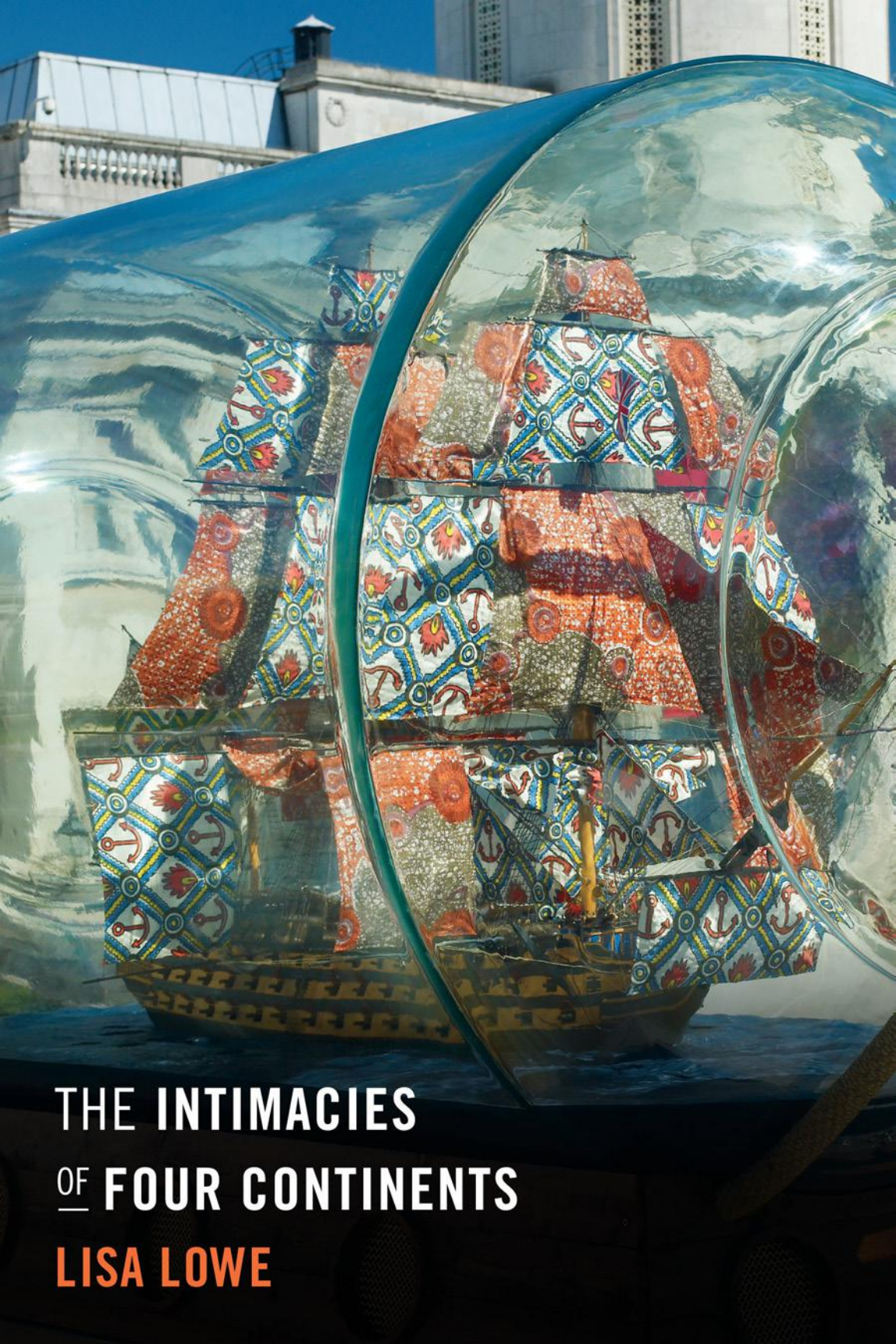


THE INTIMACIES OF FOUR CONTINENTS

LISA LOWE

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LISA LOWE

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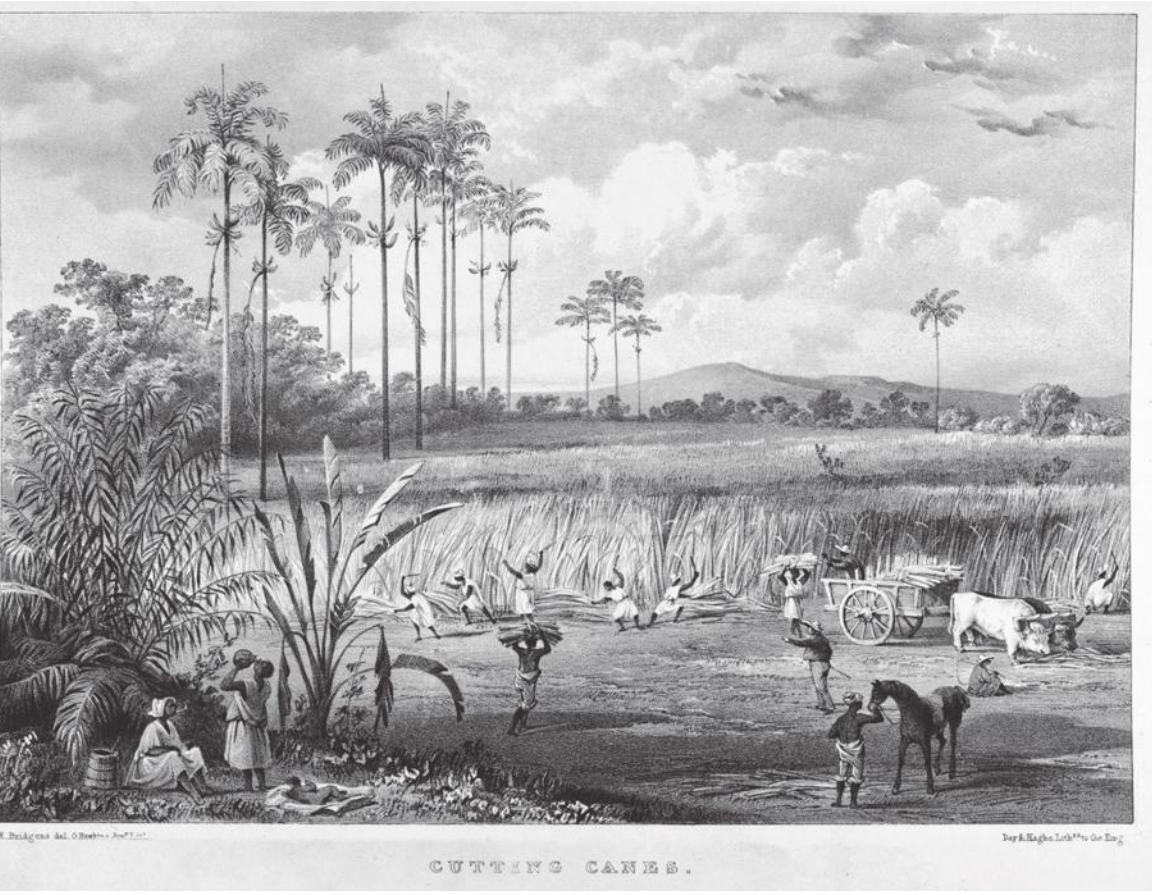
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1.1 *Cutting Sugar Cane in Trinidad*, Richard Bridgens (1836). Lithograph from *West India Scenery*, by Richard Bridgens. © The British Library Board.

CHAPTER 1
THE INTIMACIES OF FOUR CONTINENTS

My study investigates the often obscured connections between the emergence of European liberalism, settler colonialism in the Americas, the transatlantic African slave trade, and the East Indies and China trades in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In *Cuban Counterpoint* (1940), Fernando Ortiz described "peoples from all four quarters of the globe" who labored in the "new world" to produce tobacco and sugar for European consumption.[1] Observing that sugar linked the histories of colonial settlers, native peoples, and slave labor, followed by Chinese and other migrants, Ortiz commented that sugar was "mulatto" from the start. C. L. R. James asserted in *The Black Jacobins* (1938), that the eighteenth-century slave society in San Domingo connected Europe, Africa, and the Americas. He declared that the fortunes created by the slavery-based societies in the Americas gave rise to the French bourgeoisie, producing the conditions for the "rights of man" demanded in the Revolution of 1789.[2] These understandings that the "new world" of European settlers, indigenous peoples, Africans, and Asians in the Americas was intimately related to the rise of liberal modernity are the inspiration for my investigation.[3] Yet I work with the premise that we actually know little about these "intimacies of four continents," despite separate scholarship about single societies, peoples, or regions. The modern division of knowledge into academic disciplines, focused on discrete areas and objects of interest to the modern national university, has profoundly

shaped the inquiry into these connections.[4] Even the questions we can ask about these histories are influenced by the unevenly inhabited and inconsistently understood aftermath of these obscured conditions.

Historians, philosophers, and sociologists have written quite a lot about the origins of liberalism in modern Europe, whether they focus on the French Revolution of 1789 as a key event in the shift from feudal aristocracies to democratic nation-states, or whether they emphasize the gradual displacement of religious explanation by secular scientific rationalism, the shift from mercantilism to industrial capitalism, the growth of modern bureaucracy, or citizenship within the modern state.[5] Yet these discussions have more often treated liberalism's abstract promises of human freedom, rational progress, and social equality apart from the global conditions on which they depended. I join scholars like Cedric Robinson, Saidiya Hartman, Uday Singh Mehta, Paul Gilroy, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Saree Makdisi, Walter Mignolo, Susan Buck-Morss, Jodi A. Byrd, and others, in arguing that liberal philosophy, culture, economics, and government have been commensurate with, and deeply implicated in, colonialism, slavery, capitalism, and empire.[6] There is a distinguished historiography of the Atlantic slave trade and slave economies, which documents slavery throughout the Americas, but it is rare for these scholars to discuss the relationship between slavery and settler colonialism or imported indentured labor.[7] There is work on indentured labor systems utilizing Europeans and Africans, with some attention to the role of Chinese and Indian migrations to the Americas, but there is less work that examines European colonial conquest and the complex history and survival of native indigenous peoples in the Caribbean, and scarcely any that considers the connections, relations, and mixings among the histories of Asian, African, and indigenous peoples in the Americas.[8]

In examining state archives out of which these historical narratives emerge, I observe the ways in which the archive that mediates the imperatives of the state subsumes colonial violence within narratives of modern reason and progress. To make legible the forcible encounters, removals, and entanglements omitted in liberal accounts of abolition, emancipation, and independence, I devise other ways of reading so that we might understand the processes through which the forgetting of violent encounter is naturalized, both by the archive, and in the subsequent nar-

rative histories. In a sense, one aim of my project is to be more specific about what I would term the economy of affirmation and forgetting that structures and formalizes the archives of liberalism, and liberal ways of understanding. This economy civilizes and develops freedoms for "man" in modern Europe and North America, while relegating others to geographical and temporal spaces that are constituted as backward, uncivilized, and unfree. Liberal forms of political economy, culture, government, and history propose a narrative of freedom overcoming enslavement that at once denies colonial slavery, erases the seizure of lands from native peoples, displaces migrations and connections across continents, and internalizes these processes in a national struggle of history and consciousness. The social inequalities of our time are a legacy of these processes through which "the human" is "freed" by liberal forms, while other subjects, practices, and geographies are placed at a distance from "the human."

My study could be considered an unlikely or unsettling genealogy of modern liberalism, which examines liberalism as a project that includes at once both the universal promises of rights, emancipation, wage labor, and free trade, as well as the global divisions and asymmetries on which the liberal tradition depends, and according to which such liberties are reserved for some and wholly denied to others. In this sense, the modern distinction between definitions of the human and those to whom such definitions do not extend is the condition of possibility for Western liberalism, and not its particular exception. This genealogy also traces the manners in which the liberal affirmations of individualism, civility, mobility, and free enterprise simultaneously innovate new means and forms of subjection, administration, and governance. By genealogy, I mean that my analysis does not accept given categories and concepts as fixed or constant, but rather takes as its work the inquiry into how those categories became established as given, and with what effects. Genealogical method questions the apparent closure of our understanding of historical progress and attempts to contribute to what Michel Foucault has discussed as a historical ontology of ourselves, or a history of the present.[9] By modern liberalism, I mean broadly the branches of European political philosophy that include the narration of political emancipation through citizenship in the state, the promise of economic freedom in

the development of wage labor and exchange markets, and the conferring of civilization to human persons educated in aesthetic and national culture—in each case unifying particularity, difference, or locality through universal concepts of reason and community.[10] I also include in this definition the literary, cultural, and aesthetic *genres* through which liberal notions of person, civic community, and national society are established and upheld.

In this sense, my study involves connecting what we might call an "archive of liberalism"—that is, the literary, cultural, and political philosophical narratives of progress and individual freedom that perform the important work of mediating and resolving liberalism's contradictions—with the colonial state archives from which it has been traditionally separated, and the anticolonial intellectual traditions infrequently considered alongside the imperial one. In this effort, I do not treat the colonial archive as a stable, transparent collection of facts. Rather, I regard its architecture of differently functioning offices and departments as rooms of the imperial state; they house the historically specific technologies of colonial governance for knowing and administering colonized populations, which both attest to its contradictions, and yield its critique.[11] As Ann Laura Stoler argues, the colonial archive is "a supreme technology of the . . . imperial state, a repository of codified beliefs that clustered (and bore witness to) connections between secrecy, the law, and power."[12] As a material bureaucracy of rule, *and* the historical trace of imperial activities, the colonial archive portrays colonial governance as a strategic, permeable, and improvisational process: the tireless collection of tables, statistics, measurements, and numbers; the unending volumes of records and reports; the copied and recopied correspondence between offices; the production of legal classifications, cases, and typologies—these actively document *and* produce the risks, problems, and uncertainties that were the conditions of imperial rule. Inasmuch as Colonial Office and Foreign Office papers, India Office Records, War Department memoranda, and Parliamentary Select Committee reports constitute the very media of colonial administration, they likewise conjure what the colonial bureaucracy did not and could not know—its equivocation, ignorance, and incoherence—even as it performed the agency of an imperial will to know. In other words, the colonial state archive both mediates and

subsumes the uncertainties of liberal and imperial governance; in it, one reads the predicaments, both known and unknown, that give rise to the calculations, strategies, forms, and practices of imperial rule.

The vast collections of the Great Britain National Archives, formerly the Public Records Office, hold the papers of the British Colonial Office, the Foreign Office, the Slave Trade and African Department, the War and Colonial Department, the Records of the Treaty and Royal Letter Department, and others. Within these, there are separate records of the settling of territories around the world, the transatlantic slave trade, the governing of colonies, the abolition of slavery, and the emigration of Chinese labor to sites in the Americas. The papers are organized into distinct departments for Trade, Laws, Correspondence, Sessional Records, and so forth, with divisions within each for the administration of regions: for example, Africa and colonial exploration, America and the West Indies, Asia, the Atlantic, Australia and New Zealand, and so forth, and then individual series for each British colony within each area.[13] There are separate files for acts, treaties, ordinances, taxes, and other specific subjects and functions. The National Archives are organized to preserve government records and information for the public; its imperatives are classification, collection, and documentation, rather than connection or convergence.[14]

Hence, it is fair to observe that there is scarce attention to the *relationships between* the matters classified within distinct stores; the organization of the archives discourages links between settler colonialism in North America and the West Indies and the African slave trade; or attention to the conjunction of the abolition of slavery and the importing of Chinese and South Asian indentured labor; or a correlation of the East Indies and China trades and the rise of bourgeois Europe. In order to nuance these connections and interdependencies, one must read *across* the separate repositories organized by office, task, and function, and by period and area, precisely implicating one set of preoccupations in and with another. It has been necessary both to examine the events that are well documented in the collected papers, as well as to heed those matters that are entirely absent, whether actively suppressed or merely deemed insignificant. I notice the aporia in the archives, often belied by discrepant tone or insistent repetitions, and remark the rhetorical anomalies

that obscure omissions, tensions, or outright illogic. While such reading practices deeply respect the primacy of material conditions, they also often defy or disrupt accepted historical chronologies. This approach does not foreground comprehensiveness and teleology, in either a historical or geographical sense, but rather emphasizes the relationality and differentiation of peoples, cultures, and societies, as well as the convergence and divergence of ideas, concepts, and themes. In pursuing particular intimacies and contemporaneities that traverse distinct and separately studied "areas," the practice of reading across archives unsettles the discretely bounded objects, methods, and temporal frameworks canonized by a national history invested in isolated origins and independent progressive development.[15]

The consideration of the colonial archive as intrinsic to the archives of liberalism permits us to understand that as modern liberalism defined the "human" and universalized its attributes to European man, it simultaneously differentiated populations in the colonies as less than human. Even as it proposes inclusivity, liberal universalism effects principles of inclusion and exclusion; in the very claim to define humanity, as a species or as a condition, its gestures of definition divide the human and the nonhuman, to classify the normative and pathologize deviance.[16] In this study of how liberal ideas of political emancipation, ethical individualism, historical progress, and free market economy were employed in the expansion of empire, I observe that the uses of universalizing concepts of reason, civilization, and freedom effect colonial divisions of humanity, affirming liberty for modern man while subordinating the variously colonized and dispossessed peoples whose material labor and resources were the conditions of possibility for that liberty.[17] These processes that comprise the fifteenth-century "discovery" of the "new world," consolidate themselves through modern liberal political economy and culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. We see the longevity of the colonial divisions of humanity in our contemporary moment, in which the human life of citizens protected by the state is bound to the denigration of populations cast in violation of human life, set outside of human society.[18] Furthermore, while violence characterizes exclusion from the universality of the human, it also accompanies inclusion or assimilation into it. Such violence leaves a trace, which returns and

unsettles the apparent closure of the liberal politics, society, and culture that establish the universal. *Race* as a mark of colonial difference is an enduring remainder of the processes through which the human is universalized and freed by liberal forms, while the peoples who created the conditions of possibility for that freedom are assimilated or forgotten. The genealogy of modern liberalism is thus also a genealogy of modern race; racial differences and distinctions designate the boundaries of the human and endure as remainders attesting to the violence of liberal universality.

To observe that the genealogy of modern liberalism is simultaneously a genealogy of colonial divisions of humanity is a project of tracking the ways in which race, geography, nation, caste, religion, gender, sexuality and other social differences become elaborated as normative categories for governance under the rubrics of liberty and sovereignty. Elaborations of racial difference were not universal or transhistorical; they did not occur all at once but were local, regional, and differential, articulated in dynamic, interlocking ways with other attributions of social difference within various spaces in an emerging world system.[19] The operations that pronounce colonial divisions of humanity—settler seizure and native removal, slavery and racial dispossession, and racialized expropriations of many kinds—are imbricated processes, not sequential events; they are ongoing and continuous in our contemporary moment, not temporally distinct nor as yet concluded. To investigate modern race is to consider how racial differences articulate complex intersections of social difference within specific conditions.[20] We can link the emergence of liberties defined in the abstract terms of citizenship, rights, wage labor, free trade, and sovereignty with the attribution of racial difference to those subjects, regions, and populations that liberal doctrine describes as "unfit for liberty" or "incapable of civilization," placed at the margins of liberal humanity. Over the course of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, liberal and colonial discourses improvised racial terms for the non-European peoples whom settlers, traders, and colonial personnel encountered. Settlers represented indigenous peoples as violent threats to be eliminated in ways that rationalized white settlement and African slavery; they discounted native people as uncivilized or non-Christian, conflated the inhabitants with land and nature, imagined them as removable

or extinguishable, or rendered them as existing only in the past.[21] Colonial administrators, traders, and company agents cast captive Africans as inhuman chattel, as enslaveable property. Colonial governors conceived the Chinese as if they were a plentiful, tractable form of labor that could alternately oppose, replace, or supplement slavery; colonial police and criminal courts represented the Chinese as diseased addicts, degenerate vagrants, and prostitutes. These distinct yet connected racial logics constituted parts of what was in the nineteenth century an emergent Anglo-American settler imperial imaginary, which continues to be elaborated today, casting differentiated peoples across the globe in relation to liberal ideas of civilization and human freedom. The safekeeping and preservation of liberal political society, and the placement of peoples at various distances from liberal humanity—"Indian," "Black," "Negro," "Chinese," "coolie," and so forth—are thus integral parts of the genealogy of modern liberalism.[22] Not only differentiated racial classifications, but taxonomies that distinguished between continents and civilizations have been essential to liberal, settler, and colonial governance.[23] In this book, I suggest that the "coloniality" of modern world history is not a brute binary division, but rather one that operates through precisely spatialized and temporalized processes of both differentiation and connection.[24]

Liberal myths about the "capacity for liberty" and narratives about the need for "civilization" serve to subjugate enslaved, indigenous, and colonized peoples, and to obscure the violence of both their separations and their mixtures. In classic liberal political narratives, the move from the state of nature to political society is justified by the need to contain the natural condition of war in which human life and property interests are threatened by violence. Liberal government secures the "peaceful" conditions of individual and collective security by transferring the violence of the state of nature to the political state, executed through laws that "protect" the subjects within civil society, and constitute other peoples as the very limit of that body. In this book, I elaborate what I believe to be key moments in this genealogy, in which racial classifications and colonial divisions of humanity emerged in the colonial acquisition of territory, and the management of labor, reproduction, and social space. Settlement, slavery, and colonial relations of production were conditions both for encounter and mixing, and for the racial classifications that both denied and yet sought

to organize such mixing. Liberal ideas of rights, emancipation, wage labor, and free trade were articulated in and through the shifting classifications that emerged to manage social difference.

In the *Two Treatises of Government* (1690), for example, Locke's state of nature prior to government serves as the means to outline the definition of liberal rights to property and against tyranny. The mythical state of nature alludes to the settling of the "new world" of the Americas, whose fictional "newness" would have been apparent for Locke, who was a member of the English company that settled the Carolina colony and the presumed author of its *Fundamental Constitutions*, and who served as Treasurer for the English Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations.[25] While many liberal thinkers from Locke to Mill were famously involved in colonial settlement and trade, my argument about liberalism and colonialism is not one of biographical complicity but rather observes that it is precisely by means of liberal principles that political philosophy provided for colonial settlement, slavery, and indenture. While Locke's natural law would seem to grant native people's rightful possession of the land on which they hunt, gather, and labor, natural law contributed to English settlement through the provision that "everyone has a right to punish the transgressors of the law . . . to preserve the innocent and restrain offenders."[26] After leaving the state of nature to form a political society, Locke maintains the liberal citizen's right "to destroy a Man who makes War upon him," as the native American people were regularly represented.[27] The treaties and correspondence collected in the Colonial Office papers repeatedly represent lands in the Americas and West Indies as "not possessed by any Christian prince of People" and refer to "Indians" or "native" peoples as "infidels" and "Savages," antithetical to "human civility," with whom the settlers are in "continual war."[28] The native resistance to European intrusion was regularly cast as a threat to the security of settler sovereignty, which rationalized war and suppression. For example, the "King's Bill containing a grant to Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham and Lawrence Hyde," May 6, 1663, with respect to settling an English colony in Guiana, guarantees settlers' rights "in case of invasion by the natives or any other enemies train and muster the inhabitants and fight with any persons not in amity with his Majesty, to proclaim martial law, and subdue all tumults, rebellions, and mutinies."[29]

In King Philip's War, the Puritan war against the native American people in southern New England was justified by portraying them as threats to the settlers, and thereby giving up their rightful claims.[30] In Locke's *Two Treatises,* the provision for rightful conquest is described as "an Absolute Power over the Lives of those, who by an Unjust War have forfeited them."[31]

Moreover, settler powers were further justified by Locke's definition of the right to property, in which labor entitles one to possession of land, and which represents the lands in the Americas as if they were insufficiently cultivated, or devoid of inhabitants: "Whatsoever then he removes out of the State that Nature hath provided, and left it in, he hath mixed his *Labour* with, and joyned to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his Property."[32] This "appropriation of any parcel of *Land*, by improving it," implies a principle of "vacante soyle," or *vacuum domicilium*, similar to *terra nullias* in international law, the term used to describe territory that has not been subject to the sovereignty of any state. The representation of the so-called new world as vacant and uninhabited by Christian civilized persons, was a central trope of settler colonialism, employed to banish, sequester, and dispossess indigenous peoples of their lands.[33]

Indigenous studies scholars such as Glen Coulthard, Jodi A. Byrd, J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, Shona N. Jackson and others have distinguished the liberal rationale for settler colonialism, in which settler conquest sought to eliminate or assimilate indigenous people and appropriate their lands, from the liberal economic provisions for modern colonial projects that focused on the extraction of resources and exploitation of labor.[34] Because ongoing settler projects of seizure, removal, and elimination are neither analogous to the history and afterlife of racial slavery, nor akin to the racialized exploitation of immigrant laborers, the discussion of settler colonialism cannot be simply folded into discussions of race without reckoning with its difference. Jodi A. Byrd observes that "Racialization and colonization have worked simultaneously to other and abject entire peoples so they can be enslaved, excluded, removed, and killed in the name of progress and capitalism," but cautions that we do not "obfuscate the distinctions between the two systems of dominance and the coerced complicities amid both."[35] In other words, liberalism comprises a multifaceted, flexible, and contradictory set of provisions that at once rational-

izes settler appropriation and removal differently than it justifies either the subjection of human beings as enslaved property, or the extraction of labor from indentured emigrants, however much these processes share a colonial past and an ongoing colonial present. In this book, I stress that the differentially situated histories of indigeneity, slavery, industry, trade, and immigration give rise to linked, but not identical, genealogies of liberalism. I focus on relation across differences rather than equivalence, on the convergence of asymmetries rather than the imperatives of identity.

Lockean liberal political and economic rights to property and commerce were also notoriously employed to justify the slave trade and the ownership of slaves. The correspondence of colonial adminstrators, slave traders, and company agents are replete with statements that affirmed their rights to own and trade human beings, designated as chattel and cargo, without reckoning with the system of enslavement that depended on violence, violation, and dehumanization. Royal African Company papers describe "supplies of considerable Numbers of Negroes at very moderate rates" and boast, "This Cheapness of Negroes was the very Root that Caused such an Improvement and Growth of the Plantations, Such an Exportation of British Manufactures, Such an Importation of Sugar, Tobacco, Bullion, and other Products of America, and Such an Increase of Shipping and Navigation for those Purposes."[36] The seventeenth-century traveler Richard Ligon wrote, "They Choose them as they do horses in a market."[37] The transatlantic slave trade tore African captives from their social worlds and violently forced them into community with one another, aboard the slave ships, and then on the plantations. In *Saltwater Slavery*, Stephanie Smallwood's study of the seventeenth-century slave trade, this brutal transformation of African persons into commodities as the origin of the racialization of Blacks as enslaved property is examined. In her analysis of the Royal African Company papers, Smallwood notes that the operative unit of the slave ship was never the individual person but was rather the "full complement" of human cargo. Being owned as property was the idiom that defined the slaves' new condition, replacing kinship and location as cultural media that bound person to society. Smallwood eloquently extends Orlando Patterson's observations that natal alienation committed slaves to "social death" and emphasizes that "saltwater slavery was something more, something horrifyingly different," in

that the slaves were unable to "die honorably," were no longer "dead kin connected with community of the living."[38]

The "horrifying differences" included corporal tortures and sexual violation, and the subjection of slavewomen as breeders of enslaved offspring to whom they were forbidden maternal claim. In her discussion of the 1662 law of *partus sequitur ventrem* dictating that the children of a slavewoman inherited the mother's status as slaves, historian Jennifer Morgan notes that the law is evidence that not only the most intimate spheres of slave relations were legislated, but that slavewomen's bodies were the most vulnerable sites within colonial slavery's permanent state of exception, forced to reproduce "kinlessness."[39] Saidiya Hartman likewise observes that slaves were not civic persons, but dehumanized property, and she argues that slavery founded the conditions of possibility for liberal civil society to emerge, reproducing Black exile from individual will, domesticity, property, and social recognition in the aftermath of so-called emancipation.[40] Simon Gikandi observes that the distance of colonial slave societies from metropolitan Europe kept the overt horrors of slavery out of view for most eighteenth-century English, but slavery's brutalities shaped and haunted English society, culture, values, and taste.[41]

While the language of both political and economic rights had been used to justify European ownership and trade in captive people, by the late eighteenth century, abolitionists employed liberal principles to argue for the emancipation of slaves, however much liberalism's imbrication in colonial slavery paradoxically restricted the realization of freedom. Christian abolitionists, like William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, and Granville Sharp, submitted that slavery was cruel and immoral, and that its end was necessary for a just, humanitarian English society.[42] Black British abolitionists like Robert Wedderburn, Mary Prince, Olaudah Equiano, and Ottobah Cugoano were often persuaded to articulate their opposition to slavery in similar terms.[43] Adam Smith and his followers had insisted that freed men would work better than slaves, and that slave labor was the more expensive form of labor.[44] Notions of free labor were used by Francis Hutcheson to argue that "all men have strong desires of liberty and property," and that no rational creature could be changed into "a piece of goods void of all right."[45] Yet while such arguments brought

economic and political reforms to England, they failed to curtail the slave trade, and conditions of enslavement persisted for former slaves far beyond so-called emancipation. Abstract notions of individual rights neither removed social barriers nor included the material means necessary to fulfill the promised freedoms, and liberal abolitionist arguments were less important to the passage of the Slave Trade Act and the Slavery Abolition Act than were the dramatic revolts and everyday practices of enslaved peoples themselves. Nothing has been a more powerful force against the dehumanizing subjugation of a people than the imminent threat of their rebellion and uprising. As I contend in this chapter, the Colonial Office papers regarding the decisions to end the slave trade in 1807, and slavery in the empire in 1834, demonstrate that Colonial Office administrators were more concerned both to prevent Black revolution in the colonies, and to expand profits in the sugar industry, than with the immorality of the dehumanizing system. Liberal parliamentarians legislating the four-year "apprenticeship" and the postemancipation societies after 1838 were guided more by the interests of West Indian colonial governors and ex-slaveholders, than by the commitment to providing material resources that would make self-determination possible for former slaves.[46] In chapter 2, I discuss the abolitionist embrace of *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, The African, Written By Himself* (1789) as a narrative of liberal freedom and observe that the autobiography, as the narrative genre of liberal political subjectivity that affirms individual right, cannot resolve the persistent contradictions of colonial slavery. Equiano's autobiography portrays his life as a freed man continuously threatened by the possibility of abduction and reenslavement.

The narrative overcoming of enslavement by freedom is found in political philosophy, as well, in which the opposition between slavery and right appears as the central contradiction to be resolved by political society. Drawing on the Greco-Roman tradition, modern European political philosophers defined "freedom" as the overcoming of "slavery," yet "slavery" was often located in a temporally distant "old world" rather than in the "new world" of the Americas.[47] For example, in *The Social Contract* (*Du contrat social*, 1762), Rousseau stated, "These words *slave* and *right* are contradictory and mutually exclusive."[48] Rousseau specified enslavement

as the illegitimate subjection of European man in the French ancien régime and associated this condition with ancient slavery, resolving the contradiction between slavery and right *temporally*, through the founding of a new republic representing the *general will*. In locating slavery in the distant past, or in European man's inequality, Rousseau performed a rhetorical elision of colonial slavery in spaces that were intimately connected, yet at a geographical distance, from eighteenth-century Europe. The connections between the French Caribbean and the prosperity of the maritime bourgeoisie in Nantes and Bordeaux were left unmentioned. At the end of the eighteenth century, political emancipation became a new form of human freedom, in which the individual person, dissolved into the concentrated sovereignty of the collectivity, became *human* through citizenship in the unity of political society. Posed in this way, political emancipation installed the elision of colonial slavery within liberal narratives of human freedom; moreover, the liberal narrative builds the disavowal of settler appropriation into the promises of freedom overcoming slavery. In chapter 5, I discuss the legacy of these erasures in the development of European freedom for the antislavery and anticolonial histories of C. L. R. James and W. E. B. Du Bois.

By the close of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth, liberals defended wage labor, free trade, and liberal government against foreign barbarism and despotism as a justification for elaborating imperial trade and government. The economic theories of Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Jeremy Bentham, and John Stuart Mill contributed to the end of mercantile monopoly, while the promotion of wage labor and free trade provided for accelerated industrial production and trade. Both the Slavery Abolition Act of 1834 and the end of the British East India Company as a commercial monopoly in 1833 appeared to signal moves away from colonial slavery, mercantilist exclusivity, and older forms of territorial conquest, toward a British-led worldwide trade in manufactured goods and new forms of imperial governance. In chapter 3, I interpret the papers of the Select Committees appointed by Parliament to investigate the renewal of the East India Company Charters in 1793, 1813, and 1830 and suggest that the decision to open the Asian trades to private merchants was very much an imperial innovation of both trade and government, a measure taken both to reckon with the trade deficit with

China, and to convert the company from an exclusive trading monopoly into a privately owned colonial military government, occupying India on behalf of the British state. I consider the links between "free trade" policies, which expanded the trades in colonial commodities like tea, chintz, calico, silk, and opium, and the transformation of imperial governance and the emergence of a new international order.

Liberal utilitarian and humanitarian arguments provided for the innovations in imperial governance that administered the conduct of trade in the treaty ports, and criminal justice in the new Crown Colony of Hong Kong. In chapter 4, I discuss John Stuart Mill's writings on free trade and representative government together with India Office and Foreign Office records regarding post–Opium War coastal China and Hong Kong. While the promotion of liberty would appear to eradicate or vanquish despotic modes of governing, in the nineteenth-century liberal tradition exemplified by Mill, despotism was discussed not as counter to liberty, but as the very condition out of which liberty arises and the condition to which it is integral and bound. In cases of extreme exigency, Mill argued, despotism was "a necessary medicine for diseases of the body politic which could not be rid of by less violent means."[49] In other words, Mill's *Considerations on Representative Government* was as much a provision for the colonial state's "necessary" use of force to educate those "unfit for liberty," as it was the argument for liberal representation in Britain. Mill consistently defined liberty by distinguishing those "incapable of self-government" from those with the capacity for liberty, and his ideas of education, moral, and social development rationalized government authority to maintain "order and progress," justifying militarized colonialism in India and the invention of modes of surveillance and security to conduct "free trade."[50] "Liberty" did not contradict colonial rule but rather accommodated both colonialism as territorial rule, and colonialism as the expansion of imperial trades in Asia. In other words, one does not observe a simple replacement of earlier colonialisms by liberal free trade, but rather an accommodation of both residual practices of enclosure and usurpation with new innovations of governed movement and expansion. The new form of imperial sovereignty expressed by nineteenth-century "free trade" in India and China consisted in the power to adapt and improvise combinations of colonial slavery *with* new forms

of migrant labor, monopoly *with* laissez-faire, and an older-style colonial territorial rule *with* new forms of security and governed mobility.[51] Modern notions of rights, emancipation, free labor, and free trade did not contravene colonial rule; rather they precisely permitted expanded Anglo-American rule by adopting settler means of appropriation and removal, and accommodating existing forms of slavery, monopoly, and military occupation, while innovating new forms of governance to "keep the peace."[52] The abstract promises of abolition, emancipation, and the end of monopoly often obscure their embeddedness within colonial conditions of settlement, slavery, coerced labor, and imperial trades.

Social relations in the colonized Americas, Asia, and Africa were the condition of possibility for Western liberalism to think the universality of human freedom, however much freedoms for slaves, colonized, and indigenous peoples were precisely exempted by that philosophy. Modern history and social science pronounce the universality of liberal categories of development yet omit the global relations on which they depended. Indeed, it is the pronounced asymmetry of the colonial divisions of humanity that is the signature feature of liberal modes of distinction that privilege particular subjects and societies as rational, civilized, and human, and treat others as the laboring, replaceable, or disposable contexts that constitute that humanity. What some have represented as a linear temporal progression from colonial abjection to liberal freedom actually elides what might be more properly conceived as a spatial dynamic, in which forms of both liberal subject and society in the imperial center are possible only in relation to laboring lives in the colonized geographies or "zones of exception" with which they coexist, however disavowed.[53] In other words, the management of life and death that we now associate with neoliberal security regimes and the state of exception in crisis and war are constituted in and through the colonial differences explored here.[54]

In this first chapter, I read British Colonial Office, Foreign Office, and House of Commons Parliamentary Papers (HCPP) pertaining to Chinese and Indian emigration, to frame the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century "intimacies" that linked European liberalism with settler colonialism in the Americas, transatlantic African slavery, and Asian contract labor. In chapter 2, I consider the canonization of Equi-

ano's autobiography as the quintessential narrative of progress, which suggests that the slavery of the past is overcome and replaced by modern freedom. I observe the many ways that Equiano's autobiography illustrates the complex currents of the transatlantic world on which that promised freedom rests. By means of a discussion of C. L. R. James's interest in William Thackeray's novel *Vanity Fair*, I turn in chapter 3 to discuss "free trade," colonial commodification, and the end of the British East India Company monopoly. Early nineteenth-century ideas of free trade were intrinsic both to economic liberty in England and to the improvisation of new forms of sovereignty in the empire, as Britain moved from mercantilism to expanded worldwide trade, and integrated colonial practices of slavery and conquest with new forms of governance linked to the production of value through the circulation of goods and people. In chapter 4, I investigate the ways that ideas of liberty provided the means to combine colonial practices in the Americas *with* the expansion of British imperial reach in Asia, creating the conditions for new imperial modes of governance in the post–Opium War treaty ports in coastal China and in the new Crown Colony of Hong Kong. Finally, in chapter 5, I explore how the conditions that gave rise to the mass mobilizations of millions of Chinese workers after 1840 to sites around the world significantly shaped not only the British and U.S. imperial imaginations, but the Black anticolonial and antislavery imaginations, as well. As European and U.S. American liberalism reckoned with Asia, so too was Asia critical to anticolonial and antislavery notions of decolonization and emancipation.

In my formulation of the "intimacies of four continents," I join Ann Laura Stoler, Amy Kaplan, Laura Wexler, Antoinette Burton, Philippa Levine, Peggy Pascoe, Nayan Shah, and others whose important work has demonstrated that the intimacies of desire, sexuality, marriage, and family are inseparable from the imperial projects of conquest, slavery, labor, and government.[55] Yet unlike their excellent work on the "intimate" sphere of sexual, reproductive, or household relations as a site of empire, I do not focus on this sphere, per se. Rather I use the concept of intimacy as a heuristic, and a means to observe the historical division of world processes into those that develop modern liberal subjects and modern spheres of social life, and those processes that are forgotten, cast as failed

or irrelevant because they do not produce "value" legible within modern classifications. Just as we may observe colonial divisions of humanity, I suggest there is also a colonial division of intimacy, which charts the historically differentiated access to the domains of liberal personhood, from interiority and individual will, to the possession of property and domesticity.[57] In this sense, I employ the concept of intimacy as a way to develop a "political economy" of intimacies, by which I mean a particular calculus governing the production, distribution, and possession of intimacy. This understanding unsettles the meaning of intimacy as the privileged sign of liberal interiority or domesticity, by situating this more familiar meaning in relation to the global processes and colonial connections that are the conditions of its production. Put otherwise, I emphasize a constellation of asymmetrical and unevenly legible "intimacies," rather than the singular "intimacy" of what the political theorist C. B. Macpherson famously termed "the possessive individual."[57] I suggest instead we may unsettle the "dominant" notion of intimacy as the possession of the individual, if we consider both the "residual" and "emergent" forms of intimacies on which that dominance depends.[58] This involves considering scenes of close connection in relation to a global geography that one more often conceives in terms of vast spatial distances. It means drawing into relation with one another the abolition of slavery in the Caribbean and the development of colonial modes of biopolitical violence in Asia that sought to replace African enslaved labor with Chinese "free" labor there and elsewhere; it means revealing the proximity of the geographically, and conceptually, distant sites of the Caribbean and China, and appreciating together settler practices with the racialized laboring figures of the slave and the "coolie."[59]

Among the definitions of *intimacy* offered by the *Oxford English Dictionary*, is first, the "quality or condition of being personally intimate," including the meanings of intimate friendship, close familiarity, closeness of observation or knowledge, and it is often employed as a euphemism for "sexual intercourse"; a second meaning, characterized as "rare" and confined to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is expressed as "intimate or close connexion or union"; and a third meaning noted as "obsolete" after the eighteenth century is "inner or inmost nature; an inward quality or feature."[60] While a "dominant" understanding of intimacy, from

the early nineteenth century and into the present is "being personally intimate," which includes sexual and romantic intimacy within and in relation to bourgeois marriage and family, we may situate this meaning in relation to "residual" and "emergent" ways of construing the sense of intimacy as "close connexion," that is, the implied but less visible forms of alliance, affinity, and society among variously colonized peoples beyond the metropolitan national center.

By *residual*, the literary critic Raymond Williams referred to elements of the past that continue, but are less legible within a contemporary social formation; for example, Williams considered organized religion and rural pastoral society to be still active residues in the modern English bourgeois society that was more visibly organized in terms of urban industrial capitalism, secular history, and rational science. Residual processes persist and may even deepen, despite a new dominant rendering them less legible. I modify the concepts that Williams developed for the analysis of English society to observe that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the newly dominant form of national liberal republics made less available the residual intimacies of colonialism and slavery that nonetheless continued as the practical conditions for liberal forms of personhood, society, and government; in other words, settler practices and the afterlife of slavery are residues that continue beyond declarations of independence and emancipation. Williams used the term *emergent*, akin to Antonio Gramsci's idea of the "subaltern," to refer to the incomplete, still unfolding meanings, practices, and relationships associated with the emergence of elements in a new social and cultural formation. Elements in active, but not yet fully articulated emergent, social worlds may be appropriated or incorporated into the dominant, while others may develop into explicitly oppositional activities. Thus, the emergent may only be recognized with hindsight, in retrospect, since its potential power to contest, shift, or transform the dominant is not yet disclosed within its time of emergence.[61] Because residual processes are ongoing, residual elements may be articulated by and within new social practices, in effect, as a "new" emergent formation. In this sense, we might consider the political, sexual, and intellectual connections and relations among slaves, peoples of indigenous descent, and colonized laborers as an emergent "intimacies of four continents" forged

out of residual processes, whose presence is often eclipsed by the more dominant Anglo-American histories of liberal subjectivity, domesticity, and household.

