclesiastical and Secular Sources for Slave Societies), directed by Jane Landers and hosted at Vanderbilt University, preserves endangered ecclesiastical and secular documents related to Africans and African-descended peoples in slave societies. SSSA holdings include close to 500,000 digital images drawn from more than 2,000

unique volumes dating from the sixteenth through twentieth centuries that document the lives of an estimated four to six million individuals.

West Africa

Scholarship on slavery in West Africa from Thornton 1998; Lovejoy 2000; Eltis 2003 has addressed the demographic, social, and cultural significance of the slave trade on family dynamics and kinship structures, while Greene 1996 and Brooks 2003 have addressed disruptions to family life in influential regional and transnational studies. Bay 1998 and Nast 2005, among others, revealed how forms of slavery practiced within Africa connected to and shaped understandings of kinship, family, and politics. Treatments of culture and community, including Sweet 2003; Sweet 2013 have also revealed much about family forms, continuity, and change over time. A number of influential overviews and edited collections, including Robertson and Klein 1983; Berger and White 1999; Campbell, Miers, Miller 2007, address family dynamics, structures, and gendered issues relating to slavery.

Edited collections and overviews

Important collections of works and essays have addressed slavery, the family, and gender in African history, including Robertson and Klein 1983; Berger and White 1999; Campbell, Miers, and Miller 2007. Wide-ranging in scope and scale, these collections provide useful introductions to key themes related to the slave family and provide insight into shifting historiographical and theoretical developments in the field.

Berger, Iris, and E. Frances White. *Women in Sub-Saharan Africa: Restoring Women to History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.

A narrative guide to women's history in Africa, divided into sections entitled "Women in East and Southern Africa" and "Women in West and West-Central Africa". Contains information on family structures across Africa, the impact of slavery on these arrangements, and developments in the late nineteenth and twentieth century.

Burrill, Emily, Richard Roberts, and Elizabeth Thornberry, eds. *Domestic Violence and the Law in Colonial and Precolonial Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010.

Wide-ranging treatment and study of domestic violence and family dynamics in Africa. Includes chapters on servitude, the family, and violence, as well as wider discussions on the significance of domestic violence to colonialism and abolitionism.

Campbell, Gwyn, Suzanne Miers, and Joseph C. Miller, eds. *Women and Slavery*. Vol. 2, *The Modern Atlantic*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2007 –

Collection from leading scholars of slavery in Africa, the Americas, and the Caribbean. Essays focus on enslaved women and strategies for survival, as well as gendered ideals in Atlantic slave

systems. First volume is focused on Africa, the Indian Ocean world, and the medieval North Atlantic; the second one covers the modern Atlantic world.

Campbell, Gwyn, and Elizabeth Elbourne (eds.), *Sex, Power, and Slavery*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2014.

Wide-ranging edited collection with excellent chapters addressing sexual exploitation, concubinage, and enslaved family dynamics across Africa, with specific chapters on Nigeria and the African diaspora.

Lawrance, Benjamin and Richard L. Roberts, eds. *Trafficking in Slavery's Wake: Law and the Experience of Women and Children in Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012.

Edited collection addressing experiences of slavery for women and children, including essays on nineteenth century African slavery and productive and reproductive labor.

Lovejoy, Paul E. *Slavery, Commerce and Production in the Sokoto Caliphate of West Africa*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2005.

Edited collection of Lovejoy essays, exploring the role of slavery in the consolidation of the Sokoto Caliphate of Nigeria, the largest state in Africa in the 19th century. Includes discussions on variations in slavery based on gender and relating to the sexual dynamics of concubinage.

Lovejoy, Paul, eds. *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery*. London: Continuum Books, 2009.

Addresses issues relating to the gender, ethnic and cultural factors through which enslaved Africans and their descendants interpreted their lives under slavery, thereby creating communities with a shared sense of identity. Contains essays on slavery, gender, and family in a variety of Atlantic slave systems. First published in 2000.

Klein, Herbert S., and Ben Vinson, eds. *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean*. 2d ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007 –

Survey of comparative slave systems and the lives of enslaved Afro-Americans in the Spanish, French, and Portuguese colonies of Latin America. Includes full chapter on life cycle and kinship, exploring the significance of the family in Afro-Caribbean culture and community. First published 1986.

Robertson, Claire C., and Martin A. Klein, eds. *Women and Slavery in Africa*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.

Important edited collection containing a number of essays addressing slavery and the family, including work on sexual demography, the impact of slavery on family structure, and reproductive labor.

“The History of the Family in Africa,” special issue, *Journal of African History* 24, no. 2 (1983).

Special edition of leading journal in the field addressing family dynamics and organization in African polities and across different regions, with several essays exploring impact and significance of slavery and colonialism.

Monographs and key texts

Detailed studies have explored the social, cultural, and political implications of family life and gendered dynamics in African kingdoms and polities, including Bay 1998; Nast 2005. On interracial marriage, sex, and power across the wider Atlantic world, see Brooks 2003; Ipsen 2015. For wide-ranging explorations of kinship structures, resistance, and adaptation in the face of slavery, see Greene 1995; Thornton 1998; Sweet 2003.

Bay, Edna G., *Wives of the Leopard: Gender, Politics, and Culture in the Kingdom of Dahomey*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998.

Explores power and culture in West African state of Dahomey, examining changes in the institution of the monarchy and in the palace, a household made up of several thousands of wives of the King who played important role in supporting and managing state functions. Weaves gender and explorations of family through exploration of the Atlantic slave trade and European imperialism.

Brooks, George E. *Eurafricans in Western Africa: Commerce, Social Status, Gender, and Religious Observance from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2003.

Social and commercial history of Western Africa, with focus on Portuguese and “Eurafrican” interactions with native populations and rival European powers. Addresses political, economic, social, environmental changes associated with slavery and notes significance of interracial marriages and cross-cultural unions.

Eltis, David, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Addresses origins, development, and expansion of African slavery in the Americas from a comparative perspective. Has specific chapter exploring gender and slavery which addresses gender roles, family structures, and the impact of the slave trade in these areas.

Greene, Sandra. *Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Change on the Upper Slave Coast: A History of the Anlo-Ewe*. London: Heinemann and James Currey, 1996.

Considers how the Atlantic slave trade affected gender and ethnic relationships through marriage in southeastern Ghana from the 17th to the 19th centuries. Emphasis on female networks and construction of fictive and non-fictive kinship.

Lovejoy, Paul. *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*. 2d ed. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Influential overview of slavery in Africa, noting demographics of slave trading across Africa, marital and household arrangements, and sex ratios. First published in 1983.

Nast, Heidi. *Concubines and Power: Five Hundred Years in a Northern Nigerian Palace*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

Addresses systems of concubinage and relations, roles, and hierarchies of enslaved women within the West-African city state of Kano (modern Northern Nigeria).

Ipsen, Pernille. *Daughters of the Trade: Atlantic Slavers and Interracial Marriage on the Gold Coast*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.

Study of marital arrangements and family relationships between Gold Coast African women and Danish men involved in the slave trade. Emphasis on interracial families and negotiation and transition between West African and European ideals. Considers how hardening racism impacted upon slavery and the lives of Europeans and Africans.

Sweet, James H., *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441–1770*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Considers retention of African customs and relates to resistance and survival. Chapter on kinship and the family, discussion on African marital arrangements and challenges ideas that creolized or European norms dominated.

Sweet, James H., "Defying Social Death: The Multiple Configurations of African Slave Family in the Atlantic World," *William and Mary Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (2013): 251–72.

Important article addressing family dynamics in the context of enslavement in the Atlantic world.

Thornton, John, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Influential study of African involvement in the Atlantic world, focusing on the causes and consequences of the Atlantic slave trade. Addresses social and cultural dynamics of pre-colonial and post-colonial African societies and refers to family relations, kinship, and structures of slavery.

Brazil

Early historical discussions on the slave family in Brazil often developed and responded to the provocative arguments of Freyre 1933 and Tannenbaum 1947 relating to interracial sex and comparative assessments as to the fluidity of “Catholic” slave societies. Demographic studies from the 1970s onwards, including Ramos 1975; Florentino and Goés 1997; Bergard 1999 led to a reassessment of family life and regional distinctions being drawn more clearly. Social historians and historians of gender and slavery have revealed insights into the lives of enslaved women and considered the family as a site of resistance as well as domination, with notable early work from Schwartz 1985 and Mattoso 1986. Historians continue to assess and debate how family strategies and kinship bonds were linked to manumission and emancipation, the politics of slavery and freedom, sexual exploitation and identity formation in slave societies, with important work here including Graham 2002; Cowling 2013; Lamonte 2018.

Edited collections and overviews

Overviews and thematic studies of Brazilian history have linked gender, sex, and the family to wider arguments surrounding colonialism, politics, and social dynamics, Freyre 1933, Tannenbaum 1947. Important social histories such as Schwartz 1985, Mattoso 1986, Karasch 1987 note the broader effects of slavery on family life, culture, and community formation. Ramos 1975 and Motta 1999 provide demographic information on family life while Nishida 2003 offers a detailed study of gender and power relations in a slave society.

Freyre, Gilberto, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*. 2d ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

Pioneering and polemical treatment of Brazilian slavery includes focus on miscegenation, the family, and sexual dynamics in Brazilian society. First published in 1933.

Karasch, Mary C. *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1850*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987.

Examines urban slave life in Rio de Janeiro during the early nineteenth century for enslaved women and men. Discusses slaveholding family dynamics impacting upon enslaved peoples' lives; demographics and the variety of slave family arrangements.

Mattoso, Kátia M. de Queirós. *To Be a Slave in Brazil, 1550–1888*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986.

Important early treatment of the social history of Brazilian slavery, including discussions on the development of slave communities, the impact of slavery on kinship networks and children, and experiences of manumission.

de Queirós Mattoso, Katia M, "Slave, Free, and Freed Family Structures in Nineteenth - Century Salvador, Bahia," *Luso - Brazilian Review*, 25 (1) (Summer 1988): 69–84. (22.).

Influential article addressing family structures for enslaved and free people in Bahia, Brazil.

Motta, José Flávio. *Corpos escravos, vontades livres: Posse de cativos e família escrava em Bananal (1801–1829)*. São Paulo: FAPESP/Annablume, 1999.

Demographic treatment of rural properties and slave families in Bananal, and around the Paraíba Valley coffee production area.

Nishida, Mieko. *Slavery and Identity: Ethnicity, Gender, and Race in Salvador, Brazil, 1808–1888*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003.

Study of the lives of African- and Brazilian-born slaves in the Atlantic port city of Salvador. Examines how gender was constructed in urban slavery and significance of gendered ideals alongside ethnicity and race in creating collective and personal identities for people of African descent.

Ramos, Donald. "Marriage and the Family in Colonial Vila Rica." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 55 (1975): 207–216 –

Demographic study that reveals the variety of family structures in gold-mining Brazil, with emphasis on development and challenges to formation of nuclear and matrifocal families.

Schwartz, Stuart B., *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia 1550–1835*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Major social history of Brazil that covers the rise of the plantation complex and life in slavery. Addresses life, labor, slave culture and the slave family. Highly influential piece of work from major scholar on the topic.

Stein, Stanley J. *Vassouras, a Brazilian Coffee County, 1850–1900: The Roles of Planter and Slave in a Plantation Society*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Important ground-breaking book on Brazilian slavery. With a wide source base, including archives, oral history, and ethnography, Stein addresses the cultural, economic, social, and political history of the coffee plantation society in 19th-century Brazil. Includes discussion on demographics of Brazilian slavery, women and marriage, and emancipation. First published in 1957

Tannenbaum, Frank, *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas*. New York: Knopf, 1947.

Influential but heavily challenged comparative study of slavery in the Americas. Treatment of religious, social, and cultural differences in slave regions includes discussions on comparative ability of enslaved people to form family units, interracial sexual relations. Conclusions heavily contested.

Monographs and key texts

Excellent studies on family, gender, and the sexual dynamics of Brazilian slavery include Slenes 1999; Metcalf 2005; Cowling 2013; Aidoo 2018. Close studies of individual women and family formation which speak to broader themes related to resistance, kinship networks, and transitions to freedom include Graham 2002; Furtado 2009. Demographic work and consideration of gendered patterns of emancipation and manumission can be found in Florentino and Goés 1997; Bergad 1999; Higgins 1999.

Aidoo, Lamonte, *Slavery Unseen: Sex, Power, and Violence in Brazilian History*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018.

Challenges positive narratives of Brazil as a racial democracy through detailed and powerful exploration of the history of sexual violence, patriarchal dominance, and exploitation of enslaved people. Extensive information on the violence committed against enslaved people and the significance of this for kinship, community, and family life.

Bergad, Laird W., *Slavery and the Demographic and Economic History of Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1720–1888*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Contains extensive treatment of slave family demographics, making use of wills and inventory collections to examine family bonds and forms of kinship between enslaved people.

Cowling, Camilla, *Conceiving Freedom: Women of Color, Gender, and the Abolition of Slavery in Havana and Rio de Janeiro*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013.

Award-winning and important book that focuses on the struggles of enslaved and freed women to free their children, addressing gender and urban slavery, ideas and experiences of womanhood and motherhood.

Florentino, Manolo, and José Roberto Goés, eds., *A paz das senzalas: Famílias escravas e tráfico atlântico, Rio de Janeiro, c. 1790–c. 1850*. Rio de Janeiro, 1997.

Demographic and social analysis of slave families in Brazil and in the context of the Atlantic slave trade. Includes discussions on the extent to which enslavers used the slave family as a tool to promote stability and compliance among the enslaved population.

Furtado, Júnia Ferreira. *Chica da Silva: A Brazilian Slave of the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Close study of enslaved woman named Francisca da Silva and her experiences in the mining town of Tijuco of Minas Gerais. Addresses concubinage, slavery, and matrimonial strategies for resistance and freedom.

Graham, Sandra Lauderdale, *Caetana Says No: Women's Stories from a Brazilian Slave Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Important treatment of gender and family life in Brazilian slave society. Addresses complex intersection between slavery and gender relations through two case studies. Both address family dynamics, patriarchal norms and resistance to them, and foreground the lives of women.

Higgins, Kathleen J. *"Licentious Liberty" in a Brazilian Gold-Mining Region: Slavery, Gender, and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Sabara*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.

Demonstrates impact of gender on patterns of manumission in the mining town of 18th-century Minas Gerais, Brazil, including discussion on family dynamics, fictive kinship, and gender roles.

Metcalf, Alida C. *Family and Frontier in Colonial Brazil: Santana de Parnaíba, 1580–1822*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005.

Examines how families survived in the world of colonial Brazil and connects family formation to colonization and social stratification. Uses qualitative and quantitative research to reconstruct family dynamics for enslavers, peasants, and slaves. Reveals instability of enslaved family life and the significance of family separation upon death and marriage of enslavers. Originally published in 1992.

Slenes, Robert W., *Na senzala, uma flor: Esperanças e recordações na família escrava—Brasil sudeste, século XIX*. Rio de Janeiro, 1999.

Addresses and explores slave families in the Brazilian Southeast in the nineteenth century. Includes historiographical summary on the debates over the slave family, considerations of African conceptions of kinship, and experiences within families.

Spanish America

Work on the slave family in Spanish America has likewise addressed and challenged tropes of Tannenbaum 1947 relating to treatment of enslaved people, demographics, and sexual relations. Important work on religion, race, and culture addresses impact of slavery on family dynamics and gender relations, including Bennett 2003; Bennet 2009. Historians such as Hünefeldt 1994 and

Landers 1999 have also used legal sources to reveal impact of slavery and colonialism on family life in Spanish America.

Edited collections and overviews

Edited collections containing essays on marriage, kinship, sex, and resistance include Lavrin 1992, Gudeman and Schwartz 1984. Broader studies on Spanish American history that address gendered elements of slavery and colonialism, family dynamics and kinship networks, include Landers 1999, Socolow 2000, Bennett 2003, Powers 2005, Klein and Vinson 2007, Bennett 2009.

Bennett, Herman L., *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570–1640*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003.

Significant contribution to scholarship on African experience in colonial Mexico, strong attention to gender throughout and specific chapters on sex and marriage, including discussion as to whether gradual movement toward nuclear family structures speaks to development of “creole” consciousness.