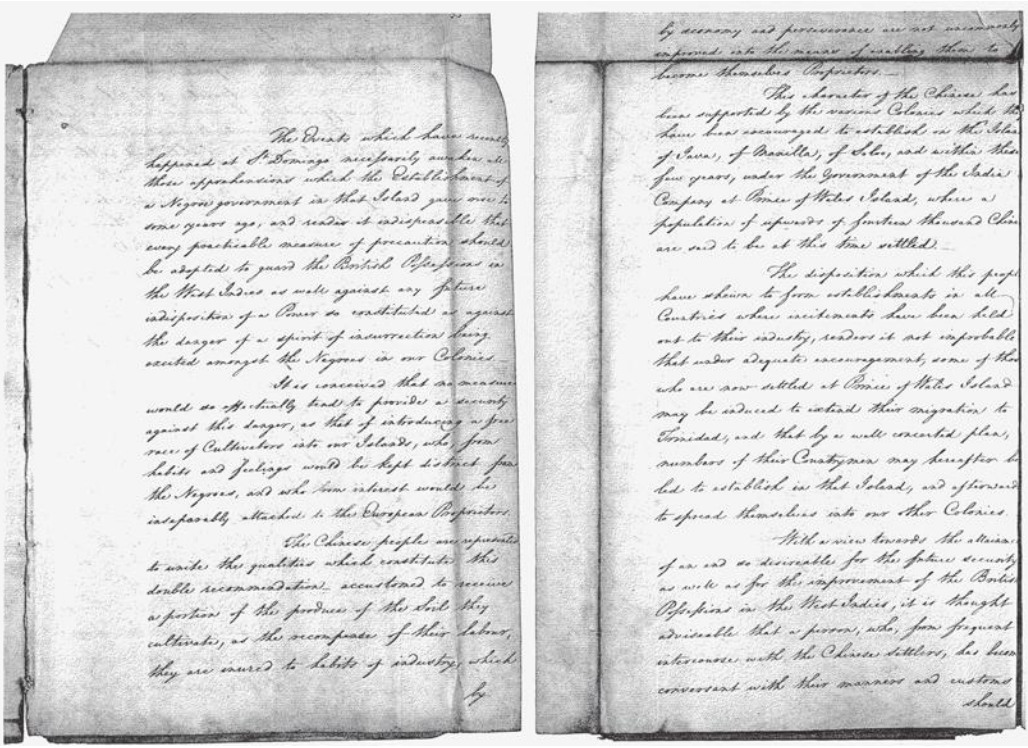
Thus, the project of specifying "the intimacies of four continents" is one of examining the dynamic relationship among the always present but differently manifest and available histories and social forces. It includes, on the one hand, identifying the residual processes of settler colonialism that appropriated lands from indigenous people, and the colonial logics through which men and women from Africa and Asia were forcibly transported to in the Americas, who with native, mixed, and creole peoples constituted colonial societies that produced the assets for the bourgeois republics in Europe and North America out of which intimacy, as liberal possessive individualism, became the hallmark. Even before the British began transporting captive African slaves to work on West Indian plantations, European settler colonialism dispossessed but did not destroy indigenous peoples in the so-called new world during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The destructive subjugation of native people to confiscate their land created the conditions in which European mercantile powers imported African slaves to establish plantation economies in the Americas.[62] Yet while the Europeans displaced the native peoples in the Caribbean, and converted their resistance as "threat," to understand these settler practices as having totally eliminated indigenous peoples to the point of extinction, as some modern histories have suggested, or to ignore the ongoing nature of settler colonialism by consigning native people exclusively to the past, is to continue to erase indigenous people and history in a manner that echoes and reproduces earlier dispossessions.[63] What we might identify as residual within the histories of settler or colonial capitalism does not disappear. To the contrary, it persists and endures, even if less legible within the obfuscations of a new dominant. Reading British Colonial Office papers on the conquest of the Americas and the West Indies—with papers on Chinese emigration, and in tandem with anti-slavery and pro-slavery debates among British parliamentarians and West Indian governors and planters—the intimacies of four continents becomes a way to discuss the coeval global processes of settler colonialism, slavery, and imported colonial labor, as the conditions for British and American national for-

mations of liberty, liberal personhood, society, and government at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.[64]

The dominant meaning of intimacy, as sexual or reproductive relations of the individual person within the liberal private sphere, is a defining property of the modern citizen in civil society. Critically engaging with this dominant sense, Lauren Berlant has examined the formation of intimacy as the affective medium for republican citizenship and the subject's felt sense of individual belonging in liberal society; fantasy, sentiment, and desire in literature and popular culture produce the contours of intimacy that mediate the individual's inhabiting of everyday life in social relations.[65] This mythic and affective individualism is central to the constitution of domestic household as the property and privileged signifier of the liberal person and articulates the disciplining of gendered subjectivity and desire in relation to family and home. Further, intimacy as interiority is elaborated in the philosophical tradition in which the liberal subject observes, examines, and comes to possess knowledge of self and others.[66] Philosophy elaborates this subject with interiority, who apprehends and judges the field of people, land, and things, as the definition of human being. Ultimately, I would wish to frame this sense of intimacy as a particular fiction that depends on the "intimacies of four continents," in other words, the circuits, connections, associations, and mixings of differentially laboring peoples, eclipsed by the operations that universalize the Anglo-American liberal individual. Yet we appreciate that such configurations—heuristically termed dominant, residual, and emergent—are not static, transparent, or fixed in time, but are precisely in dynamic and unstable flux, with particular formations becoming more or less available in response to the material conditions of specific historical forces. To write about the intimacies of four continents is thus intended to open an investigation, and to contribute a manner of reading and interpretation, and not to identify an empirical foundation or establish a new historical object.

. . .

In a "Secret Memorandum from the British Colonial Office to the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company," written in 1803 just following the Haitian Revolution, colonial administrator John



1.2 "Secret Memorandum from the British Colonial Office to the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company" (1803). Colonial Office Correspondence, Great Britain National Archives, London.

Sullivan laid the groundwork for the introduction of Chinese indentured laborers into the British West Indian island of Trinidad. He wrote:

> The events which have recently happened at St. Domingo necessarily awakes all those apprehensions which the establishment of a Negro government in that land gave rise to some years ago, and render it indispensable that every practicable measure of precaution should be adopted to guard the British possessions in the West Indies as well against . . . the danger of a spirit of insurrection being excited amongst the Negroes in our colonies.
>
> . . . no measure would so effectually tend to provide a security against this danger, as that of introducing a free race of cultivators into

> our islands, who, from habits and feelings could be kept distinct from the Negroes, and who from interest would be inseparably attached to the European proprietors. . . . The Chinese people . . . unite the qualities which constitute this double recommendation. (*Great Britain Colonial Office Correspondence*, CO 295, vol. 17)

For two centuries, British mercantile colonialism depended on the settlement of the Americas and West Indies that displaced and dispossessed native peoples, and the command of the British Atlantic slave system that transported captured West and Central African peoples to labor on plantations in the Americas. After two centuries, this British plan to import Chinese workers appears to mark a significant, yet largely ignored shift in the management of race and labor in the West Indian colonies. The decision to experiment with a different form of labor was explicitly racialized—"a free race . . . who could be kept distinct from the Negroes"—but moreover it framed the importation of this newly, and differently, "raced" Chinese labor as a solution to both the colonial need to suppress Black slave rebellion and the capitalist desire to expand production. Yet by the late eighteenth century, British dominance appeared contested by "transcolonial" rivalries from the French West Indies and Spanish Cuba and Peru, and by U.S. independence—all of which prompted the innovation of sugar production and recalibrated the importance of the West Indies to the British economy.[67] In this sense, many historians explain the end of slavery in the Americas throughout the nineteenth century as a response to humanist arguments in Britain, France, Spain, and the United States about the immorality of slavery, and they conceive abolition and emancipation as resolutions within national narratives of progress in which slavery is legible as a distant origin out of which free modern societies are established. In the words of David Brion Davis, "the emergence of an international antislavery opinion represented a momentous turning point in the evolution of man's moral perception, and thus in man's image of himself."[68] Yet we might view the British decision to end the slave trade in 1807, and slavery in its empire in 1834, as equally pragmatic attempts to stave off potential Black revolution, on the one hand, and to resolve difficulties in the sugar economy resulting from the relative inflexibility of slave labor within colonial mercantilism, on the other.[69]

The "Trinidad experiment" imagined the Chinese as a "racial barrier between [the British] and the Negroes," the addition of which would produce a new division of labor in which the Black slaves would continue to perform fieldwork, and imagined the Chinese as "a free race of cultivators" who could grind, refine, and crystallize the cane.[70] The British described the Chinese workers as "free," yet the men would be shipped on vessels much like those that had brought the slaves they were designed to replace; some would fall to disease, die, suffer abuse, and mutiny; those who survived the three-month voyage would encounter coercive, confined conditions upon arrival. In this sense, the British political discourse announcing a decision to move from "primitive slavery" to "free labor" may have been a modern utilitarian move, in which abolition proved an expedient, and only coincidentally "enlightened," solution. The representations of indentured labor as "freely" contracted buttressed liberal promises of freedom for former slaves, while enabling planters to derive benefits from the so-called transition from slavery to free labor that in effect included a range of intermediate forms of coercive labor, from rented slaves, sharecroppers, and convicts, to day laborers, debt peonage, workers paid by task, and indentureship.[71] The Chinese were instrumentally used in this political discourse as a *figure*, a fantasy of "free" yet racialized and coerced labor, at a time when the possession of body, work, life, and death was foreclosed to the enslaved and the indentured alike. In other words, in 1807, the category of "freedom" was central to the development of what we could call a modern racial governmentality in which a political, economic, and social hierarchy ranging from "free" to "unfree" was deployed in the management of the diverse labors of metropolitan and colonized peoples; this racial governmentality managed and divided through the liberal myth of inclusive freedom that simultaneously disavowed settler appropriation and symbolized freedom as the introduction of free labor and the abolition of slavery. In 1807, as Britain moved from mercantilist plantation production toward an expanded international trade in diversified manufactured goods, the Chinese "coolie" appears in colonial and parliamentary papers as a *figure* introducing this alleged transition from slavery to freedom.

In the British colonial archive, one finds the term *coolie* used variously to refer to workers of both Chinese and South Asian origin who

were imported to work in the West Indies, Cuba, Peru, Brazil, Australia, the western United States, Hawaii, Mauritius, South Africa, and Fiji.[72] The great instability and multivalence of the term *coolie* suggests that it was a shifting, historically contingent designation for an intermediary form of Asian labor, used both to define and to obscure the boundary between enslavement and freedom, and to normalize both. As Moon-Ho Jung eloquently states, *coolies* "were never a people or a legal category. Rather coolies were a conglomeration of racial imaginings that emerged worldwide in the era of slave emancipation, a product of the imaginers rather than the imagined."[73] Madhavi Kale likewise examines the variable construction of Indian *coolies* in British debates, who were celebrated as "free labour" when arguing for importation, and villified as "like slaves" in arguments against the trade. Kale emphasizes that "labor is a category, a role and not people."[74] In the British colonial archive, the use of "coolie" to refer to Asian labor from China, India, and other parts of the world suggests that, from the British colonial perspective, it was the instrumental use of a particular category of labor, rather than the precise Asian origin of the workers, that was emphasized. After emancipation, West Indian Governors and planters were at pains to convince the Colonial Office and British government that they suffered an acute labor shortage due to the exodus of former slaves from the plantations.[75] As Walton Look Lai has documented, the importation of Chinese workers began in earnest in 1834, with movement to the West Indies reaching its peak between 1853 and 1866.[76] By 1837, the Colonial Office sought to address the postemancipation demands for labor on West Indian sugar plantations with the additional recruitment of indentured workers from colonial India, and by the 1870s, the indentured workers on the West Indian plantations were overwhelmingly South Asian. This "imperial reallocation labor strategy," as Madhavi Kale terms it, which sought to profit from the portability of capital and labor, was affected not only by British liberals and antislavery advocates, but also by conditions on the subcontinent, which encompassed Indian responses to the extensive effects of British colonialism.[77]

The 1803 "Secret Memorandum" alludes to "intimacies" between Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas and reveals that the idea to import laborers from Asia was closely linked to the British decisions to end the

slave trade and to emancipate slaves in the West Indies. Yet "freedom" no more described the coerced workers from coastal China and later India, or the indigenous peoples from whom the colonizers had usurped land and local knowledge, than it did the emancipated slaves. In 1834, Britain initiated the four-year period of "apprenticeship" in the West Indies that was to grant full "emancipation" to slaves in 1838. This "emancipation" was to promise slaves this set of institutions comprising "freedom": "emancipation" proposed a narrative development in which wage labor, contract, marriage, and family would be the formal institutions through which modern freedom could be attained and the condition of slavery overcome. However, "emancipation" clearly did not establish freedom for Black peoples in the British West Indies, many of whom were still confined to the plantation, and others were left bound in economic servitude and poverty. Indeed, as Thomas Holt argues, the socialization of former slaves into liberal promises of freedom in Jamaica was part of the gradual disciplining of Blacks into wage work, which Marx would call another form of slavery.[78] Demetrius Eudell demonstrates that the laws that governed emancipation in the West Indies in effect disciplined, controlled, and punished former slaves as it protected the interests of the estates and plantations. Strategies for the obstruction of freedom for former slaves ranged from Vagrancy Acts, which criminalized their departures from the estates, to the pricing of land out of their reach, which both raised property values, and created a continuing supply of labor for the former slaveholders. The paternalistic political language of the four-year "apprenticeship" was concerned to protect "justice" for the ex-slaveholder, not the former slave, and questioned whether Blacks were "prepared" or "fitted" for freedom.[79] Saidiya Hartman observes that legal and political emancipation, invoked through notions of property, self-possession, and individual will, effectively inserted former slaves into a temporality of belatedness and social debt in relation to a freedom never earned and always yet to come, actually obscuring the endurance of pervasive practices of subjection and dispossession.[80] Catherine Hall suggests that the disciplining of former slaves in Jamaica likewise included their "civilization" into English bourgeois notions of gender, morality, and family, as well as inculcating in the newly freed the judgment that they were essentially "savage" and unable to adapt to the requirements of civi-

lization.[81] The British introduction of the Chinese as so-called free laborers at the critical time of slave emancipation calculated that they would occupy an intermediary position within this governmentality in which the colonized joined the universally human through development of ethical, political, and economic freedom. In other words, the liberal promise that former slaves and native and migrant workers could enter voluntarily into contract was a dominant mode for the initiation of the "unfree" into consensual social relations between "free" human persons: in the crucible of American modernity, Amy Dru Stanley has observed, the contracts of labor and marriage became the very symbols of humanity and freedom.[82]

To appreciate the particular plasticity of the figure of the *coolie* within liberal capitalist modernity, we need only realize that toward the end of the nineteenth century, U.S. discourses about the Chinese laborer contradicted the British discourse that portrayed the Chinese contract laborers as "free."[83] In the United States, for example, those arguing for the prohibition of Chinese female immigration in the Page Law of 1875, and the end to all further Chinese immigration in Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, emphasized that Chinese laborers recruited to work in mining, agriculture, and railroad construction in the mid-nineteenth century were precisely "unfree" and therefore ineligible for citizenship.[84] Moon-Ho Jung observes of the nineteenth-century U.S. debates that the Chinese *coolie* was opportunistically constructed as a transitional figure, midway between slavery and free labor.[85] The Chinese contract laborer occupied a liminal, ambiguous intermediary position throughout the nineteenth century, brought to the Americas to supplement, replace, and obscure the labor previously performed by slaves, yet to be differentially distinguished from them. In the British West Indies, the Chinese were cast as a freely contracted alternative to slave labor, yet in the U.S. they were more often described as antithetical to modern political forms.[86] In Cuba, where the Chinese were indispensable to the modernization of the sugar industry, *coolies* were presented as a new source of unfree labor, a viable supplement to slavery.[87] In Australia, the Chinese replaced convict labor; the introduction of Chinese labor into New South Wales was not precipitated by the end of African slavery as it was in the Americas, but generated by the shortage of another form of unfree labor, that of prisoners in penal settlements in which over half of the population had

arrived as convicts, yet whose numbers by 1851 had dwindled to fewer than 15 percent.[88] In Hawaii, the Chinese were introduced to replace indigenous workers.[89] In each context, the Chinese *coolie* figured not merely another labor supply, but moreover, a shift from colonial mercantilism to a new division of labor and the expansion of international trade. Yet whether in the British West Indies, where slavery was legally terminated in 1834; in the United States, where the Civil War ended slavery in 1865; or in Spanish Cuba, where slavery was not abolished until later in the 1880s, African, Asian, and mixed native workers labored alongside one another and often struggled together, even if these associations are unacknowledged in the archives.

We may situate this residual condition of the intimacies across continents in relation to the more dominant concept of intimacy as the property of the individual, often figured as conjugal and familial relations in the bourgeois home distinguished from the public realm of work, society, and politics. For European and North American subjects in the nineteenth century, the dominant notion of intimacy in the private sphere became central not only as a defining property of the modern liberal individual in civil society, but ideas of privacy in bourgeois domesticity were constituted as the individual's possession to be politically protected, as in "the right to privacy." We can trace this narrative of the modern individual, or Western man, who possesses interiority of person, as well as a private household, in the political philosophical tradition from Locke and Rousseau to Kant and Hegel. In *Philosophy of Right* (*Philosophie des Rechts*, 1821), for example, Hegel traced the dialectical development of freedom for the individual and the state through the forms of property, family, and civil society.[90]

Property in oneself and in the objects one makes through will, labor, and contract are all levels in Hegel's dialectical development; the individual's possession of his own person, his own interiority, is a first sense of property. He then invests will and work into nature, making that nature objective, transforming world and himself.[91] The ethical actions of marriage and the development of the family are then more complex developments within Hegel's teleology of freedom. The individual man establishes his relation to family through marriage to a woman whose proper place is the "inner" world of the family, the family constituting

the key intermediary institution between civil society and the state. Marriage is defined by Hegel as a primary principle and social relation on which the ethical community depends; it is necessary to the founding of the ethical state: "The ethical side of marriage consists in the consciousness that the union is a substantive end."[92] In this sense, Hegel defined "freedom" as achieved through a developmental process in which the individual first possessed himself and his own interiority, then put his will in an object through labor, and then made a contract to exchange the thing. Marriage and the family were primary and necessary stages in the investment in civil institutions and the progressive unfolding of the ethical life; "inner" life within the family was the property of the individual becoming "free." Hegel elaborates the dominant European notion of "intimacy," in which property, marriage, and family were conditions for the possibility of moral action, and the means through which the individual will was brought consciously into identity with the universal will, expressing the realization of true "freedom," rather than mere duty or servitude.

The feminized space of domestic intimacy and the masculine world of work and battle became a nineteenth-century ideal for European, British, and northeastern American societies. The art critic and essayist John Ruskin famously wrote, for example, "The man's power is active, progressive, defensive. He is eminently the doer, the creator, the discoverer, the defender. His intellect is for speculation and invention; his energy for adventure, for war, and for conquest. . . . But the woman's power is for rule, not for battle,—and her intellect is not for invention or creation, but for sweet ordering, arrangement, and decision. . . . This is the true nature of home."[93] Yet despite this regulative ideal, the separation of the feminine private sphere and the masculine public sphere has been criticized at length by feminist scholars as various as Nancy Fraser, Patricia Hill Collins, and Evelyn Nakano Glenn as an abstraction for ordering relations in civil society that is contradicted by the social realities of women's lives.[94] The paradigm of separate spheres, moreover, cannot be easily extended to colonial or slavery societies, where the practice of private and public spheres was unevenly imposed: colonial households and districts may have aspired to such divisions in manners reminiscent of the European metropolis, but colonized subjects were at once differentiated

from, and yet subordinated to, regulating imperial notions of privacy and publicity. Furthermore, in the colonial context, sexual relations were not limited to a "private" sphere but included practices that disrespected such separations, ranging from rape, assault, domestic servitude, or concubinage, to "consensual relations" between colonizers and colonized, what Ann Laura Stoler has termed the "intimacies of empire."[95] We must thus situate this ideal of intimacy—sexual and affective intimacy within the private sphere of the bourgeois household—within the material conditions of colonial relations. Bourgeois intimacy was a regulating ideal through which the colonial powers administered the enslaved and colonized and sought to indoctrinate the newly freed into forms of Christian marriage and family. The colonial management of sexuality, affect, marriage, and family among the colonized formed a central part of the microphysics of colonial rule.[96] Bourgeois intimacy, derived from the private and public split that was the socio-spatial medium for both metropolitan and colonial hegemony, was produced by the "intimacies of four continents"—both in the sense that settler colonial appropriation with enslaved and indentured labor founded the formative wealth of the European bourgeoisie, and as I discuss in chapter 3, in the sense that colonized workers produced the material comforts and commodities that furnished the bourgeois home.

Reading British documents on the design of introducing Chinese contract laborers to West Indian plantations, we can observe that the *figure* of the Chinese woman held a significant place in the colonial discourses that conveyed the idea of bourgeois intimacy to the colonies. The Chinese woman is repeatedly mentioned throughout the plans for importing Chinese labor to the Americas, as a trope in the colonial imagination for the capacity of the colonized to develop into a reproductive, family community. From the inception of the plan to introduce Chinese into Trinidad, throughout the nineteenth century, administrators stated their desire to import Chinese women, although other historical sources indicate that Chinese female emigration was actually quite rare. Attorney-General Archibald Gloster wrote:

> I think it one of the best schemes possible; and if followed up with larger importation, and with women, that it will give this colony a

> strength far beyond what other colonies possess. It will be a barrier between us and the Negroes with whom they do not associate; & consequently to whom they will always offer formidable opposition. The substituting of their labour instead of Negro labour is out of the question, as to the common business of the plantation. They are not habituated to it, nor will they take to it in the same way, nor can we force them by the same methods; but their industrious habits, and constitutional strength, will I think greatly aid the planters. They will cut and weed cane. They will attend about our mills. They will act as mechanics.[97]

The introduction of the Chinese into the slave plantation economy was in this way described in terms of a need for a nominally "free" labor force, one that would not substitute for the slaves, but would perform different labors and would be distinguished racially and socially from both the white European colonial planters and the Black slaves. In Gloster's imagination, the importation of "Chinese women" would permit the establishment of Chinese families that would secure the "racial barrier between us and the Negroes." The British introduced the Chinese into the community of settlers and slaves as a contiguous "other" whose liminality permitted them to be, at one moment, incorporated as part of colonial labor, and at another, elided or excluded by its humanist universals. Neither free European nor the white European's "other," the Black slave, neither lord nor bonded, the Chinese were represented as a paradoxical figure, at once *both* an addition that would stabilize the colonial order *and* the supplement whose addition might likewise threaten the attainment of any such stability.[98] The Chinese woman was handmaiden to this colonial fantasy of assimilating the colonized to forms of bourgeois family and freedom at a time when the possession and determination of life or death was unavailable for both the enslaved and the indentured.[99] That Gloster goes on in the same document to liken the Chinese to "our Peons, or native Indians . . . Mulattoes or Mestees" indicates no actual similarity between the Chinese laborer and the mixed, part-native, or native-descendant peoples with whom the Chinese may have worked. Aníbal Quijano and Immanuel Wallerstein describe the invention of race and ethnicity in

the Americas as shifting, flexible classifications of difference devised for governing different peoples for labor extraction within the colonial division of labor: plantation slavery, various forms of coerced cash-crop labor (*repartimento*, *mita*, peonage), indentured labor (engagés), and so on.[100] The British colonial conflation of the Chinese with indigenous and racially mixed people expresses this moment in the history of coloniality, in which a racial taxonomy gradually emerged both to manage and modernize labor, reproduction, and society among the colonized, as well as to rationalize the conditions of creolized mixing and to discipline the range of potential "intimacies" among them.[101]

With respect to the longer history of Black African and Native American interethnic contacts from the fifteenth century onward, Jack Forbes has argued that native, as well as part African and part native persons, were mostly misclassified with terms ranging from "loro," "mestizo," "gens de couleur," or "mulatto," to "dark" or "brown," to even "negro," "noir," or "black."[102] The late eighteenth-century topographer of St. Domingue, Moreau de Saint-Mérys, presented eleven racial categories of 110 combinations ranked from absolute white (128 parts white blood) to absolute black (128 parts black).[103] We can explain the dramatic, encyclopedic proliferation of both racial classification and racial misattribution of this period by observing that racial governance continually innovated new terms for managing populations and social spaces in the Americas. Even as racial categories drew on fictions of distinction and purity, an insistent discourse about racial difference admitted the existence of a creolized and miscegenated population borne of colonialism. The colonial relations of production, which precisely required racial mixing, constituted what we might call the "political unconscious" of modern European taxonomies of race; the relations of production were the absent yet necessary context that founded the possibility for racial classification, and the context with which such ordering was in contradiction.[104] Joan Dayan has written of Haiti that "if racial mixing threatened to contaminate, the masters had to conjure purity out of phantasmal impurity. This sanitizing ritual engendered remarkable racial fictions."[105]

The West Indian Governors' offices stated that the needs of the plantation demanded male workers, but even in the early correspondence, we see the Colonial Office rationalizing the idea of creating Chinese fami-

lies through the desire for a stable racial "barrier" between the colonial whites and the enslaved blacks. Yet the recurring figure of the Chinese woman, which persists in the colonial correspondence and parliamentary debates prior to the abolition of the slave trade through the peak years of Chinese emigration in the 1850s–60s, suggests a curious colonial fantasy that projected this dominant meaning of intimacy, as bourgeois-style household, on the Chinese indentured community. In the colonial archive, the repeated refrain "with the import of Chinese women" belies the histories that suggest the Chinese in the Caribbean and North Americas did not establish family communities in significant numbers until the twentieth century.[106] The persistent mention of Chinese reproduction implies that for some colonial administrators, the "value" of the Chinese may not have been exclusively labor, but also the instrumental use of the figure of Chinese women's sexuality as resembling the "civility" of European marriage and family, in an implicit contrast to the sexualized representations of female African and African-descendant peoples.[107]

In the discussions during 1803–7 before the British decision to end slavery, this fantasy of Chinese family civility was a way of marking a racial difference between "Chinese free labor" and "Negro slaves," through imagining the Chinese as closer to liberal ideas of human person, family, and society. Later, in the 1850s–60s, following the "end" of slavery in the British West Indies in 1834, by which time there were significant numbers of working "free" people of color and South Asian Indian emigrant laborers, this phantasm continued to figure as a part of a racialized classification of laboring cultures. For example, in 1851, the agent in charge of Chinese emigration, James T. White, fantasized a class hierarchy among the groups of the "Chinese," "Bengalees" and "Negroes" based on the races' ostensive physical traits and capacities for forming families, stating the social potential of the Chinese to form "middle class" families through Christian marriage and reproduction. White wrote: "Chinese have sufficient intelligence and ambition to rise in the world, and in a short time would become useful and valuable *as a middle class* in the West Indies . . . one difficulty . . . is the impossibility of obtaining women and families."[108] The regulating abstraction of the bourgeois family form required representations of "Chinese culture" that defined it as one whose traditions could be summarized by the protection

of chaste virtuous women who would stabilize the laboring community. Ironically, Chinese women could be imagined as virtuous only to the extent that "Chinese culture" would not permit them to migrate. As a figure who promised social order, the Chinese woman was a *supplement* who appeared to complete the prospective future society of the colony; yet her absence, around which desire was reiterated, marked the limit of a social field whose coherence and closure depended on ideas of racial purity and distinction. In contrast, while later nineteenth-century British and Indian nationalist discourses idealized middle-class upper-caste women in India, the *bhadramahila*, as "pure" and "chaste" symbols of the nation, both discourses represented migrant lower-caste Indian women in the indentured communities in the West Indies as licentious and immoral, precisely *because* they migrated.[109] The colonial archive reveals the altogether fantastic structure of racial imaginations based on ideas about Asian female sexualities. Throughout the nineteenth century, the racialized sexual differentiation of Africans and East and South Asians emerged as a normative taxonomy that managed and spatially distanced these groups from the spheres within which "freedom" was established for European subjects.

I wish to emphasize, finally, an *emergent* meaning of the "intimacies of four continents." An emergent social or cultural formation does not necessarily require completely "new" subjectivities or constituencies but can comprise elements of residual ongoing conditions like settler colonialism, colonial slavery, and trade, yet rearticulated in other ways through new practices. In this sense, we could consider one emergent formation of the intimacies of four continents as the variety of contacts among slaves, indentured, and mixed peoples living, working, and surviving together in the Americas. In the British colonial archive, such intimacies between contracted emigrants, indigenous people, slaves, and slave-descendant peoples are referenced by negative means, in cautionary rhetorics and statements of prohibition with respect to possible contacts between colonized groups, all implying the fear and anxiety of racial proximity in a context of mixture and unstable boundaries. For example, White's 1851 letter to the Governor of British Guiana warned: "The Chinese are essentially a social and a gregarious people and must be located in masses together, not scattered throughout the colony. They

must be kept in the first instance distant and separate from the Negroes, *not only at their work, but also in their dwellings*."[110]

The repeated injunctions that different groups must be divided and boundaries kept distinct indicate that colonial administrators imagined as dangerous the sexual, laboring, and intellectual contacts among enslaved and indentured nonwhite peoples. The racial classifications in the archive arise, thus, in this context of the colonial need to prevent these unspoken "intimacies" among the colonized.[111] Reading the archive, one notes explicit descriptions and enumerations, as well as the rhetorical peculiarities of the documents, the places where particular figures, tropes, or circumlocutions are repeated to cover gaps or tensions; these rhetorical ellipses point to illogic in the archive, as well. So, while this emergent sense of intimacies—the varieties of contacts between laboring peoples—is not explicitly named in the documents, it is, paradoxically, everywhere present in the archive in the presence of such detours. This emergent idea of "intimacies," then, can be said to include the range of laboring contacts that are necessary for the production of bourgeois domesticity, as well as the intimacies of captured workers surviving together, the proximity and affinity that gives rise to political, sexual, intellectual collaborations, subaltern revolts and uprisings, such as the Haitian Revolution, the Louisiana cane workers strike of 1887, or the cross-racial alliances that underlay the Cuban struggles for independence in 1895–98.[112] These imminent, potential alliances among subjugated people are referenced negatively in policies and prohibitions against contacts, and are legible as apprehension and anxiety in the unwritten, blank spaces of the colonial archive. These alliances appear later, in the work of twentieth-century anticolonial and antislavery thinkers such as Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. Du Bois, C. L. R. James, Walter Rodney, Fernando Ortiz, Cedric Robinson, Sylvia Wynter, and others, who allude to connections between slavery-based settler colonies, Chinese and Indian labor, and the prosperity of Europe. Douglass, for example, linked African slavery to a global system that used Chinese and Indian "coolie" labor and wrote in 1871: "the rights of the coolie in California, in Peru, in Jamaica, in Trinidad, and on board the vessels bearing them to these countries are scarcely more guarded than were those of the Negro slaves brought to our shores a century ago."[113] Du Bois described "that dark and vast sea

of human labor in China and India, the South Seas and all Africa, in the West Indies and Central America and in the United States" and called for "the emancipation of that basic majority of workers who are yellow, brown, and black."[114] In his history of the colonial division of labor in Guyana that separated Blacks and Asians and permitted the postemancipation exploitation of those divisions, Walter Rodney imagined the "definite historical achievement" that would have been possible if Black and Asian workers, the descendants of slaves and indentured laborers, could have forged solidarity across the residues of colonial division.[115] These "flashes" of the intimacies of four continents critically frame the more restricted dominant meaning of intimacy as the interiority and private property of the European and North American individual.

Interpreting the multivalence of "intimacy" is a means to understand the process through which the "intimacies of four continents" were rationalized and sublated by a more restricted notion of "intimacy" as the property of the possessive individual. Reading the colonial archive, I observe how colonized populations were differentially racialized through their proximities from normative ideas of family reproduction that became central to early nineteenth-century liberalism. Reading literature, autobiography, political philosophy, political economy, and cultural genres of liberalism, I observe likewise how the racialized distributions of freedom and humanity were equally a part of this legacy. Modern hierarchies of race appear to have emerged in the contradiction between liberal aspirations to universality and the needs of modern colonial regimes to manage work, reproduction, and the social organization of the colonized. Racial governance was underwritten by liberal philosophies that at once disavowed the violence of settler colonialism and narrated modernity as the progress from slavery to freedom. The "intimacies of four continents" may be the "political unconscious" of this modern fiction of progress and redemption. However, these "intimacies" remain almost entirely illegible in the historiography of modern freedom, making the naming and interpretation of this global conjunction a problem of knowledge itself. It has been estimated that between 1451 and 1870, 11,569,000 African slaves were brought to the "new world,"[116] and that after the sixteenth century, out of eighty million native peoples in the Americas, there remained ten.[117] Between 1834 and the end of the century, a

reported half a million Asian immigrants made their way to the British West Indies, in the context of tens of millions more going to Latin America, North America, Australia, New Zealand, and Southeast Asia.[118] But, while these numbers powerfully convey the labor of working peoples in the building of the "new world," I am less concerned to pursue the significance in demographic terms, and more concerned to inquire into the politics of knowledge with respect to connections between Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Americas that were critical to the imbrication of liberal freedom with the rise of a global capitalist system. We still seek new methods, not only to understand settler colonialism as the condition for African slavery in the Americas, but also to examine how the liberal narratives that symbolize freedom in the abolition of that slavery erase this connection and further impede our access to indigenous and slave histories. We require new archives and readings to link the introduction of Chinese and Indian indentured laborers to the Americas with the abolition of the slave trade, and moreover, to reckon with how the figure of Asian labor was used to buttress promises of freedom that remained out of reach for enslaved and indentured peoples alike, even following abolition. We require new ways to interpret India Office, Colonial Office, Foreign Office, and Parliamentary Papers together with literature and culture, as we elaborate the convergence of liberal abolition with new imperial experiments, linking older methods of territorial colonialism with new forms of sovereignty enacted through the governance of trade and movement, in treaty ports and across the seas.

What we know of these links and intimacies is shaped by existing fields and by our methods of disciplinary study. Europe is rarely studied in relation to the Caribbean or Latin America, and U.S. history is more often separated from studies of the larger Americas. Work on comparative U.S. racial formation is still at odds with American history, which disconnects the study of slavery from immigration studies of Asians and Latinos; the histories of gender, sexuality, and women is often separated from the study of race. Native Caribbeans have been rendered invisible by both the histories that tell of their extermination in the sixteenth century, and the subsequent racial classifications in which their survival is occluded.[119] While anthropological studies have focused on ethnic mixings of Asian and African peoples in the Caribbean, historians are just beginning

to explore the braided relations of indenture, slavery, and independence among these groups.[120] Scholars of the Black diaspora have undertaken the histories of both forcible and voluntary African dispersion as means for understanding the longer global past of new world modernity. Eric Williams, Walter Rodney, C. L. R. James, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Cedric Robinson all observed the centrality of Black labor to the development of modern global capitalism, which exactly depended on the resources of African slaves just as Europeans moved from agrarian to factory work. Later studies like Paul Gilroy's *Black Atlantic* illuminated the encounter between Europe and the "new world"; others bring to light the circuits and connections among Yoróban Africans, Afro-Caribbeans, and African Americans.[121] Robin D. G. Kelley emphasizes that the significance of Black diaspora projects to the field of U.S. history may be precisely their capacity to chart *more* than Black identities and political movements, what he calls "other streams of internationalism not limited to the black world."[122]

Robin Kelley's call to investigate "other streams of internationalism not limited to the black world" is suggestive with respect to imagining a global past in which Asia and Asian labor signifies both within and independently of Anglo-American empire built on settler colonialism and African slavery. Like "the intimacies of four continents," Kelley's "other streams of internationalism" require new investigations that uncover and interpret connections and relation, but it also means that we must reckon with how the selection of a single historical actor may be precisely a modality of "forgetting" these crucial connections. While we might suspect that Chinese indentured labor in the early Americas has been "lost" because of indenture's ambiguous status with respect to freedom and slavery, dialectical terms central to narratives of modernity, it is important not to treat this as the particular exclusion of the Chinese. Rather, this "forgetting" attests to the more extensive erasure of colonial connections that include but are not limited to indentureship: that implicate the dispossession of indigenous peoples and the settler logics of appropriation, forced removal, and assimilation that are repeated in contemporary land seizures, militarized counter-insurgency at home and abroad, and varieties of nationalism in our present moment; that allude to the ubiquitous transnational migrations within neoliberal globalization of which

Chinese emigrant labor is but one instance. Moreover, the forgetting reveals the politics of memory itself, and is a reminder that the constitution of knowledge often obscures the conditions of its own making.[123] In this sense, my interest in Chinese emigrant labor is not to pursue a single, particularist cultural identity, not to fill in a gap or add on another transoceanic group, but to explain *the politics of our lack of knowledge*, and to be more specific about what I would term the economy of affirmation and forgetting that characterizes liberal humanist understanding.

Colonized peoples created the conditions for liberal humanism, despite the disavowal of these conditions in the European political philosophy on which it is largely based. Racial classifications and an international division of labor emerged coterminously as parts of a genealogy that were not exceptional to, but were constitutive of, that humanism. "Freedom" was constituted through a narrative dialectic that rested simultaneously on a spatialization of the "unfree" as exteriority and a temporal subsuming of that unfreedom as internal difference or contradiction. The "overcoming" of internal contradiction resolves in "freedom" within the modern Western political sphere through displacement and elision of the coeval conditions of settler dispossession, slavery, and indentureship in the Americas. In this sense, modern liberal humanism is a formalism that translates the world through an economy of affirmation and forgetting within a regime of desiring freedom. The differentiations of "race" or "nation," the geopolitical map of "south," "north," "east," and "west," or the modernization discourse of stages of development—these are *traces* of liberal forgetting. They reside within, and are constitutive of, the modern narrative of freedom but are neither fully determined nor exhausted by its ends. They are the remainders of the formalism of affirmation and forgetting.

We might pursue the observation that liberal humanism is a formalism that translates through affirmation and forgetting in a variety of ways. Some have recovered lost or hidden histories, to provide historical narratives for the "people without history," those forgotten in the modern tales of national development, or have challenged existing historiography with new studies of the political economy of British imperialism in nineteenth-century China and India that produced the impoverishment that led to the emigration of Asian laborers. In new ethnographies

interpreting the syncretic cultures of Caribbean "créolité," "mestizaje," and "métissage," anthropologists Aisha Khan and Viranjini Munasinghe have found other versions of person and society, beginning and end, life and death, quite different remnants of the earlier affirmation and forgetting.[124] We could study representations of the rise and fall of the plantation complex in the Americas in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Caribbean literature, or its recasting in the twentieth century by Alejo Carpentier, Jean Rhys, or Maryse Condé.[125] We could look at how the problem of forgotten intimacies is thematized in recent Caribbean diasporic or postcolonial literature: Patricia Powell's *The Pagoda* (1999), for example, imagines the coexistence of Chinese and Indian immigrants, Afro-Caribbeans, whites, and creoles in nineteenth-century Jamaica; Cristina Garcia's *Monkey Hunting* (2003) imagines the union of an escaped Chinese indentured laborer and the slavewoman he buys and frees, and follows their Afro-Chinese-Cuban descendants from China to Cuba to the United States and Vietnam. Each and all, rich and worthy directions to pursue.

In this book, however, I do not move immediately toward recovery and recuperation, but rather pause to reflect on what it means to supplement forgetting with new narratives of affirmation and presence. There is an ethics and politics in struggling to comprehend the particular absence of the intimacies of four continents, to engage slavery, genocide, indenture, and liberalism, as a conjunction, as an actively acknowledged loss within the present. David Eng and David Kazanjian describe a "politics of mourning" that would "investigate the political, economic and cultural dimensions of *how* loss is apprehended and history is named—how that apprehension and naming produce the phenomenon of 'what remains.' "[126] Historian of the seventeenth-century Atlantic slave trade Stephanie Smallwood has put it this way: "I do not seek to create—out of the remnants of ledgers and ships' logs, walls and chains—'the way it really was' for the newly arrived slave waiting to be sold. I try to interpret, from the slave trader's disinterest in the slave's pain, those social conditions within which there was no possible political resolution to that pain. I try to imagine what could have been."[127] The *past conditional temporality* of the "what could have been," symbolizes aptly the space of a different kind of thinking, a space of productive attention to the scene

of loss, a thinking with twofold attention that seeks to encompass at once the positive objects and methods of history and social science, and also the matters absent, entangled, and unavailable by its methods. I suggest that understanding the relation of the intimacy of the possessive individual to the intimacies of four continents requires a *past conditional temporality* in order to reckon with the violence of affirmation and forgetting, in order to recognize that this particular violence continues to be reproduced in liberal humanist institutions, discourses, and practices today. However, in doing so, we do not escape the inhabiting of our present, and the irony that many of the struggles we would wish to engage are not only carried out in the languages of liberty, equality, reason, progress, and human rights—almost without exception, they must be translated into the political and juridical spaces of this tradition. We must reckon that present contests over the life and death of the "human" are often only legible in terms of those spaces still authorized by liberal political humanism.



2.1 Olaudah Equiano. Illustration by W. Denton and D. Orme. Frontispiece from *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, originally published in London, 1789. Courtesy of the British Library.

CHAPTER 2
AUTOBIOGRAPHY OUT OF EMPIRE

In 1807, as Britain passed the Slave Trade Act to abolish the transatlantic African slave trade in the empire, Secretary of State Lord Hobart secretly dispatched Kenneth MacQueen to captain a ship named *Fortitude* from Bengal bound for Trinidad, carrying a cargo of Chinese workers and East India Company goods. When MacQueen's ship and the goods and people aboard were seized for a possible breach of laws relating to the Plantation Trade, there was an investigation, which later established that the voyage had been conducted under the Sanction of Her Majesty's Government. In other words, what surfaces in the historical record as the first British shipment of Chinese to the West Indies owes its appearance in the state archives to the ambiguous status of the voyage; the smuggled cargo was suspected of constituting a violation of the normative laws of maritime trade, suggesting the degree to which, in this period, the seas were an open, uncharted, and yet undetermined domain for mercantile expansion and imperial experiments beyond the nation-state.[1] In the late eighteenth century, as Britain sought to stabilize its place within a balance of power on the European continent, it also innovated new means to compete with transcolonial rivals France and Spain in the Americas, Asia, and the West Indies. From maps to travel narratives to literature like *Robinson Crusoe* or *Gulliver's Travels*, cultural representations of the transoceanic voyage mediated the imagined possibility and peril of a new *nomos* figured by the open seas.[2] The Chinese aboard the *Fortitude*

shared the seas with Royal Navy men-o-war, mercantile trading ships, privateer ships, and vessels manned by merchant seamen, deserters, and escaped slaves.

Papers from MacQueen's hearing are collected and archived in the Colonial Office Correspondence at the National Archives in London. During the proceedings, the Solicitor-General G. L. Tuckett appealed MacQueen's case by stating British hopes that the "Trinidad experiment," to import Chinese "will eventually supercede the continuance of the Slave Trade in the West Indies."[3] Evidence presented in the MacQueen case to justify the smuggling of Chinese cargo included the 1803 "Secret Memorandum from the Colonial Office to the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the East India Company," in which administrators outlined the plan to import Chinese workers in order to resolve problems in the current system of slavery. Other documents included MacQueen's letter accepting the commission, in which MacQueen characterized the Chinese as "an industrious, sober, orderly people," and the statement by Attorney-General Archibald Gloster, who praised the plan to introduce Chinese into Trinidad by suggesting that, as a supplement to slave labor and the existing colonial social order, the Chinese would deter a possible insurrection of African slaves, and moreover, would form a racial "barrier" between the British and the "Negroes." In discussing the 1803 Memorandum in chapter 1, I suggested the instrumental use of the Chinese in the Colonial Office decision to employ liberal political discourse to reform a system of colonial labor that had been based on settler colonialism and slavery for over two centuries, and I observed that the representation of the Chinese as a "free race" belied the foreclosure of freedom and self-possession for the indigenous, the enslaved, and the indentured alike.

In this chapter, I turn to examine the form, genre, and significance of the eighteenth-century narrative of freedom overcoming slavery, even and especially when promised freedoms were not borne out in practice. The Colonial Office description of the Chinese as "free" suggests first that this abstract notion of "freedom" not only denied the coercion through which Chinese laborers were brought to the Americas, but it also masked the ongoing settler appropriation and slavery that were the conditions for the colonial plantations into which the Chinese were

brought. Furthermore, the representation of the Chinese as "free" suggests the degree to which promised freedoms—both as political rights and free wage labor—were crucial concepts not only in the discussion of the abolition and emancipation in the colonies, but were significant to the management and discipline of laborers in England, as well. At the turn of the nineteenth century, definitions of free wage labor in England were deeply implicated in debates about the abolition of slavery in the West Indian and North American colonies. In his study of the end of the transatlantic slave trade, historian David Eltis observes that despite the large gap between the two labor systems—enslaved African labor in the colonies and wage labor in England—abolition was a central piece of a utilitarian experiment in social engineering being conducted in both locations.[4]

The liberal reformers, who addressed conditions for wage labor in England by introducing legislation concerning a ten-hour day and restrictions on child labor, were among the same groups who advocated for the Slave Trade Act of 1807 and the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833. English Whigs argued that the termination of the slave trade and the abolition of slavery would lead to a "free wage" relationship between master and slave, and saw the end of slavery as necessary to the implementation of liberal utilitarian laissez-faire principles of the work ethic, industry, civilization, and greater productivity in England. Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, and John Stuart Mill at the *Westminster Review* argued that free trade and a free market economy were necessary solvents both to destroy paternalistic controls, and to overcome the remnants of slavery.[5] Paradoxically, the liberal arguments to end slavery contributed to the ideology of free wage labor that was necessary to buttress industrialization at home, even while coerced labor remained highly profitable in the colonies. The proposal of Chinese, and soon after Indian, indentured labor in the colonies presented an intermediary "solution" to this dilemma. While antislavery ideas prevailed in Britain, indentured labor in the colonies could be represented as part of a system of free labor that appeared commensurate with ideas of free labor at home.