Bennett, Herman L. *Colonial Blackness: A History of Afro-Mexico*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009.

Challenges readers to imagine a history of Mexico narrated through the experiences of Africans and their descendants. Using ecclesiastical and inquisitorial records, Bennett frames the history of Mexico around the private lives and liberty that Catholicism engendered among enslaved Africans and free blacks, who became majority populations soon after the Spanish conquest. Brings forth personal and family dramas, body politics, and stories of lost virtue and sullen honor.

Gudeman, Stephen, and Stuart B. Schwartz, eds. *Kinship Ideology and Practice in Latin America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.

Contains essays on kinship practices and family formation in slave systems across the Atlantic world, including chapters on slavery and the family in Brazil, Peru, Mexico and the British Caribbean.

Klein, Herbert S., and Ben Vinson. *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean*. 2d ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Survey of slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean, with chapters covering the origins of slavery in the Americas, slave resistance, the creation of a slave community, and life, death, and the family in Afro-American slave societies.

Landers, Jane G. *Black Society in Spanish Florida*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

A detailed study on the lives of enslaved and free black people in Spanish Florida, primarily around Saint Augustine, addressing urban slavery, religious activities, and family relations.

Lavrin, Asunción, ed. *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.

Edited collection includes essays on marriage and divorce, honor, illegitimacy, and domestic violence in slave societies.

Powers, Karen Viera. *Women in the Crucible of Conquest: The Gendered Genesis of Spanish American Society, 1500–1600*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.

Ethnohistoric synthesis addressing changes in indigenous women's lives following Spanish conquests in the Americas. Describes the ways women made spaces for themselves in colonial society, in the economy, and in convents as well as other religious arenas, such as witchcraft. She shows how violence and intimidation were used to control women and writes about the place of sexual relations, especially miscegenation, in the forging of colonial social and economic structure

Socolow, Susan Migden, *The Women of Colonial Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

2nd edition of important survey volume on women in colonial Latin America. Includes specific chapters on marriage and family life, with useful information on the topic also present in discussions of pre-colonial society, slavery, and social deviance.

Monographs and key texts

Detailed studies of kinship and the family in Spanish America in the context of colonialism, slavery, and emancipation include Acosta 1984, Brooks 2002, Cowling 2013, Stark 2015. Legal, demographic, and administrative analysis of slave family dynamics can be found in Verena 1972, Hünefeldt 1994, Barcia 2003.

Acosta, Miguel Saignes. *Vida de los esclavos negros en Venezuela*. Valencia, Venezuela: Vadell Hermanos, 1984.

Examines women's lives in black slavery in Venezuela. Considers marriage, family dynamics, exploitation and abuse in the context of slavery and freedom.

Barcia Zequeira, María del Carmen. *La otra familia: Parientes, redes, y descendencia de los esclavos en Cuba*. Havana, Cuba: Fondo Editorial Casa de las Américas, 2003.

A detailed study of the slave family in Cuba, focusing heavily on Havana. Examination of the legal framework and religious ideals associated with family life by the Spanish colonial regime, and comparison to enslaved people's conceptions of family life.

Brooks, James. *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Demonstrates how slave-raiding of Native Americans and Hispanics in the Southwest Borderlands impacted upon gender and family life. Focus on the sale of women and children, their incorporation into their captors' families, and the resistance, accommodation, and violence this led to. Provides useful comparisons with kinship and slave systems in the American South and Africa.

Cowling, Camilla, *Conceiving Freedom: Women of Color, Gender, and the Abolition of Slavery in Havana and Rio de Janeiro*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013.

Reveals how gender shaped routes to freedom in the urban environments of late nineteenth-century Havana and Rio de Janeiro. Focus on how reproductive dynamics and "free-womb" laws enabled enslaved women to make claims to freedom and connects such activities to broader abolitionist politics.

Gutiérrez, Ramón A. *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991.

Explores culture of honor as relates to social relationships and community dynamics in New Mexico. Marriage used to explore how colonialism impacted upon gendered identities. Inspired strong debate.

Hünefeldt, Christine. *Paying the Price of Freedom: Family and Labour among Lima's Slaves*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Draws upon church and court records to demonstrate how nineteenth century Peruvian slaves attempted to use family connections to ameliorate the worst elements of enslavement, to push for manumission, and connected ultimately to the abolition of slavery. Has full chapter reconstructing life cycle of a fictional slave family.

Stark, David M. *Slave Families and the Hato Economy in Puerto Rico*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015.

Draws upon parish baptismal, marriage, and death registers and employs the use of family reconstitution to compute measures of demographic behavior that elucidate the relationship between commodity production, work regime, and demographic experiences of the enslaved in Puerto Rico. Notes relatively favorable conditions for marriage and family conditions and

suggests significance of looking beyond sugar cultivation in studying experiences of enslaved people and enslaved family life.

Verena, Martinez-Alier, *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society*. 2d ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989.

Examines marital patterns in nineteenth century Cuba, with heavy focus on Havana. Uses legal and administrative proceedings to reveal familial opposition to marriages due to social or racial inequality as well as cases of interracial elopement. Notes issues of gender, honor, marital patterns and interracial/intraracial dynamics. First published in 1972.

French Atlantic

Comparatively less has been written explicitly addressing the slave family in the French Atlantic, but similar themes relating to demography, community, gender roles and resistance have shaped studies on the topic, with important work by Gautier 1985 and Moitt 2001 standing out. New Orleans and French Louisiana has often served as a focal point of studies on gender and the slave family, with Hall 1992; Clark 2007; Spear 2009 offering insights into the demographic, legal, social, and cultural factors that impacted upon the slave family.

French Caribbean

Important studies on gender which address slave family dynamics in the French Caribbean include Gautier 2005, Gautier 2010, Moitt 2001. Explorations of kinship networks, interracial sex, power and politics include Palmer 2016, Garraway 2005. Close studies of individual families, enslaved and enslaver, are found in Forster and Forster 1996, Scott and Hebrard 2014.

Debien, Gabriel. *Les esclaves des Antilles françaises*. Gourbeyre: Société d'Histoire de la Guadeloupe, 2000.

Significant intervention in the history of slavery in the French Caribbean. Contains listing of plantation papers in private and public collections, and has chapters addressing African origins, labor regimes, health, demography, and manumission. Useful for setting context to enslaved people's experiences if not directly addressing marriage or family life. First published in 1974.

Forster, Elborg, and Robert Forster, eds. *Sugar and Slavery, Family and Race: The Letters and Diary of Pierre Dassalles, Planter in Martinique, 1808–1856*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

English translation of selection of letters from Pierre Dassalles, an enslaver from nineteenth-century Martinique. Alongside primary source collection, contains essay addressing family

dynamics in a slave society, relationships between enslavers and enslaved, social structures and movement towards emancipation.

Garraway, Doris Lorraine. *The Libertine Colony: Creolization in the Early French Caribbean*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005.

Focuses on interracial sexual relations across the French Caribbean, arguing that desire and sexuality were fundamental to the practices of domination and racial exclusion that developed in the French Caribbean. Connects interracial sexual relations, exploitation, and systems of concubinage to expressions of colonial power and personal mastery.

Gautier, Arlette. "Les familles esclaves aux Antilles françaises." *Population* 55 (2000): 975–1002.

Detailed demographic study of enslaved family life in the French Caribbean, addressing elements of African cultural retention and adaptations in the face of enslavement.

Gautier, Arlette. *Les soeurs de solitude: Femmes et esclavage aux Antilles du XVIIe au XIXe siècle*. Rennes, France: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1985, 2010.

Pioneering work on gender and slavery in the French West Indies. Examines labor regime, marriage, family life, reproduction and sexual exploitation, and resistance to this. Emphasizes the diversity of enslaved women's experiences and addresses interracial sex. Originally published in 1985.

Houdaille, Jacques. "Reconstitution des familles de Saint Domingue (Haiti) au XVIIIe siècle." *Population* 46.1 (1991): 29–40.

Quantitative study from a number of Saint Domingue parishes, addressing literacy, infant mortality, marriage patterns, and fertility of both whites and free coloreds.

Moitt, Bernard. *Women and Slavery in the French Antilles, 1635–1848*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001 –

Examines sex ratios in French Antilles and connects even balance of women: men to gendered roles, identities, and family dynamics. Addresses instability of family life in slavery and exploitation of enslaved women and men, but also reveals their resistance and strategies for survival.

Palmer, Jennifer. *Intimate Bonds: Family and Slavery in the French Atlantic*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.

Explores family and slavery across the French Atlantic through use of select case studies to frame topic. Places families at the center of the French Atlantic world, noting how race, gender, and the law intersected in a slave society. Notes how family strategies shaped larger cultural and

legal shifts in the meanings of race, slavery, and colonialism. Reveals diverse family structures present in the French Atlantic and connects this to wider impact of colonialism and slavery.

Scott, Rebecca J., and Jean M. Hebrard, *Freedom Papers: An Atlantic Odyssey in the Age of Emancipation*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2014.

Detailed reconstruction of the life of Rosalie, a Senegambian woman who was enslaved in Saint-Domingue and freed during the Haitian Revolution, and the family's subsequent struggles across several generations to maintain this freedom.

French North America

The label "North America" is a somewhat artificial divide here, given the connections of Louisiana and New Orleans to the circum-Caribbean. Links should be made with material cited in *French Caribbean*, and the overlap and Atlantic connections must be recognised. Social and cultural histories of the slave family, kinship, and community formation in Louisiana include Hall 1992, Ingersoll 1999, Spear 2009, Ingersoll 1999. A wide-ranging study of slavery in New France by Rushforth 2012 contains some information on family, community, and kinship.

Clark, Emily. *Masterless Mistresses: The New Orleans Ursulines and the Development of a New World Society, 1727–1834*. Chapel Hill, NC: Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2007.

Examination of the Ursuline community of nuns in New Orleans. Notes their role as slaveholders and considers the relationship of religion and slavery in Louisiana. Notes attempts to protect enslaved people's family lives as part of their wider religious mission.

Hall, Gwendolyn. *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992.

Significant cultural history of slavery in early Louisiana, suggests "creolization" and a degree of racial fluidity allowed for the development of a vibrant African American culture. Contains chapter exploring community life, culture, and family formation for enslaved people in the colonial regimes of French and Spanish Louisiana.

Ingersoll, Thomas. *Mammon and Manon in Early New Orleans: The First Slave Society in the Deep South, 1718–1819*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999.

In-depth study of slavery in 18th-century New Orleans, stressing the commercial drives to French colonization and social dynamics and challenging earlier interpretations of relative fluidity of "Latin" slave societies. Includes discussions on religion, law, governance and contains information on household structures, demography, the age and sex distribution of enslaved people, manumission, baptism, and marriage.

Rushforth, Brett. *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

Addresses and explores dynamics of French and Native enslavement from the Great Lakes, Canada, and the Caribbean. Includes some details on family dynamics for colonists, Native populations, and in the context of enslavement.

Spear, Jennifer. *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

Important study revealing the significance of interracial marriages and sexual relations in French Louisiana, suggesting that intimate relations were a formative feature constructing the colony's racial order. Notes dynamics between French settlers, Native Americans, and Africans and considers change over time in relation to racism and social relations.

Vidal, Cecile. *Louisiana: Crossroads of the Atlantic World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014.

Edited collection addressing colonial and antebellum Louisiana's relations with the wider Atlantic world. Contains section on "Intimacies" which contains essays on interracial intimacy, sexual dynamics, and regulations on marriage between European settlers, Native Americans, and enslaved and free people of African descent in colonial Louisiana.

British Caribbean

Studies on the slave family in the British Caribbean have assessed the reproductive and sexual violence enslaved women faced (Burnard 2003; Fuentes 2016; Turner 2018), the traumas of the transatlantic slave (Mustakeem 2016), and the general oppression of plantation slavery in limiting opportunities for family formation. Demographic studies relating to population growth (or lack thereof), fertility and mortality (see Kiple 1982; Higman 1995) highlighted the stark damage wrought to individuals and families in the British Caribbean. Notwithstanding these pressures, historians have also emphasized enslaved peoples' attempts to resist this, links to and retentions of West African forms of kinship and culture and stressed the significance of the family as a site of resistance and pleasure amidst terror (Bush 1990; Morgan 2004). Politics of the family and reproduction also frequently linked to abolitionist debates relating to slavery and the slave trade (Altink 2007; Paugh 2017).

Edited collections and special editions of journals

Important collections of works and essays have addressed slavery, the family, and gender in Caribbean history, including Shepherd, Bereton, and Bailey 1995, Gaspar and Hine 1996, Beckles

1999. These collections provide useful introductions to major debates and themes related to the slave family. They also reveal shifting historiographical trends and theoretical developments in the field.

Beckles, Hilary. *Centering Woman: Gender Discourses in Caribbean Slave Society*. Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 1999.

Edited collection containing combined essays of prominent scholar in the field. Chapters on enslaved women's labor, interracial sex, and patterns of work. Considers demographics of slavery in Caribbean and impact on gendered structures, as well as family strategies of relatively privileged slaves.

Craton, Michael. *Empire, Enslavement, and Freedom in the Caribbean*. Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 1997.

A collection of essays from leading figure in the study of slavery in the British Caribbean. The chapters cover the origins and expansion of slavery in the British West Indies, labor relations and production, slave society, community, culture, and changing patterns of the slave family.

Gaspar, David Barry, and Darlene Clark Hine, eds. *More Than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.

Important edited collection exploring the experiences of enslaved women in Africa and the Americas. Essays on gender and work, sexuality, pregnancy and reproduction, work and informal economies, gendered patterns of resistance and rebellion.

Gaspar, David Barry, and Darlene Clark Hine, eds., *Beyond Bondage: Free Women of Color in the Americas*. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 2004.

Edited collection addressing the lives and experiences of free women of color in the Americas. Number of essays consider familial, reproductive, and sexual dynamics, including in treatment of emancipation, resistance, and accommodation.

Hardwick, Julie, Sarah M. S. Pearsall, and Karin Wulf, eds. *Special Issue: Centering Families in Atlantic Histories*. *William and Mary Quarterly* 70.2 (April 2013).

Special issue of major academic journal on early Americas with focus on family strategies for survival around the Atlantic. Significance of kinship and flexibility of family forms for enslaved people in surviving slavery noted by several authors.

Shepherd, Verene, Bridget Brereton, and Barbara Bailey, eds. *Engendering History: Caribbean Women in Historical Perspective*. New York: St. Martin's, 1995.

Edited collection with theoretical and historiographical essays on the history of women in the Caribbean from the 18th to the 20th centuries. Not explicitly focused on family but essays contain discussions on reproduction and family life in relation to resistance, emancipation, and labor.

Overviews and general work

Major interventions in the field have explored gender and family dynamics in the Caribbean, connecting these to wider arguments relating to resistance, community, and survival in slavery. See: Beckles 1990, Mair 1995, Newman 2013. Combined qualitative and quantitative work by Kiple 1982, Higman 1995, Higman, Aarons, Karklins, and Reitz 1998 has addressed the demographic structures of Caribbean slavery and noted how this shaped mortality, fertility, and family life for enslaved people.

Beckles, Hilary M., *Natural Rebels: A Social History of Enslaved Black Women in Barbados*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990.

Survey of the life experiences of enslaved women in Barbados, addressing demographic patterns, resistance, work patterns, sexual exploitation, and family dynamics. Notes connection of productive and reproductive labor.

Eltis, David, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Examines the development of the Atlantic slave system between 1650 and 1800, with strong focus on English slave systems. Has specific chapter on gender and slavery where family structures of Europeans and Africans are discussed. Also addresses the impact of slavery and migration – forced and free – on gender roles, family life, and the demographics of the Atlantic world.

Higman, B. W., *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807–1834*. Kingston, Jamaica: The Press: University of the West Indies, 1995.

Detailed analysis of the demographic structures of slavery in the British Caribbean. Arguments made from this include discussions of fertility and mortality, the health of children, and gendered patterns of work. Family not explicit focus but work useful for setting context. First published in 1984.