One aim of this book is to understand the role of liberal freedoms of wages, rights, and trade, and their literary and cultural forms in Europe and North America, within the broader historical context of colonial labor

and production that linked transatlantic African slavery and Asian indenture in the Americas and throughout the emerging Anglo-American empire. Many social and economic historians have characterized this period as the "transition from slavery to free labor." The very notion of "transition" conveys the sense of progressive development from one stage to another, implying that the system of slavery was gradually superseded by a new system of free wage labor, and by the granting of political enfranchisement.[6] I am arguing, to the contrary, for a quite different understanding of the relationship between "slavery" and "freedom." Rather than presuming a linear understanding of historical progress, in which the slavery of the past was overcome and replaced by modern freedoms, I emphasize instead that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the narrative of freedom overcoming slavery was canonized in British and European political and economic spheres, in discourses of citizenship, free labor, and free trade. The desire for promised freedoms came to discipline and organize varieties of social subjects, those enfranchised and those not or never to be, working in conditions of coercion and exploitation, in Europe and North America, and throughout the colonized world. As Britain moved from mercantilist plantation production toward command of an expanded international trade in manufactured goods, the Chinese indentured worker appears in British colonial and parliamentary papers as a figure for this emerging "transition" to "freedom," referring to a modern mode of administering and dividing laboring groups through the liberal promise of freedom that would commence with the end of slavery. In this chapter and the next, I inquire into the relationship between liberalism and colonialism by suggesting that literary and cultural *genres* emerged alongside liberal economics and political philosophy, and that autobiography and the novel did some of the important work of mediating and resolving liberalism's contradictions.

Commensurate with political philosophy's affirmation of the individual's passage to freedom through economic industry and political emancipation, the *autobiography* served as a particularly powerful genre for the individual achievement of liberty through ethical education and civilization. In a sense, the autobiography is the liberal genre par excellence. It is the modern narrative expression of the individual subject providing evidence of not only the imperatives and privileges of liberal

subjects, but also its aesthetic form. Attention to the autobiography's form, as well as to narrative contradictions and contesting voices, suggests methods for reading the subjugated histories that inhabit the narratives of individual rights and democratic freedoms. Considering Equiano's *Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself* (1789), in relation to various literary conventions, and other paradigmatic narratives, such as Ottobah Cugoano's *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* (1787) or the *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (1793), both illuminates features of this liberal genre and calls attention to the tensions and inconsistencies that arise when the genre of liberty shapes the story of a former slave.

The Interesting Narrative states that Equiano was born in Essaka, a province of Eboe in the West African kingdom of Benin in 1745, and it recounts his capture into slavery as a young boy, being separated from his kin, and moved from slave ship to plantation, from master to master. Acquiring the skills of sailing a ship, learning to write, measure, and do arithmetic, Equiano serves in battles, works commercial ships, and gradually earns and saves enough to purchase his own freedom. He recounts formerly having been cargo in the Atlantic market in people, and how he came to participate in the transatlantic commerce within which he and others like him had been mere property.[7] As a literate Christian man, he abhors the brutality of West Indian slavery in the words of Milton's *Paradise Lost* and savors his freedom with allusions to the books of Acts, Kings, and Exodus from the Old Testament. Equiano's accomplishment of freedom refers allegorically to Dante's journeys, the trials of Jesus, the travels of Gulliver, and the adventures of Robinson Crusoe. In addition to these allusions, the autobiographer marks his humanity sentimentally in expressions of interiority and feeling, legally by his papers of manumission, and economically by his industry as a merchant marine, after which the sea that was once the traumatic site across which he was cruelly taken becomes the body he now commands. He seeks appointment as an Anglican missionary with the Sierra Leone Resettlement and favors the development of commerce and trade between Europe and Africa. In 1792, the author proudly added to later editions of *The Interesting Narrative* that Equiano married and had two daughters. In this sense,

Equiano's self-narration circumnavigates from Africa to the Americas to England as the tale moves from Eboe childhood to modern commercial bourgeois man and father. As Houston Baker Jr. observed, Equiano "masters the rudiments of economics that condition his very life."[8] Yet even as Equiano's text has been taken to epitomize the most eloquent narration of individual redemption through modern liberal institutions, upholding the theological, political, and economic arguments made by British abolitionists, like later slave narratives from *The History of Mary Prince* (1831) to *The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845), Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* contains important digressions and interruptions that mark the limits of the genre for containing and resolving the contradictions of colonial slavery.

Equiano's passage to liberty expressed the "structure of feeling" of what scholars have termed the "Atlantic world" or "global eighteenth century," encompassing the height of the transatlantic slave trade, antislavery movements, formal abolition of the trade, and the collective upheavals expressed in revolutions in France, the United States, and Saint-Domingue.[9] Like Kenneth MacQueen, the captain charged by the British Colonial Office and East India Company to import Chinese workers, Equiano was also a seaman, more at home on a ship than settled in a particular nation. His narrative of liberty gained through Atlantic crossing is similar to what Laura Doyle observes of the "Atlantic novel," a tradition of Anglo-Atlantic and African Atlantic writing in which a "liberty plot" crosses the Atlantic Ocean to enact a dialectic of freedom and empire. While MacQueen and Equiano could be considered members of the "new world Atlantic" working class made up of sailors, slaves, and commoners elaborated by Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker's *Many-Headed Hydra*, the autobiography made evident that even as a freed man, Equiano's relationship to transatlantic commerce would be haunted by his former enslavement. As Cathy Davidson aptly observes, Equiano's autobiography portrayed "a man who is free enough to sail virtually all the seven seas yet who ever remains one step away from recapture and return into slavery."[10] His narrative stylized the so-called transition from slavery to freedom and dramatized a conversion from chattel to liberal subject that at once negotiated the voices of abolition and slave resistance, and mediated the logics of coloniality in which

trade in people and goods connected Africa, plantation Virginia, the colonial West Indies, and metropolitan England. It exemplified a fluency in the languages for defining and delimiting humanity, from liberal political philosophy and Christian theology, to the mathematical reason necessary for economy, trade, and navigation. Yet the achievement of Equiano's "freedom" was ever tenuous; kidnapped, traded, and captured, he is transferred from one owner to another; once his manumission is purchased, his life as a freed man is continuously threatened by the possibility of forcible abduction and reenslavement.

The historical man named Olaudah Equiano appears in parliamentary records as an important figure in the British abolition movement, and his autobiography was also a central artifact in the efforts to end the slave trade. *The Interesting Narrative* gained the attention of Equiano's contemporaries, the abolitionists William Wilberforce, Granville Sharp, John Wesley, and Thomas Clarkson, who opposed slavery as an immoral, corrupting influence on English and Africans alike; as Christians, they were anxious to demonstrate that Africans were members of the brotherhood of man under God, with human qualities that made them deserving of freedom. Wilberforce, in his 1789 speech on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, spoke of the transit of slaves to the West Indies: "This, I confess, in my opinion is the most wretched part of the whole subject. *So much misery condensed in so little room*, is more than the human imagination had ever before conceived. . . . Let anyone imagine to himself, 6 or 700 of these wretches chained two and two, surrounded with every object that is nauseous and disgusting, diseased, and struggling under every kind of wretchedness!—How can we bear to think of such a scene as this?"[11] As if the rejoinder to his appeal to imagine the inconceivable, Wilberforce presented Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* along with petitions to end the slave trade to Parliament. Wilberforce praised it not only as a treatise against the slave trade, but for its eloquence as an autobiography written by an African with memories of a West African childhood, the Middle Passage, and the tortures and abuses of slaves in the West Indies, whose education, religion, and exceptional determination culminated in earned freedom.[12] Generations of critics since then have heralded the autobiography as *the* singular narrative demonstrating the overcoming of slavery and fitness for freedom.

The canonization of Equiano's text as the first autobiography in English by an enslaved African produces a structural paradox in which its elevation as a paradigm for liberal freedom has often involved the burial of the more complex currents of the transatlantic world on which that freedom rests. The intense social value accorded the autobiographical genre illustrates how liberal emancipation required a literary narrative of the self-authoring autonomous individual to be distilled out of the heteronomous collective subjectivity of colonial slavery. This is as much a literary critical question of how the autobiography is interpreted—whether we read it as a fluid story of a unitary author's successful development of reason, sentiment, industry, and freedom, or whether we read for the ellipses, interruptions, contradictory shifts in voice or tempo that surround particular episodes—as it is a historiographical matter of which archives, events, temporalities and geographies will be privileged in the situating of Equiano's story. Moreover, it asks us to consider how liberalism requires mediation through an aesthetic form that encourages readers to understand the emancipation of the individual *as if it were* a collective emancipation. As the autobiographical subject writes his life, and comes to possess the meaning of slavery as his own "past," the genre does the work of subjugating the history of the collective enslaved within a regulative temporality in which slavery is only legible as a distant origin out of which the free modern subject can emerge. As such, autobiography, a genre of liberal political narrative that affirms individual right, may precisely contribute to the "forgetting" of the collective subject of colonial slavery, a heteronomous subaltern collectivity necessary to colonial slavery and its abolition. When abolitionists like Wilberforce promoted Equiano's tale of individual liberty as *the* representative slave narrative, the exemplary qualities selected to illustrate the humanity of the slave may have subsumed the persistence of slavery, for those still in bondage at the time of the autobiography, as well as for those who would be "emancipated" in the aftermath. The exemplary tale of individual freedom had the power to defer the larger scale transformation of slavery as a collective condition in the empire.

Inasmuch as a comparison between MacQueen and Equiano underscores the distinction between the seafaring captain and the seaman who had been property, so too does drawing a contrast between Equiano's

autobiography and, for example, that of his transatlantic contemporary, Benjamin Franklin. The contrast reveals the limits to the former slave's access to writing, print, and the public sphere of politics in England and the United States. Franklin's autobiography is widely heralded as a portrait of the life of the philosopher-statesman as representative of the moral qualities of the new American nation; the *bildung* of Franklin's development from self-educated youth to civic maturity expressed an emerging American exceptionalism, the notion that the new nation, founded on democratic egalitarian principles, was different than that of older European empires. Like Equiano's, Franklin's exceptional life emerged out of transatlantic conditions; the first two parts of Franklin's *Autobiography* were written in Europe, the first in England in 1771, the second in France in 1784. The narrative of the singular man embodied the values of hard work, moderation, sobriety, self-improvement, and civic responsibility, as he participated in the rebellion of the American colonies, the Constitutional Convention, and the writing of the Declaration of Independence. Franklin was a printer by trade, a dedicated public servant who founded libraries and utilities and made contributions to science; his printing mediated the formation of the public sphere in the early republic, and scholars note how Franklin used the medium of letters and print culture to frame his individual life as a representation of American national destiny.[13] Franklin's *Autobiography* made evident many of the formal features that later established the autobiography as the predominant genre for narration of the liberal life: the accomplishment of exemplary freedom of person and nation through industry, moral regeneration, and civic duty. Yet while Equiano's autobiography also exemplified reason, probity, humility, and thrift, the narrative of the self-taught former slave is marked, again and again, by the limits to his attainment of freedom.

The Interesting Narrative drew from and contributed to various literary traditions, forms of knowledge, and social discourses, which illuminate its significance, as well. Equiano's autobiography took up the "noble savage" trope established in Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* (1688), which thematized Britain's "new world" colonial encounters in the figure of the African prince; it exemplified the sentimentalism that characterized later British Romantic representations of slavery, from Robert Burns's *The Slave's Lament* to William Blake's *Little Black Boy* and William Cowper's

The Negro's Complaint; and it was a Black Atlantic forerunner of the African American slave narrative. In Behn's heroic romance, Oroonoko, the grandson of an African king, falls in love with Imoinda, and their love is thwarted when both are sold into slavery, until the two lovers are reunited in Surinam. Oroonoko organizes a slave revolt, which is defeated by military forces led by an English deputy who also desires Imoinda. To protect Imoinda from violation by enemies after his death, the two lovers plan that Oroonoko should take her life first. Mourning Imoinda, Oroonoko is captured and executed by gruesome public dismemberment. Oroonoko is a romantic hero suffering with grace in love and battle, governed by a code of honor. From the narrator's opening description, we see the logic of coloniality at work: the figuration of Oroonoko as a "royal African" acknowledges colonial slavery by granting the exemplary African a nobility that is conveyed through the comparison to the European aristocracy: "His Nose was rising and *Roman*, instead of *African* and flat," and "he had nothing of Barbarity in his Nature, but in all Points address'd himself, as if his Education had been in some *European* Court."[14]

The "royal slave" is not merely a displacement of the unrepresentable trade in African slaves, but the figure condenses a variety of global practices. Chi-ming Yang, for example, suggests that the figure of Oroonoko romanticizes the African slave trade through a particular form of commodification, that of early modern orientalism; that is, both Imoinda's "japanned" skin and Oroonoko's "Polished Jet" blackness of "statuary" proportions render them aestheticized as if they are lacquer figures, ornamental chinoiserie, referencing the porcelains, silk embroideries, and wallpapers that were part of the already burgeoning Asian trades.[15] Srivinas Aravamudan invents the term *oroonokoism* to capture this particular orientalist domestication of the African prince as "pet"; the exceptional prince simultaneously represents and occludes the violent historical conditions of colonial encounters.[16] The English female narrator's sympathy for the suffering African prince sentimentalizes colonial slavery and trade, even as it habituates the metropolitan English community to it. Oroonoko's honorable feeling "humanizes" him, as the narrator and reader are likewise humanized by their benevolent and sentimental identification with him. The narrative first models and then man-

ages the tenderness that Oroonoko himself will display as he mourns his beloved, recalling Adam Smith's formulation that "moral sentiment" is that we "place ourselves in his situation, we conceive ourselves enduring all the same torments, we enter as it were into his body, and become in some measure the same person with him."[17] The trope of the "royal slave" unjustly chained, and ultimately destroyed for leading the rebellion that is the inevitable consequence of slavery, opens the way for Equiano's *Interesting Narrative*, as well as for the eighteenth-century sentimental tradition that became a staple of Anglophone antislavery narratives and liberal republicanism in Britain and the United States for the next century and a half.[18] Equiano's autobiography mastered and deftly employed these sentimental rhetorics that pleaded for the slave's humanity by giving voice to the enslaved and that aimed at stirring the reader into action. Yet however much sentimentalism gave voice to the slave's suffering and instructed the English reader to sympathize, sentimental identification did not innocently humanize or civilize the slave, as it often reworked the violence of slavery as a resource for the reading public's moral position.[19] If sentimentalism defines humanity through emotion and governs its transfer from the feeling human subject to the abject thing, this is nowhere clearer than in Thomas Bicknell and John Day's 1773 poem, *The Dying Negro*, well known and famously celebrated by British abolitionists.[20] Bicknell and Day's inspiration for the poem was a newspaper account of an African slave who, upon being returned to the ship from which he had fled to marry a white fellow servant, killed himself rather than be captured and returned to slavery in the West Indies. Like other abolitionist poems that "gave voice" to the slave's lament, *The Dying Negro* expresses the anguish of the man who sought death rather than be condemned to it by slave masters. Through poems such as this, abolitionists aimed to inspire the pity of the responsive reader, to engage them in the antislavery cause. Yet as the sentimental poem converted the violent conditions of slavery into occasions for English benevolence, it performed what Lynn Festa calls an act of "affective piracy" in which the liberal poet made sentimental value of the other's plight.[21]

In Equiano's *Interesting Narrative,* the use of sentimentalism is rendered more complex through the generic conceit in which the narrator tells the story of his life as if it is unfolding, balancing the perspectives of

the slave he was, with that of the literate freed man he has become. Thus, the moment that the autobiographer cites at length a full stanza of Bicknell and Day's poem *The Dying Negro* is significant, for it emphasizes the cleaving of the narrative subject, and it marks the point at which the free author portrays his former self and others as abject slaves. In the first four chapters, the autobiography recounts the plight of Equiano as a young boy, abducted, traded, and enslaved. When he is brought to the first slave ship, he represents his understanding of slavery through a process in which he sees himself in the enslaved condition of the "multitude": "[As I saw] a multitude of black people of every description chained together, every one of their countenances expressing dejection and sorrow, I no longer doubted of my fate."[22] He is transported from Africa to the West Indies to England and back to the West Indies again; he received various names, including "Gustavus Vassa" from a captain aboard one of the many ships. In chapter 5, when the young narrator believes himself to be on the threshold of manumission, he is suddenly seized, sold again, and returned to slavery in the West Indies, which he describes as being "plunged . . . in a new slavery," with miseries that are "tenfold" what he knew earlier (70). He recounts young Vassa's horror at witnessing the cruel rape of female slaves and children, men staked to the ground, mutilated, burned, caged, branded, hung, muzzled, and flogged, all of which not only indicate the cruel inhumanity of the slave system, but also emphasize that the young slave was unaware then of what the adult author would realize later, that "slavery" was, in a metaphorical sense, a state of unknowing to be overcome by the power to know oneself, expressed in self-authorship. The narratologist Gerard Genette famously elaborated the trope of *metalepsis* to discuss the moments in a narrative when there is an interruption of one time by another, when there is a transgression of boundaries between "the world *in* which one tells and the world *of* which one tells."[23] Throughout Equiano's autobiography, the separation of these two levels remains mostly invisible, and the diegetic narrative largely subsumes the former in order to showcase the latter. Yet when the narrative breaks off and the autobiographer cites Bicknell and Day's poem, the perspectives of the later freed man and the slave he once was are foregrounded and emphasized. The narrator evokes his former feelings as a young slave through the words of the poem's "dying Negro,"

who calls on death to relieve him from horror and dread of recapture, punishment, and enslavement. He asks that he might be in that place:

> Where slaves are free, and men oppress no more.
> Fool that I was, inur'd so long to pain,
> To trust to hope, or dream of joy again.
>
> Now *dragg'd* once more beyond the western main,
> To groan beneath some dastard planter's *chain*;
> Where my poor countrymen in *bondage* wait
> The long enfranchisement of ling'ring *fate*:
> Hard ling'ring *fate*! While, ere the dawn of day,
> Rous'd by the *lash* they go their cheerless way;
> And as their souls with *shame* and anguish burn,
> Salute with groans *unwelcome morn*'s return,
> And, *chiding* ev'ry hour the slow-pac'd sun,
> Pursue their *toils* till all his race is run.
> No eye to mark their *suff'rings* with a tear;
> No friend to comfort, and *no hope* to cheer:
> Then, like the dull unpity'd brutes, a repair
> To stalls as wretched, and as coarse a fare;
> Thank heaven one day of mis'ry was o'er,
> Then sink to sleep, and wish to wake no more.
> (73, emphasis mine)

To convey the relief that death would bring to the slave, each line of the verse names a form of bondage—from "chains" and "fate" to "lash" and "toil"—to enlist the readers' pity for the "Negro" forcibly kept enslaved. But the autobiographical narrator's citation of the poem also dramatizes the very operations through which subject cleaves from object, through which the perspective of the individual "Negro" is educed out of the collective subject of "my poor countrymen" and "dull unpity'd brutes." This process that differentiates the autobiographer from the collective enslaved is repeated in Equiano's performance of his initial identification with, and then distinction from, the "multitude," and then again, in his disappearance into the "voice" of Bicknell and Day. The extensive citation not only makes evident how well "Equiano" understood sentimental literature

as the vehicle for establishing sympathy as the sign of the human, and its centrality to moral arguments against slavery, but in "giving voice" to the young slave's suffering in the words of Bicknell and Day, the autobiography permits "Equiano," *and* the "multitude," to be "spoken for" by the English abolitionists. At the same time, by enlisting sentimental identification to bestow a voice and consciousness to the young slave he was, the autobiographer paradoxically inhabits and displaces the position occupied by Bicknell and Day. As *The Interesting Narrative* performs literary sentimentalism to define free humanity over against the abject slaves, it precisely cites the sentimental poem as *the* literary convention established for this operation, and in the process foregrounds Equiano's difference as formerly racialized property, implying the "limits" of manumitted "freedom," and the impossibility that the former slave could ever *be* Bicknell and Day.

The Interesting Narrative also contributed to a large, diverse body of literature and knowledge attesting to the inhumanity of slavery from the perspective of African slaves. In alluding to other Black Atlantic narratives such as *The Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronnosiosaw, an African Prince, as Related by Himself* (1770), the *Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, A Black* (1785), and fellow ex-slave Ottobah Cugoano's *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* (1787), it provided first-person narrative descriptions of the conditions of slavery and attested to the proximity of freed Blacks to recapture and return to enslavement.[24] These Black Atlantic accounts not only represented the terrors of captivity and the enslaved man's resolve to be free, but they recorded travel across land and sea and were also informal botanical, oceanographic, and anthropological resources on nature, custom, and terrain of the African Gold Coast, the West Indies, England, and North America, which constituted a vernacular knowledge counter to the colonial taxonomies of Linnaeus and others, whose natural history served as a parallel discourse of colonial domestication.[25]

Cugoano's 1787 *Thoughts and Sentiments* was a richly polemical argument against the slave trade, which recorded his kidnapping, captivity on the slave ship, slavery itself, and experiences in England.[26] Unlike *The Interesting Narrative*, however, Cugoano's text does not present his life as a

developmental ascent from slavery to freedom but emphasizes that he was "brought from a state of innocence and freedom, and, in a barbarous and cruel manner, conveyed to a state of horror and slavery" and maintains that "the extreme bitterness of grief and woe, that no language can describe" remains "though my fears and tears have long since subsided"(95). If Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* fluently recites the narrative of freedom overcoming slavery, one of the means through which the text attests to the unremediated condition of slavery is through its references to and resonances with Cugoano's more polemical, and less compromising, antislavery text. Equiano's descriptions of the capture and treatment of slaves often echo those of his contemporary Cugoano. Together, with other Black Atlantic writers, their works constituted and shaped a virtual inventory of the tropes, patterns of expression, and references whose recitation came to authorize later slave narratives.[27] Not only did they establish stories of brutal captivity, the transatlantic crossing, and religious conversion and deliverance, and invert the associations of white civilization and black barbarism; they also made recognizable to diverse publics the cruel commonplaces of slavery. Equiano's descriptions of the "multitude of black people of every description chained together, every one of their countenances expressing dejection and sorrow" (Equiano, 39) recall Cugoano's "rattling of chains, smacking of whips, and the groans and cries of our fellow-men" (Cugoano, 9). The repeated mention of "chains," whips," "groans," and "cries" works like a haunting and horrifying refrain, with immediately recognizable references to the body of knowledge about slavery. Moreover, both Equiano and Cugoano allude repeatedly to the slave's appeal to death as a release from the horrendous captivity of enslavement. Yet Cugoano's repeated use of "we" conveys his identification with the collective enslaved for whom "death was more preferable than life" (Cugoano, 10), while Equiano's narrative more often assumes the sentimental attitude of the abolitionist, and rhetorically individualizes himself while contemplating the suffering of slaves as a "multitude" or as "poor creatures": "Is it surprising that usage like this should drive the poor creatures to despair, and make them seek a refuge in death from those evils which render their lives intolerable" (Equiano, 80).

Difference of genre provides a clear way to distinguish the two narratives. As autobiography, *The Interesting Narrative* exemplifies the liberal imperative that the "life" emplot the transition from slavery to freedom,

and in this way, it attests to the power of political emancipation, and Christian redemption. Cugoano's *Thoughts and Sentiments* was not an autobiography, but a treatise against slavery, and thus did not conform to this imperative; in a perpetual present tense, it testifies instead to the persistent human anguish of the enslaved in the face of slavery's excesses and the systemic dehumanization of the slaves. Cugoano represents his emancipation, literacy, and conversion to Christianity, not as deliverance, but as circumstances that permit the deepening of his struggles against slavery; the "groans and cries of the murdered" (58) continue unabated within Cugoano's text. In this sense, when Equiano's autobiography echoes Cugoano's account, it evokes this longer, unremediated collective condition of inhuman cruelty and survival. British abolitionists read Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* as a life that fulfilled Christian redemption and liberal economy. Yet slaves, ex-slaves, and others could "listen" to the complex tones of Equiano's narrative, and hear the "otherness" embedded within the text. They might recognize the allusions to death as deliverance from slavery, the double voicing one hears if listening to the lower frequencies, what Fred Moten calls the "freedom drive" dissonant to commodification and objectification, heard beneath and through a dominant genre.[28] Likewise, inasmuch as the "freedom" of the second half of the autobiography may work to redeem the "enslavement" of the first half, the narrative form cannot overcome the most profound offenses with which *The Interesting Narrative* begins: the slave traders' indifference to the sufferings of men, women, and children captured and chained, the terror and claustrophobia of the Middle Passage, the inhuman trade in human beings. Although *The Interesting Narrative* formally declares the conditions of slavery transcended by his individual liberty, their residues remain after the formal translation of colonial slavery into the conventions of the liberal autobiographical genre.

Perhaps equally important, Equiano has held a significant place in African American letters, and in the slave narrative tradition that followed him, heralded as a forerunner of the nineteenth-century African American slave narratives of Frederick Douglass, Harriet Jacobs, and others.[29] *The Interesting Narrative* exemplified crucial features of the antebellum slave narratives, which, as Frances Smith Foster has observed, drew on the Judeo-Christian structure of mortification, conversion, struggle, and

jubilation; the captivity narrative; and the spiritual autobiography; as well as the rhetorics of liberalism.[30] Henry Louis Gates Jr. famously identified the powerful trope of the "Talking Book" in Equiano's eighteenth-century slave narrative, and the thematic importance of literacy to Black humanity.[31] The contradictions of Equiano's split voice—at one moment speaking as part of an enslaved collectivity, at another as the individual apart—can be explained in terms of the conditions for Black autobiography discussed by William Andrews: "From the outset of black autobiography in America, the presupposition reign[ed] that a black narrator needs a white reader to complete his text, to build a hierarchy of abstract significance on the mere matter of his facts, to supply a presence where there was only 'Negro,' only a dark absence."[32] Robert Stepto discussed this as a conflict between the slave's "tale" and the white abolitionists' "guarantee," which John Sekora called the "black message" in the "white envelope."[33] Critics have found in the aesthetic density of the antebellum slave narrative voices vying for control of different meanings and readerships.[34] Whether they have termed these rhetorical strategies "signifying," "riffing," "improvising," or "mo'nin,'" scholars of Black aesthetics have identified strategies that recode, double, and turn dominant meanings through indirection, parody, allusion, and association.[35]

Hazel Carby urges us to read Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* as neither strictly African nor European, but as a "new transatlantic Black autobiographical tradition," expressing the "geopolitics of encounter."[36] In a similar manner, Srinivas Aravamudan reads the autobiography as multiple, complex voices alternately jostling for characterization and narrativization as "Christian," "African," and "literate," while Christine Levecq observes Equiano's "unique black internationalism" that moves through "multiple anchorings."[37] In this sense, while Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* established the genre of autobiography for the Black subject's passage from slavery to freedom, his text has always been profoundly complex and contradictory; alternately voiced as slave narrative, seafaring tale, protoanthropology, sentimental literature, religious conversion, and abolitionist treatise, it is a hybrid, multivocal collaboration that enlisted and mediated the contradictions of the age to create its first-person autobiographical narrative.[38] Some readings celebrate Equiano's triumph over slavery, while others condemn its assimilation of commercial and

colonial projects.[39] Carby writes: "Equiano speaks as a composite subject, a subject inhabiting multiple differences, as African, as black, as British, as Christian, as a diasporic and transnational citizen of the world, and in the process offers his readers the possibility of imagining a more complex cultural and national identity for themselves."[40] Aravamudan discusses Equiano as undergoing a "tropical baptism by English literary history and emerging as a sailor and a writer."[41]

Narrative temporality is itself a powerful vehicle of liberal progress, as evidenced in the emplotment of slave emancipation, in which the slave subject develops in time, constituting a story of an enslaved past that culminates in freedom achieved in the present. Just as we might read the multivocality of Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* as an interruption of the singular voice required by the autobiographical genre, its uses of temporal digression also destabilize the generic conventions of linear progressive development. Recent scholars have criticized the singular, secular temporality often employed in histories of slavery that subordinate many contending and converging "times"; they counter that the slave trade and slavery constituted other ways of "being in time." Historian Walter Johnson, for example, notes that the slaves' journeys began in the interior of Africa, and thus that a "First Passage" before the treacherous crossing of the "Middle Passage" is obscured by the narrative histories that presume the history of slavery begins with the European slave traders' encounter with Africa. In contrast, Equiano's autobiography layers and intertwines a constellation of "times": from the Christian time of an afterlife of eternity, to the African time of past and present events rather than strict sequence directed toward a future.[42] In her history of the conversion of captive people into commodities, Stephanie Smallwood juxtaposes the time of the slave trader, registered in ship's logs that marked time in terms of weather, disease, and slave mortality, with the time of men, women, and children chained in the holds of ships, seized by the "saltwater horror" of the Middle Passage, an "experience of motion without discernible direction or destination."[43] Saidiya Hartman conceives the "time of slavery" as a continuous relation between the past and the present, in which the present is *still* the "time of slavery," an aftermath in which slavery has not ended, but infuses the conditions, memories, and possibilities of the present.[44] This conception of the "time of slavery," in

which "then and now coexist," negates the idea of "progress" and stresses the irreparable and unredeemable nature of the event of slavery; it insists that the liberal remedy of emancipation has not resolved the injustices of slavery and its subsequent inequalities. Hartman writes: "For the distinction between the past and the present founders on the interminable grief engendered by slavery and its aftermath. How might we understand mourning, when the event has yet to end?" Hartman's concept of the "time of slavery" belies the liberal narrative of development in time and asserts that emancipation from the violence of captivity, loss of homeland, expropriation of labor, and obliteration of kin and family has not yet occurred, is still yet to come.[45]

There are several key moments from the autobiography that dramatize colonial slavery as the limit to the promises of liberal economy, political emancipation, and Christian redemption. Though Equiano condemned slavery as inhuman commerce, he asserted that British civilization and laws of economic exchange would benefit Africans. Through these laws, Equiano sold his labor for a wage, permitting him to accumulate enough money to purchase and own himself. In describing his "disgust" at the West Indies, Equiano named as barbaric not only the inhuman torture of slaves, but the mode of production itself: a slavery system in which unwaged labor is forcibly stolen through terror and punishment. Over and over again, *The Interesting Narrative* exposed the historically specific relationship between racial slavery and capitalism, and yet Equiano's story suggests that he might achieve political freedom through the mastery of that economy: Equiano claimed his individual productivity out of the barbarism of unwaged slavery, proposing in a Lockean manner to sell the fruits of his "free labor" to become Smith's economic man. Vincent Carretta notes that Equiano, in a sense, commodified himself through his successful narrative autobiography; he retained copyright and kept most of the profits of the nine editions published between 1789 and 1974, earning an amount of British sterling equivalent to $120,000.[46] The Black autobiographer mastered the seas, the liberal public, and the symbolic economy of colonial slavery. The autobiography ends with an affirmation of the importance of expanding free enterprise and commerce between Britain and Africa. Yet inasmuch as the *Narrative* conforms to the autobiography of the liberal political economic subject,

we can also see Equiano's journey as one of continual transgressions—across boundaries of nation, of property and subject, land and sea. As David Kazanjian observes, Equiano's movements cross the "ambiguously national space of the Atlantic" and reach "racial-national limits" that open up contradictions that cannot be contained by the liberal formalism of the autobiography.[47]

Three particular moments in Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* stand out as instances in which the autobiography foregrounds the tensions and contradictions of liberal emancipation. One occurs shortly after his manumission, when Equiano finds himself aboard a ship with a new captain boasting of his skill by steering a dangerous new course. In the middle of the night, stormy seas cause the ship to crash against rocks, and the captain immediately orders the hatches to be nailed down on the twenty slaves in the hold, sacrificing the slaves to save the Englishmen who will fit in the small escape boat. Equiano writes of realizing that the captain's calculus valued English lives over those of African slaves: it "rushed upon my mind that instant with such violence, that it quite overpowered me. . . . I could no longer restrain my emotion, and I told him he deserved drowning for not knowing how to navigate the vessel" (113). Equiano works quickly with the "black and creole" sailors on board to save the ship, defying the rational economic logic that privileged wage labor as individual property that he had otherwise promoted. Equiano's accession to bourgeois manhood takes the form of becoming a merchant marine, a seaman much like Kenneth MacQueen, the smuggler of Chinese "coolies" commissioned in the 1803 "Secret Memorandum" discussed earlier. Like Kenneth MacQueen, Equiano becomes a liberal cosmopolitan subject of globalization, a mobile world citizen at home at sea. Yet his race is the remainder of the colonial slavery that was not dissolved by legal emancipation, constituting the limit and critique of national enfranchisement; and unlike a MacQueen, in the midst of a storm threatening life and death, Equiano recognizes race, as a historical residue of colonial labor, in his expressed solidarity with the Black and creole workers and slaves onboard.

In a second scene, the manumitted Equiano bids farewell to his former master Robert King. King tells him that in a short time he will "have land and slaves of [your] own" (123) and pronounces the model of im-

perial subjectivity into which the former master instructs Equiano to aspire. In this sense, his education in arithmetic, navigation, accounting, and trading are critical parts of an imperial formation whose ultimate resolution is property ownership, and the imperial surveillance and management of others. The former slave is continuously interpellated by this imperial formation throughout the autobiography—from the initial chapter in which Equiano provides a protoethnographic description of African village life, to an account of Equiano's encounter with Indians on the Mosquito coast—yet inasmuch as he is hailed to assume an imperial subjectivity, the narrative simultaneously discloses its impossibility.

The episode that portrays Equiano's efforts to Christianize the Mosquito Indian prince provides a vivid illustration of the contradictions of the liberal autobiography. It first expresses that Equiano's accession to "freedom" is signified by his imitation of the white colonial posture toward the native peoples, and it demonstrates the obstacles that render impossible Equiano's realization of this position. Furthermore, the episode demonstrates that the liberal narrative of freedom overcoming enslavement both builds upon and continues to erase the ongoing settler seizure of lands, Christianization, and subordination of indigenous Americans. The Mosquito Indians were described by cartographers and buccaneers as an indigenous people in Central America, living along the coast that extends from Honduras to Nicaragua.[48] Equiano writes of his missionary zeal to convert "heathen" Indians to Christianity. When Equiano describes the Mosquito Indians as becoming "unruly" at a feast, he not only endorses corporal punishments for the native people, but Equiano identifies explicitly with the imperial explorer "Columbus": "I was so enraged with [the eighteen-year-old son of the Mosquito king], that I could have wished to have seen him tied fast to a tree and flogged for his behavior. . . . Recollecting a passage I had read in the life of Columbus, when he was amongst the Indians in Mexico or Peru, where, on some occasion, he frightened them by telling them of certain events in the heavens, I had recourse to the same expedient" (157). The narrative portrays Equiano emulating the stance of the European explorer when he points to the heavens, and threatens the native Mosquito people that he will menacingly "*tell* God to make them dead." Yet this conditional performance of identification is brief, for quite soon after, the autobiography

recounts that Equiano was recaptured by British merchants; and taken prisoner, he was subsequently abused terribly by them. When he is once again free, and is kindly received by Indians, he comments: "They acted towards me more like Christians than those whites I was amongst the last night, though they had been baptized" (162). This episode in which Equiano attempts to perform his "freedom" by occupying the Englishman's position with respect to the Mosquito suggests that the liberal promise of freedom overcoming slavery reproduced a settler colonial relationship to native peoples. It emphasizes that although the history of African slaves and Mosquito peoples is entwined—Mosquitos were occasionally captured along with African slaves and sold in Jamaica, while they too often raided and traded African slaves—the history of indigenous Central Americans is far from identical to the history of transatlantic African slavery. Equiano's fleeting adoption of an imperial position with respect to the native Indian people, however contradicted by his vulnerability to capture and return to slavery, is an allegory of the degree to which liberal abolition reiterates settler colonialism, erasing indigenous difference.[49]

Finally, the contradiction between individual liberty and the persistence of collective slavery is most evident in the last episode of the autobiography, in which Equiano briefly recounts his participation in one of the first voyages to Sierra Leone, on behalf of the Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor to Resettle Poor Blacks and East Indians Living in England to Africa. Biographer Vincent Carretta suggests that the historical man named Equiano may have been the only person of African descent officially involved in the organization and administration of this actual historical project.[50] His stated wish to participate in this effort as a missionary who would convert Africans to Christianity would seem to conform to the colonial efforts to "bring civilization" to Africa, yet the narrator also reports feeling some reluctance and skepticism about the philanthropic nature of the project. Furthermore, his accusation of John Irwin, the agent in charge, of financial mismanagement and withholding provisions from the poor black settlers results in Equiano's immediate dismissal from his post and his return to England. He describes his journey to Sierra Leone as "an expedition, however unfortunate in the event . . . humane and politic in its design," but ultimately a "failure"

(173). The "failure" of the Sierra Leone project is often conflated with the career of the individual man, and interpreted in terms of its confirmation of the persistence of racial barriers to Equiano's achievement of liberty; for example, Christine Levecq observes that the rhetoric used by the white philanthropists who dismissed Equiano tended to racialize Equiano's difference and to vilify his dissent as inciting black rebellion, and Ronald Paul concludes that the episode exposed the "racist nature of the British state and the precarious situation in which Equiano remained as a Black man."[51] Vincent Carretta mutes this "failure" by suggesting there is "little evidence supporting the contention that Equiano's dismissal was racially motivated" and gives his opinion that "Equiano and Irwin were both at fault," in that "Equiano did not go quietly."[52] Carretta emphasizes Equiano's "vindication" when *The Interesting Narrative* is published in 1789, and employed in the abolitionist campaign that later "successfully" brought a formal end to the slave trade in 1807.

Yet I propose that if we shift the emphasis of the analysis away from terms that the liberal narrative autobiography would seem to dictate—that is, the success or failure of the individual subject Equiano—we can read the final "failure" as a quite necessary disclosure of the history of colonial slavery and empire. The declaration of "failure" marks a defining moment when historical contradictions break through the liberal genre of the individual's journey from slavery to freedom whose resolution would enact the suppression of ongoing colonial slavery. The "failure" is the very important sign that the genre of autobiography cannot resolve and contain the contradictions of slavery.

The Sierra Leone Resettlement of 1787–91, as envisioned by the abolitionist Granville Sharp, was a utopian experiment to bring "a community of free African settlers" to an outpost named the "Province of Freedom," in which they could be self-governing. Abolitionist Sharp had been known for having led the campaign that obtained the 1772 Mansfield ruling in the Somersett case, which established that former slave James Somersett, who had fled from America to Britain, was a free man, and could not be recaptured. The Somersett judgment, even if limited to prohibiting the forcible removal of slaves from England, established a precedent and was widely interpreted as outlawing slavery in England.[53] The Sierra Leone project expressed the abolitionists' desire to emancipate Blacks by means of

resettling them in an African homeland. The plan's approval by Parliament may have also expressed a means to resettle the Blacks who had fought on the British side during the American Revolution as well as permitting slavery supporters to remove Blacks from Britain to an African colony secured in the British empire. Sharp declared in his *Short Sketch of Temporary Regulations* for Sierra Leone, "As soon as a slave shall set his foot within the bounds of the new settlement, he shall be deemed a *free man*."[54] Yet not only was the Province of Freedom short-lived—it lasted only four years from 1787 to 1791, but it "failed" in the larger sense that the vision of a state for emancipated Blacks in "free English territory in Africa" was far from fulfilled. In 1787, the time of the first expedition, reports disclosed insurmountable difficulties in the settlement—mortality, desertion, conflict—which continued once it came under the rule of the Sierra Leone Company from 1791 to 1807.[55] Sharp, Wilberforce, and Clarkson were the directors of the Sierra Leone Company, which governed and developed the colony populated by Blacks from Nova Scotia, the United States, and Jamaica, and Africans from the region; the first Reports of the Company Court of Directors detail disease, bad crops, great expenses, a war with France, and two insurrections by Nova Scotian Black settlers unhappy with the distribution of land. While participation in the slave trade was expressly forbidden by the Sierra Leone Company, not only did company employees engage in the slave trade, but many left company employment in order to become more engaged in the lucrative trade along the West African coast. Once the 1807 Slave Act abolished the trade throughout the empire, Sierra Leone became a Crown colony with a new critical role in the trade.[56]

The Slave Act had enormous consequences for Sierra Leone. While making the trade illegal, the act provided that British naval vessels could capture slave ships and provided for the trials of owners and crews before a British court. Paradoxically, laws that abolished the trade gave rise to a proliferation of new means and practices for transporting and trading slaves. For expediency, there were British courts set up on the West African coast, rather than in England, and Sierra Leone became one site for these trials. Some rationalized the British takeover of Sierra Leone, making it a Crown colony in 1808, in relation to the need for these courts and the necessity of trying those involved in the "illegal

Traffick in Slaves"; possessing a harbor along the western coast of Africa, it was also a prime location for a British naval base as merchants sought to expand legitimate trades in ivory, palm oil, and cotton cloth. The British Navy policed the waters for illegal ships, and Vice Admiralty Courts were set up in Freetown, in Sierra Leone, to try offenders. The British Commissioners Gregory and Fitzgerald wrote to Foreign Secretary Canning in 1822 of the ongoing slave trade and reported "the range of Coast Southward from Sierra Leone to Cape Coast, the roads of *Gallinas* continue most prominently distinguished for constant and active Slave-trade . . . the total yearly export of about 3,000 slaves from *Gallinas*."[57] They detailed the cases adjudicated at Sierra Leone, the ships condemned, and slaves captured. The Gallinas country had been an important slave-trading center during the eighteenth century, reaching its peak in the second half. The abolition of the slave trade actually boosted the Gallinas trade, when the establishment of the Vice Admiralty Court made Freetown the center of the British Navy's suppression activities, and rendered Gallinas an attractive outpost.[58] The trade described by the British Commissioners might well have alluded to Pedro Blanco, a notorious Spanish slave trader based in Gallinas who began trading in African slaves in 1822, and who by 1839 controlled a network that imported slaves to work on Cuban plantations.[59] Blanco set up a *lomboko*, or a slave factory, a fortress stockade that consisted of several large holding depots or barracoons for slaves brought from the interior at the mouth of the Gallinas River, controlled by Spanish merchants within the then British colony; three thousand slaves a year were coming out of Gallinas River, with British observation and oversight, despite the fact that the trade was ostensibly illegal.

In their correspondence, the British Commissioners at Sierra Leone continually condemned the evils and treachery of the slave trade, but I read this correspondence *not* as evidence that the British legislation prohibiting the illegal trade actually stopped it, but to the contrary, that these documents and records about the prosecutions actually constitute evidence of the robust persistence and proliferation of the slave trade *after* 1807. That is, the 1807 Slave Act abolishing and prohibiting the trade did not bring the slave trade to an end, but rather its "illegality" actually elaborated the British forms of organization for regulating, documenting,

and engaging with the trade. Moreover, it provided the conditions for the British to populate the Sierra Leone colony with "recaptives," the Africans "rescued" and "liberated" from illegal slave traders by the British.[60] Of the more than 100,000 African recaptives of diverse ethnic backgrounds "rescued" by the British Navy, over half were brought to Sierra Leone, baptized, and given Christian first and last names.[61] The British colony of Sierra Leone, which included captured slaves of diverse ethnic groups, Nova Scotian and American Blacks, Nigerians, other Africans, and migrants from Trinidad, Jamaica, and other West Indian islands, was not an experiment in freedom, but an exercise in social engineering, where the British sought to "civilize" Blacks through the establishment of schools, Christian religion, and inculcating an ethic of rewards and penalties—far from the initial vision of a state of free Black self-government. In addition, the British project of sending Blacks in England to Africa, many of whom had never before lived there, should be seen in context of expatriation projects as "final solutions" for maintaining white "racial purity" by deporting Blacks "back" to Africa in lieu of granting equality with whites. Many abolitionists in the United States at this time could understand Black emancipation only as a prelude to exile from American society. Thomas Jefferson, for example, in his 1787 *Notes on the State of Virginia*, famously made the removal of Blacks from the United States an integral part of a gradual emancipation scheme of education, emancipation (after the age of forty-five, to repay the slaveholder's investment), and expatriation to locations in Africa.[62]

Ultimately, Equiano's "failure" and his involvement with Sierra Leone's history expressed the larger contradictions of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Atlantic world. The resettlement project promised to Black diaspora subjects the "return" to an Africa they had never known in order to secure some version of "freedom," yet to do so meant becoming a subject or object of Western colonial conquest of the region. The slave trade died a very slow death over the course of the nineteenth century, and the numbers of slave exports remained high. The British Anti-Slave Trade Squadron and Vice Admiralty Court in Sierra Leone seized and prosecuted ships belonging not only to British and U.S. traders, but more frequently to French, Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch. Yet the anti–slave trade and antislavery agenda became a powerful pretext for the expansion

of Britain's colonial interventions in Africa, accompanied by the shift to "legitimate" trades with African merchants. Ironically, Equiano became a most eloquent promoter of this economic thinking that advocated for trade with Africa, and indeed, *The Interesting Narrative* ends with Equiano's recommendation that the best solution to the abolition of slavery is the expansion of trade between Britain and Africa:

> A commercial intercourse with Africa opens an inexhaustible source of wealth to the manufacturing interests of Great Britain, and to all which the slave trade is an objection. . . .
>
> I hope the slave trade will be abolished. I pray it may be an event at hand. The great body of manufacturers, uniting in the cause, will considerably facilitate and expedite it. . . . If the blacks were permitted to remain in their own country, they would double themselves every fifteen years. In proportion to such increase will be the demand for manufactures. Cotton and indigo grow spontaneously in most parts of Africa; a consideration this of no small consequence to the manufacturing towns of Great Britain. It opens a most immense, glorious, and happy prospect—the clothing, &c. of a continent ten thousand miles in circumference, and immensely rich in the production of every denomination in return for manufactures. (177–78)

The final words of the autobiography thus voice the convergence of abolition with new circuits of trade and express the imbrication of the desire for freedom with expanded commerce. Equiano's "solution" to the struggle against the iniquities of slavery not only reiterates an understanding of Black emancipation as Black removal to Africa, but it anticipates precisely the British shift from eighteenth-century mercantilism and colonial slavery toward the new forms of empire that enabled the global expansion of trade in manufactured goods in the nineteenth century. Equiano names the conjunction of the abolition of slavery with the expansion of the British empire, and recommends that controlling circuits of worldwide commerce could be a more effective and profitable mode than the restricted gains of direct territorial conquest and colonial slavery. By connecting abolition with international "free trade," Equiano outlined the design for a new era of capitalist empire that was perfectly commensurate with the vision of administrators in the British Colonial and Foreign Offices who

commissioned Kenneth MacQueen's 1807 voyage to China. In this sense, *The Interesting Narrative* mediated precisely the convergence of liberal abolition with imperial expansion into Asia and Africa, linking older geographies of conquest with new forms of sovereignty elaborated through commerce, trade, and movement across the seas. In the next chapters, I discuss the stakes of the early nineteenth-century debate about "free trade" in relation to the British East India Company monopoly and argue that the "opening" of the trades in India and China provided the conditions for the innovation of new forms of liberal governance and imperial security. The opening of free trade inaugurated the vast expansion that founded the British empire and endured until the end of the century.

Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* was a transatlantic life "translated" through the languages and institutions of liberal freedom; his "model migration" from Africa to the Americas and exemplary assimilation into modern literature, politics, and economy affirmed liberal promises of freedom; such promises subsumed the transatlantic world whose peoples, lands, and labor were the conditions of possibility for that freedom. In effect, liberal genres, like the autobiography, reiterate a colonial division of humanity through this formalism of affirmation and forgetting, however much *race* is the remainder that continues to mark the limits to freedom for the subject of colonial slavery. In *The Interesting Narrative*, Equiano's relationship to freedom is forever haunted by his former status as property within transatlantic social relations. His affirmation of the desire for political economic right exists simultaneously with the forgetting of the ongoing condition of collective enslavement. Yet even as the autobiographical genre develops the self-authoring individual out of the transatlantic conditions, the text's digressions, heterogeneity, and contradictions permit us to read "against the grain" of this development.

I began the discussion of Equiano's autobiography with Britain's introduction of Chinese contract laborers to the West Indies in order to situate the introduction of Asian labor and the East Indies trades as crucial elements in the history of abolition of the slave trade, Black emancipation, and colonialism in Africa. While some might consider Colonial Office documents on Chinese labor in the Americas an unlikely archive to read alongside Equiano's autobiography, the papers offer a unique window onto colonial administrators' developing ideas about the abolition

of African slavery within the limitations of mercantilism, and the expansion of free trade with markets beyond the West Indies that led to the extension of British colonialism in Africa. Likewise, the colonial papers on Sierra Leone might seem a distant, contiguous archive with little relevance to the East India Company trade with China and the opening of the "coolie" trade. Yet one can observe a relationship between the choice of Sierra Leone for a Crown colony in 1808, to and from whose port "recaptive" slaves were conveyed, and the considerations that led to the establishment of a Crown colony in Hong Kong in 1842 as a major point of arrival and departure for ships carrying Chinese workers around the world; the early command of trade through governing the port at Sierra Leone was a strategy greatly elaborated in the middle and latter parts of the nineteenth century in Hong Kong and coastal China. In other words, to interpret Equiano's autobiography as a seamless narrative of slavery to freedom within the historical context of the British abolition of the slave trade is to radically restrict its scope and meaning, and to discipline it in terms of narrowly construed imperatives of the genre. It is to fix and bind the narrative in time and place, in the same manner that the imperial drive of the colonial archive would appear to regulate the meanings of the documents it contains. We might instead take generous "detours around proper knowledge" into the "territories of failure," by combining unlikely archives, reading Equiano in relation to the 1803 "Secret Memorandum," and by considering the Sierra Leone court prosecutions of illegal traffickers in relation to the Second Governor of Hong Kong's criminal laws against unregistered vagrants.[63] We might connect *The Interesting Narrative* not only to the seventeenth-century transatlantic African slave trade and the European colonial development of plantation production in the Americas, but also to the settlers' conquests of lands and wars with native peoples, and to the nineteenth-century "transition from slavery to free labor" in which Chinese and Indians were recruited to British, French, and Spanish colonies throughout the Caribbean and Latin America. The longevity of Equiano's autobiography is evidence of the resilience of desire for the representative individual story of the achievement of freedom, but let us dedicate our reading practices to connecting that individual story to the more extensive intimacies of four continents that gave rise to the modern narrative of the singular life.



3.1 Chintz palampore, painted and dyed cotton (c. 1750). Coromandel coast, India.
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CHAPTER 3
A FETISHISM OF COLONIAL COMMODITIES

The West Indian intellectual C. L. R. James is said to have read and reread William Makepeace Thackeray's novel *Vanity Fair* (1847–48) from the age of eight years old onward. In his memoir *Beyond a Boundary* (1963), James wrote, "I laughed without satiety at Thackeray's constant jokes and sneers and gibes at the English aristocracy and at people in high places. Thackeray, not Marx, bears the heaviest responsibility for me."[1] In *Black Marxism*, Cedric Robinson treats James's attachment to Thackeray as an expression of how British colonial education had required of the Black Trinidadian a mastery of British culture that included his passions for cricket as well as literature, while Grant Farred interprets James's elevation of "Thackeray" over "Marx" as a metaphor for James's preference for Trotsky over other versions of Marxism as James refined his Pan-Africanism.[2] Nicole King refers provocatively to James as a "Black Victorian," to indicate his creolized formation.[3] A common interpretation is that James was expressing an ironic lament that his tireless political activism had left him so little time for his love of literature. Without discounting these, I want to imagine another explanation for James's alleged preference for Thackeray (1811–63), which emphasizes the way in which the novel *Vanity Fair* portrayed rather differently than did Thackeray's contemporary, Marx (1818–83), the intimacies between colonial commodities in early Victorian households and the imperial relations to Africa, Asia, and the Americas to which they were inextricably tied.

In this effort, I examine the British East India Company trades in tea, cottons, silks, and opium, which connect slave labor in the cotton fields of the U.S. South, the history of Asian textile design and production, and the role of the East India and China trades in the rise of British "free trade imperialism."[4] In the debates leading to the dissolution of the company monopoly, in India in 1813 and in China in 1833, the trades in textiles, tea, and opium appear as unique sites of controversy concerning the advantages of an older-style mercantilism and new experiments in "free trade."[5] We see that early nineteenth-century ideas of "free trade" were intrinsic *both* to liberal political and economic freedom in England, *and* to the improvisation of new forms of sovereignty in the empire, as Britain moved away from strict mercantilism to expanded worldwide trade, and from colonial practices of slavery and territorial conquest to new forms of governance linked to the production of value through the circulation of goods and people.[6] A discussion of James's interest in *Vanity Fair* is likewise an opportunity to specify the role of literature as a particular mediation of the global social and economic forces that we have been discussing. Ultimately, this framing conceit of querying what the anticolonial James may have seen in Thackeray is a way to perform an analytic that brings a Black anticolonial perspective to bear on the obscured role of colonized labor in China and India in the formation of an Anglo-American–led world capitalist system, and to allegorize both the historical presence, and ongoing necessity, of cross-racial and transnational commitments in the continuing struggles for decolonization.

While critics have long appreciated Thackeray's novel as a satire of early nineteenth-century commercial consumer culture, the novel does not merely portray the transformations that Raymond Williams called the "long revolution," when reforms expanded franchise and wage labor, and industrialization gradually transformed England into a culture and society paradoxically more democratic yet increasingly defined by market values and the commodity form. It was also "a novel without a hero," a biting indictment of the manner in which that English consumer culture depended on colonial projects in the West and East Indies, as Britain brought a formal end to slavery in the empire, introduced Asian contract labor in the West Indies, and expanded "free trade imperialism" such

that Britain came to command the conduct of global trade and finance capitalism by the end of the nineteenth century.[7]

James was keenly interested, of course, in this late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century historical conjunction, particularly the dynamics of the revolutions in France and the United States, and most significantly, the slave revolution that resulted in the first Black republic in Haiti. In *The Black Jacobins* (1938), his monumental history of that revolution, James linked the very possibility of European bourgeois republics with the slave societies in the West Indies. Settler colonialism in the Americas separated indigenous peoples from their lands to create the conditions for plantation slavery, and captured West and Central African peoples were forcibly transported to labor on sugar, coffee, and cotton plantations there. James's history was haunted by the infamous triangle trade that transported slaves, cash crops, and manufactured goods between Africa, the West Indian and American colonies, and Europe.[8] Yet by the late eighteenth century, the British Atlantic slave system was in decline. Competition from the French West Indies, Spanish Cuba and Peru, and U.S. independence had recalibrated the relative importance of the West Indies to the British economy, and initiated an expansion and diversification of the British trades in Asia. Colonial slave holders were apprehensive that more rebellions would follow the one in Saint-Domingue. James's *The Black Jacobins* vividly narrated how the slaves themselves had contested the Atlantic slave system, in revolts in the West Indies and aboard the ships.[9] As we have seen, while many historians explain the abolition of slavery in the Americas throughout the nineteenth century as a response to humanist arguments in Britain, France, Spain, and the United States about the immorality of slavery, reading British Colonial Office and Parliamentary Papers, we appreciate that in ending the slave trade in 1807, and slavery in the empire in 1834, colonial administrators and parliamentarians appeared more preoccupied with the possibility of Black insurrection in the West Indian colonies, international competition, and the need for economic expansion. While it may seem an "unlikely archive" for the study of the abolition of slavery, the papers of the Select Committees appointed by Parliament to investigate the East India activities provide a rich resource for understanding

late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century British concerns about the limitations of colonial mercantilism, of direct and indirect relevance to the question of abolition. Before proceeding with the matter of James's interest in *Vanity Fair*, in what follows, I discuss this archive pertaining to the East India Company China trades as a means of approaching the representation of colonial commodities in Thackeray's novel.

Parliamentary acts were required to renew the British East India Company charter—the East India Company Act of 1793, the East India Company Act of 1813, and the Government of India Act of 1833—and at each of these points, a House of Commons and House of Lords Select Committee was appointed to interview company administrators, merchants and business leaders, and personnel involved in the operations of the trade. The HCSC and HLSC Reports not only provide narratives of the company's affairs, but they suggest a range of preoccupations and anxieties regarding international competition, domestic labor, and modes of government within rapidly changing understandings of nation and empire. Reading the 1803 Memorandum on the plan to import Chinese contract laborers to Trinidad with papers on the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, I suggested that importing Chinese workers marked an important shift in the colonial management of labor in the Americas. Reading the 1793, 1813, and 1833 HCSC and HLSC Reports on the East India Company, one is equally struck that administrators' and officials' preoccupation with the China trade—in tea, cotton, and silk, as well as workers—represented another shift in colonial strategy, as the British Colonial Office administrators brought together colonialism in the Americas with new forms of labor, trade, and government in the East Indies and China. In these decades, an older economic logic based on colonial conquest and slavery coexisted with a newer economic rationality that included the desire for maritime superiority, and the command of Asian goods and peoples. Yet to grasp the particular modernity of this conjunction, the manner in which liberal ideas, such as free labor and free trade, were employed to innovate and expand an Anglo-American–led world system, it is necessary to conceive settler colonialism, slavery, indenture, imperial war, and trade together, as braided parts of a world process that involved Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Americas, permit-

ting an optic on early nineteenth-century liberalism and empire, which might be otherwise unavailable.

The British East India Company had been established in 1600, as a joint-stock trading company with control over large areas of the Indian subcontinent. Its responsibilities ranged from the administration of factory production and collection of taxes and land revenues to the command of military troops in war or peace and the management of maritime trade between Britain, India, and China. Beginning in 1637, the East India Company managed trade in goods from China.[10] By 1757, the Company became de facto ruler of the wealthiest area of the subcontinent, Bengal, and held a monopoly on trade with Asia, catering to the British demand for Indian and Chinese commodities.[11] The marketplaces in India became sites of conflict between the Company and traditional rulers of Bengal and Benares, as company-directed manufacture and trade reorganized long-established social hierarchies and practices. The Company's monopoly in the India trade ended in 1813, and in the China trade in 1833, with an agent remaining in Canton (Guangzhou) until 1840. After it ceased being primarily a trading company, the Company was charged with governing and administering India. Company rule in India lasted effectively from the Battle of Plassey in 1757 until 1858, when following the 1857 Indian Rebellion, the British Crown assumed direct colonial rule of India in the new British Raj.[12]

The HCSC and HLSC Reports of 1793, 1813, and 1830 include interviews with Company personnel; private merchants trading in tea, cotton, silk, and opium; and ships' captains, who describe the Company's declining profits and the inefficacy of its monopoly. HCSC and HLSC Reports characterize the Company as ill-suited to competition with independent American traders in China, whom they hail for having made significant inroads into the China trade since 1812. Interviewees report that the Americans frequently outbid the Company for the best teas, contested the British monopoly on the import of Indian produced opium to China by importing Turkish opium, and even managed their own sale of British cotton and woolen goods to China. Several suggest that American shippers' efficiency gave them advantages over the British: the more modern, streamlined American ships cost less to build and required a smaller

crew, and its captains had no servants; furthermore, the American sailing time seemed to be about one third shorter than the British voyage.[13] When committee members repeatedly ask about the possible abolition of the company's monopoly in China and the profitability of "free trade," most express conviction that opening the trade would increase the consumption of British manufactures and argue that new demand would be created by individual enterprise and speculation. However, rather than treat the Reports as historical evidence of causes for decisions made about the trades, I read them symptomatically, in terms of the imperial imaginary that these diverse documents imply. That is, the drive to interview witness after witness, to collect statistics and attempt predictions of future outcomes, attests not only to the British perception of China as an unfathomable entity with unlimited resources and markets, but it suggests the incoherence of both company and state policy in the face of the formidable project of managing British sovereignty on not only the subcontinent, but in terms of Asia itself. In the incessant and repetitive focus on the seas (sea captains, shipbuilders, and agents are interviewed for the same information about length of voyage, cargo, ship size, crew size, and so on), one sees the classical framework of sovereign territorial power eclipsed by a fascination with other forms of producing value through mobility and control across expanding, open spaces.[14] In other words, I treat these HCSC and HLSC Reports not as transparent data, but as an archive of *colonial uncertainty*, in which one observes British imperial desire and ambition, in the devising of contradictory strategies, practices, and purviews regarding the China trade.

Historians often attribute the collapse of the East India Company monopoly to the lobbying efforts of the British industrialists, and one standard argument is that manufacturers charged that the Company impeded the sale of their goods in Asia. But examination of the papers of the Select Committees suggests that the government's decision to open the Asian trades to private merchants was less a response to petitioning merchants and more a measure taken both to reckon with the trade deficit with China, and to convert the Company from a trading monopoly into a colonial government, charged with administering and occupying India on behalf of the British state. Ending the Company's commercial

privileges was a critical step toward Britain expanding a broader imperial reach by connecting trade and transit across four continents.

East India Company papers reflect increasing preoccupation with the growing trade deficit with China resulting from the British demand for tea, as tea imports came to account, by the end of the eighteenth century, for more than 60 percent of the Company's trade.[15] Despite well-known prohibitions by the Qing government, and declarations that it was "beneath the Company" to be engaged in the clandestine drug trade, it was an open secret that the Company managed the cultivation and processing of opium in Benares, Bahar, and Malwa that was sold in Calcutta to private merchants, who smuggled and sold opium along the Chinese coast, as the trade surged in the 1820s and 1830s to become the largest single British traded commodity in China.[16] The First Opium War (1839–42) was fought to compel the Chinese to comply with this "free trade" credo, and the 1842 Treaty of Nanking (Nanjing) "opened" the ports of Canton (Guangzhou), Amoy, Foozhou, Ningbo, and Shanghai, and the new colony of Hong Kong to British trade, particularly in opium. "Free trade" elaborated the powers of the British over most of the world's trade routes, expanding well beyond the East India Company monopoly.[17]

The experiment that began with abolition of the slave trade and emancipation of slaves continued with the development of "free wage labor" as a utilitarian discipline for producing a sober, industrious English workforce at home and then moved to the expansion of British dominion through opening "free trade" with China. Liberal "free trade" policies lifted mercantilist barriers and broke up the company monopoly, yet in effect, they provided the means to secure a tight military hold of the subcontinent, while deregulating the expansion of the opium and "coolie" trades in India and coastal China. The transformation of the functions of the Company—from economic monopoly to colonial state—was a crucial episode in the securing of Britain's unprecedented imperial dominance by the end of the nineteenth century, both in terms of colonized population and geographical territory, and in terms of capital accumulation forcibly extracted in labor power, natural resources, colonial debts, and profits from trade. Liberal economic freedom in this manner did not contradict colonial rule, but it accommodated both colonialism and

the expansion of imperial trades in Asia. In other words, there was not a simple replacement of an earlier territorial colonialism by the imperialism of free trade, nor did the lack of liberty in the former resolve in the "freedom" of the latter. Rather, the new practices expressed by early nineteenth-century "free trade" adopted and innovated combinations of colonial slavery with new forms of migrant labor, monopoly with laissez-faire, and an older-style colonial territorial rule with the circulation and mobility of goods and people.

The departure of millions of Chinese and Indian workers for sites around the world affected not only the Anglo-American imperial imagination; it affected Black anticolonial and antislavery imaginations, as well. As British liberals like John Stuart Mill and John Bowring reckoned with Asia, so too did the movements and struggles of peoples in China and India hold a place of significance in the work of thinkers like James, as well as Frederick Douglass, Anna Julia Cooper, W. E. B. Du Bois, Walter Rodney, Frantz Fanon, and others. Conceiving "new world modernity" as comprising transatlantic and transpacific relations, the emergence of the United States can be reframed within a global setting that includes the British, European, and U.S. American slave and "coolie" trades. Considering the circumstances of the trade in Asian goods and people also suggests that slavery, emancipation, and immigration to the new republic of the United States were neither determined by nor entirely independent of British imperial relations with China.

At the risk of "overreading" James's comment about Thackeray and Marx, I am suggesting that James may have recognized in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* an allusion to these imperial connections, or these "intimacies of four continents." James certainly respected Marx's critique of capitalism; but his Trotskyist internationalism and his Pan-Africanism, concerned with the emancipation of workers in the colonized world, was at odds with Marx's restriction of capitalist political economy to nations of industrialized Europe, and the characterization of slavery as either primitive accumulation or a remnant of precapitalist feudalism, rather than as a form of modern labor. In chapter 5, I suggest that over the course of his career, James rethought Marxism to account for slave societies in the Caribbean, colonialism in Asia, and indentured migrant labor, in the dialectics of the modern capitalist mode of production.[18] In other

words, James's comment may not have been an expression of disaffection for Marx, but rather an appreciation of Thackeray's novel, serialized in 1847–48, but set in the 1810s, as not only mediating the "structure of feeling" of English capitalism, but capturing the significance of this moment in the longer history of global empire. Literature and culture mediated these early nineteenth-century world conditions, not by literally reflecting them in a fixed, transparent fashion, but rather by thematizing the manners in which imperial culture simultaneously recognized yet suppressed the emerging contradictions of the era. *Vanity Fair* represented the emerging "cultural dominant" of English bourgeois consumer society and British aspirations as a world empire, and yet it also disclosed how the conception of Britain as a world power within a changing political economy constituted aesthetic and epistemological problems, as well. As Raymond Williams's important *Culture and Society* eloquently instructs us, the transition to a modern social formation was not determined by one cataclysmic event. Rather it took many decades, arguably a long century, for a "new cultural dominant" to emerge and consolidate itself. We might conceive slavery and slave rebellion, migrant and emigrant labor, industrial manufacture and free trade imperialism as social forces contributing to what Williams described elsewhere as "social experiences *in solution*," not yet sedimented or "precipitated."[19] Literature mediates these asymmetries of dominant, residual, and emergent forces, inasmuch as it may portray that such conditions were more often grasped as isolated effects, glimpsed in particular objects in the social fabric, rather than seized totally or framed systemically.

Readers of the novel point to the marketplace as a central trope for the new consumer society, observing the parvenu Becky Sharp's social rise and fall and the novel's explicit use of furniture, clothing, and jewelry as parts of an allegory of greed and moral decline within a changing social order.[20] Not only are objects shown to be a language for articulating style, taste, and social status, but the impulse to consume, emulate, and display bears out extravagant manners for performing fluency in cultural signs of social class and identity. Bourdieu's famous formulation "Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier" already saturated the early nineteenth-century society in *Vanity Fair*, in which carriages, silk gowns, silver tableware, and pianos make legible the status and social class of the

characters, and the novel reserves the bitterest satire for the characters who most surrender meaning and quality to the laws of exchange.[21] Less noted are the ways in which its representations of goods and commodities simultaneously recognize, *and* ingeniously suppress, the histories and geographies of production. In other words, we must situate Thackeray's novel within its historical period, but not in the sense that it is a direct representation of it, or even that it was Thackeray's "intention" to represent shifts in empire. Rather, the novel mediates the "political unconscious" of the age and, particularly through colonial commodification, portrays the "intimacy" of the bourgeois home in relation to the occluded "intimacies" of slavery, colonialism, and the imperial trade in goods and people that constituted an unacknowledged social formation of the era.[22]

For example, in the novel's early nineteenth century, drinking tea had shifted from an expensive luxury reserved for the affluent and had become thoroughly socialized in the space of middle-class households, like the Sedleys' home in Russell Square.[23] Yet the colonial relations on which the "English" ritual depended—sugar from the West Indies, tea and china service imported from China, tables made of hardwoods from the West Indies, splendid dresses made of Indian cottons—these are subordinated as drinking tea becomes the quintessentially "English" custom.[24] When literature occasionally brought the West Indian and South Asian colonial endeavors together, more often than not, the responsibilities for colonialism were conveniently displaced and condensed in stock caricatures like greedy civil servants or cruel slave owners, rather than suggesting a larger reckoning with British imperialism. For example, in a 1792 poem, "Tea and Sugar, or The Nabob and the Creole," a nabob named "Sir Rupee" plunders India, and threatens the comfortable standing of the English gentry, while the "arrogant" West Indian plantation master with "unpitying eyes / remorseless" is the agent responsible for slave abuse and the "cruel code / By which, e'en horrid murder is allowed."[25] The obscuring of colonial relations of production in the English appropriation of tea echoes the rhetorical operations through which the stereotypes of the "nabob" and the "creole" serve to mask the historical conditions of colonialism in South Asia and the West Indies.

In the first volume of *Capital*, Marx analyzed this process by which the object absents both use value and the social character of labor as the "fetishism of commodities," or the production of value through the relationship of exchange.[26] Marx explained that "value" is not intrinsic, but rather it appears as a relation among things exchanged and mediated by the market; it has a social existence. The value of each commodity is expressed as an equivalent of something else, with money being the final form to which each commodity is equated. "Value, therefore," Marx wrote, "does not stalk about with a label describing what it is. It is value, rather, that converts every product into a social hieroglyphic. Later on, we try to decipher the hieroglyphic, to get behind the secret of our own social products; for to stamp an object of utility as a value, is just as much a social product as language."[27] In other words, the "mystical character of commodities" is created through market exchange, which strips the commodity of human labor, natural resource, geography, and temporality; it is through a social script of equivalences that "value" is created, and it is "value" that forms the *trace* that calls our attention to the laws of exchange.

Marx, like Thackeray, was writing about mid-nineteenth-century Britain, yet his analysis of the "fetishism of commodities" and the laws of exchange mediated colonial labor and imperial trade as social conditions occluded in the production of "value." In fact, the examples he provides in volume 1 of *Capital* precisely name these circuits of exchange: "20 yards of linen = 1 coat = 10 lbs of tea = 40 lbs of coffee = X commodity A = 2 ounces of gold."[28] What I suggest is that Marx's formulation of the fetishism of commodities, which focused on British manufactured goods, simultaneously admitted *and* obscured the difference of colonial labor. On the one hand, Marx grasped the importance of labor power to the creation of value and its subordination by the fetishism of market exchange; on the other, the abstract categories of use, exchange, and surplus value presume particular forms of production that do not exhaust the manifold forms of labor being extracted, exported, and violated in the colonial trades.[29] The British sphere of exchange and capital circulation Marx described was always haunted by the specter of colonial labor and the productive bodies of colonial workers. In other words, early Victorian

society was haunted by the colonial labor relations that conjoined appropriation, slavery, and indenture in the Americas. The specters included the trades in which fabrics woven, dyed, and painted in India and China were exchanged for African slaves shipped to the Americas, and those in which opium, grown, processed, and packaged in India, was exchanged for Chinese workers sent around the world. By attending to the ghostly status of these conditions of production in the colonial commodities portrayed in a literary text like Thackeray's, we destabilize those understandings of value as exchange value alone, and emphasize the manner in which colonial labor and resources are not simply vanquished by their circulation in colonial capitalism.[30] In her study *The Ideas in Things*, Elaine Freedgood suggests we may read "things" in Victorian novels for their "fugitive" histories of slavery, imperialism, and industrialism; the mahogany furniture in *Jane Eyre*, calico curtains in *Mary Barton*, tobacco in *Great Expectations*—each signifies beyond their "weak metonymic" reference to wealth, taste or class, to the more occluded conditions of their production.[31] Like Freedgood, I emphasize that to read things and their contexts differently, "against the grain," is to reconstellate a world that neither assumes the history of global capitalism to be even and inevitable, nor conceives of empire as a monolithic project. This is not to suggest we may ever simply restore use value, or return objects to their colonial conditions of production; it is rather to suggest that we read objects and contexts with attention to what they say about lost histories, and the layers of occlusion, which have resulted in a forgetting of the "intimacies of four continents."

Whether one considers the important role of goods as objects and means in the narrative rise and fall of *Vanity Fair's* two main characters, Rebecca Sharp and Amelia Sedley, or whether one observes, like Andrew H. Miller, that the novel's most dramatic scenes are the ones in which goods and money are being transferred—sold, auctioned, stolen, or gifted—it is evident that *Vanity Fair* thematizes the inescapable presence of the commodity form.[32] The narrator leaves no one immune to the organization of values by market exchange, as each of the sixty-eight installments of the serialized novel satirizes the elevation of "price" over the useful, historical, or sentimental value of things and human relations. The novel follows the fortunes of Becky Sharp and Amelia Sedley,

from the mid-1810s to about 1830, and the rise and fall of their families and relations express the decline of the aristocracy, the unsettling of the gentry, the dominant power of merchants, and the emerging professional middle class of lawyers, bankers, and civil servants. While Britain's empire is present—curries are eaten, cashmere shawls are frequent gifts, Jos Sedley works for the East India Company, and William Dobbin's military career takes him from the West Indies to Waterloo to Madras—in each case, the imperial detail is abstracted from the conditions and processes to which they refer. This reification of an unstable part for an absented whole precisely exemplifies the structure of the fetishism of commodities, in which abstracted value occults the histories of labor, material, and geography. We can appreciate that James might have understood *Vanity Fair* as opening up the question of colonial commodification if we consider two key scenes in the novel.

The first scene, in chapter 4, describes the bedroom of Mr. and Mrs. Sedley, the parents of Jos and Amelia, suggesting yet displacing the histories of colonial slavery in the Americas and the imperial trades in Asia that made possible English bourgeois domesticity:

> "Order Mr. Jos's elephant, Sambo," cried the father . . . but seeing Jos ready almost to cry with vexation, the old joker stopped his laughter.
>
> . . . That night in a conversation which took place in a front room in the second-floor, in a sort of tent hung round with chintz of a rich and fantastic Indian pattern, and *doublé* with calico of a tender rose colour . . . Mrs. Sedley took her husband to task for his cruel conduct to poor Joe.
>
> "It was quite wicked of you, Mr. Sedley," said she, "to torment the poor boy so."
>
> "My dear," said the cotton-tassel in defense of his conduct, "Jos is a great deal vainer than you ever were in your life, and that's saying a good deal. . . . But I've no patience with Jos and his dandified modesty. . . . It's a mercy he did not bring us home a black daughter in law, my dear—but mark my words the first woman who fishes for him hooks him."[33]

The "intimacy" of husband and wife in their overstuffed curtained Victorian bed is a metaphor for the confining restrictions of the Sedley

household; its "tented" claustrophobic space of middle-class family infantilizes their daughter Amelia and abjects their son Jos, while domesticating the violence of colonial slavery in the figure of "Sambo," who labors at the margins of the marriage bed, and in the phantasm of "a black daughter in law." Amelia is throughout described as naïve and unworldly, lacking in taste and sensibility, entirely gullible to the charms of the pompous and self-regarding George Osborne; while Jos, a tax collector for the East India Company, is the very caricature of the "dandified" nabob, a vulgar nouveau riche with ill-gotten gains, whose feminization figures his failure to display proper English masculinity. Eve Sedgwick was the first to identify Thackeray's Jos Sedley as a forerunner of the "urban bachelor," marginal to the nuclear reproductive family, like the flaneurs of Poe, Wilde, or Baudelaire, "between the respectable bourgeoisie and bohemia."[34] The mocking of Jos as "dandified," Joseph Litvak suggests, makes Jos the narrator's "effeminate double" and consolidates the narrator's sophistication, even as he ironically upholds a singular normative bourgeois masculinity.[35] When Mrs. Sedley chides him, Mr. Sedley's retort is a backhanded slap at Mrs. Sedley's femininity, lest her "curtain lecture" embolden her to imagine she might chide him outside of their marriage bed.

The representation of the domestic household as a plush, cozy "tent," whose interior is decorated with pillows and enclosed by chintz and cotton draperies, cuts a number of ways. On the one hand, the bed curtains would seem to pronounce the boundaries of the domestic, as if the "tent" surrounds and upholds normative bourgeois intimacy; on the other, it attests to vain attempts to fend off the persistent presence of a range of *other* sexual practices and intimacies, including race mixture and colonial miscegenation. To name the Sedleys' servant "Sambo" in the early nineteenth century does not simply recall the story of the South Indian boy who encounters hungry tigers and is reduced to melted butter used to make pancakes. It evokes the long brutal history of transatlantic slavery and draws shamelessly from the repertoire of American blackface minstrelsy that fetishized figures of black abjection in the notorious history of racism and racial display in the United States, where slavery continued in full force at the time of Thackeray's writing. It heralds the Sedleys' bedroom as a site of what Christina Sharpe calls "monstrous intimacy," the home space that condenses violent subjection and bour-

geois confinement, the "mundane horrors that aren't acknowledged to be horror."[36] As scholars have observed, minstrelsy was, and is, a cultural performance through which normative whiteness is upheld; the potential threat of Black revolt and retaliation is subsumed in a "harmless entertainment," while containing Black rebellion through the force of the degraded stereotype.[37] Sylvia Wynter observes that "the social construct of Sambo, like the opposing social construct of the rebellious Nat, was necessary to the self-conception not only of the master, but to that of all whites . . . who patterned their own self-conception on the master-model."[38] Through citation and repetition of this repertoire, Thackeray's text references these familiar scripts, even as it displaces and mutes their conditions of production. Mr. Sedley's expression of dread that his family might include a "black daughter in law" recalls Rhoda Swartz, the West Indian mulatta heiress character who appears as another prospective "black daughter in law" early in the novel. Rhoda Swartz, as Jennifer DeVere Brody has suggested, both signifies and disavows racial mixture and the "impossible purity" of Englishness and "comments upon the 'illegitimate' source of English wealth and the unseemly sources of English imperial power."[39] In Thackeray's time, "black" would refer both to people of African descent, and to those of South Asian origin. Yet since it was historically rare that East India Company men brought their Indian wives "home" to England—it was more common for company men to have wives and families of mixed race children who remained in India—the alleged threat that a "black daughter in law" might cross the hearth of the English household conflates and admits colonial projects across the West and East Indies: from the transatlantic African slave trade, to a trade in Indian women that provided domestic slaves for many Anglo-Indian families.[40]

At the same time, the fabrics encircling the Sedleys' marriage bed also signify the fragility of the construction of the English domesticity, within the vicissitudes of a society determined by capitalist exchange. After all, shortly following this scene, John Sedley loses everything at the Stock Exchange, and his impoverished family must rely on support from Jos, who returns to Bengal to continue working for the East India Company. The scene of domestic intimacy in the Sedley bedroom emphasizes that it was produced by and dependent on the "intimacies of

four continents"—both in the sense that Africa and Asia provided the revenues that constituted British wealth, and in the sense that colonized labor produced the material fabrics and furnishings of the middle-class bedroom.[41]

The bed curtain, the "chintz of a rich and fantastic Indian pattern, and *doublé* with calico of a tender rose colour," both reveals and conceals the long colonial history of cotton's production and reproduction. Until 1800, the Indian subcontinent was *the* most important cotton-manufacturing region in the world, making textiles for export to other parts of Asia, Europe, and Africa, and throughout the eighteenth century, the British and Dutch East India Companies imported a wide variety of cotton textiles from India for English and European markets.[42] Along with goods like Chinese porcelain, muslins, and silks, chintz, and calicoes transformed taste, fashion, and material culture in metropolitan London, providing consumers with furnishing fabric for draperies, quilts, and bedcovers in colors and patterns that were not available among European-manufactured goods. The precise and elaborate chintz designs were achieved through a sophisticated multistaged process that included dyeing, painting, and staining, often characterized by vibrant reds, derived from a dye found in the Coromandel coast in southeast India.[43] The labor-intensive weaving, painting, staining, and dyeing was simultaneously a knowledge-based intellectual labor, a material bodily labor, and an affective labor of sustaining textile artisanal communities that invented the complex collaborative designs that were refined, mastered, and passed on.[44] Many painted chintz bed curtains featured the flowering tree pattern, the most popular design for chintz hangings and bed covers.[45] The tree pattern was a design that evolved out of Islamic, Chinese, and European sources, whose "hybridity" expressed the contact, conflicts, and exchanges of the preceding centuries.[46]

Members of the middle and lower classes had first bought the vibrant cottons as a less expensive facsimile of the brocades and flowered silks favored by the aristocracy, yet once Sir Josiah Child, director of the East India Company, launched a promotion of Indian cottons, chintz and calicoes rapidly became fashionable among discriminating gentry and nobility. By the eighteenth century, they were so popular that British

manufacturers argued for bans on further imports, casting the desire for vividly colored calicoes, and the pursuit of fashion and luxury generally, as feminine and corrupting.[47] Daniel Defoe was a particularly vehement critic of the dangers of chintz traveling across regions and classes, and from wall covering to clothing, as signs of its corrupting contagion: "Chints [*sic*] and painted calicoes, before only made for carpets and quilts, and to clothe children of ordinary people, become now the dress of our ladies."[48] Protectionists complained that Indian and Chinese cottons and silks had caused a draining of bullion from Europe to Asia, and they linked the feminized consumption of Indian-produced designs to "oriental" production, implying that the low price of Indian goods reflected a degraded culture, and endangered British standards. In 1721, Parliament passed a law that prohibited the "use or wear of any printed or dyed calicoes," and until 1774, the use and sale of painted, printed, flowered, and patterned textiles from India were illegal, though the ban on Indian fabrics was eventually relaxed, once home mills managed to produce chintz, by imitating Indian designs.[49] Initially the nascent cotton trade in Lancashire was unable to match India cottons in variety or quality, but working with wooden blocks and later with copper plates, English and Scottish printers learned to imitate Indian patterns and sold these high-end productions to middle- and upper-class consumers.[50]

With the invention of machinery to spin, weave, and print, and the establishment of the factory system, British manufacturers were soon imitating and mass-producing Indian calico designs. Cylinder, or roller, printers were able to copy long, continuous pieces of cloth as they never had before.[51] While the block would print six pieces per day, the roller could produce between two hundred and five hundred. In 1793, the East India Company responded to the merchants and manufacturers' alarm at the volume of imports and consumption of Indian products by assuring that "the slow Progress of an Indian Manufacture, unaided by Machinery, will require Ten, Twelve, perhaps Fifteen Persons to perform the same Work which a single British Manufacturer can execute, assisted as he is by numerous Inventions and Improvements." It was claimed that "Home Manufacture has increased to an immense Extent, whilst the internal Consumption of Indian Callicoes and Muslins has been reduced almost

to nothing."[52] The only remaining difficulty was securing enough supplies of raw cotton from the United States, Egypt, and India to support British manufacture.[53]

During the 1810s, India's artisanal economy lost its ability to compete with British-made textiles. The Charter Act of 1813, which ended the Company monopoly in India, opened the way for the former home of cotton manufacture to become inundated by British cotton goods. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Lancashire cotton trade had expanded and was supplying the markets of Africa, Asia, the United States, South America, and, ultimately, the Indian subcontinent.[54] While historians presume the long-standing poverty of Indian weavers, Prasannan Parthasarathi argues that Indian workers became impoverished only after British colonialism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had disrupted labor and agricultural practices within which weavers had long prospered. Company and colonial state organization of weaving and cotton manufacture displaced both traditional agriculture and weaving practices, leading to a decline in wages and work.[55] In other words, not only did British manufacturers successfully imitate Indian designs in usurping cotton manufacture, but "free trade" backed by colonial military means had transformed India from a cotton goods manufacturer into a supplier of raw cotton to support British manufacturing, and a receiving market for Britain's own cotton goods.

British cotton's success was central to the history of the British industrial revolution, and the national story of innovation and mechanization effectively superseded the South Asian labor and production on which the Lancashire industry was built. Metropolitan industry had not only appropriated the Indian knowledge and design refined over centuries, but it appropriated both material and affective Indian labor; the Indian rhythms of work and repose, pleasures of community, conversation, worship, and human society were sidelined and replaced by the less costly domestic imitation. Giorgio Riello argues that until the late seventeenth century, knowledge of coloring agents, textile dyeing, and printing had been unknown in Europe, and that the success of European cotton textile production depended on the late eighteenth-century "knowledge transfer" that occurred when European textile manufacturers adopted Indian and Chinese designs and techniques.[56] The exclusively British-

driven economic story of success through innovation and mechanization does not capture the sociality of Indian labor, nor does it convey the complex manner in which Indians and British, peasants, middlemen, and imperialists, actively produced colonial capitalism.[57]

The story of British cotton became central to a national ideal of liberal progress, modern innovation, and free enterprise. For example, the Great Exhibition of 1851 at London's Crystal Palace in Hyde Park prominently showcased cotton manufacture among its displays of industrialized Britain's manufactured goods. Much has been written about the monumental world's fair that was the occasion to show the world the sophistication and diversity of Victorian commodity culture.[58] The Great Exhibition gave coherence to the all facets of liberalism, bringing together principles of free trade, individualism, competition, education, parliamentary reform, breaking free of landed aristocracy, and the belief in the perfectability of society. Arguably a response to the successful French Industrial Exposition of 1844, the Crystal Palace Exhibition was an imperial spectacle, featuring 100,000 exhibits from around the world, with more than twenty thousand people attending.[59] In a March 1850 speech promoting the exhibit, Prince Albert presented Britain's aspirations as a world empire: "The distances which separated the different nations and parts of the globe are rapidly vanishing before the achievements of modern invention. . . . The products of all quarters of the globe are placed at our disposal, and we have only to choose which is best and the cheapest for our purpose, and the powers of production are intrusted to the stimulus of competition and capital."[60] The exhibition catalogue represented the history of cotton to illustrate that England was the premiere industrialized "workshop of the world," which all other nations would do well to emulate:

> The history of cotton manufacture in Great Britain presents several facts of the most wonderful description. No other manufacture represents this country in a position so important and influential, and in none has any department of industry attained, within the same interval of time, proportions so vast and relations so powerful. . . . One by one the great mechanical difficulties were resolved. The spinning-frame was suggested by an accident, spinning by rollers was

> twice abandoned, and then successfully accomplished; the first mule worked in an attic, the first spinning-jenny in a cottage. . . . The beginning of this stupendous manufacture was truly significant, and contrasts wonderfully with its present position.[61]

Cotton was held up as the example of Britain's successful extrapolation of the regional Lancashire cotton industry based in Manchester into a national, and ultimately, a world scale one, disconnecting English cotton from the global labor and trade that formed the conditions for the English industry.[62] Marx himself used the Lancashire cotton industry as the model for volume 1 of *Capital* (1867) and visited Manchester over twenty times between 1845 and 1880. British cottons both acknowledged and appropriated the global history of cotton fabrics from the Indian subcontinent; the exhibit catalogue identified the English manufactures by the Asian names for the print, dye, or method of production: calicoes and chintzes, as well as ginghams (from Malay *genggang* meaning striped); seersuckers (from Hindustani, drawing from Persian words *shir o shekar*, meaning "milk and sugar"); and taffetas (from a Persian word meaning woven).

Thus, like the story of Lancashire cotton, the description of the Sedleys' bed, adorned "with chintz of a rich and fantastic Indian pattern," both acknowledges and disavows the complicated history of Indian labor and East Indies trade: the description excises "chintz" and "the Indian pattern" as the signature traits of the commodity developed in India specifically for Western export. Embedded in this expression are the very operations of colonial commodification itself: first, *chintz* was made in India to the specifications of British and European tastes, then those designs were copied and mechanically reproduced by the British manufacturers. The detachment of the "Indian pattern," both history and emblem of the East Indies trade, was the condition for industrial modernization, and the ultimate displacement of the "aura" of earlier Indian imports, however much a residual trace of this Indian past, remains in the words *chintz* and *calico* themselves, "chintz" coming from Hindi *chheent* (meaning spattering, stain), and "calico" from Calicut (the city in Kerala, India, from which they once came.) Thus, we can read this layered history of displacement and reproduction ironically folded

into the double entendre of "*doublé*" (meaning doubled, as well as duplicated) in the description of the fabrics tenting the Sedley's bed, "hung round with chintz of a rich and fantastic Indian pattern, and *doublé* with calico of a tender rose colour."