Higman, B. W., with George A. Aarons, Karlis Karklins, and Elizabeth J. Reitz. *Montpelier, Jamaica: A Plantation Community in Slavery and Freedom 1739–1912*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of West Indies Press, 1998.

Comprehensive examination of one of the largest, most heavily populated, and best documented estates in Jamaica through slavery and early emancipation. Interdisciplinary approach integrating

studies of material culture, archeological investigation, quantitative and qualitative research. Excellent treatment of enslaved community, culture, and family life.

Kiple, Kenneth F., *The Caribbean Slave: A Biological History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

A stark insight into the demographic violence of slavery and the slave trade. Chapters on fertility and infant mortality provide extensive detail on the harshness of enslaved life and the consequences of this for family formation.

Mair, Lucille Mathurin and Dennis Ranston, *The Rebel Woman in the British West Indies During Slavery*. Kingston: Institute of Jamaica Publications, 1995.

Pathbreaking PhD dissertation on gender and slavery in the British Caribbean. Pioneering treatment of topic, with focus on women as rebels and resisters. Includes discussions on family life, practical and ideological roles of mothers and significance for community formation and resistance. First published in 1974.

Newman, Simon. *A New World of Labor: The Development of Plantation Slavery in the British Atlantic*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

Considers and contrasts labor systems and social dynamics between Africans and Britons in Barbados and in West Africa. Addresses interracial marriages and connects to strategies of resistance, business negotiation, and cultural exchange. Explores differences between African and European family dynamics, considers the implications of this for enslaved people, and reveals change over time.

Abolitionism, enslavers, and colonial/metropole relations

Work on the politics of slavery and abolitionism has noted the significance of the family to wider debates in the colonies and in the metropole, including Altink 2007, De Barros 2014, Paugh 2017. Jones 2002 noted the processes of racial formation and the construction (and function) of whiteness, with attention to interracial sexual relations. Burnard 2003 highlighted the viciousness of enslavers and their interference in slave family life in his close study of life of Thomas Thistlewood.

Altink, Henrice. *Representations of Slave Women in Discourses on Slavery and Abolition, 1780–1838*. London: Routledge, 2007.

Analyzes textual representations of enslaved Jamaican women in abolitionist and pro-slavery literature. Focus on motherhood, intimacy, and work. Addresses familial relations between enslaved people and gender dynamics in Caribbean slavery and in relation to the politics of abolitionism.

Burnard, Trevor, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and his Slaves in the Anglo - Jamaican World*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina University Press, 2003.

Vivid treatment of the violence and sexual exploitation enslaved women faced with case study of Thomas Thistlewood. Chapters on resistance, accommodation, and survival contain discussions on the family arrangements of enslaved people on Thistlewood's plantation, with wider suggestions as to the significance of this for enslaved people in the Anglo-Jamaican world.

De Barros, Juanito, *Reproducing the British Caribbean: Sex, Gender, and Population Politics After Slavery*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014.

Notwithstanding the focus on emancipation and post-slavery developments, an excellent treatment of gender, race, and class dynamics of colonial public policy that provides information on family dynamics and demographics during the final years of slavery and in emancipation.

Livesay, Daniel, *Children of Uncertain Fortunes: Mixed Race Jamaicans in Britain and the Atlantic Family, 1733-1833*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018.

Explores interracial sexual relations and family dynamics in the context of slavery and freedom. Addresses the lives of children born of interracial unions and reveals how this changed in the course of hardening racism.

Jones, Cecily, *Engendering Whiteness: White Women and Colonialism in Barbados and North Carolina*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002.

Important comparative treatment of white women in slaveholding societies, with examination of racial identities and construction of "whiteness." Addresses attempts at regulating sexual relations and concerns with interracial relationships, as well as wider structures governing family dynamics in these societies.

Paugh, Katherine. *The Politics of Reproduction: Race, Medicine, and Fertility in the Age of Abolition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Explores how fertility and reproduction became site of contest between enslaved people, proslavery planters, and abolitionists in the British Empire. Particular focus on Barbados. Connects politics of sex, family life, and reproduction to wider social and political tensions in an abolitionist age.

Social and cultural histories of family and gender

Social and cultural histories of Caribbean slavery revealed the significance of reproductive exploitation and enslaved women's resistance, as well as provided wider discussions on family dynamics. See: Bush 1990, Morrisey 1989, Morgan 2004. Studies on mortality, community, and

kinship can be found in Brown 2008, Turner 2017, Mustakeem 2016. Fuentes 2016 published an important theoretical and methodological intervention on studying slavery and gender.

Browne, Randy, *Surviving Slavery in the British Caribbean*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017.

Addresses the strategies of survival enslaved people employed in Berbice, noting family relationships, sexual exploitation, and community dynamics.

Brown, Vincent, *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008.

Powerful treatment of Atlantic slavery. Reveals attitudes, behavior, and rituals surrounding death among black and white people in the Atlantic world, with focus on Jamaica. Brown notes familial dynamics, structures of marriages and inheritances, the importance of fictive kinship in surviving slavery, and the power of ancestral identities.

Bush, Barbara. *Slave Women in Caribbean Society, 1650–1838*. London: James Currey, 1990.

Social history of enslaved women's lives on the sugar plantations of the British Caribbean, examining family and community dynamics, work patterns, and representations of black women in European discourse. Emphasis on role women played in resistance, including day-to-day and cultural retention. Notes formation and dissolution of enslaved family relationships with attention to trial marriages and "divorces," and addresses tension between African and European family structures.

Candlin, Kit, and Cassandra Pybus. *Enterprising Women: Gender, Race, and Power in the Revolutionary Atlantic*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2015.

Considers significance of sexual and intimate interactions between British men and free women of mixed ancestry in Caribbean. Notes how these tenuous and informal relations could provide these women with a degree of security unavailable in law - uses case-studies to explore family dynamics in slavery and freedom, resistance, and survival in a slave society.

Fuentes, Marisa J. *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.

Examination of women's lives in colonial Barbados. Emphasis on methodological and theoretical issues surrounding histories of women and slavery but also reveals the violence, exploitation, and resistance of enslaved women in communal and familial dynamics. Considers how violence shaped the expression of race, gender, and sexuality, and the significance of this for enslaved women's historical afterlife.

Morgan, Jennifer. *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. Influential work on the topic.

Demonstrates how ideas on gender and reproduction were central to racial ideologies of slavery, enslaved women's dual exploitation as workers and potential mothers, and their resistance to this. Emphasis on family life as site of resistance.

Morrissey, Marietta. *Slave Women in the New World: Gender Stratification in the Caribbean*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989.

Marxist feminist analysis of enslaved women's gendered experiences in the British, Dutch, French, and Danish Caribbean. Major historiographical intervention relating to gender and addresses the implications of fertility, fecundity, and reproduction in the context of slavery.

Mustakeem, Sowande' M. *Slavery at Sea: Terror, Sex, and Sickness in the Middle Passage*. Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2016.

Powerful treatment of the terror of transatlantic slavery, with emphasis on the horrors of the Middle Passage. Addresses family dynamics in West Africa and impact of trade on enslaved people. Notes generational issues, including treatment of elders and children in the trade, as well as careful attention to the embodied experience of enslaved people in the trade. Evidence of sexual assault and challenges to family dynamics.

Turner, Sasha. *Contested Bodies: Pregnancy, Childrearing, and Slavery in Jamaica*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017.

Focus on experiences of pregnancy and childrearing for enslaved women in Jamaica, noting how slave trade impacted upon work and health of enslaved women. Also considers how representations of reproduction, family, and childbirth became central to abolitionist campaigns.

British North America

After pioneering work on sex and race in North America by Jordan 1968, it was not until the 1980s and 1990s that historians paid more sustained attention to gender and the family. Since then, the slave family, kinship, and community has been an area of intense interest for historians, with important work from Kathleen Brown on gender, race, and class in Virginia (see Brown 1996) followed by Kenneth Morgan's comparative work on slave systems in British North America (see Morgan 1998). Alongside general treatments of demographics and community formation (Kulikoff 1986; Walsh 1997), historians have addressed sexual violence and exploitation, as well as gender norms relating to family life among enslaved and free black people in North America, with important work here including Lyons 2003 and Block 2006.