The second passage to which I want to draw attention also concerns an imported Asian textile, though rather than defining domesticity, the fabric mediates erotic intimacy. For any reader of the novel, it is clear that Rebecca Sharp is the figure for capitalist appetite, and her serial seductions of Rawdon Crawley, the Marquis de Steyne, and Jos Sedley each advance her wealth and social station, in an explicit satire of an English society captive to market values. This passage of her seduction of Lord Steyne is prefaced by a description of his "little eyes leering toward Rebecca":

> The great Lord of Steyne was standing by the fire sipping coffee. . . . There was a score of candles sparkling round the mantel piece, in all sorts of quaint sconces, of gilt and bronze and porcelain. They lighted up Rebecca's figure to admiration, as she sat on a sofa covered with a pattern of gaudy flowers. She was in a pink dress that looked as fresh as a rose; her dazzling white arms and shoulders were half-covered with a thick hazy scarf through which they sparkled; her hair hung in curls around her neck; one of her little feet peeped out from the fresh crisp folds of the silk: the prettiest little foot in the prettiest little sandal in the finest silk stocking in the world. (377)

Rebecca's bared arms and shoulders "dazzle" and "sparkle" through the gauzy scarf wrapped to veil them, while the silk dress drapes her legs in such a way as to permit a glimpse of her silk-clad foot. She poses on the sofa to draw Lord Steyne's "leering eyes" to her tiny extremity, emerging into view beneath the sweeping garment, as if to intimate all that remains hidden in the fair folds of pink silk. Having her display herself "on a sofa covered with a pattern of gaudy flowers," the narrator ironically observes the way in which Becky knows not only to pose herself to be looked on, but also to place her "prettiest little foot" so that *it* "peep[s] out" from the folds of her skirt, as if she understands the operations of eroticism that employs the small protruding part to suggest the absented whole, and perhaps even anticipates the libidinal processes that Freud

will later analyze as fetish-substitution. Indeed, the formulation "the finest silk stocking in the world" figures an imperial imaginary through a cultural logic that condenses commodity and sexual fetishism.[63]

Becky posing to seduce with her silk-clad foot as fetish also cites and condenses several well-known orientalist associations. As the English appropriated Indian cotton manufacture, so too had western Europeans adapted Chinese sericulture; by the eighteenth century, Britain levied considerable duties on raw silk from China to protect its own silk manufacture and to discourage its import. The silk fabric and stocking alludes to Chinese silk production, as well as to chinoiserie, the style that expressed both the European taste for Chinese imports of silk, porcelain, and furniture, and also the fashionable European imitations of Chinese designs.[64] Yet the passage suggests not merely the Chinese origins of silk, but Becky's "little foot" would appear to refer also to Chinese *footbinding*, the convention of wrapping girls' feet to make them tiny and narrow that is said to have originated among Song dynasty court dancers and palace consorts; though rarer by this time, it was still occasionally practiced, and the object of Western medical and missionary reformers' consternation.[65] It is as if Becky's pose cites images that would have been available in the early nineteenth century, depicting Chinese women with bound feet; her pose is itself an example of chinoiserie, a fanciful imitation of the footbinding motif that at once cites yet modifies the orientalist fetish. Among nineteenth-century orientalists, footbinding was condemned as barbaric and perverse, and commonly denounced as unnaturally maiming aristocratic women in order to demonstrate the leisure of their class, the ultimate emblem of Chinese incomprehensibility and otherness. Sir John Francis Davis, a sinologist and Second Governor of Hong Kong, wrote of the Chinese custom of "mutilating women's feet" as an "artificial deformity" that "conveyed the exemption from labour . . . the tottering gait of the poor women, as they hobble along the heel of the foot, they compare to the waving of a willow agitated by the breeze."[66] That Becky is posed in an allusion to footbinding satirizes her aspirations to aristocratic femininity, while reiterating the common trope of Asian backwardness in need of rescue by Western modernity. As Dorothy Ko has argued, "footbinding-as-concealment" became a favorite trope within an orientalist epistemology that constructed China



3.2 From Sir John Francis Davis, *The Chinese: A General Description of China and Its Inhabitants* (London: Charles Knight, 1845). Senate House Library, London.

as inscrutable and unknowable, an enigmatic figure that signified the difficulty of "reading" Chinese culture and practices.[67]

Finally, I suggest the passage alludes to the long history of the silk trade, and to silk's particular meanings as the East India Company monopoly in China was coming to an end.[68] The East India Company had imported finished and raw silk from the seventeenth century onward, and the silk trade, like the cotton one, became a matter of controversy during the English debates about free trade, when manufacturers of silk cloth, ribbons, gloves, and stockings argued adamantly against liberal free trade policies that recommended removing protectionist duties.[69] Yet "silk" was a commodity that referred beyond itself to a complex history of trade in which silk and opium were regularly paired together, in which silk often constituted the legal trade with opium as its illegal shadow cargo. The Company's explicit denial that it was engaged in the clandestine drug trade was contradicted by the robust cultivation, administration, and processing of opium in India that was later sold to private British, American, and "country trade" merchants; the chests bore the East India Company's mark until they were unloaded in Canton, where it was the practice of the ship's crews to strip off and dispose of the chests.

In the 1830 *Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Commons Appointed to Enquire into the Present State of the East India Company*, the committee interviewed John Francis Davis, at that time a member of the East India Company, as to "official knowledge of a considerable quantity of that opium sold by the East-India Company's authority in India, and a license granted to British subjects to carry it to China." Davis replied: "We cannot possibly be ignorant. . . . The Company enjoys a monopoly of the growth of opium in India, and therefore they must be the sellers of it; but I am confident the Chinese are perfectly ignorant of a circumstance which is foreign to their empire."[70] Other witnesses spoke extensively about the opium trade: John Aken, a ship's commander of the *Exmouth*, carrying cotton and opium between India and China, stated that the opium chests packaged by the Company in India bore the Company's mark, and were then sold in the original packages, with the Company's mark on them. "We strip the chest away entirely when the merchants take it away, and we throw the chest overboard; [the opium] is then put into bags."[71]

Expanding the opium trade was an explicit priority of both the British and American China trades in the 1810s and 1820s.[72] Opium made up an increasing percentage of imports to China, by 1830 nearly 70 percent of the entire trade; while, on British and American return trips, other than tea, raw silk and silk piece goods made up the largest export from China.[73] "Silk" was the legitimate trade that screened the illicit yet fully recognized "opium trade." For example, in an interview with the Parliamentary Select Committee investigating the China trade, Joshua Bates, an American partner in the merchant house of Baring Brothers and Company, identified himself as a "silk merchant," who imported from China to the United States and Britain, but in the course of his interview, it became evident that his cargo from India to China was largely opium, the sale of which provided the money with which he purchased silk for the return voyage to England.[74] Returning to the novel, we observe in the description of Becky with Lord Steyne—"She was in a pink dress that looked as fresh as a rose"—that metaphor is employed to draw an equivalence between the silk dress and a rose; metaphorical comparison represents something in terms of something else; it involves a "carrying-over" from one realm to another. In this sense, a metaphor

makes equivalences but implicitly acknowledges that two things compared are actually not identical.[75] In the Company representations of the 1820s trades, the relationship between silk and opium is a *metaphorical* one, in which one often stands for the other, and in which there is a "carrying-over" of the legitimacy of silk to the clandestine trade of opium.[76] Silk both stood for the opium trade: for example, Joshua Bates identified himself by saying, "I am a silk trader," which meant, "I trade in opium"; *and* silk was literally exchanged for opium: opium brought to Canton was traded there for raw silk and finished silk pieces, and in this exchange of commodities, silk was rendered an equivalent to opium, a something for a something else.[77]

Thus, the representations of chintz bed curtains and silk dresses in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* suggest an analogy between the operations of *metaphor* and the processes of exchange that Marx analyzed in the commodity form. While both Marx and Thackeray, in a sense, ask us to "read" the commodity rhetorically, Marx gives us access to a metonymic chain of other commodities, while it is literary representation, by foregrounding *metaphor* as a process that both evokes through equivalence and occludes through exchange, which provides a unique understanding of the historical operations of *colonial* commodification. Literature and literary language may offer us an instruction in how to read for the presence of colonial goods and the absence of colonial labor and imperial trade in the history, politics, and economics of the modern world.

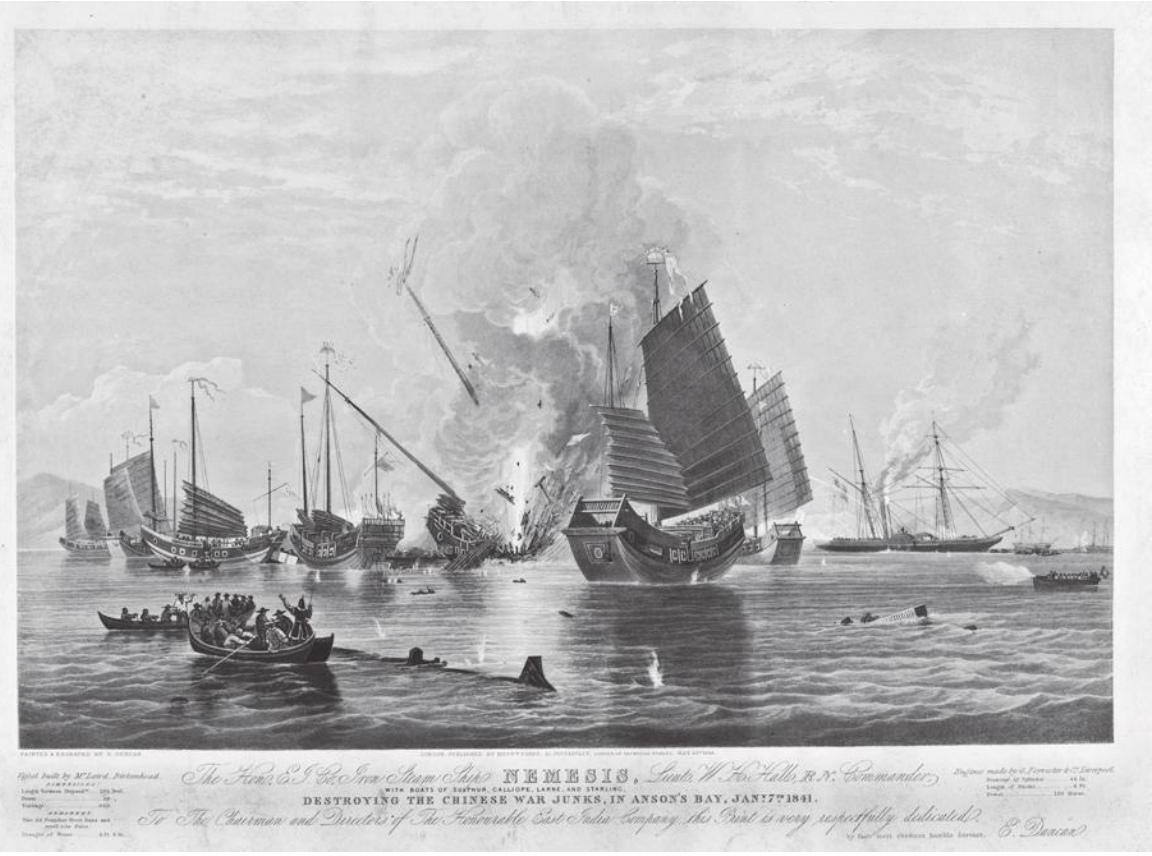
Literary descriptions of nineteenth-century British and American homes, furnished with porcelains, ivory, silks, carpets, and furniture from China and India, hardly emphasize the labor of slaves, colonized weavers, opium farmers, or indentured "coolies," yet the East Indies and China trades were precisely occasions for Anglo-American cooperative enterprises that depended on these colonial laborers.[78] The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sugar industry brought together settler colonialism in the Americas, the African slave trade and slave plantations, and imported Asian labor, producing the wealth for the West Indian plantocracy, and for the colonial mercantile powers. If the British plan to import Chinese and Indian workers was intimately connected to the abolition of the slave trade, these connections were deepened and formalized in the aftermath of emancipation, during the "imperial reallocation" of

Asian labor to the Americas.[79] After abolition, Britain expanded its profits from the slave trade as British banks advanced credit to finance slavery in Latin America, and Spanish and Portuguese debts to Britain were paid in American silver that was in turn used to trade for Chinese goods, like tea.[80] Meanwhile, after supplanting cotton manufacture in India, the nineteenth-century British cotton industry flourished through importing over 70 percent of its raw cotton from the United States, where it was picked by African slaves on plantations in the American South.[81] In this sense, even after the abolition of slavery in the British empire, Britain benefited from a cotton industry that linked enslaved workers in the United States, South Asian weavers who once wove and printed fabrics now available for emigration to sites within the empire, and English and Scottish laborers working in the machine-based British industry.[82] Slavery and wage labor, agrarian production and metropolitan industry, and maritime trade and colonial military sovereignty were intimate parts of the same imperial moment.

Furthermore, the nineteenth-century trades in opium and laborers were operations that extended Anglo-American transatlantic and transpacific activities and contributed to the ascension of both Britain and the United States; the administration of the opium trade reiterated and permitted the expansion of the circuits of the "coolie" trade. The Opium Wars opened Chinese treaty ports to emigration agents, brokers, employers, and shippers and secured the conditions for the ports to become stages for the massive recruitment of millions of workers from southern China for agricultural and industrial labor throughout the world.[83] Although the American role in the opium trade has been relatively ignored in the historiography, British Parliamentary Papers frequently refer to American merchants entering the trade in 1807, with the trade increasing after 1812; by 1821, there is a regularization of the Anglo-American cooperation in the opium trade.[84] Lisa Yun argues that U.S. firms became leaders of Chinese "coolie" shipping to the Americas, rivaling the British, Spanish, French, and Portuguese in the number of ships and workers transported in the trade.[85] Although U.S. laws had made slave trafficking illegal, "coolie" traders exploited legal ambiguities to justify the import of Chinese workers as the carriage of "passengers" on American vessels from one foreign port to another foreign port.[86] Curtis Marez observes

the "symbiotic relationship" and "horizontal integration" between the markets in opium and in Chinese labor, and Christopher Munn notes "two great trades sustained Hong Kong's early economy: the import of opium into China, and the export of labor out of China."[87] In the next chapter, I consider the establishment of the new Crown Colony of Hong Kong at the end of the First Opium War to understand further how the expansion of British imperial sovereignty in Asia took place by means of liberal ideas of "free trade" and "government."

In conclusion, perhaps James may have considered Thackeray's novel *Vanity Fair* as an occasion for thinking through how the ubiquitous appearance of commodities such as tea, chintz, or silk evoked yet obscured their conditions of production, and perhaps in this lesson, he understood the novel as instructing us as to how the absenting of histories of slavery, colonialism, and trade has been naturalized and reproduced. While we may address these absences by retrieving lost histories and discovering secret or disavowed episodes in the archive, perhaps James also believed in a place for "reading literature," not literature in the stricter sense of a fixed canon of aesthetic works detached from social history, but *reading literature* as that momentary suspension of the desire to fill in the historical gaps with facts and figures, in favor of the inquiry into the operations through which such absences are created. "Thackeray" may be a metaphor, in this sense, for an interpretative hermeneutic that attends to the dynamic of presence and absence, equivalence and exchange, in given orthodox accounts, in order to excavate the "intimacies of four continents." This "reading literature" is not a substitute for action, but a space for a different kind of thinking alongside it, an attention to both the "what-could-have-been" and the "what-will-be" that would otherwise be subsumed in the march of received official history.



4.1 *The HEIC Nemesis Destroying Chinese War Junks in Anson's Bay* (1843). Painter: Edward Duncan. © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.

CHAPTER 4
THE RUSES OF LIBERTY

In the aftermath of the First Opium War (1839–42) as the British were establishing the new Crown Colony of Hong Kong, Lord Aberdeen, the British Foreign Secretary, wrote to Sir Henry Pottinger, the First Governor of Hong Kong, on January 6, 1843: "Although as I have stated in my dispatch of the 4th that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government that Hong Kong should be a free Port, I think it advisable that you should not allow any exaggerated expectations to be founded on that term, which might inconveniently fetter Her Majesty's Government in making any arrangements either for purposes of police or of revenue which on mature consideration might appear expedient."[1] In light of the 1830s–40s conversion of the East India Company from a commercial monopoly to a colonial government in the service of an expanded "free trade" in China, Aberdeen's precise parsing of the meanings of "freedom" aptly illustrates the divergent objectives the concept of "freedom" managed to reconcile, and the different enterprises it could facilitate. Like Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill, and other liberal advocates of "free trade," Aberdeen defined one kind of "freedom" as the British expansion of an international trade in manufactured goods and migrant labor, while taking pains to distinguish and separate these British prerogatives from the classic sense of "liberty" as political sovereignty. Aberdeen's parsing of the meaning of "freedom," designed to grant the British Crown unrestricted authority in the treaty ports, precisely demonstrated the variety

of purposes to which liberal ideas were being applied as the British expanded their imperial reach into China.

Aberdeen's qualification—that the British "free trade" be conceptually delinked from notions of either a subject's liberty or a nation's sovereignty—was a manifestation of the requirements for the new government of liberty, not only in nineteenth-century colonial Hong Kong, but moreover, in the expanding British empire. Liberal political reason became, in this historical conjunction, Britain's normative framework that facilitated the move from mercantile colonialism in the Americas to expanded imperialism in Asia and Africa, according to which liberal governance of colonized populations would facilitate access to resources and markets. While colonial power had employed "negative" powers to seize, enslave, occupy, and destroy, a new mode of imperial sovereignty also expanded the "productive" power to administer the life, health, labor, and mobility of colonized bodies.[2] The productive powers of liberty were realized in the command of bodies that moved themselves, exemplified by the millions of Chinese emigrant laborers exported around the world.

In the earlier discussion of the management of the China trade during the investigations of the renewal of the East India Company Charters in 1793, 1813, and 1830, I observed that the question of "China" emerged as *the* crucial site for British parliamentarians, colonial administrators, and military personnel to deliberate over the scope, means, and conception of the future global social order. England had been engaged with China since the "Governor and Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies" was founded in 1600. Factories were established in Formosa (Taiwan), in Tonkin (Vietnam), and at Amoy, Canton (Guangzhou), and Chusan, by the mid-seventeenth century; the first English notice of tea appears in 1664.[3] Trade with China began in earnest in 1762 with the establishment of a factory in Canton, which became the major Chinese entrepôt for European trade in the nineteenth century. Eighteenth-century British representations of "China" expressed not only the fascination with Chinese difference, but "China" was often imagined as the resolution to desires, conflicts, and contradictions within English society itself.[4] Some eighteenth-century representations idealized China's antiquity as an aristocratic antithesis of England's rising commercial society, yet by the

end of the century, a standard orientalist rhetoric figured China as fixed, despotic, isolated in a distant past, devoid of rational "rule of law," and in need of Western modernization and development.[5] Lord Macartney, for example, the British envoy who famously led the First Embassy to China in 1792, described China as a "semibarbarous people in comparison with the present nations of Europe."[6] Colonial and Foreign Office administrators cast their mission as the noble rescue and liberation of China from "backward" Manchu rulers and declared it was the English duty to "open" China to commercial enterprise and progress.[7]

By the late 1790s, East India Company administrators were preoccupied with increasing debt to China and sought to change the imbalance of trade from the British tea imports, with reports showing the export in bullion exceeding many times that of the export in produce and manufactures.[8] To balance exchange and prevent the "drain of silver" required in payment for Chinese imports, the Company improvised an elaborate, layered opium trade, despite the Qing government's explicit prohibition of the drug's import. The Company managed the cultivation, production, and packaging of opium in Benares, India, and private merchants like Jardine, Matheson, and Company, and others, imported the opium for sale along the Chinese coast. By the 1820s and 1830s, opium was the largest single traded commodity that Britain imported to China.[9] Silver received from drug runners at Lintin was paid into the Company's factory at Canton, and by 1825, the illegal trade rapidly raised most of the funds needed to buy Chinese tea. Yet opium was more than simply an economic commodity.[10] The distribution of the highly addicting drug that induced docility and dependence targeted the biology of the Chinese population, constituting a very different form of governance than earlier modes of political dominance or territorial conquest.[11] North American merchants played a significant role in the opium trade, as well, initially by carrying Turkish opium for sale in China in the 1810s, and then after 1821, stationing U.S. ships as opium depots in the waters outside of Canton to avoid Chinese government prohibitions, in exchange for protection and privileges from the British East India Company.[12] Vastly different notions of British and Qing sovereignty clashed in a series of disputes over the location, volume, and personnel involved in the trade in opium, erupting in the Anglo-Chinese War of 1839–42.[13] The

postwar 1842 Treaty of Nanjing established British trading privileges in the ports of Canton, Amoy, Foozhou, Ningbo, and Shanghai and established the Crown Colony in Hong Kong. The United States representative Caleb Cushing negotiated a comparable diplomatic agreement, the 1844 Treaty of Wanghia (Wangxia), which granted the United States most-favored-nation status, and extraterritorial rights for its citizens in China, as well. Teemu Ruskola argues that through the "unequal treaties" of Nanjing and Wangxia, British and American extraterritorial jurisdiction appeared to recognize China as a state within the international legal system, while at the same time compromising its sovereignty at both national and international levels.[14]

Contrary to the accepted understanding of political liberalism as the principle of formal equality and respect for the sovereignty of nation-states, I observe the ways that liberalism furnished the economic, as well as political and humanitarian, rationales for British imperial governance in Asia. Building on Adam Smith's critique of mercantilism and David Ricardo's law of comparative advantage, liberals at the *Westminster Review*, founded by liberal utilitarian Jeremy Bentham in 1823, combined political economic interests in efficient expansion of production with humanitarian beliefs in social reform.[15] The first issue included essays by both James Mill and his son, John Stuart Mill. An 1831 editorial, responding to the 1830 *Reports from the House of Commons Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company China Trade*, charged that the Company monopoly maintained profits for the British government and aristocracy, through exploiting the working classes' consumption of tea and other products from China and India.[16]

In 1829–30, John Stuart Mill wrote "Of the Laws of Interchange between Nations," an essay on free trade that would make one of the most significant additions to Ricardo's law of comparative advantage.[17] Ricardo had argued that in the trade between two countries, if each country produced the commodity in the production of which it enjoyed a comparative advantage, the total production would be increased, stressing that the costs of production determined comparative advantage.[18] Mill modified Ricardo's theory, adding that it was not only the costs of production, but the demand for the good, and the cost of acquiring it, that determined comparative advantage. In other words, the value of an

import, for example, tea, was not decided exclusively by what it cost the Chinese to produce. Rather, Mill held that the import's value on the market was affected by British demand, and by the British cost to produce the thing that was exported to pay for the tea, in other words, the cost of producing opium in India for export to China.[19] These insights may have been informed by Mill's observations working in the Examiner's office at the East India Company for thirty-five years from 1823 to 1858, where he had ample opportunity to analyze the movements of international trade, as he worked out the doctrine of reciprocal demands.[20] Mill's embellishments of Ricardo's laws of international trade may well have been describing the East India Company's strategy that had successfully balanced the China tea trade by increasing the import of British India–manufactured opium to China.

Indeed, John Stuart Mill's identification with company rule in India appears to have been unwavering. With the end of the East India Company's exclusive commercial privileges in 1833, the Company ceased being concerned with the business of trade, and its responsibilities focused on the civil and military governance of India. The Charter Act of 1833 had divested the Company of all commercial functions, and centralized the administration in the Governor-General-in-Council with full power to control the Bombay, Madras, and Bengal Presidencies in all civil and military matters.[21] Over time, the Company had acquired many features of a colonial state: the ability to wage war and peace, assess taxes and collect revenues, and administer civil and criminal justice. Accordingly, after 1833, the Company offices established to administer education, taxes and land revenues, law and jurisdiction over provinces and areas, and police and military forces took on more central importance.[22] In 1856, Mill was appointed the Chief Examiner of Indian Correspondence, heading the office in which he had worked for thirty years as First Assistant. In this position, Mill had the task of authoring several of the most important defenses of Company rule as Parliament was preparing to dissolve the Company's responsibility for governing India, including the 1858 *Company Petition to the Parliament*, which disputed the implication that failures of Company rule had led to the 1857 Indian Rebellion.[23] Most significantly, Mill wrote an extensive defense of the Company's record, *Memorandum of the Improvements in the Administration of India*

during the Last Thirty Years, which details the Company's accomplishments in revenues, education, and public works, and in building police and military forces to maintain social order.[24] The *Memorandum* is a virtual manual on the constitution of effective colonial government, before the final Government of India Act of 1858 dissolved the East India Company entirely, and its Indian possessions, including the armed forces, were taken over by the Crown. I discuss this *Memorandum* as well as the concluding chapter of Mill's famous *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861), which includes an elegy to the East India Company.

While it was the case that Mill's daily work life in the Examiner's Office consisted in drafting letters that reported on financial and administrative decisions in the administration of India, I am not making a biographical or causal argument about Mill's imbrication in British colonialism. That is, I am *not* suggesting that Mill originated the trade practices employed in China, or that working in the East India Company was the reason that he argued for free trade. Rather, as Uday Singh Mehta, Lynn Zastoupil, and others observe, I hold that the British liberal tradition, best exemplified by Mill, in fact provided the political economic philosophy that permitted imperial expansion.[25] In this sense, Mill—as both liberal philosopher and East India Company administrator—mediated his social and historical context, as an *organic intellectual* of British imperialism.[26] Contrary to the common claim of the civilizing mission—that empire was the means for the British to extend liberal freedom and civilization to its colonies—Mill's *On Liberty* and *Considerations on Representative Government* make evident that liberal notions of education, trade, and government grew out of the conditions of colonial encounter, and were themselves precisely philosophical attempts to grapple with and manage *colonial difference* within an expanding empire.[27]

While liberty would appear to eradicate or vanquish despotism, Mill discussed despotism, not as counter to liberty, but as the very condition out of which liberty arises and the condition to which it was integral and bound. He elaborated liberty as a principal of justice, which required the extent of power that state and society may exercise over members of society, and wrote of representative government and despotism as joined, as two parts of the same project of liberal political reason. In Mill's work, we see clearly that the governing of those with liberty was not inconsistent

with what he deemed the necessary constraints involved in governing those without it. He famously defined "the best government" as the one that may discern those who were "unfit for liberty" or not capable of self-determination; his ideas on liberal government combined the state's necessary use of force to maintain "order and progress" with the civil education of people for self-government. This conjunction rested on Mill's ideas of moral and social progress through which he understood both the education of individual subjects and the preparation of collective societies for democratic representation. In Mill's thought, the achievement of liberty was fulfilled within a progressive temporality exemplified by education, civilization, and government, and his work has become the normative political theory that rationalized the governing of liberty as representative government for some and despotism for others.

In earlier chapters, I emphasized the ways in which the abstract promises of abolition, emancipation, free wage labor, and free trade did not contradict colonial rule and slavery but rather accommodated colonialism and forms of neoslavery and inaugurated an expansion of international trade that depended on maritime power and access to ports around the world, what Gallagher and Robinson have termed the "imperialism of free trade."[28] In this chapter, I turn to the question of *liberal government*, both in the paradigmatic work of John Stuart Mill, and in the writings of colonial administrators during and after the First Opium War (1839–42) and during the settling of the new Crown Colony of Hong Kong. Liberal government, accompanied by free trade, became the normative political rubric under which a colonial division of humanity was extrapolated across four continents, at once the medium for political liberty in Europe and North America, and the vehicle for new forms of imperial sovereignty exercised through "rule of law," "order and progress," and "keeping the peace" in the colonial world.

Considering Mill's writings on liberal government and the East India Company's administration of the subcontinent, and then the India Office, Colonial Office, and Foreign Office papers on the Opium War and early years of the Hong Kong colony, I specify the ways that the liberal doctrine of political and economic freedom was accomplished through forms of governing people, processes, and key ports in Asia. I observe that the rise of an Anglo-American-led world capitalism system was

made possible through "shifts" in British imperial strategy that moved, over the course of the nineteenth century, from mercantile colonialism to empire across four continents. Innovations in scope, method, and targets of governance gradually changed British imperial strategy, over the course of the nineteenth century, from an exclusive system of colonial seizure, occupation, and slavery to an imperial governmentality executed through global trades in goods and people, manufacture on the Indian subcontinent and trade through treaty ports, classification and criminalization of populations, the racialization and policing of sexuality, and a military state of exception to command the seas. In other words, the new forms of imperial governance that ushered in what Lord Aberdeen qualified as "freedom" did not simply replace an older-style colonialism; rather there was an accommodation of both residual practices and new innovations. That is, the forms of imperial government practiced in the post–Opium War treaty ports and in Hong Kong consisted in the power to adapt and combine the projects of earlier colonial conquest with forms of transportable migrant labor, monopoly with laissez-faire, and historic territorial rule with new powers over circulation and mobility of goods and people.[29] Liberal ideas did not contravene these practices; rather they accommodated existing forms of plantation slavery and colonial occupation, while providing rationales for the innovation of new forms of imperial sovereignty for managing ports, seas, and population.

In reading the British colonial archive pertaining to the slave trade and its abolition, the end of the East India Company monopoly, criminal justice in Hong Kong, and the Royal Navy in the China Sea, I observe the subsumption of these transformations of power into a narrative of modern progress in the ways that the archive frames "free" labor, "free" trade, and "liberal" government as the significant triumphs of British rule. Before the eighteenth century, the seas had been thought to be crossroads that were common and open to all, implying that every state had the right to cross them for trade and war. Under the eighteenth-century mercantile system, Britain, Spain, France, and the Netherlands accumulated gold and silver bullion through controlling production and trade in their colonized territories, monopolizing industries, and seeking a positive balance of trade.[30] The mercantile powers had been accustomed to regulating trade according to a calculation of finite wealth tied to bul-

lion, that is, a zero-sum fiction in which one party's accumulation is lost by the other. As increasing competition for trade in the Americas, India, and China gradually gave rise to a new nineteenth-century economic rationality that suggested that trade was not finite, not zero-sum, Britain took steps to expand its dominion first by abolishing slavery and ending the British East India Company's exclusive privileges, and then by selectively lifting trade restrictions to expand "free trade" in Asia and across the world.

In 1807, the liberal concepts of abolition and free labor were employed in the British termination of the slave trade and the plan to introduce Chinese indentured labor to the West Indian colonies. By 1834, the abolition of slavery and the import of larger numbers of Chinese and South Asian workers was cast as a transition from "slavery to free labor," while the end of the British East India Company monopoly, in India in 1813 and in China in 1833, was discussed as the commencement of "free trade," which expanded private British and American commerce in Asia, particularly in opium. With a significant buildup of naval forces, Britain gained maritime access to and from the ports of India, Malaysia, Hong Kong, and coastal China.[31] England became the prime agent of what Carl Schmitt has termed as "the spatial turn to a new *nomos* of the earth, and potentially, even the operational base for the later leap into the total rootlessness of modern technology."[32] The separation of firm land and free sea had been the basic principle of *jus publicum Europaeum*, yet Britain took dominance of the sea as it outpaced the other colonial mercantile powers with an expanded international trade in industrially manufactured products that extended across four continents by the end of the nineteenth century.

These early nineteenth-century decisions to end colonial slavery and expand trade beyond the Company monopoly can be situated in terms of this new nineteenth-century economic rationality, which prioritized the command of the worldwide movement of goods, capital, and people, and which increasingly treated territorial occupation as a means to this end rather than as an end in itself. Yet I emphasize that the "new" economic rationality did not supplant the "older" logic; rather former modes of colonial conquest and territorial administration endured and coexisted simultaneously with new strategies of imperial governance and trade.

The East India Company's establishment of imperial legitimacy in India had already accomplished the work of upholding British commerce in India, China, and beyond. Once the political conditions for the control of international market forces were established, the Company outlived its necessity as a commercial entity, and it became more or less a private colonial government on behalf of the British state. Thus, the end of the British East India Company as a commercial trading corporation in 1833 signaled an economic move away from mercantilist monopoly toward securing the British-led worldwide trade in manufactured goods, and a political decision to combine military territorial rule in India with new forms of governance linked to the conduct of treaty ports, the creation of value through overseas transport, and the command of the circulation of goods and people. While the principle of "free trade" aimed to lift mercantilist trade barriers and to break up the East India Company monopoly, it also became the means for the expansion of the opium and "coolie" trades in India and coastal China. British and American firms shipped both opium and Chinese workers, and Chinese opium merchants were likewise involved in transporting laborers.[33] The two traffics in "poison" and "pigs," as they were termed, were "perversely integrated," and each flourished as the administration of the opium trade reiterated and permitted the expansion of the circuits of the "coolie" trade.[34]

After the Treaty of Nanjing concluding the First Opium War, Anglo-American "free trade" practices in China and in the new colony of Hong Kong required new measures in liberal government that included improvised emergency powers, compulsory registration of non-Europeans, and military and police regulations to suppress social unrest and riots. The liberal rule of law provided for the state's "legitimate" violence against the threat of "illegitimate" violence from others it deemed criminals, dissenters, and disturbers of the "peace." These military, naval, and police regulations employed in the name of "liberty" became regular parts of the governance of both Hong Kong and the Chinese treaty ports, until the century's end. By the latter half of the nineteenth century, a large migrant Chinese population, displaced by famine, poverty, and the war with England, was criminalized in Hong Kong by English law, producing a significant part of the population of "coolies" exported from the treaty ports to North and South America, the Caribbean, Australia,

Hawaii, and other parts of Asia. Needless to say, these connections are not represented as such in the colonial archive. Rather, through unlikely, contiguous methods of reading correspondence, treaties, and legal ordinances, we may find a genealogy of liberal governance that discloses its role in imperial innovation.[35]

Correspondence between Governors and the Foreign Office suggests that the British aimed both to accommodate residual practices and to experiment with new logics. British rule in the new Crown Colony of Hong Kong in the early nineteenth century included colonial conquest and martial law to claim land and organize the conduct of the colonized population, yet it profited from promoting nominally "free" yet coerced migrant labor. It refined methods for profit that drew from practices resembling *both* monopoly and "free trade," and it employed an older-style colonial occupation *with* new forms of security to govern "free" movement outside and beyond directly occupied territories. In other words, the history of liberalism in the context of the British trades with India and China after the First Opium War included *both* the promotion of ideas of freedom, free labor, and free trade, *and* the elaboration of specific modes for governing liberty in the colonies and beyond.

There is arguably no better authority than John Stuart Mill for our specification of the principles of liberal government in the nineteenth century. Mill's corpus exemplifies a system of liberal thought unique in both range and specificity; it presents a synthetic worldview, whose elements—education, moral philosophy, laws, political economy, government, and logic—mediate and manage the problem of government in Britain and in the larger empire. His ideas on education were at the center of his system of moral and social progress and exemplified his teleology of improvement, the end of which was the common good. In his essays on education, as well as in the *Autobiography*, *On Liberty*, and *Representative Government*, he emphasized education, as the crucial means to moral and social progress. Liberal education was not merely training in languages and literature, mathematics and scientific method, logic, history, political economy, and law, but more allegorically, it is what gives "a comprehensive and connected view of the things . . . already learnt separately, a philosophic study of the Methods of the sciences; the modest in which the human intellect proceeds from the known to the unknown."[36]

Mental and moral development depended on reflection, speculation, and improvement, and the cooperation with others to promote the common good.[37] Education was necessary for character formation, socialization, and the proper development of the moral and civic subjectivity of the "competent agent" within deliberative participatory democracy.

For Mill, "liberty" expressed the capacity for improvement in individual man and in collective mankind and exemplified the "permanent interests of man as a progressive being."[38] While manifest in freedom of thought, speech, individual autonomy, and the right to education and self-development, Mill was more concerned to define liberty as "Civil or Social liberty," or the principle that determines "the nature and limits of power which can be legitimately exercised by society over the individual."[39] By "liberty," Mill did not mean the narrower ideas of individual right or free will, but rather "liberty" was the overarching principle that both defined political sovereignty in liberal society, and which authorized the differentiated power of government over "backward" peoples. Mill stated that "this doctrine is meant to apply only to human beings in the maturity of their faculties. We are not speaking of children. . . . We may leave out of consideration those backward states of society in which the race itself may be considered as its nonage."[40] As the sovereign power over a population to prepare them for self-government, "liberty" promised the amelioration of human culture, society, and civilization, unfolding in time. Mill characterized this formative process of socialization into liberty as "the fitting adjustment between individual independence and social control" that leads to "the regulation of human conduct."[41] Like utilitarian thinkers Jeremy Bentham and Mill's father, James Mill, who were concerned with the "governmental character" of liberalism, John Stuart Mill also emphasized that liberal freedom included discipline.[42] In utilitarianism, additional freedoms necessarily required additional control and regulation; in this sense, control was not a counterprinciple to freedom; it was the condition from which it arises. Liberty depended on education and "good government" to cultivate subjects to judge and discern beyond the "yoke of opinion."[43] In this sense, "education," broadly understood, was the synthetic link between individual subjectivity and the state. Through the educative function of civil and social institutions, law, culture, the workplace, and the state, citizen-subjects are formed not

only for representative government, but also for participation in liberal society itself.[44]

Mill did not limit his definition of "good government" to representative government alone. Rather, "good government" was that which maintained "Order and Progress," and could discern the form of administration that would "preserve the peace," not only in Britain, but also throughout the English-speaking Commonwealth, and in the Asian and African colonies.[45] Maintaining order and progress meant precisely calibrating what form of government was appropriate "for England and France," on the one hand, or "for Bedouins and Malays," on the other, for discerning "the state of different communities, in point of culture and development, [ranging] downwards to a condition very little above the highest of the beasts."[46] Thus, the concept of "government" coincides with nineteenth-century narratives of civilization that enforced a hierarchy of nations, races, and cultures, and a linear development from non-Western "primitive" to "civilized" Europe. It justified, in Mill's writings, the despotism of colonial rule for those "unfit" for representative government, as a means of bringing the backward, violent, and undeveloped peoples of the non-European world into the universal civilization of Europe. Yet it is not simply that Mill's thought merely accommodated colonial domination; rather his ideas provided the terms, logics, and powers through which older colonial domination was rationalized and new forms of imperial domination were innovated and executed. If we examine Mill's *Considerations of Representative Government* (1861), in relationship to his writings on the East India Company, we appreciate that he explained "liberty" consistently through the division of those "incapable of self-government" from those with the capacity for liberty. *Representative Government* begins and ends with explicit discussions of the need for authoritarian government in colonial India as a means of progress toward liberty and civilization.

Mill introduced his arguments for representative government by detailing the conditions in which authoritarian despotic government was necessary and ended the work with a final chapter that reads as a melancholic elegy to the East India Company, whose destiny was to be sacrificed as the best example of "good government." Chapter 1 famously presents the colonial context of India as justifying the imposition of

despotic government on those "unfit" for self-government, that is, the "Hindoos" in need of government that is "despotic . . . one over which they do not themselves exercise control, and which imposes a great amount of forcible restrain upon their actions."[47] Mill characterized Indians as alienated from laws and political structures following from a former "bad" government that had not educated them in the qualities of reason, restraint, and tolerance required for self-government. Although the "rude" people had yet to be adequately instructed to eradicate the ills of "violent passion," "personal pride," and "deplorable states of feeling," so that they might "sympathize" properly with the law, Mill argued that through the education by "good" government, their "mental habits" could be "conquered" to the extent that they would be eventually fit to govern themselves. In situations with an as-yet uneducated populace, he argued, elected government could be easily made an instrument of tyranny. For Mill, India furnished the paradigm of "those unready for liberty," for whom despotism was the only suitable form of government. As he wrote in *On Liberty*, "Despotism is a legitimate mode of government in dealing with barbarians, provided the end be their improvement, and the means justified by actually effecting that end."[48] It is with reference to Mill that Dipesh Chakrabarty develops his notion that European historicism was a rhetorical formation that epitomized the injunction "not yet," which had placed Indians in the "waiting room of history."[49]

Defining "good government," in chapter 2, Mill offered a precise hierarchy of states—for example, the "savage" is above the "slave," the European above the "savage"—to characterize a good government as that which deduces what is necessary to progress and improvement for a particular people, as that force and capacity to discern the means to advance a given people to their next stage of development. Addressing the question of adaptation of forms of government to states of societies, he discussed Chinese, Egyptians, and Jews as examples of civilizations whose advances depended on their "good" despotisms. In chapter 3, he wrote of necessary "good" despotism, in which "there is no positive oppression by officers of the state, but in which all the collective interests of the people are managed for them, all the thinking that has relation to the collective interests done for them, and in which their minds are formed by, and consenting to, this abdication of their own energies."[50] This description

resonates in nearly identical terms with that of the East India Company presented in the final chapter of *Representative*, as well as in the series of pieces Mill wrote in defense of Company rule addressed to Parliament in 1858. The "best government" is one that educates the people, which is "the best apology for despotism." Mill's work demonstrates that ideas of liberal government emerged out of the colonial conditions of rule, within in which the Company maintained "order and progress" by compelling submission of the colonized people through the use of military force. Mill rationalized the use of law to preserve colonial state power by deferring revolt or rebellion and defined "good government" as the possession of enough force to either defeat or co-opt any violence that might confront it. He wrote that the state must be able to subdue opposition and require their submission "to the primary conditions of civilized society . . . through the necessities of warfare, and the despotic authority indispensable to military command. A military leader is the only superior to whom they will submit."[51]

The East India Company's rule was the implicit and explicit referent of Mill's treatise on "good government."[52] Not only did Mill view Company rule in India as an enlightened despotism of the best kind, but in the final chapter (18), he discussed the Company as the avatar of liberty, whose sacrifice is redeemed by the lessons in "the best mode of government" it left behind. Mill opened *On Liberty* with the definition of "liberty" as "not the so-called Liberty of the Will, so unfortunately opposed to the misnamed doctrine of Philosophical Necessity; but Civil or Social Liberty: the nature and limits of the power which can be legitimately exercised by society over the individual."[53] "Liberty," then, is the principle that defines the power of the state with respect to the people. In this sense, "liberty" in Mill is akin to twentieth-century discussions of "sovereignty," which includes not merely the province of the state to exercise jurisdiction over its citizens, maintain internal order and progress, and defend its territory, but also the state's use of force to establish its own legitimacy and support its own ends.[54] In his discussion of the East India Company, Mill focused particularly on its use of the colonial state's prerogatives and commended especially the Company's judgments of when and where to exercise or regularize this state of exception. Mill argued that the durable accomplishment of the East India Company was

the fulfillment of the most important imperative of government, which was to know "how to organize the rule of the advanced nation over the more backward."[55] The crucial difference between "good and bad despotisms," or between "good government" and "bad government," he wrote, was to be found in this knowledge and discrimination. He defended the Company as an independent body disinterested in profit, experienced and knowledgeable about Indian affairs, dedicated to civil administration, and far less corrupt than British officials. The chapter, and the book itself, concludes with a melancholic ode to the Company:

> It has been the destiny of the government of the East India Company to suggest the true theory of the government of a semi-barbarous dependency by a civilized country, and after having done this, to perish. It would be a singular fortune if, at the end of two or three more generations, this speculative result should be the only remaining fruit of our ascendancy in India; if posterity should say of us that, having stumbled accidentally upon better arrangements than our wisdom would ever have devised, the first use we made of our awakened reason was to destroy them, and allow the good which had been in course of being realized to fall through and be lost from ignorance of the principles on which it depended. *Dî meliora.* (577)

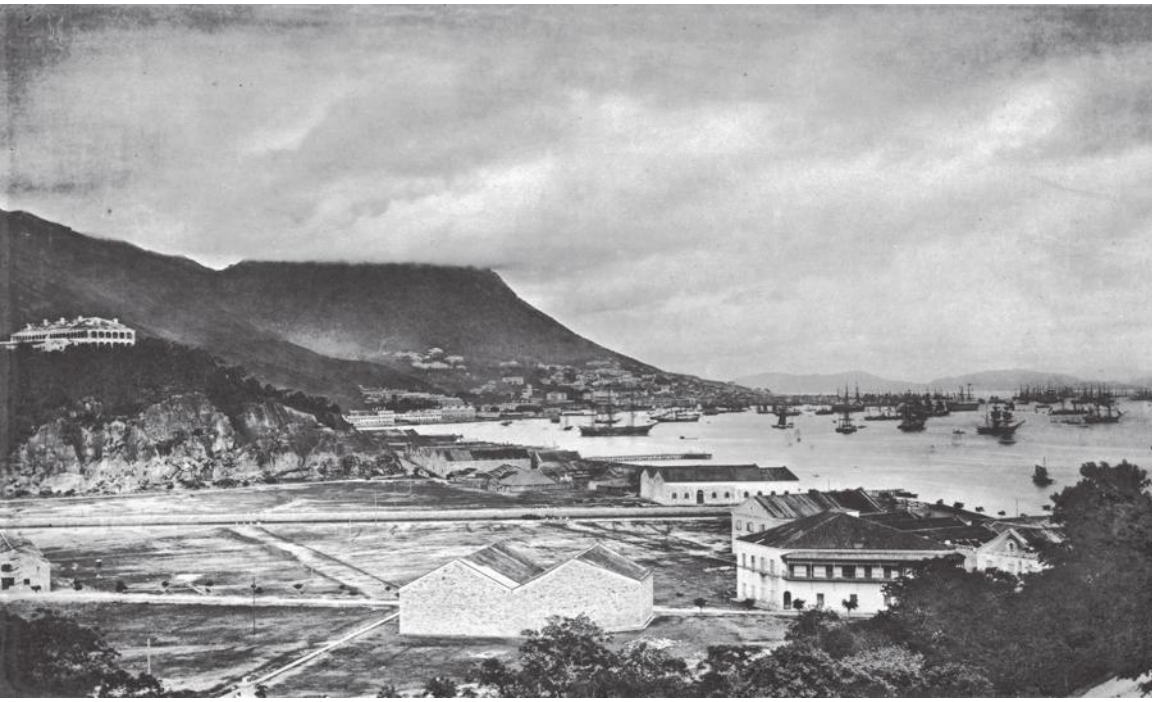
In his final words on the considerations of "representative government," Mill waxed elegiac about the East India Company's demise. His comment that the Company's "destiny" was "to perish" evokes the religious and poetic topos of the death of the righteous before their time, whose fate as sacrifice is redeemed by the good they leave behind to enlighten those in the present. Mill's moralizing lament that the righteous perish was punctuated by the Latin phrase "*Dî meliora*," which not only pleaded for better times ahead, but implied condemnation of the erring ignorance of his contemporary moment.[56] Rhetorically, Mill figured the East India Company as an innocent prophet, whose sacrifice might be worthy if it yielded the "fruit" of a "true theory of government." With this last chapter, Mill's *Representative Government* became an elegy for the East India Company, whose passing was a lesson for the future of liberty, a contribution to the greater improvement of human civilization.[57]

In the wake of the 1857 military and civilian uprisings that threatened Company rule in the upper Ganges plain and central India, Mill as Chief Examiner had the principal responsibility for writing the petitions and position papers addressed to Parliament in its defense. In the 1858 *Petition of the East-India Company*, Mill argued that the Company had been successful in building up a great empire, administered "without the smallest cost to the British Exchequer," and that the Company's government of India had been "one of the purest in intention."[58] In the 1858 *Memorandum of the Improvements in the Administration of India during the Last Thirty Years*, he detailed the Company's accomplishments as a colonial government: from the reform of land tax and revenue administration, the "ryotwar" (peasant-proprietary) system in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, the settling of land rights for village communities in the Punjab and Northwestern provinces, and the creation of local municipal governments, to the building of roads, canals, and railways. He emphasized the improvement of education through the establishment of schools, colleges, and universities, and provisions for the training of teachers. Moreover, he explained that under the East India Company, institutionalization of British penal law, civil law, and law of procedure had become more coherent, rational, and streamlined. Mill praised especially the work of the "Thuggee Suppression Department," a separate police force for suppressing criminal gangs. "Thuggees," in Mill's description, "infested all the roads in India" and "murdered all they robbed." Not only had this department's operations eradicated these criminal gangs, he claimed, but they had rehabilitated the criminals into a productive laboring community "taught several useful branches of manufacture," making "valuable carpets and linen cloths, and a great proportion of all the tents used in India."[59] Affirming both eradication and rehabilitation, Mill measured the efficacy of a colonial state by its suppression of crime and maintenance of social order. He went on to state that owing to the successful suppression of criminal gangs, these policing operations had been extended to address criminal organizations, "piracy," "infanticide," "*suttee*, or the burning of widows," "witchcraft," and "tragga" or revenge killings. In other words, in the 1858 *Memorandum of Improvements*, Mill's treatise on the thirty-year transformation of the East India Company

from a trading corporation to a colonial government, Mill defines the duties of the colonial state precisely: rationalizing the efficient collection of revenue, providing for the education and improvement of the subject population, and securing sovereignty through the use of effective military and police force to eradicate crime and prohibit rebellion.

Thus, Mill's integration of free trade, representative liberty, and colonial government became the normative political ideology that facilitated the ascendance of British capitalism, while providing for the sovereignty of the British state to govern both the free and the unfree. Mill's "Of the Laws of Interchange between Nations" innovated David Ricardo's formulation of the law of comparative advantage by contributing insights on the comparative costs of production, which may have drawn lessons from the East India Company trades. His *Considerations on Representative Government* was not simply a discourse about British liberty, but it was an apology for the East India Company's "good despotism," with the final chapter offering an elegy after the Company's recent demise. His 1858 *Memorandum of Improvements* detailed the priorities of colonial governance, from rationalizing revenue collection, public works, and civil society, to the essential use of police and military force to maintain social order. Although Mill rarely discussed the British relationship to China, in what follows, I suggest that not only was Mill's advocacy of free trade commensurate with the vast expansion of British interests in China, but his argument for the necessary use of force in governing liberty provided for the innovations in governance employed in the post–Opium War treaty ports of coastal China, and in the new colony of Hong Kong. Mill explicitly argued that the best colonial government was the corporate colonial state, for which he believed early nineteenth-century British East India Company rule in India to be the ideal. Yet the liberal political reason exemplified by Mill, which combined economic free trade with political liberty, actually furnished the principles and rationale for the apotheosis of British imperialism in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Sir Henry Pottinger, who drafted and negotiated the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842, and became First Governor of Hong Kong, 1843–44, wrote when he forwarded the treaty, regarding "the retention of Hong Kong . . . every single hour I have passed in this superb country has convinced me of



4.2 *Hong Kong* (1865), from John Thomson, *Illustrations of China and Its People: A Series of Two Hundred Photographs, with Letterpress Descriptive of the Places and People Represented* (1873). Courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

the necessity and desirability of our possessing such a settlement as an emporium for our trade and a place from which Her Majesty's subjects in China may be alike protected and controlled."[60] The British had long discussed the desirability of access to ports along the Chinese coast, as bases for trade and the armed forces, and administrators ruminated that a permanent base near the coast would provide military protection to British subjects conducting business in China. They envisioned that the island would serve as an entrepôt for the trade of the region; a "Little England," it would be a "real British colony . . . planted on the very threshold of China," proclaimed Sir John Francis Davis, who succeeded Pottinger, and served as Second Governor of the colony 1844–48.[61] Despite early enthusiasm about Hong Kong's promise among merchants,

parliamentarians, and members of the Colonial and Foreign Offices, in the immediate years following the establishment of British rule, the new colony produced controversy and disenchantment. Colonial administrators improvised laws that gave police and military arbitrary emergency powers, which permitted them to appropriate land and displace residents. Within the first five years, ordinances established compulsory registration, criminalized a broad range of local activities, and provided legal means for corporal punishments that were used to manage social protest and unrest. Such actions were first justified as exceptional measures during the "crisis" of establishing the colony, yet the colonial government was unwilling to relinquish these powers afterward. Charges of Hong Kong's alleged misgovernment, stagnant trade, and criminal activities became the focus of an 1847 parliamentary enquiry into Britain's relations with China.[62] An early commissioned study of Hong Kong by R. Montgomery Martin, the Treasurer for the Colonial and Consular Service in China, "Report on the Island of Hong Kong," reads as a scathing judgment of the colony's prospects as a place of trade or successful settlement, replete with sensationalist rhetoric of decay, disease, malignancy, and mortification that characterized much of the discourse about Hong Kong in the decade after colonial settlement. For example, Martin described the physical geography as hills with "a greenish hue, like a decayed Stilton cheese," and mountains "presenting the appearance of a negro streaked with leprosy"; he characterized the Chinese population as transient, unsavory, and criminal, "depraved, idle, and bad," and pronounced Hong Kong a place of "numerous murders, piracies, burglaries, and robberies of every description."[63] In their correspondence collected in the Colonial Office Papers, the first governors Pottinger and Davis made ample use of this rhetoric; their correspondence cited an inventory of Chinese offenses, from theft and assault, to piracy and murder, to justify the continued military presence after the war, and to explain the immediate establishment and aggressive buildup of the police force, and by Davis's time, for the declaration of martial law.[64] As historian Christopher Munn observes in his study of British rule in Hong Kong, the colonial government used criminal justice to manage the colony; it classified, surveyed, and monitored the Chinese population through registration, census, and curfews.[65] The prison, Victoria Gaol, was built in

1841, with the Police Force, Supreme Court, and an Attorney General's Office established several years later. Pottinger had first established a divided jurisdiction, according to which, Chinese accused of crimes would be turned over to the Chinese authorities, but by 1844, English law was extended to the colony. Ordinances required all Chinese to be registered, gave wide prerogatives to police, and regulated commercial activities. Hong Kong remained spatially segregated, and curfews continued, until the end of the century.

Large groups of people had been displaced from southern China in the wake of the war and beginnings of the Taiping Rebellion. The commercialization of rural economy had created land and food shortages for many southern Chinese, and many migrated from Guangdong and Fujian to Hong Kong.[66] In the 1840s and 1850s, the tens of thousands of southern Chinese migrants included weavers, handicraftsmen, boatmen, junk crews, and dislocated peasants, whose numbers far exceeded the few thousand native Hong Kong inhabitants that the colonial government sought to make "British subjects." In their correspondence, administrators appear preoccupied with the constantly shifting nature of Hong Kong's early Chinese populations, and the colonial discourse employed by Governors and the Foreign Secretary tended to associate all Chinese with transience and criminal activities. Successive colonial governments referred to Chinese as "outcast," "wandering" and "nomadic" and alluded to threats of "piracy" in order to justify the prosecution of "vagrants" and "transients" in the first decade of colonial rule.

"Vagrancy" clearly did not originate in early colonial Hong Kong; rather it was an available category through which the colonial state could manage the Chinese population by disciplining and dividing "good" workers from "bad" vagrants.[67] If we consider the dislocation of feudal and agrarian social organization in the production of wage labor and the expansion and accumulation of surplus value as profit, it is clearer why the movement of people emerged as a phenomenon for discipline. As traditional forms of economy, livelihood, and settlement were disrupted, and people uprooted from their former means of subsistence, "emigration" included an assortment of imperial displacements, from the export of Irish and Scottish indentured laborers and so-called orphan children to North America and Australia, to the brokering and export of "coolies"

from India and China.[68] Though differently employed and prosecuted, vagrancy became a criminalized category across the globe in the nineteenth century—one that enabled the surveillance of a wide variety of practices such as trespassing, loitering, migration, prostitution, begging, or dissent. It was crucial to the delineation of public and private, legitimate and illegitimate, healthy and diseased, and the series of ways in which modern society is organized in different social contexts, both in the imperial metropole and in the colonies.

The Second Governor of Hong Kong Sir John Francis Davis passed nearly twenty ordinances each year of his notorious administration, which precisely legislated different forms of Chinese conduct pertaining to their movement to, from, and across the island. In the ordinances that mandated registration of Chinese persons, policing of social spaces in which Chinese resided, and the inspection of Chinese bodies, we can trace the regulation of Chinese colonial difference. In a letter to Lord Stanley at the Colonial Office in 1843, for example, Davis comments that his government would seek to emulate the methods used by the East India Company to compel subjects' respect of "the mixed commercial and political character" of foreign rule.[69] Recalling Mill's praise of the East India Company in India for having that quality of "good government" that consisted in the ability to discern "how to organize the rule of the advanced nation over the more backward," Davis's early colonial government administered precisely with such discrimination. In the same letter, Davis continued to explain that the strategy for governing Hong Kong was not one of territorial conquest, but of governing the conduct of the Chinese.

> The best way of conciliating the Chinese Government seems to be by an appeal to their *own interests*: and by persuading it that the same power which proved so irresistible in War will, in Peace, be exerted for the mutual benefit of the two nations—with a jealous maintenance of all our own rights, either expressed or implied in the Treaty, it should by every means be convinced that territorial conquest forms no part of the views or interests of this country, and it is our own true policy to remember, that the "parcere subjectis" [to spare the subjects] forms the best sequel to the "debellare superbos" [subdue the proud]. (46)

Davis explains that the sequel to wartime force ("debellare superbos") would be the governing of subjects ("parcere subjectis"). Yet the two approaches were not as antithetical as Davis's formulation would imply, for the latter governance of colonized subjects would be secured precisely through retaining former methods for subduing in war, that is, "the same power which proved so irresistible in War." Davis regarded police authority as necessary and integral to the "efficient control" of the population. To this end, he passed many ordinances, from those like Ordinance No. 16 of 1844, which established "a Registry of the Inhabitants of Hong Kong," to "secure tranquility and good order," to Ordinance No. 17 of 1844, "for the better securing of Peace and Quiet of the Inhabitants of the Town of Victoria and its vicinity during night-time."[70]

A close reading of these ordinances reveals the logics of liberal and utilitarian reason, demonstrated in both Mill's ideas and Aberdeen's qualification, in which "liberty" requires "good government" to collect revenues and suppress social disorder. Attention to the series of ordinances regarding the compulsory registration of Chinese, in particular, permits us to trace the legal mechanisms through which the distinction between European "liberty" and Chinese "criminality" was established and executed. Ordinance No. 16 of October 1844 first created a "Registry" for all island "inhabitants," European and Chinese alike, but within two months, Ordinance No. 18 of 1844 repealed No. 16, restricting registration to the Chinese only, and establishing a "census" for English and European residents.[71] Davis discussed this revision in a letter to Lord Stanley on February 3, 1845, stating that the only reason for registering Europeans had been to "obtain means of taking the census," while "the necessity of registering the Chinese population obviously arose from the peculiar character of the place, only a mile removed from the mainland of China, from whence persons of all descriptions are able to cross over. The last year has made a great difference in this respect for the better, and the Registry system, it is confidently expected, will enable the Government *to exercise such a check upon this most numerous and active portion of the Colony*, as to attain all the ends of public peace and security" (italics mine).[72] The legislated distinction between compulsory registration and surveillance of the "numerous and active" Chinese and a voluntary

census for Europeans dramatizes the processes of colonial differentiation at work in the early Crown Colony of Hong Kong.

An 1846 revision of this ordinance specifically equated the transient population with a range of criminal activities, stating that Hong Kong was "infested by Pirates and Robbers"; it bolstered the mandate for Chinese registration by stating it was "necessary for the Protection of the Lives and Property of the Inhabitants of this Colony."[73] Chinese were required to carry a registration card at all times and faced imprisonment or deportation if not registered. Other ordinances criminalized a wide variety of activities in which the Chinese were said to engage, from loitering, violating curfew, and petty theft, to gambling, or simply being caught on the street without a registration card. Police were given wide authority to fine, arrest, and seize property, as well as to dole out beatings and humiliations like queue cutting, and to carry out deportations.[74] The series of ordinances controlling Chinese through registration, curfew, and criminalization of daily activities effectively treated all Chinese as transient migrants, even those native or indigenous to the island. It installed Europeans as the legitimate "inhabitants" of the island, whose "lives and property" must be protected from the transient Chinese "pirate" population. By 1848, the police possessed the authority to arrest any Chinese in Hong Kong for virtually any reason.[75] It was said that any Englishman could seize any Chinese and bring them to a police station to have them jailed, flogged, or branded. In the laws regarding piracy and vagrancy, we have a record of how liberal principles of government were employed by a colonial state to produce and legislate Chinese colonial racial difference.[76] The legal archive records how the colonial state came to organize colonial difference, and accrued to itself the right to violence against potential violence, thus veiling and displacing its own violence.

Chinese racial and gendered differences were reiterated in colonial ordinances that legislated morality and contagious disease, in which Chinese women were cast as responsible for transmission of venereal disease, and its spread represented as threatening the British empire and its racial superiority. As Philippa Levine has argued, late nineteenth-century colonial campaigns against female prostitution and contagious disease in the empire became an occasion for imperial patriotism and debates about the nature of empire and Britain's role in the world.[77] Polic-



4.3 *The Clock Tower, Hong Kong* (1845). From John Thomson, *Illustrations of China and Its People: A Series of Two Hundred Photographs, with Letterpress Descriptive of the Places and People Represented* (1873). Courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

ing and regulation in colonial Hong Kong focused especially on Chinese women for the most intrusive microphysics of surveillance, and through the specter of venereal disease, constituted them as pathologically, as well as culturally, racially, and sexually aberrant to British norms.[78] British colonial discourse represented prostitution in Hong Kong as a "social evil" endemic to Chinese culture, and it was commonly repeated that venereal disease had struck down the crews of nearly every ship that docked in the Hong Kong harbor. Proponents of the Hong Kong Ordinances to regulate venereal disease argued that three-quarters of adult Chinese women in Hong Kong were prostitutes.[79] Utilitarian discourse emphasized the importance of hygiene to modern progress, and regulations required the licensing of brothels and provided for mandatory inspections of Chinese prostitutes who serviced European clientele.[80] Chinese women faced imprisonment if it was determined they were infected with "contagious diseases."

The ordinances, like Ordinance No. 12, introduced in 1857 by then Fourth Governor Sir John Bowring, specifically required examination of only Chinese women who catered to Western clients.[81] The women working in exclusively Chinese brothels were spared, as were European and American prostitutes. Like the criminalization of vagrancy, these ordinances stated and produced racial differentiation as well: "It was a wise recognition of the natural laws at work in this mass of corruption called prostitution, when the Government of Hongkong confined the application of the principal provisions of the Contagious Disease Ordinance, *compulsory medical examination, to the licensed prostitutes in houses for foreigners only, and exempted from the same law the great mass of prostitutes for Chinese*" (italics mine).[82] Colonial medicine pronounced differences between colonizer and colonized by investigating Chinese women's bodies as sources of threatening diseases to which European men would be vulnerable. It is noteworthy that the contagious disease ordinances were not aimed at the prevention of the sale of sex, but rather at racially distinguishing Chinese bodies as different from European ones. As Foucault observed in *The History of Sexuality*, when "sex became a police matter," the state's administrative and investigative powers become focused not on a "people, but on a 'population' as an economic and political problem."[83] Ann Laura Stoler comments that when govern-

ments begin to enumerate legitimate and illegitimate births, health and illness, frequency of acts, and so forth, the " 'policing of sex' was not a matter of enforcing a 'taboo' so much as it was an apparatus for the 'ordered maximization of collective and individual forces.' "[84] Compulsory medical exams were what Bernard Cohn terms a "surveillance modality" that both codified colonial difference, and marked the boundaries of civil society by focusing on the bodies that "wander beyond the boundaries of settled civil society."[85] Hospitals institutionalized and systematized medical classifications and distinctions and made these knowledges socially useful.[86] Just as Hong Kong was viewed as a strategic "gateway" for trade with China, in regulating medical testing of Chinese women, administrators imagined an opportunity to police the "gateway" to Chinese disease. Examining Chinese women who served Europeans was an imperial strategy to ensure European security in the colonial "contact zones" where there were intimate encounters with migrant Chinese women.

Prostitution, like opium addiction, was "orientalized" and represented as an essentially "Chinese custom" or vice, rather than the by-product of British trade or colonial encounter and settlement. The legislation and classification of Chinese prostitutes as "diseased" was a colonial knowledge production; rather than a conquest of physical territory, it assembled through medical surveillance the information about the bodies of the colonized, thereby contributing to the colonial epistemology about the Chinese. That is, "Chinese sexuality" and the "Chinese character" were parts of an orientalist epistemology that fetishized footbinding, indenture, and the *mui tsai*, or girls bonded in domestic servitude, as figures of "inscrutable" native custom.[87] These imperial knowledge productions of "oriental depravity" also served as a technology for disciplining the colonized population. Just as utilitarianism proposed that the poor, indigent, and disabled be made useful to the "social good," contagious disease ordinances in Hong Kong demonstrated colonial power as both a "negative" power to discipline and punish, and as a "productive" biopower that targeted newly classified bodies for employment and service to the colonial society.

The ordinances focused on the protection of British and European persons in the Chinese port through the reiteration of racial and gender difference and the regulation of intimacy. This was expressed through

regulations of geographical segregation, as well; the brothels for foreign clients were mostly restricted to the Central district of the city, along with the important landmarks of British and European presence, such as the Court House, Post Office and Police Station, while the Chinese-only brothels were located in the western district of the city of Victoria. Ordinances expressed the ambition of the colonial state not to curtail or suppress, but to govern racial and sexual intimacies, miscegenation, and the proliferation of mixed-race offspring, as well as the frequent crossings of racial boundaries that came with colonial encounter. Yet we might also consider state regulation of social and sexual segregation as evidence of the frequency of mixed intimacies, what Nayan Shah terms "migrant sociability" and "stranger intimacy," which inevitably existed in "zones of transit" in the complex community of the port colony.[88] By 1867, the Central district was described in one parliamentary report as a "marginal" neighborhood, "a mixed and polyglot group composed of middle-class or wealthy Chinese, Chinese prostitutes serving non-Chinese, European prostitutes, Indian, Parsee and Muslim merchants and shopkeepers, a few scattered Portuguese and Macanese, and protected women."[89] Imperial circuits produced "intimacies" of many kinds between India and China, from the contacts between seamen and merchants involved in the opium trade, to the British employment of Indian troops, or *sepoy*, to fight the Opium Wars and to police the seas and treaty ports.[90]

In the first decades of the colony, the networks that managed the trades comprised a socially heterogeneous population of property-owning merchants, shopkeepers, and contractors; an overlapping group of compradors, clerks, translators, and other middlemen linking the Chinese community to the colonial system; and a much larger fluctuating population of artisans, shopmen, porters, and boatmen who formed a highly complex working class.[91] The largest population was the multitude of casual workers, known as "coolies," who took up day jobs loading and unloading goods, until procurement by Chinese recruiters for the brokers and firms who lay in wait at the port. Many "coolies" were kidnapped; most were indentured or secured by debt bondage against future labor. By the 1850s and 1860s, Hong Kong had become, along with Amoy and Canton, the central trans-shipment port in the emigration business that traded Chinese workers to parts around the world. Social unrest,

the dialectical expression of both labor exploitation and oppressive colonial governance, took a range of forms, from labor strikes, street riots, and boycotts, to various kinds of "disobedience." When unrest disrupted trade and commerce, Chinese merchants often collaborated with the colonial authorities, who used heavy-handed measures to suppress protest and to restore law and order.[92] The colonial government had given land grants to influential Chinese merchants, who in turn collaborated with the British.[93] These Chinese merchant elites profited both from the availability of tractable migrant labor, as well as from the emigrant trade. In later decades, anti-triad legislation introduced initially to combat organized crime became elaborated into laws for the suppression of trade unions and worker protest.[94] As the early colonial legal and criminal justice system targeted the poor Chinese migrants in Hong Kong, it virtually "produced" the surplus population for export as "coolies." Emigration agents, would-be employers, and shippers made Hong Kong a stage for the recruitment of millions of agricultural workers for plantations throughout the world. According to estimates, in the second half of the nineteenth century, nearly two million workers embarked from Hong Kong to the West Indies, Cuba, Latin America, Australia, South Africa, the western United States, and Hawaii.[95]

Mutinies, uprisings, and riots were frequent in the treaty ports and aboard ships, as new experiments in imperial governance were tested. The archive indicates that the colonial government was constantly preoccupied by the possibility of rebellion by the common people. Sedition was an immanent part of colonial governance, and the necessary monopoly on violence was established to repress dissent, to control the conditions that give rise to rebellion. Episodes of Chinese revolts against British merchants in other treaty ports served as additional evidence of rebellion, which further justified the extension of emergency powers and martial law in Hong Kong. In mid-July 1846, for example, riots in Canton became the occasion for the Foreign Office to establish a vigilant military presence outside the Canton harbor to protect British citizens in the treaty port. The mid-July 1846 Canton Riots were repeatedly reported in the *China Mail*, the journal for the European colonial community based in Hong Kong; throughout the second half of 1846, the Canton Riots appear as a specter of Chinese unrest that justified the British

maintenance of military force in Hong Kong. The October 1846 issue of *China Mail* reported: "The want of sufficient protection was so much felt during the late riot at Canton that, as our readers know, the British residents have since formed themselves into a body of militia, who assemble from time to time for drill, that they may be prepared to offer efficient resistance to any renewed attack on the part of the rabble."[96] The early colonial government in Hong Kong legitimized itself by instrumentalizing the law to expand police power, criminalizing the allegedly ungovernable Chinese as a threat to the peace, tranquility, and security of colonial society. While the Chinese were the subjects of these laws, they were precisely not legal persons or liberal subjects with rights. In this context, the Chinese were legally and discursively constructed as "emigrants," rather than "natives," their "transiency" criminalized, incorporating them precisely as the "limit" of the civic or social body being protected by the law. The laws treated the poor Chinese as an ungovernable, disposable population to be deported, and not as a group who might be disciplined and incorporated into the social body.

The law constituted the Chinese as a surplus population for export, but it also became a technology for reforming and managing the conduct of the trade. Once the trade in Chinese emigrant workers reached its highest numbers in the 1850s, there were charges of fraudulent methods of capture and detainment, ill conditions on board the ships that included poor ventilation, overcrowding, brutal punishments, and shortages of food and water, which were said to lead to rebellions, mutinies, and suicides by the Chinese men during the long, unknown sea voyages across the Indian and Atlantic Oceans to the West Indies or Cuba, or across the Pacific to California or Peru. Between 1850 and 1872, there were numerous reported cases in which Chinese laborers rebelled against European and U.S. crews. After a notorious anti-British riot by Chinese in Amoy in 1852, for a time, the larger British trade in Chinese emigrants came under investigations for kidnapping, captivity, confinement, beatings, and accumulated abuses.[97] Along with the Contagious Diseases Acts, the Fourth Governor Bowring introduced the 1855 Chinese Passenger Act, to legislate the transport of Chinese on British ships from any Chinese port and to ships of any nation leaving the British colony of Hong Kong. In December 1852, Bowring had charged that "abuses which exist in the

manner of collecting, contracting for, shipping and conveying the emigrants . . . escape all official cognizance and control, the authority exercised by their consults has been wholly inoperative to check such abuses," while he also condemned the Chinese government for the incident, writing that the Chinese government was "too important, corrupt, and disorganized" to implement its own legislation.[98] As a liberal utilitarian advocate of "free trade," Bowring put his efforts toward legally regulating and rationalizing the trade.[99]

Yet the legal reform of the trade did not eliminate it, but rather shifted the activities to clandestine networks among nonstate actors, brokers, agents, and merchants, where they flourished. The 1855 Chinese Passenger Act legislated the transport of Chinese on British ships from any Chinese port and to ships of any nation leaving the British colony of Hong Kong; it provided for inspections to monitor the number of "passengers" on board ships transporting emigrants; required signed contracts of service; mandated that ships carry food, water, and medicines for the persons aboard; and permitted the seizure and detention of vessels if inspectors suspected abuses.[100] Laws like the Chinese Passenger Act, which attempted imperial bureaucratic managements of trades, both established practices for obtaining knowledge about the colonized population and maintained the "security" of the empire by monitoring the transport of Chinese on British ships from any Chinese port and to ships of any nation leaving the British colony of Hong Kong. While the Chinese Passenger Act required inspections, documentation, and reroutings, it did nothing to eliminate or even curtail the trade. The ports "opened" by the Nanjing Treaty, including Hong Kong, continued to be sites of encounter and conflict, conduct and counterconduct. We might think of them as "border zones" or "frontier outposts" in which sovereignty was continually negotiated in the complex ongoing dynamics of managing, sustaining, and transforming the illegal trades. James Hevia describes the nineteenth-century British-Chinese relationship as "a nervous system of empire," in which "British strategies faced . . . a difficult balancing act. On the one hand, they sought to make the Qing government more cooperative and compliant. On the other, they hoped that the dynasty would be capable of strengthening itself sufficiently so that it could retain sovereignty over its territory."[101] In the treaty ports,

complex communities made up of European and Chinese merchants, South Asian seamen and soldiers, and diverse Chinese laborers engaged in practices that both restated Chinese sovereignty against European and American intrusions, and also accommodated complex incursions and compromises to the Chinese body politic.

In other words, Britain did not attempt a direct colonial conquest of Chinese territory, as it had in India, the Americas, or parts of Africa. Foreign Secretary Lord Aberdeen, with whom I began, wrote to Sir Henry Pottinger in 1841, "A secure, well-regulated trade, not conquest, is all we desire."[102] The imposition of "free trade" with special protections for British subjects in the treaty ports and port colony of Hong Kong constituted imperial innovations that, in a sense, registered the impossibility of such totalizing ambitions. Rather than confirming the conventional understanding of Sino-Western relations as a contest between British imperialism and Chinese isolationism, I am suggesting instead that the vast, dense, and shifting networks of the British opium and coolie trades were symptomatic of a new imperial governmentality, more involved in achieving and managing the biopolitical circulation of goods and peoples within an expanded international market, than with the direct conquest or occupation of territory. The new imperial formation consisted in *both* "free" noninterference in the movement of bodies and things, *and* various "security apparatuses" in the ports at China's edges—which included police, prisons, and hospitals—as well as military and naval command of the seas. Colonial ordinances, opium distribution, and emigrant brokers provided for Hong Kong to be a "free port" in which the movement of people, goods, food, and supplies was promoted and governed, rather than prohibited.[103] The Chinese Passenger Act of 1855 and the Contagious Diseases Acts of the 1860s exemplified precisely this promotion of "free circulation" *with* the "rule of law" that was the hallmark of liberal reason. Liberal reason heralded the imperial governmentality whose dominion consisted in monitoring trade and population to maintain the security of the empire. The imperial sovereignty that operated in the post–Opium War Chinese treaty ports and in the China Sea was intimately connected to the shifts in colonial labor relations in the colonized Americas, specifically through the decision to end the slave trade and introduce Asian contract labor in the Americas.

Liberal trade and government not only connected these operations, but they linked the transatlantic world of plantation slavery to colonial expansion and brokered emigration in the treaty ports, constituting the conditions of possibility for the ascension of British empire by the end of the nineteenth century, and the succession of it by the United States in the twentieth.

Furthermore, inasmuch as colonial power had elaborated the "negative" power to seize, capture, occupy, and subjugate, the new mode of imperial sovereignty expanded through the "productive" power of biopolitical governance, and the extension of power through regulating life, health, and mobility. New technologies permitted the administration of colonized bodies that, on the one hand, rendered the colonized population docile through the import of opium and long hours of hard labor, and on the other, classified some bodies as vital and productive, and exiled other bodies as "vile" or unincorporable. The latter was established through a range of legal ordinances and social practices that criminalized the Chinese as vagrants and pirates, and others that mandated medical examinations and constituted Chinese women as diseased and morally depraved. Ultimately, the productive power of liberty was realized in the distribution and regulation of mobile bodies that moved themselves, exemplified by the millions of Chinese laborers exported around the world. Chinese emigrant laborers in the second half of the nineteenth century were the subjects of this transnational biopolitical regime.



5.1 *Nelson's Ship in a Bottle*, ©Yinka Shonibare MBE. All Rights Reserved, DACS/ARS, NY 2014. Photograph, *Yinka Shonibare's Fourth Plinth Ship Is Unveiled*, by Dan Kitwood. Courtesy of Getty Images.

CHAPTER 5
FREEDOMS YET TO COME

The Anglo-Nigerian artist Yinka Shonibare's piece *Nelson's Ship in a Bottle,* installed on the Fourth Plinth in Trafalgar Square in 2010–2012, presented a replica of Her Majesty's Ship *Victory*, on which Admiral Lord Nelson died after defeating the French and Spanish fleets during the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805.[1] Many historians view the events at Trafalgar as not only the decisive British victory over Napoleon, but as the beginning of the era of British naval supremacy, so crucial to the nineteenth-century expansion of the empire. Shonibare's piece, when placed in the square memorializing the famous battle, intervened in this national heroic narrative, vying for attention in the public space commanded by *Nelson's Column*, the statue erected in 1813. Yet the presentation of the "ship in a bottle" alludes far beyond that single naval war—from transoceanic crossings that transported captured West and Central African peoples to labor on sugar, coffee, and cotton plantations in the Americas, to the voyages that carried tea, cotton, silk, and opium, as well as East and South Asian contract laborers, around the world. Shonibare's postcolonial refashioning of the ships' sails, in fabrics brightly patterned after Dutch wax Indonesian batiks that one now associates with African dress, creates a new "grammar" for referring to the concealed histories of empire, slavery, and migration that linked the trades in goods and peoples between Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Like the chintz cottons discussed in chapter 3, the wax print fabrics have a long history

across continents: Dutch and British companies appropriated the batik designs originally handmade in Indonesia and mass-produced them in Europe using roller print machines and dye-resistant resins, for export to foreign markets including West Africa, where they became popular and were appropriated anew.[2] The piece stages, within the bottle, a small "insurrection" of this "subjugated knowledge." Furthermore, the "ship in a bottle" presents a logical conundrum that poses the question of how the ship got into the bottle. That is, it asks, by what sleight of hand has the colonial ship become an object sealed and naturalized in the bottle of official History? By what "illusion" has the scale and scope of colonial processes been made into an apparently discrete and beautiful object? The way the glass unevenly distorts the appearance of the boat and sails hints at these displacements and obfuscations that characterize the national and imperial transmission of history.

I open this final chapter with Shonibare's piece because it exemplifies what we might call a "history of the present," which resonates with the impulse of my discussions in *The Intimacies of Four Continents*. A history of the present refuses the simple recovery of the past and troubles the givenness of the present formation.[3] It is not a historical reconstruction that explains or justifies our present, but a critical project that would both expose the constructedness of the past, and release the present from the dictates of that former construction. In this book, I grapple with the difficulties of conceptualizing the intimacies between settler colonialism in the Americas, transatlantic African slavery, the East Indies and China trades in goods and people, and the emergence of European liberal modernity, given the separate and asymmetrical archives in which each is represented. However, in approaching these intimacies in the historical past, I have aimed neither to write a "better" history of that past, nor to substitute a more truthful, more inclusive "global" account. I have emphasized instead that the understanding of the past and present is structured by existing conventions for knowing and representing "modernity" through narratives of progress and development. My readings focus on the ways that Europe's colonial imperative has compelled, through the discourses of liberal economic and political freedom, normative forms of modern subject, society, and state in the colonized world, and how this imperative continues to organize postcolonial Af-

rica, Asia, and the Americas in relation to the telos of modern European form. In reading British colonial state archives, literature, and political philosophy, I have been concerned to specify the broad manner in which coloniality operated in practical spheres for the discipline, subjugation, and organization of peoples, and moreover, how it has shaped the knowledge received about those processes, and the limits of what can be thought and imagined. By reading connections and conjunctions across archives, canons, geographies, and traditions, it has been necessary to break with customary modes for identifying and organizing history, and to devise other modes of interpretation beyond the given presumptions of a rational, synthetic system, a developmental teleology, or symmetries of cause and effect. Put simply, my readings of the past unsettle and recast the dominant histories we receive of liberal modernity: the transition from slavery to freedom, industrialization and wage labor, the commencement of free trade, and the establishment of liberal democracy through representative government.

Shonibare's *Nelson's Ship in a Bottle* renders the singular history of British imperial heroism an iconic yet contradictory object, at once preserved in the finite space of the bottle, but imprinted by dyes, stains, and wax patterns that attest to stolen arts, bodies transported, and the intimacies of trade in goods and peoples. In *The Intimacies of Four Continents*, I consider the history of modernity as a complex, braided project, which links the liberal promises of emancipation, free labor, free trade, and government, with the heterogeneous pasts of conquest, capture, trade, and dominion on and across four continents. Since the very ability to conceptualize the contemporary predicament is shaped by the historical reconstructions of the past, we cannot conceive the present, or imagine its transformation, without this interrogation. Only by defamiliarizing both the object of the past and the established methods for apprehending that object do we make possible alternative forms of knowing, thinking, and being.

To approach this critical genealogy of liberalism, I have interpreted a range of materials, from primary archival documents to literary, cultural, and philosophical texts, in order to understand the emergence of ideas of emancipation, wage labor, utilitarian discipline, free trade, and liberal government. My reading practice involves connecting the traditional texts

of liberalism with the colonial archive from which it is customarily separated, and to this end, I have considered several important liberal genres: autobiography, novel, and political philosophy. In considering the autobiography as a modern narrative expression of the life of the liberal individual, I observe that *Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself* not only provides evidence of the imperatives and aesthetics of this liberal form, but it demonstrates the formal eclipse of the heteronomous collective subject of slavery on which the development of "free" liberal personhood depends. Likewise, I consider the nineteenth-century novel that has long been considered the modern cultural institution for the expression of the intimacies of romance, feeling, and domestic household that constitute the paradigmatic unit of liberal bourgeois society.[4] William Thackeray's novel *Vanity Fair* alludes to the production of the English bourgeois home and family as intimately dependent on slave labor in the cotton fields of the U.S. South, South Asian textile artisanship, and the "free" trades in the East Indies and China. I read John Stuart Mill's *Considerations on Representative Government* in relation to the fate and purpose of the East India Company and the establishment of the Crown Colony of Hong Kong, and I offer a portrait of the ways that "liberty" provided the rationales for new forms of imperial government, surveillance, and security.

Implicit in each of these discussions is the fundamental role of historical narrative in both the reception of the past, and the understanding of our present. As I have suggested, history and historical knowledge often fix and determine the relationship of the past to the present, and the structure and meaning it attributes to the past also determines what may be imagined as possible, now and in the future. The historical narrative establishes conventions for understanding human action and the collective organization of a people and suggests the role of material conditions in social change and transformation. In this sense, the historical narrative not only disciplines the criteria for establishing evidence; it also identifies the proper units for the study of the past, whether the individual, family, polis, nation, or civilization. In short, the historical narrative, like Shonibare's bottle, constitutes, organizes, and gives structure, meaning, and finite contours to the historical past. Hayden White

observed that histories also have forms, styles, and rhetorics for "telling" the past, and conventions through which they successively reproduce what he called "the explanatory effect."[5] The manner in which they resort to such literary conventions changes over time, in relation to the forces and imperatives of their moment. As Walter Benjamin famously wrote in "Theses on the Philosophy of History," modern historicism is the narrative of the victors. Against this project, Benjamin conjured the figure of the "historical materialist," described in the now well-known phrase as one who "brushes history against the grain," attending to the fragments of the material pasts violently absented by modern historicism. In a series of aphorisms, Benjamin gave us a critique of modern historical narrative and its institutionalizations. His evocation of the materialist historian who would grasp the constellation of the past and the present as "the time of the now" and would "blast a specific era out of the homogeneous course of history" suggests a different practice, one that refuses the recovery of the past as a figure that gives us the redemptive image of our own coming.[6] Benjamin's historical materialist mourns what history subjugates as the unknown and the nonhuman, and considers what remains.

In this chapter, I thus turn to consider philosophies of history, in order to consider the predicament for "decolonizing" historical narratives and the task of comprehending not simply the past and present, but the complicated demands of providing for the future. Perhaps no work better models the modern European philosophy of history than Hegel's *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, in which "Europe" is the subject of the progressive teleological development of world history. As Dipesh Chakrabarty observes of modern historical narrative, "Europe" remains the sovereign theoretical subject of *all* histories, including the ones we call "Indian," "Kenyan," and so on. In other words, "Europe" is the "silent referent in historical knowledge," often even for histories that represent non-European nations or peoples.[7] A philosophy of history that would not merely substitute another national subject within the same formal master narrative must create an analytic that interrogates European coloniality, epistemology, and philosophy of history. Anticolonial and antislavery works are among the most distinguished histories that undertake the work of negating this dominant form. For this reason I begin with

Hegel's *Lectures* and then turn to discuss C. L. R. James's *Black Jacobins* (1938) and W. E. B. Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction* (1935), each of which is an unparalleled history of the struggles for freedom by the enslaved people of African descent, originating a new critical ontology that challenges the coloniality of the European philosophy of history. My central aim is not to engage James and Du Bois's works primarily as historical records, but rather to discuss their philosophies of history, their methods for identifying the coloniality of received histories, and to specify their engagements with and departures from earlier dialectical forms.[8]

Enlightenment definitions of the modern subject, from Bacon and Descartes onward, relied on a concept of universal reason out of which empiricist methods, liberal political economy, and modern philosophies of history followed. The modern subject acquires knowledge of himself and others through reason. Rationality is the mark of the "human" subject, and the condition for being accorded full moral treatment, and sets the limit on the natural equality of all those beings taken to be "human." For Locke and Rousseau, this reasoning subject was the man of the political sphere, the property-owning citizen who rationally chooses the promises of civil freedom and protection by the government. Kant emphasized that critical "practical" reason was responsible for the cultivation and moral preparation of the subject, and the progressive development of the human race "becoming enlightened." In Hegel, the reasoning human subject was a self-reflective agent within historical time, an instance of the universal Reason as the immanent principle of history, unfolding and culminating in the realization of Spirit, or *Geist*.

Both Susan Buck-Morss and Paul Gilroy have observed that Hegel employed *freedom* and *slavery* as metaphors within the philosophical realization of Spirit, while foreclosing mention of the slave revolts in Haiti ongoing at the time of the writing of his *Phenomenology of Spirit* (*Phänomenologie des Geistes*, 1807).[9] Sibylle Fischer elaborates the disavowal of the Haitian Revolution in Hegel's work.[10] Building on these important discussions, I would emphasize a slightly different point, which is that the Hegelian dialectic of freedom and slavery has informed philosophies of history, even Marxist and third world anticolonial ones that have aimed to refute Hegel's decisive Eurocentrism, through the key operations of dialectical sublation and teleology. In other words, while the an-

tinomy of enslavement and right was posed as the central contradiction of political philosophy, from ancient and early modern philosophers to modern thinkers like Rousseau and Kant, it was Hegel who elaborated in the nineteenth century a comprehensive philosophy of history in which the dialectic of matter and Spirit moves toward unity through the overcoming of enslavement or unfreedom by the progressive development of freedom. Rousseau, for example, in *The Social Contract* (*Du contrat social*, 1762), defined human freedom as political right, and enslavement as the illegitimate subjection of European man to the arbitrary rule of monarchy, and named the *negation* of slavery by right as a contradiction to be resolved through the founding of a new political society that would supersede the social inequalities of the ancien régime.[11] For Kant, the contradiction between freedom as right and unfreedom as enslavement was resolved as an ethical problem within the progressive temporality of cultivation and development. In Kant, the subject marked by the lack of autonomous will is "immature," a slave to his self-interest; to become autonomous, the subject must be capable of reflecting and governing itself. It was the role of philosophy and "culture" to prepare subjects for practical reason and for the freedom realized in bringing the will into alignment with the moral law.[12] If Rousseau's concept of *general will* was a political concept that required the dissolution of the individual's particular interest in the general or universal reason of the larger society, Kant developed this concept of subsumption into an ethical principle; the categorical imperative stated that one should act only on that maxim which one can at the same time will to be a universal law. Yet while the opposition of slavery and right has a very long history as a central topos in philosophy, it is in Hegel's thought that this contradiction is thoroughly elaborated as a dialectical process essential to historical development itself; that is, dialectical sublation and supersession are operations on which the sweeping, unfolding drama of European history depends, in which states of unfreedom are negated, and comprehensibly transformed, included, and overcome, resolving in the "freedom" that is the realization of Spirit or Geist.