Northern colonies

General studies on slavery and free black communities in the northern colonies by Nash 1991, Horton and Horton 1997, Harris 2003, provide insights into gender, communal bonds, and kinship. Direct attention to sexual dynamics, marriage, and family during the colonial and early revolutionary period can be found in Lyons 2003, Adams and Pleck 2010.

Adams, Catherine, and Elizabeth H. Pleck, *Love of Freedom: Black Women in Colonial and Revolutionary New England*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Addresses restrictions on interracial marriage, the regulation of female sexuality and resistance to this, and gendered ideas surrounding the black family in slavery and in freedom in colonial New England.

Horton, James and Lois Horton, *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community, and Protest Among Northern Free Blacks, 1700-1860*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Important treatment of the northern black population and the transition from slavery to freedom. Assesses culture, community, and kinship.

Lyons, Clare, *Sex Among the Rabble: An Intimate History of Gender and Power in the Age of Revolution, Philadelphia 1730-1830*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Puts sexual culture at the heart of power relations in colonial and revolutionary-era Philadelphia. Reveals impact of ideas on gender and sex to wider political, social, and cultural changes and address family dynamics, regulations, and resistance to control for enslaved, free black, and white Americans.

Harris, Leslie M., *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Addresses histories of slavery and black freedom in New York city. Wide-ranging discussion includes some attention to black families in slavery and freedom, noting the significance of family to resistance and cultural retention.

Nash, Gary B. *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720-1840*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991.

While predominantly focused on the free black community of Philadelphia – the largest such community in early America – this excellent book contains extensive information about community and culture in the context of slavery and freedom, noting how black Philadelphians sought to shape a family life, develop religious organizations, and forge a political consciousness in the context of the violence of slavery and racism in the colonial and antebellum period.

Southern colonies

In an influential text, Brown 1996 stressed the significance of gender to broader power dynamics in colonial Virginia. Fischer 2002 and Block 2006 have explored regulations and laws relating to sex, marriage, rape and violence, and revealed the damage wrought to enslaved people and their resistance to this. Kulikoff 1986, Kay and Cary 1995, Morgan 1998 provide regional and comparative treatments of slavery that include discussions on family life. Dunn 2014 offers comparative assessment of slave communities in Virginia and Jamaica, combining quantitative and qualitative research.

Block, Sharon, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Comprehensive examination of rape and sexual violence in British America between 1700 and 1820. Addresses broader understandings of sex, reproduction, and pregnancy as related to sexual violence, the law, social and cultural dynamics in Early America. Contains extensive discussions on the violence committed against enslaved women and nuanced interpretations as to the impact of this on enslaved people and their wider communities.

Brown, Kathleen M. *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Highly influential study of the legal, social, cultural, and economic interactions between and among English colonists, Native Americans, and enslaved Africans and African Americans. Connects discourse on gender and race to social and legal structures, social interactions, and political dynamics. Attention to gender and family dynamics for all actors in colonial Virginia.

Dunn, Richard S. *A Tale of Two Plantations: Slave Life and Labor in Jamaica and Virginia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014.

Outstanding reconstruction of the individual lives and collective experiences of enslaved people on two estates in Jamaica and Virginia. The extensive genealogical information on enslaved families and communities across multiple generations provides a powerful account of the impact of slavery on family life.

Fischer, Kirsten, *Suspect Relations: Sex, Race and Resistance in Colonial North Carolina*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Connects gender and sexuality to broader themes in the history of European colonization and enslavement in North America. Addresses gender roles, regulation, and resistance for Europeans, Amerindians, and Africans. Connects legislation and laws relating to slave marriage, interracial

relationships, and family dynamics to the process of making race and cementing social hierarchies.

Jordan, Winthrop D. *White over Black: English and American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550–1812*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968.

Classic study of slavery and race in early America, addressing origins of racial slavery and prejudice. Attention to interracial sex and intimacy, exploitation and violence's impact on enslaved family life, and reproduction and legislation surrounding marriage and sex.

Kay, Marvin L. Michael, and Lorin Lee Cary, *Slavery in North Carolina, 1748–1775*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1995.

Powerful study of slavery in North Carolina, challenging emphasis of past scholars on antebellum slavery and themes such as paternalism. Emphasis on African retention, adaptation, and resistance in the face of harsh violence and draconian systems of punishment. Chapters on slave naming practices and language and marriage and the family.

Kulikoff, Alan, *Tobacco & slaves: the development of Southern cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Important social history of the colonial South. Extensive information on the political economy of slavery, the development of a patriarchal plantation society, and the development of an Afro-American culture and community. Provides useful demographic information and relating to family organization among white enslavers and workers, and has full chapters on slave families and community dynamics.

Morgan, Philip. *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Major comparative study of slave systems and slave life in the American Chesapeake and Lowcountry regions. Has chapters on slave family life, and contains extensive discussions on demography, family formation, and instability caused by slavery. Emphasizes significance of kinship in surviving slavery, cultural retention and adaptation, and for personal and collective identities. Statistical information in appendices useful for framing studies on the topic of slave family.

Snyder, Christina. *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.

A study on south-eastern Indian captive taking. Focus on how targeting of women and kin-based system evolved into race-based system in tune with Atlantic slave trade. Address family formation, sexual violence, reproduction in context of Native American slave systems.

Walsh, Lorena S. *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1997.

An impressive collective biography of a group of Africans enslaved in Virginia's Tidewater and Piedmont regions from the colonial period through to the nineteenth century. Addresses community formation and culture, African retentions and adaptations. Demographic information, consideration of naming practices, and reproductive dynamics useful for considerations of the slave family.

Wood, Betty. *Women's Work, Men's Work: The Informal Slave Economies of Lowcountry Georgia, 1750-1830*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995.

Influential book addressing the domestic division of labour among slave families in the southern colonies (mainly Georgia), and revealing insights into gendered dynamics to family life.

Nineteenth Century US

Discussions on the slave family in the US have frequently focused on the nineteenth century plantation South, with these debates speaking to political concerns as much as historical ones. Early work emphasized the negative impact of slavery on family life, painting a stark picture of dysfunction and damage (Frazier 1939; Stamp 1956; Elkins 1959) with the Moynihan Report 1965 marking a particularly controversial treatment of the slave family in relation to contemporary concerns. A spirited revisionist movement developed in the 1960s and 70s, with work by Blassingame 1972, Genovese 1974, Gutman 1976 challenging these portrayals of dysfunctional families with an emphasis on survival, solidarity, and strong family bonds. Feminist scholars and historians at this time also challenged the revisionist tendency to normalize patriarchal family structures, with Davis 1982 and White 1985 revealing the importance and resilience of enslaved women in family life. Historians from the 1990s onwards stressed the necessity of flexibility to kinship and emphasized efforts (not always successfully) to resist the violence of slavery to family life. Important work here includes Stevenson 1997; West 2004.

Early works

Many pioneering discussions of slave family life revolved around challenging the racist arguments and ideas that underpinned scholarship from the early twentieth century. A focus on violence and abuse led Frazier 1939, Stamp 1956, Elkins 1959, Moynihan 1965, to generally conclude that the slave family was a damaged institution, with the afterlife of this trauma to have lingering effects in African American communities.

Du Bois, W.E.B., *The Negro American Family*. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969. Originally published in 1908.

Sociological assessment of African American family in the US in the 20th C that makes extensive links back to slavery and considers the wider significance of enslavement on family structures, racism, and considers solutions for the future.

Elkins, Stanley M., *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*, 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959.

Similar to Stamp, strong emphasis on the damage wrought to enslaved peoples' family bonds on account of the overwhelming power of the enslaver class. Comparative treatment to slave life elsewhere in the Americas. Polemical and sparked major revisionist challenges.

Frazier, E. Franklin, *The Negro Family in the United States, with a new introduction and bibliography by Anthony M. Platt*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001.

First published in 1939. Controversial treatment of the black family in the United States that emphasized the negative and long-lasting effects of enslavement in the Americas. Argued that a limited role for black men in family life was the result of the institutional emasculatory framework of slavery and posited matriarchal structures as a problem. Polemical and political – heavily challenged but influential early work on the topic.

Moynihan, Daniel P., *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*. US Department of Labor, 1965.