Perhaps for this reason, Du Bois and James both deeply engaged the study of Hegel, conceiving in the Hegelian-Marxian dialectic a philosophical route through which the particular singularity of slave rebellion

could be understood as universal in significance, thwarting the liberal rationalities of the invisible hand, the general will, and ultimately, the realization of freedom in Europe. Even before studying at the University of Berlin, Du Bois engaged the dialectic of *herrschaft* and *knechtschaft*, or lordship and bondage, in Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit*. Yet the terms and operations of the dialectic are thoroughly rethought and transformed in Du Bois's important concepts of "double consciousness," and the "veil."[13] James wrote extensively on Hegel's dialectic, and his full-length work *Notes on Dialectics* (1948) was a study of Hegel's *Science of Logic* in relation to the development of Marx's dialectical method.[14] Even in opposing the German idealism of Hegel's work, both were compelled to engage the comprehensive promise of historical transformation and universal freedom. Du Bois and James were each philosophically engaged with the Hegelian dialectic and teleology, yet looked to Marxist history and dialectical materialism for insights into the interpretation of both the history of slavery and the possibility of political change; over the course of their lives, they would each struggle with the problem of the limitations of Marxist theory and practice for the situations of Black people in the decolonizing West Indies and Africa, and in the United States. James discussed Marx as refuting Hegel's idealism by reformulating the contradiction between Spirit and matter into a conflict between capital and labor, and conceiving human history as the unfolding of class struggle. He observed that Marx had repurposed Hegel's dialectic for the "necessity" of a social world divided by stark material differences: "For Hegel, stages are the work of the universal spirit. Marx is his diametrical opposite, a dialectical materialist. For him, these concrete revolutionary stages are the work of the great masses of the people forever seeking the concretion of the universality as the development of the productive forces."[15] James keenly observed Marx's inheritance of teleological history from Hegel, "the modern practice of dividing world history into a sequence which shows some historical inevitability or necessity. Marx, like Hegel, sought in history, the pervading thread of development, and he found it in the economic relations of different social forms."[16] In other words, James considered Marx's refinement of Hegel's dialectic for his critique of capitalist political economy as a refusal of Hegel's idealism and noted the significance of Marx's attachment to the understanding

of history as a progressive development. Yet despite the fundamental differences of idealism and materialism, the Hegelian and Marxian philosophies of history can be observed to hold similarly teleological understandings of world history as unfolding in stages, with human freedom in western Europe representing one of the most important "ends" of its development.

Inasmuch as James and Du Bois had evolving engagements with the Hegelian-Marxist tradition over the longer course of careers lived across continents, both were Black African diasporic thinkers whose work cannot be regarded as simply deriving from or exclusively in relation to European philosophy. Both decentered Europe as the origin and destination of world history and insistently sought philosophical and political solutions to the colonized and enslaved predicaments of African and Black diaspora peoples. Both countered Hegel's exclusion of Africa from world-historical development and were fundamentally concerned with the urgent question of the transformation of the social relations of African slavery. Cedric Robinson would situate the two as key figures in the tradition of Black radical thought that he terms "Black Marxism."[17] In their respective histories of different Black labor struggles, both James and Du Bois engaged yet interrogated Marx's subjects and categories, and by implication, his historical method. Each identified a dialectical struggle within a structure of domination and dehumanization to be overturned, yet argued that history must decenter the dialectic of class struggle within industrial capitalism to forge an understanding of the modern world as constituted by Black slavery, and transformed by Black struggles for human freedom. James, Du Bois, and other thinkers in the Black radical tradition fundamentally rejected the notion that slavery was "prior" to modernity and insisted that slave labor was the central contradiction of modern capitalism and modern history.[18] African slaves in the "new world" were not merely the "primitive accumulation" of traders, plantocracy, and industrialists; rather they argued that Black slaves were *the* laboring subjects of history, par excellence, whose work provided the assets that financed industrialization in western Europe and North America, and whose struggles for emancipation irrevocably altered human understandings of historical change.[19] *Black Jacobins* and *Black Reconstruction* engaged the Marxist philosophy of history, in challenging

colonial slavery in the West Indies and the "slave character" of capitalist democracy in the United States. The slaves' labor on West Indian sugar plantations and in North American cotton fields constituted capitalist production, discipline, and divisions of labor in ways that must be made equally legible to the labor of the English factory worker or urban proletariat.[20] In this sense, James and Du Bois were at once engaged with the Hegelian-Marxian philosophical tradition, even as each vigorously refuted that tradition for its exclusion of Africa from world history and its exemption of Black slaves from modern global capitalism. The emancipatory visions of these two towering figures in the traditions of Black radical thought challenged the distorted privileges of freedom granted liberal humanity, even as they argued that more must be done to give slaves and their descendants consideration *as* humanity.

In Hegel's philosophy, the world is Spirit (*Geist*), alienated as external nature, coming to know itself in an evolutionary dialectic of consciousness and history in time. In *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History* (1837, 1975), Hegel conceptualized world history as a dialectical overcoming of the alienation of Spirit, and we can think of this dialectic as a series of phases in which each subsequent phase emerges as a more explicit or more inclusive whole of which the former phase can be in retrospect seen as one moment. Two principles or forces are in contradiction, one negates the other, in a dynamic process of transformation that moves toward a resolution in synthesis or transcendence. This dynamic development exemplifies Hegel's idea of negation comprehending difference, assimilating and overcoming opposition or relation; it takes place in the individual consciousness, in political forms, as well as in the realization of world history.[21] The dialectic is essential to understanding and to human being; negation always takes place and operates within a unity; we conceive of nothing and have nothing without this totalizing unity. World history, as the dialectical development in time that is the highest expression of Reason as Geist, is governed by an ultimate design, which is the image and enactment of Reason: "The object of universal world history is infinitely concrete, all-comprehending, and omnipresent."[22] Hegel wrote about the processes of dialectical sublation in world history: "Each determinate form which the spirit assumes does not simply fade away naturally with the passage of time, but is preserved in the

self-determining, self-conscious activity of self-consciousness. Since this preservation is an activity of thought, it is both a conservation and a transfiguration."[23]

In the process of dialectical sublation (*Aufhebung*), the initial contradiction is preserved, transformed, and refigured in new terms, involving either a deferral or elevation of the contradiction to a higher level. Like the resurrection of new life out of death, historical development takes place through a teleology of unfolding dialectical contradictions; as an earlier form is negated, the contradiction is raised up to a more comprehensive level in a higher stage of the "negation of the negation" that simultaneously preserves what has been overcome. Spirit is realized, and realizes itself, through this developmental process that unfolds in time. Dialectical sublation is a mediation of the progressive "becoming" of world history in which there is a synthesis of particular and universal, which Hegel describes as "the unfolding of God's nature in a particular determinate element, so that only a determinate form of knowledge is possible and appropriate to it."[24] In the *Phenomenology of Spirit* (*Phänomenologie des Geistes*, 1807), the process of dialectical sublation occurs on the level of self-consciousness and is elaborated in Hegel's dialectic of lordship and bondage.[25] In the *Philosophy of Right* (*Philosophie des Rechts*, 1821), Hegel traced this dialectical development through the political forms of property, family, civil society, and the state. Property in oneself and in the objects one makes through will, labor, and contract are initial levels in Hegel's dialectical development; the ethical actions of marriage and the family are then further, more complex, developments within a teleology of freedom that resolves in the unity of the particular will of the individual with the collective universality of the whole, or the state.[26]

In *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History,* Hegel discussed the "nation" as merely universal Spirit in a particularized form and asserted that the differences of national character manifest according to the evolutionary level, or awareness of Spirit, within that nation. He further elaborated national character in relation to geography and climate, as spheres of natural determination. Out of this premise, he advanced the famous definition of world history as "a record of the spirit's consciousness of its own freedom" that results in a hierarchy of civilizations. Each

represents "a particular stage of development" in the "progress of the consciousness of freedom" that "corresponds to different epochs in the history of the world": "We can discern three main principles in the older continents: the Far Eastern (that is, Mongolian, Chinese, or Indian) principle, which is also the first to appear in history; the Mohammedan world, in which the principle of the abstract spirit, of monotheism is already present, although it is coupled with unrestrained arbitrariness; and the Christian, Western European world, in which the highest principle of all, the spirit's recognition of itself and its own profundity, is realized."[27] Even as Hegel discussed world history as the discovery of these successive "stages" progressing from East to West, and from less to more universal development and actualization of spirit, he famously exempted Africa as "an unhistorical continent, with no movement or development of its own," and represented the indigenous people of the "New World" as already destroyed.[28] Identifying stages of a historical continuum from the "childhood" of Chinese and Indian civilizations, to the "youth" and "young adulthood" of Greek and Roman world, and finally, to the "mature old age" of Christian Europe, he wrote of Africa: "What we understand as Africa proper is that unhistorical and undeveloped land which is still enmeshed in the natural spirit, and which had to be mentioned here before we cross the threshold of world history itself."[29] Native peoples in the Americas, he described as: "culturally inferior nations . . . eroded through contact with more advanced nations which have gone through a more intensive cultural development. For the citizens of the independent states of North America are all of European descent, and the original inhabitants were unable to amalgamate with them."[30] Thus, Hegel's philosophy of world history provided for the incorporation of the "lower" manifestations of Spirit in Asia and the Mediterranean into its "higher" expression in Christian Europe, expressing a movement of subsuming inclusivity that would seem to be commensurate with the "civilizing mission" of European colonial projects. At the same time, this developmental history and ontology of comprehensive intelligibility excluded the African continent and exempted indigenous peoples as extinct; in effect, Hegel situates both African and indigenous people *before* the commencement of world history and embeds each as differently external to the project of realizing human freedom.[31]

Hegel defined the culmination of world history as the realization of the unity of the particular and the universal in the ethical totality of the state, or the incorporation of "undeveloped states . . . whose condition is still primitive" that have not yet reached the degree of advancement at which spirit is realized in a "single unity" with "states which have attained maturity."[32] He appeared to acknowledge the violence of dialectical synthesis when he stated that in the course of world history, "development" is "not just a harmless and peaceful process," but is rather "a hard and obstinate struggle," and that "each successive step is a modification of a preceding one, a high principle which arises out of the dissolution and destruction of its predecessor."[33] Yet the realization of freedom that is the promised endpoint of Hegel's philosophy of history not only permits the subsumption of Asian, Mediterranean Arab and Muslim, and other non-European worlds through colonial development, it naturalizes indigenous disappearance and leaves Africa at the "threshold of world history itself": this precisely differentiated map of interlocking operations exactly expresses the "coloniality" of Hegel's world history.

This coloniality of Hegelian philosophy of history not only confronts us with the violence and inadequacy of progressive teleology for the narration of anticolonial and antislavery histories, but it compels an interrogation of the Marxist dialectic for these projects, as well. While Marx was explicitly engaged with Hegel, it is a mistaken oversimplification to suggest that Marx's larger work, or those of thinkers who followed him, reproduced the Hegelian philosophy of world history when they adopted the formal operations of dialectical method.[34] But it is neither formalist nor idealist to remark that universalizing narratives themselves—when institutionalized as a genre or a philosophy of history—possess material force of great consequence.[35] Put otherwise, the investment in an all-inclusive teleological resolution continues both to reconcile subjects to the violence of universals subsuming particulars, and to disavow the ongoing placement of entire continents and peoples beyond the boundaries of human community. When Hegel and Marx's philosophies of history are considered, the two would appear antithetical, in terms of their ontologies, and their political ends. Yet Marxism, as a critique of the totalizing abstractions of Hegelian idealism, nonetheless inhabits and engages its logics, in order to overturn them and refine a dialectical method

that would realize concrete historical categories and processes.[36] If we observe the way each philosophy conceptualizes human history evolving through the successive "overcoming" of contradictions, they share a formal logic and, moreover, address a common European philosophical tradition. Hegel's philosophy of history incorporates otherness into a comprehensive totality that absorbs differentiation and inequality, even while designating some populations as beyond that totality exemplified by the European constitutional state; Marx sought the dissolution of the alienation of capitalist social relations in a revolution that would abolish private property and establish communism.[37] Both conceived politics in relation to a universal humanity that may be apprehended through a particular set of normative categories, unities, and teleologies, and posited the transparency and harmony of the realized state, whether bourgeois or communist. In both, there is an inner telos that is re-realized through a progressive history.[38] In their different conceptions of the processes through which particular differences will be brought into alignment with the universal social whole, we could say that neither, however in different manners, accounted adequately for the violent asymmetries in the historical and ongoing coloniality of world development, nor conceived philosophically the persistence of contradiction and otherness beyond the realization of the state, whether imperial, socialist, or postcolonial. Thus, despite Marx's materialist critique of the abstraction of Hegelian idealism, both imply differently the necessity of universality overcoming particularity. Historically, this has often entailed the necessity of repressive, normative means to achieve common purposes and to maintain ethical resolution, forestalling the elaboration of processes marked by colonial difference and heterogeneity. Finally, just as Hegelian history and teleology exempts Africa, forgets indigenous peoples, and subsumes the worlds of Asia and the Mediterranean in resolving "world history" in the European state, there are forms of Marxist history and teleology that, by defining the modern capitalist world as Europe, reproduce the appropriation, exemption, and subsumption of non-European worlds, and foreclose our inquiry into these lost histories of divergence, difference, and connection.

For Black anticolonial thinkers like James and Du Bois, as well as Frantz Fanon, Walter Rodney, Orlando Patterson, Cedric Robinson, and others, it has been urgent and necessary to address the exclusion of

Blacks and Africans from Hegel's understanding of world history, and to rework Marxism to envision an emancipatory politics that would address the contradictions of colonialism and slavery. Although Hegel's denial of history and humanity to Africa is not explicitly stated by Marx, Western Marxism has contributed to a European historical model that opposes capitalism to slavery, and that cannot recognize Black slaves and colonized subjects as actors in history and historical change. For the critique of capitalist political economy that focuses on wage labor as the site of alienation, and on the capital–wage labor relation as the full development of commodity production that structures capitalism and announces the capitalist era, slavery is situated as "precapitalist," rather than specifically embedded in colonial capitalism, or coterminous and interdependent with a spectrum of other labors. By positioning slavery as external or prior to capitalism, not integral to it, the Marxist critique of capitalism is unable to grasp the complex combination of both waged and unwaged labor that makes up relations of production in modern capitalism. When privileging industrialized Europe and North America as the sites of mature capitalism, Marxism not only fails to recognize slave labor *as labor*, but it denies the role of slavery as the formative condition for wage labor and industrialization, over against which "free labor" was posed. As Cedric Robinson observes in *Black Marxism*, "At its epistemological substratum, Marxism is a Western construction—a conceptualization of human affairs and historical development that is emergent from the historical experiences of European peoples mediated, in turn, through their civilization, their social orders, and their cultures."[39] In his work on the Black radical tradition, Cedric Robinson built upon James, Du Bois, Frantz Fanon, Walter Rodney and others to observe the significance of Black labor in the history of industrial capitalism, when African slavery provided the necessary agricultural labor just as Europeans moved to factory work. In Robinson's analysis, capitalism has been always "racial capitalism"; that is, the organization, expansion, and ideology of capitalist society was expressed through race, racial subjection, and racial differences.

The term *racial capitalism* captures the sense that actually existing capitalism exploits through culturally and socially constructed differences such as race, gender, region, and nationality, and is lived through those

uneven formations; it refuses the idea of a "pure" capitalism external to, or extrinsic from, the racial formation of collectivities and populations, or that capitalism's tendency to treat labor as abstract equivalent units does not contravene its precisely calibrated exploitation of social differences and particularities.[40] Robinson states: "I use the term *racial capitalism* to refer to this development and to the subsequent structure as historical agency. From its very foundations capitalism had never been—any more than Europe—a closed system."[41] What Robinson elaborates as "racial capitalism" includes the settler colonial dispossession of land and removal of indigenous peoples, the colonial slavery that extracted labor from people to whom it denied human being, and the racialized exploitation of immigrants from around the world—making the political sphere of human rights and representation the precise location that permits and sustains the violent inequality issuing from the longer history of slavery, colonial settlement and occupation, and capitalist exploitation.[42] Furthermore, racial capitalism suggests that capitalism expands not through rendering all labor, resources, and markets across the world identical, but by precisely seizing upon colonial divisions, identifying particular regions for production and others for neglect, certain populations for exploitation and still others for disposal.

In this sense, Marx has given rise to many different Marxisms: among them, a Western Marxism that preserves the Hegelian dialectic, historical teleology, and the location of human freedom in Europe; and the range of anticolonial and third world Marxisms, in which the analysis of capitalism and revolution was revised in social contexts that did not conform to western Europe, emphasizing the different conditions of slavery, colonialism, and the underdevelopment of the non-European world.[43] For example, Gramsci grappled with the uneven cultural, political, and economic development of northern industrialized and southern agrarian Italy; Lenin and Mao rethought Marxism for Russia and China not in relation to "underdevelopment," but through analyses situated in their materially different peasant societies. In the mid-twentieth century, African, Black American, and Black Diaspora Marxists, including James and Du Bois, rethought dialectics in terms of the dehumanization of racialized slavery and observed the importance of the "color line" in class struggle on a world scale.[44] Frantz Fanon commented that "Marxist anal-

ysis should always be slightly stretched every time we have to do with the colonial problem."[45] He reconceived the dialectic in the negation, or dehumanization, of Black colonized people within the racialized context of French colonialism.[46] Rather than the alienation of labor giving rise to dialectical history as class struggle, for Fanon, the conditions of racial colonialism violently negated black humanity, producing racial estrangement and misrecognition.[47] Within these conditions, the "violence which has ruled over the ordering of the colonial world" cannot be simply reformed; it must be met in kind, for "the whole social structure [to be] changed from the bottom up."[48]

Others have rethought Marxism to address the colonization of often largely agrarian societies, and to understand colonialism as a specific form of capitalist development that differs greatly from that of industrialized Europe. For example, Bipan Chandra analyzed the "colonial mode of production" as a specific form of the capitalist mode of production, not external to or separate from European capitalism, but integral to it, which involved processes for extraction of resources, labor, and goods that functioned in the colony in relation to the colonial power's needs. The colonial mode of production employed combinations of urban and agrarian exploitation and accumulation; where Marx analyzed the relations of production in Western industrial capitalism as the management of urban workers by urban bourgeoisie, colonialism extracted surplus value by means of a racialized split between colonial metropole and agrarian colony.[49] Samir Amin has nuanced the ways that this split was elaborated as a system of uneven development within neocolonial capitalism.[50] Third world Marxisms called for workers in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America to ally against Western imperialism, some taking the Chinese revolution as inspiration.[51] The 1955 Bandung conference organized by Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, India, and Pakistan promoted Afro-Asian economic and cultural cooperation, and represented a powerful vision of anticolonial solidarity, even if the liberal historical narrative has done powerful work to suppress the Bandung vision.[52] If European philosophies of history, including Western Marxism, resolved the contradiction of freedom and slavery through a dialectical overcoming that subsumes without recognition the role of slavery in the becoming of modern Europe, C. L. R. James's *Black Jacobins* (1938)

and W. E. B. Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction* (1935) illustrate their struggles to rework this narrative of dialectical overcoming for their different histories of slave resistance and revolt. However, the events forcibly forgotten in the discourse of European man cannot be accounted for with simple strategies of mere inclusion but require both a representation of the revolutionary events that have been forcibly forgotten within existing history, and a radical critique of the historical form itself: in their monumental studies, James and Du Bois address this twofold project.

In *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, Michel-Rolph Trouillot argued that the Haitian Revolution entered history with the peculiar characteristic of being unthinkable even as it happened, and was then marginalized as "unintelligible" in over a century of European historiography.[53] James's *Black Jacobins* emphasized this paradox: that neither the French nor English political left in the eighteenth century were prepared to develop a conceptual frame with which to understand the events that shook Saint-Domingue, and that the slaves freeing themselves constituted an event that pressed beyond the limits of even the most revolutionary Enlightenment imagination of universal freedom. Revolutionary Frenchmen declared the "rights of man" yet could not acknowledge liberty for free mulattoes, Black slaves, or other people of color in the West Indies; even abolitionists, like the "Amis des Noirs," failed to understand slaves claiming humanity within the brutal system in which it was denied. James suggested that the Black slaves in Saint-Domingue demanding freedom were themselves denied a language or discourse with which to ask for that freedom. This foreclosure of humanity and human freedom was manifested in the range of brutalities endured: from the violently "bestial" tortures and the color hierarchy of 128 shades among mulattoes and Blacks; to the disavowals that kept slaves from knowing themselves as denied due humanity, buttressed by the discourses about the benevolence of slave owners and the sentimental pleasures of slave society.

Furthermore, the revolution in which slaves freed themselves—defeating, in turn, the local whites and soldiers of the French monarchy, a Spanish invasion, a British expedition of sixty thousand men, and then a French expedition of similar size—continued to be "unthinkable" when James first published *The Black Jacobins* in 1938. In the preface to his second edition in 1963, James described 1938 as an era of anticolonial

anticipation, a time in which "only the writer and a handful of close associates thought, wrote, and spoke as if the African events of the last quarter of a century were imminent."[54] In this sense, *Black Jacobins* was written "with Africa in mind." We need only consider the remarkable silence on the Haitian Revolution in Eric Hobsbawm's *Age of Revolution* (1962), to realize that in the 1930s, the Haitian Revolution was largely suppressed in Europe, where there continued to be a widespread contention that enslaved or colonized Africans could not envision their own freedom. In the United States, Du Bois had insisted on the central role of the Haitian Revolution when he argued that U.S. modernity was built paradoxically with and in denial of African American slavery; and the revolt uniting free mulattoes and Black slaves filled the literary imaginations of Cuban novelist Alejo Carpentier and Martinican poet Aimé Césaire. But despite the fact that the West Indian colony supplied two-thirds of the overseas trade of France and was the greatest individual market for the European slave trade, it was not until the twentieth century that the slave revolt establishing the first independent Black nation in the Caribbean actually entered the historiography. *Black Jacobins* presented a complex narrative of the twelve years of rebellion and revolution, and its epic portrait challenged the erasure of the slave revolution from world history and linked the revolts to the Pan-African anticolonial movements of James's time. James's text has played an enormous role in the education of several generations of radical intellectuals thinking about the meaning of slavery and freedom in the Americas.

Drawing inspiration from Hayden White's work on the rhetorics of historical narrative, David Scott identifies the historical emplotment of James's revolutionary epic of slave resistance as a "Romance," to the extent that it proposes that slavery is overcome and humanity redeemed.[55] James revised the second edition, published in 1963, after the establishment of independent states in Algeria, Kenya, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, when the limitations of the much anticipated independence projects were beginning to unfold. With attention to the paragraphs that James added to the beginning of the last chapter in the 1963 edition, Scott interrupts the reception of James's history as a romantic narrative of redemption and inserts his own reading of the second edition as "a tragedy of colonial enlightenment," which aims to intervene in the anticolonial

Romance to "offer us the elements of a critical story of our postcolonial time."[56] Scott argues that the narrative form of the "Romance" tends to confirm an anticolonial teleology that divides the world into binary forces of good and evil, in which the romantic hero leads the slaves to rise up in a narrative of revolutionary overcoming. In contrast, "tragic" elements of the revised last chapter work to interrupt the "view of human history moving teleologically and transparently toward a determinate end, or as governed by a sovereign and omnisciently rational agent."[57] Our disenchanted times, Scott argues, demand this different emplotment: the "tragedy" of James's history—the singular *hamartia* leading to the defeat of Toussaint L'Ouverture in the War of Independence, and the general failure of anticolonial revolution to bring full human freedom to the colonized world—interrupts the moral and historical closure of romantic anticolonial teleology, which permits an understanding of how "new world" slaves were "conscripted" into modernity after the failures of colonial enlightenment.[58]

In observing the centrality of dialectical emplotment in *Black Jacobins*, I have found useful Scott's discussion of the formal and figurative features of James's historical discourse. I emphasize differently the ways in which the 1938 anticolonial epic expressed James's early adherence to Marxist history, even as he was to question, innovate and move away from it by the time of the second edition, and in his later life. James's epic history appears to ascribe to the dialectical teleology of Marxist form, particularly when he likens the rebelling slaves to the French revolutionaries. Yet rather than interpreting *Black Jacobins* as organizing the rebelling San Domingans in relation to a European telos, I argue instead that the historical material of the slave revolts *far exceeds* the provisional form of dialectical teleology employed: that is, James recounted the progress of the slaves' attainment of independence in terms of the dialectical antagonisms of masters and slaves, owners and property, the bourgeoisie and the masses, Sonthonax and Toussaint—from the mass insurrection of slaves and mulattoes in 1791, through the crumbling of the colonial apparatus in 1793, to the conquest of state machinery and establishment of the first Black nation in 1804. He conceived colonial slavery as the collision between irreconcilably opposed forces and dramatized the progressive dialectical "negation of the negation" in the uprising of the landless



5.2 *Toussaint Louverture, Chef des Noirs Insurgés de Saint Domingue*. Artist unknown; hand-colored engraving published c.1800 in France.

slaves against the propertied bourgeoisie, which resolves in their seizure of the state. Yet he placed the slaves at the very center of a narrative of revolution, in which the injustice of plantation slavery and private property is overcome, and a new society and polity established. In this sense, James appropriated dialectical history as a formal logic or heuristic, but the worldly material he narrated radically refuted the closures of both Hegel's liberal inclusivity and Marxian revolutionary historical method, by situating the Black experience of colonial slavery at the center of capitalist modernity.[59]

There are numerous points in the narrative when the slaves' conditions and struggles break apart the restrictions of the received categories. James depicts women surviving the violence of rape and mutilation, bands of escaped maroons roaming the wooded mountains, voodoo rites and dances, and the electrifying rebellions in which the slaves were joined by free Blacks and young mulattoes and "destroyed tirelessly" the property of their masters. Neither sequential nor cumulative, these episodes are never simply contained by a dialectical progress toward revolutionary ends. In each of these, we receive a glimpse of unfathomable survival and desire that *exceeds* the formal narrative elements of dialectical progress and overcoming, and bring familiar historical categories into question. James never simply performs the recovery of events for nationalist history. By both citing and yet displacing the formal features of dialectical history, we may read *Black Jacobins* as much more than an application of European historical forms to slave revolution: it invites the critical deconstruction of the European philosophy of history and opens a new philosophy of history that takes *racial capitalism* as its object. Furthermore, it creates the possibility for the more composite transnational subject of history, the "mariners, renegades and castaways," which James would elaborate later in 1952 while interned on Ellis Island.[60] Yet *Black Jacobins* follows the imperatives of modern historical narrative that prescribe an itinerary through the complexity of the past, limiting the degree to which other subjects, movements, and trajectories may be pursued.

In *Black Jacobins*, James adopted the dialectic but resituated it within the Caribbean colonial context, in ways that echoed but challenged both Hegel and Marx. Rendering the dialectic from the perspective of the colonized Black slave, Toussaint, James reversed Hegel's dialectic of lord

and bondsman.[61] The contradiction was not sublated into the gradual emergence of the ethical subject or state, but rather, in his account, the starkly racialized confrontation erupted in struggle. James's inversion of the dialectic from the perspective of colonized slaves upended the telos of the ethical state as the unity of universal and particular and interrupted the Hegelian notion of historical time as the narrative unfolding of that ethical state. In *Black Jacobins*, the white European planters were the origin of the violence that was returned to them in the slaves' revolts: "But here as everywhere the white planters began it and exceeded all rivals in barbarism, being trained in violence and cruelty by their treatment of the slaves."[62] James *reversed* the Hegelian idea of progressive realization of freedom through the ethical spheres of individualism and the family to the political sphere of the state, by demonstrating that the slaves' destruction of the unethical colonial slave society must come *before* any possible founding of an ethical political sphere. The contradiction of master and slave was the dynamic impulse of historical progress, but for James, the *sublation* of contradiction into the European state form was insufficient to bring an end to the dehumanization of slavery; conciliation could not be achieved by mere inclusion of the enslaved into French history or civil society, or by the replacement of the colonizer by the native bourgeoisie. *The Black Jacobins* is the epic history of the slaves demanding that the entire social structure be changed from the bottom up, that the society be established on new foundations.

In this reversal of Hegel's dialectic, James expressed his commitments to the philosophy of history espoused by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky but refashioned the reversal to address the history of popular revolt against colonial slavery unimagined by those thinkers.[63] Within Marxism, capitalism created the condition in which the alienated labor of the worker was appropriated as the private property of the capitalist, which gives rise to the dialectic of history as class struggle. Marxism follows the Hegelian idea of stages of development, each new class replacing the one ruling before, achieving its hegemony on a broader basis than that of the previous one, against which the opposition of the working masses develops more sharply and profoundly, until it gathers the dynamic force to overthrow the existing relations of production. In *Black Jacobins*, James at once reproduces this Marxist organization of historical development,

while demonstrating that the Haitian Revolution exceeded the very terms of this development.

Consider this important passage in which James compares the Black slaves to the industrial proletariat, and likens plantation production to that of the European industrialism: "The slaves worked on the land, and, like revolutionary peasants everywhere, they aimed at the extermination of their oppressors. But working and living together in gangs of hundreds on the huge sugar-factories which covered the North Plain, they were closer to a modern proletarian than any group of workers in existence at the time, and the rising was, therefore, a thoroughly prepared and organized mass movement."[64] In likening Black peasant labor to European workers, James's comparison appears to pose an equivalence between the slaves and the industrial proletariat, yet the juxtaposition itself effectively states the gap or difference between them, in the phrase *they were closer . . . than any group of workers in existence at that time*. The rhetorical comparison works to destabilize the classic definition of the proletarian as an urban working class within European capitalism, yet it refuses the simple correspondence between the slaves and the figure of the modern proletarian by continuing to foreground their colonial difference. Later, even when James would seem to adhere to the developmental teleology of Marx's dialectical "historical laws," assimilating those he calls "half-savage slaves" into a higher, more "advanced" modern revolutionary consciousness, the comparison satirizes and displaces the colonial classifications of savage and civilized to highlight the Caribbean slaves' and Parisian workers' differential access to "human" history: "At the same time as the French [masses], the half-savage slaves of San Domingo were showing themselves subject to *the same historical laws* as the advanced workers of revolutionary Paris; and over a century later the Russian masses were to prove once more that this innate power will display itself in all populations."[65] Rather than conclude that James submitted the Haitian slaves to the design of European world history, I suggest instead that each time James appears to compare the slaves' resistance to that of the European masses, the comparisons themselves foreground the elisions of colonial slavery from both liberal and Marxist historiography. Yet by making the slaves' labor the index of their humanity, *Black Jacobins* adopts a Marxist humanism that illustrates the continuing diffi-

culties of imagining what Shona N. Jackson calls "humanity beyond the regime of labor."[66] In other words, when the historical narrative of freedom overcoming slavery selects labor as the common term through which differences are translated into a unified humanity, it both reduces slavery to an economic regime, and elides indigenous peoples for whom labor exploitation was not the primary mode of colonial encounter.

When James writes "Men make their own history and the Black Jacobins of San Domingo were to make history which would alter the fate of millions of men and shift the economic currents of three continents,"[67] he explicitly rewrites Marx's famous statement in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852): "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past."[68] In *The Eighteenth Brumaire*, Marx had lamented the 1851 coup d'état through which Napoleon's nephew, Louis Bonaparte, assumed dictatorship of France; he cast it as a parodic repetition of the first Napoleon's coup, and as a banal betrayal of the ideals of the French Revolution itself. He analyzed the class structure of nineteenth-century France in order to explain the conditions that permitted a restoration of the bourgeoisie, rather than the instating of the proletarian, bitterly blaming the peasantry for the failures of the French Revolution to achieve universal freedom.[69] In *Black Jacobins*, James alludes ironically to the key elements of Marxist history: the centrality of property in the interests of the bourgeoisie, the co-option of the petit bourgeois and peasantry, and the heroic, humanizing narrative of the revolutionary leader Toussaint. Representing the struggles against the propertied whites and mulattoes, or the bourgeois interests among the revolutionary leaders in the French National Assembly, even echoing skepticism about the political consciousness of the uneducated Black slaves—in all of these, James recalls Marx's historical method in *The Eighteenth Brumaire*. But echoing Marx's famous statement does not render Haiti a parallel to France; to the contrary, it underscores that the counterrevolutionary restoration of power in France was far from the slaves' revolution in Saint-Domingue.

Where Marx had famously disdained the "small peasants" as a "sack of potatoes," leaving the proletariat to "stand alone," James praised the

Black peasant slaves.[70] In referencing *The Eighteenth Brumaire*, *The Black Jacobins* hardly likens the different historical outcomes of each revolution, but rather foregrounds how the slaves' actions entirely surpassed the canonical narrative through which revolution must be narrated. When James published the first edition of *Black Jacobins* in 1938, he recounted the history of a revolution whose triumphs held out many possibilities for anticolonial movements in his contemporary Africa and the Caribbean, whereas Marx, writing in the immediate aftermath of 1848, ruminated sorely over the failure of European revolution.[71] For James, the French Revolution would always be doomed to failure, for it limited its revolutionary imagination of human freedom to men in France. Only a revolution overthrowing the system of colonial slavery that brutally deprived the enslaved of humanity could realize the project of human freedom. In this sense, for James, the Haitian Revolution fulfilled, in unimagined ways, Enlightenment promises of emancipation, yet out of conditions foreclosed by, and in manners unforeseen by, that Enlightenment. James's echoes of Marx appear to recite the revolutionary project of rehumanizing those who have been dehumanized by capitalism, but it transforms that project by insisting that the "Black Jacobins" must be considered an incarnation of a new humanity, an alternative humanity that does not reiterate the European humanist figure of man, but elaborates another kind of being, community, and liberation out of the life worlds of those violently excluded by the coloniality of the humanist project.[72]

Yet without an explicit interrogation of the universal idea of the human, or the unified totalities of nationalist, socialist, or republican ends, the dialectical history of *The Black Jacobins* could be read as a reiteration of the subsumption of other peoples, lands, and temporalities to the progressive development of the revolutionary slaves as the new subject of modern history. I would suggest otherwise that James's commitment to understanding differently situated yet coeval struggles against colonialism and exploitation, so evident in his lifelong thinking and political practice, mitigates against such a reading.[73] Connections across world differences were thematized in so many of his writings, from *Mariners, Renegades and Castaways,* his discussion of the international laborers in the motley whaling crew in Melville's *Moby-Dick*, to *Beyond a Bound-*

ary, his memoir that considered the "heterotopian" engagements of the cricket team as a terrain for anticolonial solidarity and struggle.[74] In the 1950s and 1960s, when James was active in the West Indian Federal Labour Party, a federation of Caribbean socialist groups and Labour parties that ranged across Antigua, Barbados, Grenada, Monserrat, Jamaica, St. Kitts, and St. Lucia, the urgency of addressing what Stuart Hall would later term the "non-homogenous class subject" was evident in James's efforts to connect the laboring groups who had been divided by race under British colonialism in the West Indies.[75] In "Lecture on Federation (West Indies and British Guiana)" (1958), James spoke about the dangers of nationalism in the buildup to independence, which brought with it racial rivalry and tension between Blacks and Asian Indians, in Trinidad and in British Guiana; without implying their equivalence, he urged the necessary collaboration of "the colonized of Africa, the West Indies, and Indochina . . . in order to have economic freedom from colonialism."[76] In a pamphlet, "The West Indian of East Indian Descent," James discussed the colonial legacy of racism between West Indians of East Indian and African descent, and framed the importance of their solidarity: "Sugar and oil workers together can make a new Trinidad." He spoke of the "miserable division" into racial parties as the afterlife of colonialism in the postcolonial nation. Racial differences, he wrote, are "the off-spring of imperialism and colonialism which lived on them and could not live otherwise. Under Independence, they are a disgrace and a scandal."[77] In this sense, despite James's commitment to dialectical history, in his later life, his political imagination remained concerned with episodes and constellations that went "beyond a boundary," and whose pitfalls and outcomes could not be subsumed within a singular teleology or universal history.

James would understand that colonialism in the West Indies comprised different yet linked logics of settlement, slavery, and bonded immigrant labor, according to which various peoples were governed differently in the empire's interest. He would surmise that colonialism also created conditions of encounter and mixture, and transformed definitions of communities, both as it was interpreted to have existed in the past and as it was lived in the present. The violent appropriations of land, through subjection and extermination of indigenous people in

the Americas, were the conditions of possibility for transatlantic slavery and for the brutal transport and commodification of African labor to the so-called new world. The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sugar industry brought together this ongoing settler colonialism in the Americas with the horrors of slave plantations, which produced the wealth for the West Indian plantocracy, and for the European colonial mercantile powers. Asia and Asian labor became deeply implicated in abolition and the legal end of slavery and the slave trade: the importing of Chinese and Indian workers was imagined as a means to replace the slaves, while the colonial profits of the plantation system were expanded in the imperial East Indies and China trades in goods and people. Settler colonialism enforcing native genocide and removal, the opposition of slavery and wage labor, agrarian production acceding to metropolitan industry, maritime trade and colonial military sovereignty—these processes connected four continents and were intimate parts of the same imperial conjuncture. These conditions were accompanied by the intimacies of contacts and conflicts between captured, colonized subjects and communities, differentially affected by the longer history of empire. The afterlives of these conditions are deciphered not only in the great events of revolutions, wars, and republics, but in the phenomena of everyday life, not only in the monumental successes, but also in the too frequently overlooked so-called failures. James would understand that distilling a singular triumphant history out of this braided past would elide the interdependence of both these different colonial projects, and their anticolonial counter-formations. Forgetting these important connections restricts understanding the linked modes of colonial governance across continents, and impedes the anticolonial and antislavery imagination about the imminent, necessary means for ongoing projects of decolonization.

There is an uncanny episode in James's memoir, *Beyond a Boundary,* in which he meditates upon the figure of the Chinese immigrant to Trinidad, and speculates about the imagined or recalled Chinese immigrant's eventual relationship to the culture and community of Black Trinidadians on the island. The passage is remarkable for the way in which it focuses upon the figure of the Chinese immigrant to Trinidad

as the occasion for opening a multiplicity of possibilities for the history of the present:

> As I look back, all sorts of incidents, episodes and characters stand out with a vividness that does not surprise me: they were too intensely lived . . . A Chinese would land in the island from China unable to speak a word of English. He would begin as a clerk in a grocery store in some remote country district. He and others like him would pool their monthly salaries and turn by turn set up a small business in some strategic spot, usually in the midst of some village populated by Negro agriculturalists . . . This often made for bad blood between the Chinese and his creditors. But this man, after about fifteen years, would be seized with a passion for cricket . . . On the Sunday when the match was to be played he provided a feast. He helped out players who could not afford cricket gear. He godfathered very poor boys who could play. On the day of the match, you could see him surrounded by locals, following every ball with a passionate intensity . . . The usual taciturnity of the local Chinese remained with him, except in cricket, where he would be as excited and as voluble as the rest. You could find people like him scattered all over the island. I didn't find it strange then. Today he and such as he are as intriguing as any of my cricket memories.[78]

Unlike the developmental history of *The Black Jacobins,* powerfully bound to the overcoming of a single contradiction toward the resolution of human freedom in a new republic, this episode in *Beyond a Boundary* not only moves back and forward in time, but it "intensely" inhabits several time frames at once. James is simultaneously in the present of his memoir, the past of the Chinese man's arrival, and fifteen years hence; and in his recollection, he creates an alternative past, a *past conditional* time, in which the Chinese *would* be "surrounded by locals," *would* drop his "taciturnity" to "passionately" fuse with the Trinidadian collective. James evokes the Chinese immigrant as at once both apart from, and a part of, Trinidadian community; as a shopkeeper, he is divided from others, but on Sunday, "the day of the match," he feeds and clothes the players; he communes with the "locals." The moment of "passionate intensity"

in which the community joins together is not dependent upon the equivalence or identity of its members; in that moment, the community does not demand a shared origin or typology; it is rather forged by collective attention to a common cause. "He and others like him," or "he and such as he," become ambiguous designations, for "he" becomes in that moment "like" and "as" the other Trinidadians, not because James suggests all positions are identical or equal, but rather that he portrays a fleeting union forged through collective common commitment.

We might consider the "Chinese" in James's memoir as a figure for the longer history of Asians in the West Indies, from the first shipments of indentured Chinese "coolies" after 1807, to later roles as clerks or shopkeepers after settlement in the late nineteenth, and further, to the collaborations of Chinese and Indians in anticolonial movements in the Caribbean. However, the "Chinese" in this recollection may indeed allude beyond Asia, and may figure as part of an allegory for the way in which capitalist imperialism expands by means of colonial differences, not through rendering equivalent all labor, resources, and markets, but rather precisely through calculations that differentiate lands to appropriate and develop and those to ignore, which select certain populations for exploitation and civilization, and others for neglect or elimination. In this allegory, not only does the "Chinese" provide material support for a common project shared with the cricket players, but the figure performs James's recognition of provisional unity across difference, in his "vivid" recollection of the "Chinese." In this sense, the episode about the Chinese immigrant in Trinidad may be an allegory for anticolonial alliance across race, class, and historical development not only in the struggles for Trinidadian independence in 1962 but much further beyond. In a brief but suggestive discussion of this figure of the Chinese immigrant to Trinidad in James's memoir, Kenneth Surin observes that James's affirmation of dialectical history and politics was a "persona" that often coexisted with multiple trajectories, and the pursuit of other possible historical itineraries. Despite his avowal of dialectical history and politics, James seemed always to ponder "another kind of politics—a politics beyond 'actually existing socialism'—a politics beyond that of an independent Trinidad under Eric Williams," which Surin suggests James wrote "in the mode of a 'future anterior.' "[79] In other words, James projected other possible po-

litical itineraries that would exceed the closures of dialectical teleology, conceivable only if one could look back upon them from an imagined future point. In this other temporality, where humanity is not yet, but will already have been, James gives this other politics—unsubsumed by Marxist orthodoxies, cultural nationalisms, and gendered revolution—a conceptual space.

I turn now to discuss W. E. B. Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction in America* (1935), whose history of Black workers in the postbellum U.S. South also engaged Marxist historical method with respect to Black freedom struggles. Yet where James was concerned to link the history of antislavery revolution in Haiti with the anticolonial movements in Africa and the Caribbean, Du Bois connected the Black American antislavery struggle with the "new capitalism and new enslavement of labor"[80] across Asia, Africa, and the Americas within U.S.-led globalization. Du Bois (1868–1963) had a long, complex life and career of nearly a century, bookended by the Civil War and the civil rights movement. He was not only a historian, but a sociologist, novelist, essayist, political activist, and the founding editor of the *Crisis*, the most influential Black political journal of its time. He was an active leader of Black American and Pan-African political movements: a civil rights activist, cofounder of the NAACP, and an antiwar activist, and his involvement in anticolonial struggles included organizing several Pan-African congresses to work for independence of African colonies from European colonial rule.[81] Despite the multitude of endeavors that risk obscuring Du Bois's significance as a historian, *Black Reconstruction in America* has been called, deservedly, his magnum opus. The historian Eric Foner described Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction* in 1989 as "a monumental study that portrayed Reconstruction as an idealistic effort to construct a democratic, interracial political order from the ashes of slavery, as well as a phase in a prolonged struggle between capital and labor for control of the South's economic resources."[82] Yet like the invisibility of the Haitian Revolution at the time of publication of James's *Black Jacobins*, when *Black Reconstruction* was published in 1935, it confronted U.S. historians with an interpretation of race and capitalism that was largely refused.