Controversial report from U.S. Department of Labor that followed on from Frazier account and examined roots of black poverty and problems associated with the black family. Connected experiences and oppressions of slavery to contemporary problems and pathologized the black family. Emphasized concerns with matriarchal structures and reduction of role of men as being based on experiences in slavery.

Stamp, Kenneth, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Antebellum South*. New York: Knopf, 1956.

Important challenge to proslavery accounts and racist early histories on the benevolent nature of slavery, emphasizing instead violence and brutality. Includes discussions on negative impact of slavery on slave family life and on gender relations, as well as wider information on community, culture, and kinship between enslaved people.

Revisionist challenges

Historians responded to negative depictions of slave family life with a focus on community, culture, and resistance. In Blassingame 1972, Genovese 1974, Gutman 1976, the family was presented as a bulwark against oppression and a space for enslaved people to support one another. Scholars such as hooks 1981, Davis 1982, White 1999, Jones 2009 challenged historians to look beyond men as the normative figure in slave communities, and emphasised the role women played in family life, resistance, and in community formation.

Blassingame, John W. *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Classic social history of enslaved African Americans covers many areas, including family life, community, culture, resistance and accommodation. Addresses some issues of African family dynamics as compared to US slave families and reveals wider significance of kinship bonds and family networks in allowing enslaved people to survive the worst elements of enslavement. Part of revisionist trend rejecting wholly negative views of black family life in slavery.

Davis, Angela, *Women, Race, and Class*. New York: Random House, 1982.

Another classic text challenging racism and sexism in the context of black women's experiences in the Americas. Powerfully addresses the sexual violence and damage wrought to enslaved women and girls in slavery and considers the consequences of this in relation to family and community life. Emphasis on matrifocality as opposed to "matriarchy", and strong consideration of bonds between women and mothers and children

Genovese, Eugene D., *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1974.

Another classic treatment of slavery and slave life that challenged earlier tendencies to pathologize the slave family or to stress dehumanization and victimization alone. Significant attention to enslaved kinship, the strength of bonds between enslaved people, and wider support systems for children and the elderly.

Gutman, Herbert G. *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1976.

Pathbreaking treatment on the evolution of African American families from the colonial period to the twentieth century. Deliberate challenge to earlier work, positioned against Frazier, arguing instead for the significance of nuclear families among enslaved people and stressing the importance of generational support and fictive kinship.

hooks, bell, *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*. Boston: South End Press, 1981.

Classic feminist text addressing the representation and experience of black women in American from the seventeenth through to the twentieth century, including discussions on the impact of racism and sexism on black women's experiences in slavery and freedom, and on the devaluation of black women as mothers.

Jones, Jacqueline, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family, from Slavery to the Present*. New York: Basic Books, 2009.

Pioneering book on African American women's laboring history in slavery and freedom, with particular emphasis on family, matrifocal networks, kinship, and culture. First published in 1985.

Patterson, Orlando, *Rituals of Blood: Consequences of Slavery in Two American Centuries*. Washington, D.C.: Civitas/Counterpoint, 1998.

Powerful and polemical challenge to positive portrayals of enslaved families and emphasis instead on the enduring legacies and violence of slavery and white racial terrorism. Reiterates the devastation wrought on enslaved men and the significance of this for family formation in slavery and in freedom.

White, Deborah G., *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1999.

Hugely significant text in relation to gender and social history of slavery. Revealed the impact of gender on experiences of enslaved people, addressed representations and the lived realities of enslaved women. Noted wider networks of female solidarity and sociability and addressed generational changes. Rejected idea that lack of clear patriarchal structures undermined slave family life and stressed matrifocality and the solidarity and resilience of enslaved people. First published in 1985.

Edited collections

Important essays and chapters relating to family life can be found in Bleser 1990, Clinton and Gillespie 1997, Hine and Jenkins 1999-2001, Baptist and Camp 2006. These collections draw together a number of different themes and arguments relating to gender, sex, and family dynamics in slavery. They also speak to historiographical, methodological, and theoretical developments in the field.

Baptist, Edward E., and Stephanie M. H. Camp, eds., *New Studies in the History of American Slavery*. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 2006.

Excellent edited collection containing a number of essays that address the importance of the slave family, tensions and divisions in slave communities, and memories and testimony surrounding family separation and sale.

Bleser, Carol, ed., *In Joy and Sorrow: Women, Family, and Marriage in the Victorian South, 1830-1990*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Important edited collection containing number of essays on family, marriage, sex and society in the Victorian South from leading scholars in the field.

Clinton, Catherine, and Michele Gillespie, eds., *The Devil's Lane: Sex and Race in the Early South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Edited collection containing a number of essays addressing sex, intimacy, and family life in the American South.

Hine, Darlene Clark, and Earnestine Jenkins, eds., *A Question of Manhood: A Reader in U.S. Black Men's History and Masculinity*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1999-2001.

Important edited collection on black masculinity includes number of essays on black men and family life, and a powerful historiographical intervention relating to gender and slavery serves as the introduction to the volume.

Hodes, Martha, ed. *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*. New York: New York University Press, 1999.

Influential edited collection containing essays on interracial marriage across colonial and 19th C America, relating to slavery and freedom. Covers wide range of topics, including attempts at regulating, controlling, and preventing interracial marriages, the lives of interracial families, coercion and consent, and cultural and political representations of mixed marriage.

Hudson, Larry E., ed., *Working toward Freedom: Slave Society and Domestic Economy in the American South*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1994.

Edited collection addressing informal economies and domestic arrangements for enslaved families. Number of essays consider how activities here spoke to wider kinship networks, the strength of enslaved family life, and opportunities for freedom.

Demographic and combined quantitative/qualitative studies

By using quantitative methods alongside qualitative research, historians have been able to provide detailed studies of family dynamics, consider the impact and limits of enslavers' interference in family life, and the efforts of enslaved people to resist this (Fogel and Engerman 1974, Berry 2017). Scholars have also revealed how the internal slave trade impacted upon enslaved families (Tadman 1996), and noted demographic patterns and the significance of regional distinctions to the experiences of slavery (Malone 1992, Dunaway 2003).

Berry, Daina Ramey. *The Price for Their Pound of Flesh: The Value of the Enslaved, from Womb to Grave, in the Building of a Nation*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2017.

Important book addressing valuations of enslaved people from cradle-to-grave, with attention to competing values from enslavers and within slave communities. Includes discussions on how family life influenced such matters, pregnancy and childbirth as markers of value and site of resistance.

Engerman, Stanley, and Robert Fogel, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1989.

Controversial cliometric study on slavery in the antebellum South. Arguments over methods of control, violence, sexual exploitation, and perceived stability of enslaved family structures served to ignite wider historical response and challenges. Conclusions heavily challenged but influential work. First published in 1974.

Dunaway, Wilma, *The African American Family in Slavery and Freedom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Challenge to historical research stressing strength of nuclear family among enslaved people. Reveals instability and violence practiced on enslaved families by white enslavers in the Upper and mountain South and on small plantations and farms.

Malone, Ann Patton, *Sweet Chariot: Slave Family and Household Structure in Nineteenth - Century Louisiana*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

In-depth and impressive study of slave family structure in Louisiana, combining quantitative and qualitative research and providing data for future studies. Provides data on 10,000 slaves from 155 different slave communities. Highlights the multiple and varied models of families among enslaved people, mapping change over time, and considering the implications of this for wider understandings of slavery and slave life.

Tadman, Michael, *Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996.

First published in 1989. Exhaustive quantitative study of the internal slave trade and assessment of the impact of this for enslaved people. Assesses the likelihood of enslaved family separation and sale and presents stark picture of the instability of enslaved family life.

Courtship and marriage

Historians have focused on the actions, choices, and structures enslaved people used in building romantic relationships (West 2004, Fraser 2007, Hunter 2017), the broader social and spatial boundaries that facilitated or restricted enslaved peoples' unions (Kaye 2007), and the wider significance of marriage and love to enslaved people in attempting to navigate and survive enslavement (Foster 2010).

Foster, Francis Smith, *'Till Death or Distance Do Us Part: Love and Marriage in African America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Positive treatment of enslaved family life with emphasis on a legacy of love, struggle, and commitment. Establishes marriage and efforts to carve out families as site of resistance against the dehumanization of slavery.

Fraser, Rebecca J., *Courtship and Love among the Enslaved in North Carolina*. Oxford: University Press of Mississippi, 2007.

Addresses the complexities and love, intimacy, and family life for enslaved people on plantations, farms, and smallholdings in North Carolina. Strong emphasis on use of WPA narratives for exploring family life in slavery.

Hunter, Tera W. *Bound in Wedlock: Slave and Free Black Marriage in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017.

Comprehensive history of African American marriage in the nineteenth century, exploring how enslaved and free black Americans established familial and intimate links in the face of exploitation and violence. A must-read.

Kaye, Anthony, *Joining Places: Slave Neighborhoods in the Old South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

Innovative treatment of enslaved people's efforts at forming networks and bonds across neighborhoods and a challenge to idea of singular or unified slave community. Chapters exploring intimacy and efforts at forming families despite the oppression of bondage. Conceptual intervention surrounding types of relationships and change over time.

West, Emily, *Chains of Love: Slave Couples in Antebellum South Carolina*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004.

Excellent treatment of love and family life among enslaved people in South Carolina. Employs qualitative and quantitative studies to reveal importance of intimate relationships in surviving slavery.

Health, reproduction, and motherhood

Work on health and reproduction has explored the ways in which sex, pregnancy, and childbirth was a contested arena of exploitation and resistance (Schwartz 2000, 2010, Fett 2002, Cooper Owens 2017). Scholars have also noted how motherhood – and the gendered ideals associated with it – affected resistance for enslaved women and the community (Camp 2004, Nathans 2014, Taylor 2016).

Camp, Stephanie M. H., *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Influential text relating to gender, resistance, and community formation in the US South. Focus on gendered experiences of resistance includes discussion on motherhood and family dynamics influencing strategies and outcomes.

Cooper Owens, Deidre, *Medical Bondage: Race, Gender, and the Origins of American Gynecology*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2017.

Powerful account of the reproductive violence practiced on enslaved women and the significance of this in relation to wider understandings and developments of racial difference in the period.

Fett, Sharla M., *Working Cures: Healing, Health, and Power on Southern Slave Plantation*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Shows how enslaved women and men developed alternative views of health, healing, and communal support in slavery. Addresses roles of elders, medical care associated with reproduction, childbirth, and childcare, and connects this to wider conceptions of kinship and community.

Nathans, Sydney. *To Free a Family: The Journey of Mary Walker*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2014.

Award-winning book exploring the story of Mary Walker, who escaped slavery in 1848, and her desperate attempts to recover her family over the next seventeen years. Detailed exploration of how gender shaped resistance and survival in slavery and freedom, as well as the broader relevance of family dynamics to the politics of abolitionism and emancipation.

Schwartz, Marie Jenkins, *Born in Bondage: Growing up Enslaved in the Antebellum South*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Use of life-cycle from childhood to early adulthood to explore the lives of enslaved youth in the Antebellum South and to stress the resilience and importance of slave families despite the power and violence wielded by enslavers.

Schwartz, Marie Jenkins, *Birthing a Slave: Motherhood and Medicine in the Antebellum South*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Focus on the health care of enslaved women, contest and resistance over reproduction, and the politics and intimate experiences of sex, pregnancy, and motherhood in the antebellum South.

Taylor, Nikki. M., *Driven Toward Madness: The Fugitive Slave Margaret Garner and Tragedy on the Ohio*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2016.

Powerful use of case study of Margaret Garner to illuminate the violence and exploitation enslaved women and to consider the impact of this for their personal identities and historical afterlife. Considers wider themes associated with sex, reproduction, and motherhood in slavery.

Family life and gender relations

Broad studies on slavery, gender, and the family include Fox-Genovese 1988, Bardaglio 1995, Pargas 2012, Doddington 2018. Stevenson 1997 provides a richly detailed and powerful assessment of the damage wrought by slavery and the necessary fluidity of family life because of this. Regional studies can be found in Schermerhorn 2011 and Rothman 2003, while Gordon-Reed uses the case study of Sally Hemings/Jefferson to explore wider themes of family, kinship, race and belonging in American history.

Bardaglio, Peter W. *Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex, and the Law in the Nineteenth-Century South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Legal history of intimacy and the Southern family during the 19th century. Includes discussions on sex, marriage, and attempts to regulate and police sexuality and interracial relationships.

Berry, Daina Ramey, *Swing the Sickle for the Harvest is Ripe: Gender and Slavery in Antebellum Georgia*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2007.

Addresses the work, family, and economic experiences of enslaved women and men in Georgia during the nineteenth century. Compares and contrasts experiences on large and small plantations and reveals the wider significance of gender to slavery and slave life.

Doddington, David Stefan, *Contesting Slave Masculinity in the American South*. New York; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Explores familial dynamics in antebellum slave communities through reference to authority, resistance, sex, and social interactions. Considers actions of enslaved men in family life and memories of fathers and male role models in shaping gendered expectations and interactions.

Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Notes significance of plantation household for both black and white women; considers family dynamics for white and black women and interracial contacts.

Gordon-Reed, Annette. *The Hemingses of Monticello: An American Family*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2008.

Detailed and richly drawn portrait of the family dynamics and life of Sally Hemings and the children she had with the man who enslaved her, Thomas Jefferson. Wider discussions on race, gender, and power in the slave South found throughout.

Pargas, Damian Alan, *The Quarters and the Fields: Slave Families in the Non-Cotton South*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012.

Stresses diversity of family life among enslaved people, focusing on slave life in Virginia, South Carolina, and Louisiana. Considers implications of work regime, size of slaveholding, and demography to family dynamics among enslaved people.

Rothman, Joshua R., *Notorious in the Neighborhood: Sex and Families across the Color Line in Virginia, 1787–1861*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Examines the full-range of interracial sexual relationships under slavery, addressing coercion, violence, and exploitation in and out of slavery. Addresses legal, social, and cultural views on marriage and sexuality.

Schermerhorn, Calvin, *Money over Mastery, Family over Freedom*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.

Assessment of slavery in the Upper South and emphasis on the significance of kinship for enslaved people and for those whom enslaved them. Reveals how attempts to establish and maintain family bonds in slavery involved negotiation, exploitation, and resistance.

Sommerville, Diane Miller, *Rape and Race in the Nineteenth - Century South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Important treatment of race and rape in the American South, assessing gender norms surrounding sex, marriage, and intimacy in the context of wider structures of exploitation. Not explicitly addressing slave family but wider context to sex, race, and gender significant and explores myths surrounding black masculinity that shaped many negative depictions of enslaved families.

Stevenson, Brenda E., *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Powerful treatment of family life and social dynamics for enslavers and enslaved people in Virginia during the nineteenth century. Challenges work of Gutman et al in noting how destructive power of slavery hindered opportunities to form stable unions and instead stresses the necessary flexibility to kinship and community in the face of enslaver's power. Notes also domestic discord and violence within enslaved family units.

Emancipation and post-war developments

Studies on emancipation note the continuities and changes in family life for the formerly enslaved population of the South, Glymph 2008, Schwalm 1997. Williams 2016 provides a devastatingly powerful assessment of the hardships formerly enslaved people faced in attempting to reconstruct their families in freedom.

Glymph, Thavolia. *Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Significant intervention in the historiography on labor, race, and gender in slavery and freedom. Reveals violence of white women enslavers, the complex dynamics present in white and black households, and attempts to navigate family life in slavery and freedom.

Schwalm, Leslie A., *A Hard Fight for We: Women's Transition from Slavery to Freedom in South Carolina*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1997.

Prize-winning study of enslaved women in the rice plantations of Lowcountry South Carolina and in the transition from slavery to freedom. Explores family dynamics, change over time, and the challenges in a post-emancipation world. Assesses labor within and outside family units, gender roles in the slave family and in freedom, and community life.

Williams, Heather Andrea, *Help Me to Find my People: The African American Search for Family Lost in Slavery*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016.

Devastating account of the desolation and loss enslaved people faced through separation and sale from family members. Reveals the attempts of enslaved people to reconstruct families following the Civil War but stresses the uncertainty and frequently unsuccessful attempts to do so.