Published in 1935, *Black Reconstruction* is a compelling history of the slave foundations of U.S. capitalism that traces the history of Black workers

during and in the aftermath of the U.S. Civil War, and analyzes the failure of Reconstruction in terms of the consolidation of a white alliance of northern industrialists and southern oligarchy who prevented not only the freedom of Black workers, but suppressed an emergent cross-racial worker solidarity.[83] In it, Du Bois was concerned to interrogate slavery in the U.S. South—not as a world apart, isolated from world economic processes—but as central to the emergence of the United States as a modern capitalist nation divided by race and class, and as the crucible of the development of a racialized global division of labor within twentieth-century capitalism. Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction* wove together the relationship of slavery and capitalism as a complex historical process that at once insisted that the "proletariat" or "working class" could not be understood without an analysis of racial difference, and that political emancipation had not only been inadequate to address racial inequality in the aftermath of slavery, but moreover that liberal democratic reforms had ushered in a new phase of racial capitalism as a global system. In his important study of the Black radical tradition, Cedric Robinson states: "Du Bois was one of the first American theorists to sympathetically confront Marxist thought in critical and independent terms . . . he was articulating in theoretical terms the intersections between the Black radical tradition and historical materialism only vaguely hinted at in the formal organizations of the time. It was in those then irreconcilable roles—as a Black radical thinker and as a sympathetic critic of Marx—that Du Bois was to make some of his most important contributions concerning Black social movements."[84]

Du Bois's compelling account of the "slave character of U.S. capitalism" countered profoundly the prevailing context of American exceptionalism, with its myths of Manifest Destiny, the paternal plantation, and the American spirit of free enterprise. Recounting a sweeping epic history that demonstrated at once an economic analysis of U.S. slavery and a racial analysis of U.S. capitalism, Du Bois described Black slaves performing agrarian labor that had furnished the "surplus value" enabling northern industrialization, and the transformation of the United States into a capital-intensive economy. In his analysis, Black slavery had made possible not only the plantation economy of the U.S. South, but Black labor had provided the assets for northern manufacture and commerce, the

English factory system and international trade in manufactured goods, and the urbanization of cities throughout western Europe and North America. Since Black slaves and peasant laborers were the "foundation stone" in this world history, Du Bois argued that they would constitute a central force within the revolutionary "dark proletariat" that was necessary to the overthrow this system. As he put it: "Out of the exploitation of the dark proletariat comes the Surplus Value filched from human beasts which, in cultured lands, the Machine and harnessed Power veil and conceal. The emancipation of man is the emancipation of labor and the emancipation of labor is the freeing of that basic majority of workers who are yellow, brown and black."[85]

Du Bois argued that slavery was the fundamental contradiction of U.S. history and was frank and forthright that the social, political, and economic practices that issued from slavery damaged American democratic premises, distorted its institutions, and disrupted its social life. "The true significance of slavery in the United States to the whole social development of America lay in the ultimate relation of slaves to democracy."[86] Not only did the revelation of slavery belie the promises of democracy; the force of potential slave revolt and the threat of slave rebellion lay beneath all of the nation's political processes.[87] He was very specific about the brutality of slavery as a regime for extracting surplus value and stressed that the ownership of human persons subjected those men and women to violence, indignity, rape, and forcible separations from their kin and community. While he discussed "deliberate commercial breeding and sale of human labor for profit and toward the intermingling of black and white blood" as a cornerstone of slavery's violence, the consideration of Black women's emancipation fell beyond his scope, and Black feminist historians and theorists have pursued further the analysis of slavery and its aftermath, in terms of the conditions within which slave women were systematically subjected to rape, and their forced reproductive labor and offspring appropriated.[88]

In Du Bois's history, slavery was not an aberration of liberal democracy in the United States but its central contradiction; he argued that slavery was and continued to be systemic and constitutive of U.S. democracy, and of the extension of American power around the world. Slavery, which had violently brought Black workers into the modern

world system, was at the heart of modern liberal democracy. He told the story of half a million Black workers who were "the founding stone of a new economic system in the nineteenth century and for the modern world, who brought the Civil War" (67), and who, by their mass exodus from the southern slave plantations, seized the opportunity to create a General Strike to stop the plantation system that brought the Confederacy to its knees: "This slow, stubborn mutiny of the Negro slaves was not merely a matter of 200,000 black soldiers and perhaps 300,000 other black laborers. Back of this half million stood 3½ million more. Without their labor the South would starve. With arms in their hands, Negroes would form a fighting force which could replace every single Northern white soldier fighting listlessly and against his will with a black man fighting for freedom."[89] In Du Bois's epic history, the subject of the history of emancipation was neither the abolitionist nor the political leader; it was the mass movement of fugitive slaves who won the Civil War, who compelled the North to make the abolition of slavery its issue, and who made the slaveholders face their surrender to the North.

In emphasizing the historical subjectivity of the Black laborers in the Great Strike, Du Bois situated them as central actors in the unfolding of the U.S. Civil War. Furthermore, his account also explains the retrenchment and refortification of white racial capital during Reconstruction in terms of their recognition of the enormous collective power of the Black freedom struggle. Both the white industrialists and white planters recognized the significance of the former slaves to transform the social and economic system, and sought to vanquish the slaves' attainment of freedom. *Black Reconstruction* told a history of the consolidation of northern industrial finance capitalism and southern planters, and of ruling-class whites aggressively recruiting poor southern whites as their allies, dividing the black and white workers to prevent their joining in common struggle. "The masters fear their former slaves. . . . They forestalled the danger of a united Southern labor movement by appealing to the fear and hate of white labor."[90] The historical convergence of the interests of the black slaves and the white peasants had made the victory of the North possible; but the state, and both northern and southern white interests, were all threatened by the possible longevity of cross-racial worker solidarity. *Black Reconstruction* details the collaboration between

the state, northern white industrial capital, and southern white planter oligarchy, to divide white labor from what could have been their common cause with the Black proletariat. The possible union of four million ex-slaves and five million white peasant laborers represented a potential revolutionary force. It was against this possible convergence, Du Bois argued, that the interests of capital and the southern white ruling class organized, so that it might enact the "new capitalism and a new enslavement of labor."[91]

Finally, in Du Bois's historical analysis, the post-Reconstruction "new capitalism and new enslavement of labor" described a shift in capitalist economy that was not restricted to Black slavery in the United States; it precisely set in motion the mid-century globalization of capitalism. In 1935, Du Bois captured the way in which the liberal promises of humanitarian "abolition" and "emancipation" did not end slavery, but enabled the triumph of U.S. capitalist industry that inaugurated instead the expansion of capitalism globally, permitting the "re-enslavement" of labor linking Africa, Asia, and the Americas: "Within the very echo of that philanthropy which had abolished the slave trade, was beginning a new industrial slavery of black and brown and yellow workers in Africa and Asia." The new northern industrialists led this consolidation of global capitalism: "fired by a vision of concentrated economic power and profit greater than the world had envisioned" that linked with capitalist classes elsewhere "to unite in the exploitation of white, yellow, brown and black labor, in lesser lands and 'breeds without laws.' "[92] This "new" capitalist imperialism was built on the assets and surplus value extracted from slavery, and it required the "counter-revolution of property" to suppress the cross-racial alliance of workers in the United States, and across the globe. As Moon-Ho Jung has explained, "If enslaved black labor had laid the foundation of U.S. and European empires, its re-enslavement through an agreement between big business and the white south heralded the age of what Du Bois called 'international and commercial imperialism,' which would lead directly to the Great War and the Great Depression."[93] In this sense, inasmuch as *Black Reconstruction* has been canonized as a history of the "unfinished revolution" of the Black working class in the United States, it was also an analysis of the centrality of Black slave labor to the formation of a racialized global capitalism that

was built on colonialism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Moreover, if Du Bois's history featured the reproduction of racial difference at the center of the consolidation of U.S. capitalism, it also framed the importance of the alliances among differently racialized laboring peoples across the world in the ongoing struggle against the expanding U.S. empire.

In *Black Reconstruction*, Du Bois viewed slavery in the United States as an integral part of capitalist imperialism as a global phenomenon, and understood the General Strike of Black slaves as one part of the struggle of a necessarily international working class of color: "The emancipation of man is the emancipation of labor and the emancipation of labor is the freeing of that basic majority of workers who are yellow, brown, and black."[94] He was concerned not only with the history of Black slave labor but with "that dark and vast sea of human labor in China and India, the South Seas and all Africa; in the West Indies and Central America and in the United States."[95] His history connected the forms of labor extraction employed in U.S. slavery with the exploitation of laborers in Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the consolidation of "a new capitalism" that extended globally. The development of American industrial capitalism, which depended on slave labor, was deeply connected with the exploitation of agrarian laborers on plantations in Asia and the Pacific Islands, in India and islands in the Indian Ocean, in Africa, and in Latin America, where plantation systems had also been established to profit from imported and indigenous colonized workers. Across the world, peasant workers had been and were becoming the communities of rebellion against capitalist imperialism; under the "new capitalism," these laborers immigrated to the industrialized countries, where they were recruited as a new labor force in manufacturing and production. In *Black Reconstruction*, Du Bois situated the African American freedom struggle within a world historical struggle of laborers of color and implied that the struggle of Black labor did not depend on recognition by white Americans or the U.S. state, but on recognition by other laborers of color in the colonized world. In this way, his narrative of Black slaves in the Civil War and Reconstruction not only revised Marx's subject of history, but it framed a history of slavery within the emergence of a world system of capitalism and imperial sovereignty. Du Bois did not tell the history of African American struggle as if it were exclusively

a national struggle, bounded by the history of the United States. Rather the Black American struggle was situated as central to the apotheosis of Anglo-American empire, and within the broader struggle of laborers from China, India, Mexico, and elsewhere. Du Bois was not satisfied with Black American enfranchisement as the endpoint of the antislavery struggle; he was concerned with international social justice. In Eric Porter's analysis, "Du Bois understood that the persistence and revision of slavery's and colonialism's racist legacies, and the faith that they were being overcome, produced emergent forms of racism in his present."[96] In other words, Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction* was deeply concerned that the "counter-revolution of property" that had defeated Reconstruction, had also advanced U.S. exploitation of the decolonizing world. Du Bois cautioned that the pursuit of political enfranchisement for a single group within an imperial United States could contribute to the subordination of others, both inside and outside of the American capitalist empire.

Both Du Bois and James contributed philosophies of history rethought in terms of Black struggles for emancipation. Both insisted not only that the Black worker was a crucial historical actor in world history, but that telling the history of Black labor would necessarily transform the historical form that had formerly centered European man, and would permit the singularity of Black history to become legible for other colonized peoples struggling for independence. In different ways, each engaged and innovated Marxist historical methods, in narratives that moved dialectically from antagonism to rebellion, rebellion to retrenchment, or retrenchment to another antagonism. While James's first edition of *The Black Jacobins* adhered closely to the dialectical form to recount the singular events in Saint Domingue, his comparison of the slaves to the traditional proletariat actually served to emphasize dramatic differences between the revolution against colonial slavery and those against European industrial capitalism. In his later works, James continued to explore his relationship to Marxism; over the course of his career, he sought to rethink Marxism to account for the history of slavery in the West Indies, as well as the shifts in colonialism, capitalism, and empire across the world. Du Bois's analysis of racialized class struggle placed the Black workers within a larger world-historical set of connections. To the extent that *Black Reconstruction* was committed to situating Black slavery within

the emergence of racialized global capitalism, rather than strictly following a Hegelian or Marxist dialectic, Du Bois was able to conceive a global framework of empire that exceeded a national binary history of capital and labor, or white and black, and that conceptualized the "future world" as one that would require relationships across national boundaries, classes, and different racial groups. While Black laborers are the narrative protagonists of *Black Reconstruction*, Asian labor appears as a *figure* whose addition would be necessary for the creation of an international working class of color: the "dark proletariat." However, the urgency of *Black Reconstruction*'s argument prevents more than occasional mentions of these links. The force of its project and teleology eclipses the historical intimacies across continents: the links between settler conquest and transatlantic slavery, and connections between plantation slavery in the Americas and the expansion of maritime trades in goods and peoples, and new forms of imperial rule in Asia. The elaboration of a revolutionary "dark proletariat" is invoked in a future conditional frame, as a "coming change," still yet to come.[97]

This observation should not diminish the significant collaborations that did occur and could have been further developed among African Americans and people in Asia, North Africa, the Middle East, or Latin America; quite the opposite. Du Bois actively advocated relationships between African Americans and movements struggling for independence in India, China, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria; he wrote extensively in the *Crisis* and other venues about the importance of linking struggles for decolonization across the world. His ideas of a proletarian internationalism precisely urged struggles across national, hemispheric, and racial differences. Du Bois invested significant hopes in Asia, in particular, and he traveled to China numerous times, first in 1937, and into his last years; he had a long relationship with Mao Zedong.[98] He also had sustained interest in the Indian anticolonial experience; his novel, *Dark Princess* (1928), allegorized relationships between the "dark" peoples of Africa and India. Indeed, Bill V. Mullen and Cathryn Watson argue that few if any of the major aspects of Du Bois's thought and life are understandable without consideration of their relationship to his views on Asia.[99] Many Black leaders and activists also took inspiration from communist and socialist revolutionary parties

in Asia; Black Panthers Eldridge and Katherine Cleaver visited North Korea, China, and Vietnam. When the Chinese government hosted the Black Panthers in 1971, Huey Newton met with Chou En-lai.[100] In addition, there were famous collaborations between Asian American and African American activists, from Grace Lee Boggs and James Boggs, to Yuri Kochiyama and Malcolm X.[101] Furthermore, Asian and Black diasporic communities have always mixed, made lives, and found common struggle together in various places within the Anglo-American empire, whether in the British colonized West Indies, East Africa, or South Africa, or among immigrants in the United Kingdom, Canada, or the United States.[102] In each of these locations, Asian and Black subjects have been differently situated and racialized in relation to one another, as colonized laborers, anticolonial communities making claims for a place in the new independent nation, postcolonial immigrants, and racialized minorities. Such connections have remained underrepresented in historical accounts precisely owing to the history of liberalism and empire that has positioned different groups for specific imperial functions and purposes. We have yet to uncover the longer global connections that are both made necessary and limited by the imperial linking and differentiating of Africans and Asians in relation to one another. In Du Bois's 1935 *Black Reconstruction*, the anti-imperial possibilities of the collaborations among Black, Chinese, Indian, and other workers "flash up," but their full expression remains yet to come.

I began this book by observing the particular obscurity of the figure of the transatlantic Chinese "coolie" within the modern puzzle of the "new world," not in an effort to recuperate the loss of a particular laboring group, but rather as the occasion to inquire into the politics of knowledge that gives us the received history of our present. I have been interested to ask not simply what is known and unknown of the links and interdependencies between Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Americas in the emergence of liberal capitalism and modern empire, but also what conditions produced these distinctly shaped and separated areas of knowledge. Moustafa Bayoumi, reflecting on the manuscript of an African Muslim slave in nineteenth-century Panama, wrote about the omission of African Muslims from the larger history of transatlantic slavery that it "is at once a product of the modernity of slavery as it is a representation of

how modernity obliterates that which stands in its way."[103] The particular obscurity of Chinese emigrant labor is, in a similar sense, a representation of how the modern processes that linked settler colonialism, slavery, empire, and Chinese emigration also made unavailable the understanding of those connections, as they were occurring, and in our present. The absence of Chinese emigrant labor from subsequent histories—of Britain, the United States, China—does not only express a specific marginalization of migrant Chinese; it also signals the tyranny of world history, whose categories and frameworks have not permitted understanding of the *connections* among various peoples, differentially affected by empire. James's meditation on the Chinese in Trinidad provides an opening, an allegory of collective recognition across different histories. Du Bois inaugurated and concluded *Black Reconstruction* with allusions to these significant alliances. His work conceives the necessity of "that dark and vast sea of human labor in China and India, the South Seas and all Africa; in the West Indies and Central America and in the United States," even as the formidable task of telling the story of Black freedom struggles during the Civil War and Reconstruction did not permit him to pursue these connections. The text frames "that dark and vast sea of human labor" as a recognition across continents that *could have been*, which might still challenge the consolidation of capitalism on a global scale. *Black Reconstruction* is an eloquent, impressive index of how the teleological narrative of antislavery history acknowledges these international intimacies, yet situates them beyond its scope, as necessary but still yet to come. If I inquire into the absenting of Chinese emigrant labor within modern histories, it is not to make that group exceptional, nor is it to suggest that the addition of this particular group would "complete" the historical portrait; it is not a moralizing admonition about what "should have been." Rather, it is to consider this absenting as a critical node—a cipher, a brink—which commands us to attend to connections that could have been, but were lost, and are thus, not yet. It is a thread of possible ways for understanding the world that is and the world we might have made. The inquiry into this lost figure may open a different set of questions about the intimacies out of which our contemporary moment arises. The absence marks a rupture where some new and other type of knowing might emerge.[104]

I explore in my readings a relationship to the past that attempts another approach, what I refer to as a *past conditional temporality*, through which I suggest it is possible to conceive the past, not as fixed or settled, not as inaugurating the temporality into which our present falls, but as a configuration of multiple contingent possibilities, all present, yet none inevitable. The past conditional temporality of "what could have been" symbolizes a space of attention that holds at once the positive objects and methods upheld by modern history and social science, as well as the inquiries into connections and convergences rendered unavailable by these methods. It is a space of reckoning that allows us to revisit times of historical contingency and possibility to consider alternatives that may have been *unthought* in those times, and might otherwise remain so now, in order to imagine different futures for what lies ahead. This is not a project of merely telling history differently, but one of returning to the past its gaps, uncertainties, impasses, and elisions; it is tracing those moments of eclipse when obscure, unknown, or unperceived elements are lost, those significant moments in which transformations have begun to take place, but have not yet been inserted into historical time. It is an attempt to give an account of the existence of alternatives and possibilities that lay within, but were later foreclosed by, the determinations of the narratives, orders, and paradigms to which they gave rise.[105] A past conditional temporality suggests that there were other conditions of possibility that were vanquished by liberal political reason and its promises of freedom, and it suggests means to open those conditions to pursue what might have been.

The contemporary moment is so replete with assumptions that freedom is made universal through liberal political enfranchisement and the globalization of capitalism that it has become difficult to write or imagine alternative knowledges, or to act on behalf of alternative projects or ways of being. Within this context, it is necessary to live within but to think beyond this received liberal humanist tradition, and all the while, to imagine a much more complicated set of stories about the emergence of the now, in which what is foreclosed as unknowable is forever saturating the "what-can-be-known." We are left with the project of imagining, mourning, and reckoning "other humanities" within the received genealogy of "the human."

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NOTES

Chapter 1: The Intimacies of Four Continents

1 Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* [1940] (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995).

2 See C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* [1938] (New York: Random House, 1963).

3 The transatlantic links among indigenous Americans, African slaves, and English sailors, workers, and pirates animate Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker's *Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon, 2000); on other crossings of empire: Kris K. Manjapra, *Age of Entanglement: German and Indian Intellectuals across Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014); Laura Doyle, "Notes toward a Dialectical Method: Modernities, Modernisms, and the Crossings of Empire," *Literature Compass* 7, no. 3 (2010): 195–213; Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih, eds., *The Creolization of Theory* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).

4 For a discussion of the modern division of academic disciplines, see Immanuel Kant, *The Conflict of the Faculties* (1794). Kant outlines the critical relation of philosophy to the faculties of theology, law, and medicine in the modern university. In his analysis, the faculties of theology, law, and medicine are protected by and in the service of the government, and the teachings of these faculties derive from external statutes and canons that are endowed with absolute authority. In contrast, the "lower" philosophy faculty, with the power to judge autonomously through reason, is at a respectful distance to these "higher" faculties and to the purposes of government. It is the project of philosophy to be an independent critical judge of disciplines in the service of the state.

In the twentieth-century United States, the responsibility for the formation of citizen-subjects was transferred from the study of "philosophy" to that of "culture"; in the immediate postwar era, literary studies became a privileged site for cultivating and educating students as national subjects; yet in the late 1990s, the humanities have been irrevocably challenged by the political economy of globalization; the contestation of traditional humanities by the interdisciplines of ethnic studies, women's studies, cultural studies, and postcolonial studies; and finally, the withdrawal of the state from public university education. On these transformations of the postwar university, see especially Bill Readings, *The University in Ruins* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996); Christopher Newfield, *Unmaking the Public University: The Forty-Year Assault on the Middle Class* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).

5 Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, 2 vols. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966); Carl Becker, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers* [1932] (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977); Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2007); Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century*, 3 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, 1789–1848* [1962] (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975); Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

6 Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983); Uday Singh Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Saree Makdisi, *Romantic Imperialism: Universal Empire and the Culture of Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); Walter Mignolo, *Local Histories, Global Designs* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); Susan Buck-Morss, *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009); Jodi A. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

7 Historians of slavery pioneered the documentation of the slave trade and systemic nature of slavery; see John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* [1947] (New York: Knopf, 2000); Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen, the Negro in the Americas* (New York: Knopf, 1947);

Stanley Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959); Orlando Patterson, *Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development, and Structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson, 1975); Herbert Klein, *Slavery in the Americas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967); Philip D. Curtin, *Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969); David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) and *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery: 1776–1848* (London: Verso, 1988) and *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (London: Verso, 2010). The vast scholarship on the history of slavery in the United States includes Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

In *Black Marxism*, Cedric Robinson discussed the "Black Radical Tradition" of thinkers who conceived slavery in relation to what Robinson termed "racial capitalism," class struggle, and empire. Key works in this tradition include Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* [1944] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Oliver Cox, *Caste, Class, and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics* (New York: Monthly Review, 1948); W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America* [1896] (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007) and *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860–1880* [1935] (New York: Free Press, 1998); C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* [1938; 2nd ed. 1963] (New York: Random House, 1989); Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1972) and *A History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881–1905* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981).

A next generation of scholars have considered the historical and continuing struggles for Black freedom, the politics of knowledge regarding slavery, subjection of the enslaved, and the afterlife of slavery: Robin D. G. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York: Free Press, 1994), and *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Boston: Beacon, 2002); Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) and *Lose Your Mother: A Journey along the Atlantic Slave Route* (New York: Farrar, Straus, 2008); Jennifer Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Stephanie Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A*

Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007); Vincent Brown, *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999) and *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

8 See Kay Saunders, ed., *Indentured Labour in the British Empire, 1834–1920* (London: Croom Helm, 1984); Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* [1944] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Walton Look Lai, *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar: Chinese and Indian Migrations to the British West Indies, 1838–1918* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), and *Chinese in the West Indies, 1806–1995* (Mona: University of West Indies Press, 1998); Denise Helly, *Cuba Commission Report: A Hidden History of the Chinese in Cuba* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Chinese Coolie Labor in Cuba and Peru in the Nineteenth Century: Free Labor or Neoslavery?," *Journal of Overseas Chinese Studies* 2, no. 2 (April 1992): 149–82; Madhavi Kale, *Fragments of Empire: Capital, Savery, and Indian Indentured Labor Migration in the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); Moon-Ho Jung, *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor, and Sugar Production in the Age of Emancipation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); Lisa Yun, *The Coolie Speaks: Chinese Indentured Laborers and African Slaves in Cuba* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008); Adam McKeown, "Conceptualizing Chinese Diasporas, 1842–1949," *Journal of Asian Studies* 58, no. 2 (May 1999): 306–77, and *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Exchange: Peru, Chicago, Hawaii, 1900–1936* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

For discussions of native peoples in the Caribbean, see Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London: Methuen, 1986); Peter Hulme, *Remnants of Conquest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Jack D. Forbes, *Black Africans and Native Americans* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988); Shona N. Jackson, *Creole Indigeneity: Between Myth and Nation in the Caribbean* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Melanie Newton, "Returns to a Native Land? Indigeneity and Decolonization in the Anglophone Caribbean," *Small Axe* 17, no. 2 (July 2013): 108–22.

9 On genealogical critique, see Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Pantheon, 1984), 76–100, and on historical ontology, see Foucault, "What Is Enlightenment?," also in P. Rabinow, ed., 32–50. On "ontology of the present," see Foucault, "The Art of Telling the Truth," in Lawrence D. Kritzman, ed., *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings, 1977–1984* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 88–95.

10 I do not mean to diminish the differences among the broad range of political philosophers discussed here, but rather observe the force of their various contributions to the emergence of what we might call liberal modernity. Not all of the philosophers conform identically to all of the elements that we associate with liberal thought; for example, while Smith, Ricardo, and Mill emphasized the economic sphere as the site for liberal freedom, Hegel anticipated Marx in his criticism of the free market in the *Philosophy of Right*; while Locke and Rousseau emphasized popular sovereignty in the political sphere and the social contract, Bentham argued for the moral principle of utility bound by law, and Kant insisted on the categorical imperative, or pure practical reason, in the context of culture and civilization. See John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* [1690], ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (*Du contrat social,* [1762]), trans. G. D. H. Cole (London: Everyman, 1973); Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* [1776] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976); Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Practical Reason* [*Kritik der praktischen Vernunft*, 1788], in *Cambridge Edition of Works of Immanuel Kant: Practical Philosophy*, ed. Allen Wood, trans. Mary J. Gregor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Princples of Morals and Legislation* [1789] in *The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2008); David Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (London: John Murry, 1819); G. W. F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of Right* [*Philosophie des Rechts*, 1821], ed. Allen Wood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy: with Some of their Applications to Social Philosophy* [1849], in *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, vols. 2–3 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965).

11 Foucault's work on power and knowledge production compels us to conceive the national archive as not a repository of facts, but rather a state-authorized framework that establishes official categories of knowledge, regulating what can be known and prohibiting what must not be known; the archive governs the criteria and conventions for documenting events, subjects, and geographies. See Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge* [*L'Ordre du discours*, 1971], trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon, 1972). Edward Said analyzed the scholarly traditions through which European colonial powers administered the "Orient," by producing, codifying, and managing knowledge about North Africa, the Middle East, and Asia; see Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978). Ann Laura Stoler discusses the colonial archive in "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," *Archival Science* 2, nos. 1–2 (2002): 87–109, and in *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), as an essential producer of

categories, narratives, and typologies employed in the administration of the colonized.

12 Stoler, "Colonial Archives," 97.

13 In the Great Britain National Archives, the Colonial Office Commonwealth, and Foreign and Commonwealth Office papers are organized into areas and periods. For example, in "America 1688–1807," records are arranged into series separated by colony: Carolina, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, etc.; in "West Indies, Canada, 1688–1807," the records are separated into: Antigua, Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, Cape Breton Islands, etc.

14 The papers of the British East India Company, the joint-stock trading monopoly that managed the India and China trades and governed the Indian subcontinent on behalf of the British government, are held by the British Library, as part of the Asia, Pacific, and Africa Collection. For a history of the India Office Records, see Martin Moir, *A General Guide to the India Office Records* (London: British Library, 1988).

15 This method of reading does not serve the imperative to reconstruct the past "the way it really was," but follows that of Walter Benjamin, who suggested that the historical materialist might "brush history against the grain" (257) to contest the narrative of the "victors" (256) in which the nation develops from origin to destination, constituting a story of a past that culminates in the present. Michel-Rolph Trouillot has written a stirring account of the omission of the Haitian Revolution in the "one-sided historicity" (14) of modern Europe. Hayden White observes that histories aspire to realism, have poetics, rhetorics, and styles for emplotting the past; Ranajit Guha, Dipesh Chakrabarty, and other subaltern studies historians elaborate the role of colonial history in forcibly assimilating the colonized into a single, secular universal human history, putatively shared by all. In "Two Histories of Capital," for example, Chakrabarty distinguishes between what he calls History 1, or the given uniperspectival linear narrative of the rise of national capitalist modernity and its spread, and History 2, which consists of the broad, uneven conditions out of which History 1 is written. We may explore History 2, not as a process outside, or prior to History 1, but rather simultaneous with it; it is the condition of possibility for History 1's emergence. Finally, Avery Gordon and Jacques Derrida discuss haunting and spectrality as a "return" of what has been subsumed, confined, or absented, a "rupture" in the systematizing of thought that Michel Foucault termed "the insurrection of subjugated knowledges"(9). David Eng and David Kazanjian elaborate this hermeneutic that attends to lost histories as the work of mourning. See Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken), 253–64; Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon, 1995); Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-*

Century Europe (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975); Ranajit Guha et al., eds., *Selected Subaltern Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*; Michel Foucault, *"Society Must Be Defended": Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–1976*, Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana, eds., trans. David Macey (New York: Picador, 2003); Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008); Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (New York: Routledge, 1994); David Eng and David Kazanjian, *Loss: The Politics of Mourning* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

16 See Judith Butler, Ernesto Laclau, and Slavoj Žižek, *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality: Contemporary Dialogues on the Left*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 2011); also Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London: Verso, 2006).

17 On the coloniality of Western humanism, see Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, after Man: Its Overrepresentation—An Argument," *New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (fall 2003): 257–337. See also Alexander Wehiliye, "After Man," *American Literary History* 20, nos. 1–2 (spring/summer 2008): 321–36; Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006). On coloniality of power, see Aníbal Quijano and Immanuel Wallerstein, "Americanity as a Concept, or the Americas in the Modern World System," *International Social Sciences Journal* 134 (1992): 549–57; Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011); and Linda Martin Alcoff, "Mignolo's Epistemology of Coloniality," *New Centennial Review* 7, no. 3 (2007): 79–101.

18 Colonial difference endures in what Randall Williams terms an international division of justice, which defines the proper subject of human rights as innocent and nonviolent, in need of protection from violence, within an international human rights discourse that locates violence in the persistent uprising of the decolonizing world. See Randall Williams, *The Divided World: Human Rights and Its Violence* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010). In this manner, the international human rights regime following World War II, which accompanied the U.S. ascension to global power, rearticulates the colonial cleavages and asymmetries that are the legacy of earlier empires. See Mahmood Mamdani, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror* (New York: Three Leaves, 2005); Julietta Hua, *Trafficking Women's Human Rights* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); Neda Atanasoski, *Humanitarian Violence: The U.S. Deployment of Diversity*

(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013); Lisa Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, forthcoming).

19 See Quijano and Wallerstein, "Americanity as a Concept," on race in the Americas as its particular contribution to the modern world system; Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States, from the 1960s to the 1990s* (New York: Routledge, 1994), a classic text on race and racial formation in the United State as the dialectic between state classifications and the racialized peoples who contest and change racial meanings; Stuart Hall, "Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 10 (June 1986): 5–27, on the role of cultural, civil, and social institutions as materials sites in the reproduction and transformation of race and racial definition.

20 Wide-ranging feminist approaches conceive racial differences as inseparable from gender, sexuality, class, nationality, and religion, within national societies, and within a global framework. See, for example, Angela Davis, *Women, Race, and Class* (New York: Random House, 1981); Kimberle Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* (1989): 139–67; Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990); Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Anne Russo, Lourdes Torres, eds., *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Chandra Talpade Mohanty and M. Jacqui Alexander, eds., *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Grace Kyungwon Hong, *Ruptures of American Capital: Women of Color Feminism and the Cultures of Immigrant Labor* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); Carole Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx: The Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); Dayo Gore, Jeanne Theoharis, and Komozi Woodard, eds., *Want to Start a Revolution? Radical Women in the Black Freedom Struggle* (New York: New York University Press, 2009); Chandan Reddy, *Freedom with Violence: Race, Sexuality, and the U.S. State* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011); Grace Kyungwon Hong and Roderick Ferguson, eds., *Strange Affinities: The Gender and Sexual Politics of Comparative Racialization* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011); Fatima El-Tayeb, *European Others: Queering Ethnicity in Postnational Europe* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); Helen Heran Jun, *Race for Citizenship: Black Orientalism and Asian Uplift from Pre-emancipation to Neoliberal America* (New York: New York University Press, 2011); Lisa Marie Cacho, *Social Death: Racialized*

Rightlessness and the Criminalization of the Unprotected (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).

21 See Joanne Barker, *Native Acts: Law, Recognition and Cultural Authenticity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011); Mishuana Goeman, *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013); Andrea Smith, "Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy," *The Color of Violence*, ed. INCITE! Women of Color against Violence (Boston: South End, 2006).

22 For discussions of race and liberal philosophy, see Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, *Race and the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997); David Theo Goldberg, *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993); Charles Mills, *The Racial Contract* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999); Barnor Hesse, "Racialized Modernity: An Analytics of White Mythologies," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30, no. 4 (July 2007): 643–63; Simon Gikandi, *Slavery and the Culture of Taste* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011).

23 See Etienne Balibar's distinction of "inclusionary racism" and "exclusionary racism," in "Racism and Nationalism," in Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (London: Verso, 1991), 37–67.

24 In chapter 5, for example, I discuss the "coloniality" of European philosophy of history through a reading of Hegel's *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History,* which frames a comprehensive teleology within which the realization of freedom at once permits the colonial subsumption of the "lower" Asian and Mediterranean worlds into the "higher" expression of Christian Europe, while naturalizing indigenous disappearance in the Americas and exempting Africa as "unhistorical," placing the entire continent "at the threshold of world history itself." In this sense, what I describe as the *colonial division of humanity*, or *colonial difference* within the present, is not a fixed binary distinction; it operates precisely through various modes of spatial differentiation and temporal development, affirming some and forgetting others, while flexibly designating fitness for liberty, capacity for production, placement in historical development, contemporaneity or extinction, and so forth.

25 David Armitage, in "John Locke, Carolina, and the *Two Treatises of Government*," *Political Theory* 32, no. 5 (October 2004): 602–27.

26 John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* [1690], ed. and intro. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 271.

27 Locke, *Two Treatises*, 279. See Barbara Arneil, "The Wild Indian's Venison: Locke's Theory of Property and English Colonialism in America," *Political Studies* 44 (1996): 60–74; Mary Nyquist, *Arbitrary Rule: Slavery, Tyranny and the Power of Life and Death.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

28 There are many examples: in the Grant to Sir Robert Heath, Attorney-General in 1629, "the King grants to said Sir Robert all that river of St. Matthew on the south side, and of Passamagno (the Great Pass) on the north side, with all lands between the same to the ocean east and west, together with the Islands of Veajus and Bahamas, and all other islands lying southerly or near upon said continent, with all ports, creeks, rivers, lakes, fisheries, minerals, precious stones, & c . . . Also with power to wage war against the barbarians, pirates, or other enemies, and subdue tumults and rebellions." CO 66/2501, no. 5, item 151, vol. 9 (1675–76), 70–72.

"Considerations concerning the settlement of the main called Guiana, to be presented to the Committee of Trade," 1667, states: "The easiness of settling at present, for there are 150 well armed men, who have already brought the natives to submission." CO 1/21, no. 161, item 1647, vol. 5 (1661–68), 524–25. Settlers' correspondence are replete with representations of Indians as violent threats: e.g., letter from Sir Robert Carr to Col. Nicolls states on October 13, 1664: "The Indians so strong that no Christians yet dare venture to plant on the other side, which belongs to the Duke of York; they stayed here three nights, but are since returned without doing any hurt. Begs his endeavours to assist in the reconciliation of the Indians called Synckoes, at the Fort Ferrania [Aurania], and the Huskehanoes here, several murders having lately been committed." CO 1/18, no. 124, item 828, vol. 5 (1661–68), 245–46, and on February 2, 1665: "Great murder committed by Indians of Nantucket Island on English seamen driven ashore there, not thought to have been the first committed." CO 1/19, no. 15, item 925, vol. 5 (1661–68), 274.

29 CO 66/2850, item 451, vol. 5 (1661–68), 131–32.

30 Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Phillip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Random House, 1989).

31 John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* [1690], ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), ch. 16, "Of Conquest," 387.

32 Locke, *Two Treatises*, ch. 5, "Of Property," 288. He elaborates further in this chapter that "there cannot be a clearer demonstration" of this principle that labor gives the "Right of Property" than the "nations of the Americans" (296). Locke implies that irrespective of native dwelling, it is the industry of the English settlers that improves the "value" of the land to such an extent as to "overballance the Community of land" and to justify their possession.

33 For discussions of competing notions of sovereignty with respect to land appropriation from native and indigenous peoples, see Joanne Barker, ed., *Sovereignty Matters: Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); Kevin Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007); Pat-

rick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology* (London: Cassell, 1999).

Situated in a European tradition with different political investments, Carl Schmitt also emphasized the absolute importance of land appropriation to the foundation of liberal empires. Schmitt, *The* Nomos *of the Earth in the International Law of the* Jus Publicum Europaeum, trans. G. L. Ulmen [1950] (New York: Telos, 2006). In his account, the "*nomos* of the earth," or the international order within which the nation-state prevailed emerged precisely within European imperialism, characterized by the liberal desire for unfettered expansion founded on the imagination of the "New World" as *terra nullius*, an open horizon of uninhabited land at once excluded from and constitutive of the order of international law. "In some form, the constitutive process of land-appropriation is found at the beginning of the history of every settled people, every commonwealth, every empire . . . not only logically, but also historically, land appropriation precedes the order that follows from it. It constitutes the original spatial order, the source of all further concrete order and all further law. It is the reproductive root in the normative order of history. All further property relation—communal or individual, public or private property, and all forms of possession and use in society and in international law—are derived from this radical title" (48).

34 Indigenous studies scholars have rearticulated Marx's concept of "primitive accumulation," or the historical process of dispossessing the producer from the means of production, to describe an organizing principle of settler colonialism, yet have redefined the concept to emphasize its ongoing persistence and transformation, through history and into contemporary capitalism. See, for example, Glen Coulthard, "From Wards of the State to Subjects of Recognition? Marx, Indigenous Peoples, and the Politics of Dispossession in Denedeh," in Audra Simpson and Andrea Smith, eds., *Theorizing Native Studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 56–98; and Alyosha Goldstein, "Where the Nation Takes Place: Proprietary Regimes, Antistatism, and U.S. Settler Colonialism," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 107, no. 4 (2008): 833–61, in which Goldstein specifies so-called primitive accumulation as *not* primitive, but an ongoing condition: "It is not so much an 'event' or a static relationship as *a condition of possibility* that remains formative while also changing over time," 835; in this, Goldstein builds upon Patrick Wolfe's statement that settler colonialism is a structure, not an event, whose logic of elimination destroys to replace, in "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387–88. Nicholas A. Brown discusses the various engagements with the concept of primitive accumulation in indigenous studies in "The Logic of Settler Accumulation in a Landscape of Perpetual Vanishing," *Settler Colonial Studies* (2013): 1–26. On the question of indigenous difference in relation to the labor theory of value, see Manu Vimalassery, "The Wealth of

the Natives: Toward a Critique of Settler Colonial Political Economy," *Settler Colonial Studies* 3, nos. 3–4 (2013): 295–310.

Specifying the historical and ongoing appropriation of indigenous lands, knowledges, and histories, indigenous studies scholars thus urge a critical analysis of colonial capitalism that is different than those that center racial slavery or racialized labor. For example, Glen Coulthard argues that reckoning with ongoing settler colonialism that continues to structure capitalist social relations requires that we shift the analysis from proletarianization to dispossession; Coulthard, "From Wards of the State." J. Kēhaulani Kauanui critically examines blood quantum regimes that imply that native identity can be quantified and "diluted" over time as a "colonial project in the service of land alienation and dispossession"; see Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 10. Shona N. Jackson has argued that privileging "labor" in anticolonial nationalist Caribbean discourses prescribes a normative anticolonial subject who is made to work rather than one who is dispossessed; affirming "labor" as the basis of humanity erases the history of settler colonialism, while reproducing the myth of extinction that obscures the ongoing survival of indigenous peoples in the Caribbean; Shona N. Jackson, *Creole Indigeneity: Between Myth and the Nation in the Caribbean* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012). Specifying the critique that indigenous studies brings to liberalism, Jodi Byrd has argued that while racialization and colonization are concomitant systems, to subsume settler colonialism to racial difference, as if native difference constituted merely another racial group, reproduces the structure of settler colonialism. See Jodi A. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

35 Jodi A. Byrd, *Transit,* xiii. This work has benefited from Byrd's critique of an earlier conception of the "intimacies of four continents."

36 *The Case of the Royal African Company* (London: Royal African Company, 1710); *Royal African Company and the plantations* (London, 1714). The Royal African Company was originally known as the Company of Royal Adventurers Trading to Africa, with a monopoly over English trade with West Africa, by a 1660 charter. It had forts along the West African coast that served as staging and trading stations.

37 Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1657).

38 Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985). Smallwood, *Saltwater*, 61.

39 Jennifer L. Morgan, "Partus Sequitur Ventrem: Slave Law and the History of Women in Slavery," unpublished paper presented at "Empires of Capital: Race across the Atlantic and the Pacific," University of Washington, May 2013.

40 While Hartman discusses slavery in the nineteenth-century United States, her observations about the exemption of the slave from liberal society are relevant to this discussion. She queries "whether it is possible to unleash freedom from the history of property that secured it, for the security of property that undergirded the abstract equality of rights bearers was achieved, in large measure, through black bondage." Hartman, *Scenes*, 119. Noting the persistence of black subjection after emancipation, Hartman explores the condition of black exile from liberal personhood, individual will, social recognition, and the valuation of life itself, the "afterlife of slavery." As Dennis Childs has observed, "the 'free' black subject . . . represented life that had been devalued to the extent that it could be re-enslaved, killed, dispossessed, or subjected to living death with impunity." Childs, "'You Ain't Seen Nothin' Yet': *Beloved*, the American Chain Gang, and the Middle Passage Remix," *American Quarterly* 61, no. 2 (June 2009): 271–97. In other words, considering the slave's nonpersonhood, and the proximity of reenslavement, we can observe that the condition of exempting those designated as "inhuman" is not an aberration to political society; it is constitutive of civil and political society itself.

41 Gikandi, *Slavery and the Culture of Taste*.

42 William Wilberforce, *The Speech of Mr. Wilberforce, Representative for the County of York, on a Motion for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in the House of Commons, May the 12th, 1789* (London: Logographic Press, 1789), and *An Appeal to the Religion, Justice and Humanity of the Inhabitants of the British Empire, in Behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies* (London: J. Hatchard and Sons, 1823). See also Peter J. Kitson, ed., *Slavery, Abolition, and Emancipation: Writings in the British Romantic Period*, vol. 2, *The Abolition Debate* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1999), and Debbie Lee, ed., *Slavery, Abolition, and Emancipation: Writings in the British Romantic Period*, vol. 3, *The Emancipation Debate* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1999).

43 I discuss Equiano and Cugoano's relationship to liberal abolition in chapter 2. See Robert Wedderburn, *The Horrors of Slavery* [1824], ed. Iain McCalman (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991); Mary Prince, *The History of Mary Prince: A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself* [1831], ed. Moira Ferguson (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

44 On the language of "freedmen" and "free labor," in the context of the intellectual traditions that contributed to emancipation in the British Caribbean in the 1830s, see Demetrius Eudell, *The Political Language of Emancipation in the British Caribbean and the U.S. South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

45 Quoted in Kitson, *Slavery*, xii.

46 See Thomas Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor and Politics in Jamaica and Britain 1832–1938* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

47 See Page duBois, *Slaves and Other Objects* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Mary Nyquist, *Arbitrary Rule*; Paul Gilroy, *Black Atlantic*; Susan Buck-Morss, *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History*. The elision of the "new world" by the "old world" of the ancients installs the erasure of the indigenous peoples in the Americas, and the transported African slaves, into the narrative of freedom overcoming slavery.

48 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, trans. G. D. H. Cole (London: Everyman, 1973), 189; bk. I, ch. 4, "On Slavery." In French, collected in *Oeuvres Complètes de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, vol. 3 (Paris: Pléiade, 1964).

49 John Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government,* in *Essays on Politics and Society, The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, vol. 19 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 403.

50 Mill, *CW* 19, 565. Mill wrote that the state must be able to compel submission "to the primary conditions of civilized society . . . through the necessities of warfare, and the despotic authority indispensable to military command. A military leader is the only superior to whom they will submit." Mill, *CW* 19, 415.

51 In thinking about colonialism, capitalism, and imperial sovereignty in this late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century conjunction, I have found differently useful certain observations from the works of Giovanni Arrighi, Michel Foucault, Carl Schmitt, and Antony Anghie.

In *The Long Twentieth Century*, Arrighi's economic study of four systemic cycles of accumulation—tied to the successive global hegemons of the sixteenth-century Italian city-states, seventeenth-century Netherlands, nineteenth-century Britain, and the postwar United States—Arrighi identifies territorialism and capitalism as opposing logics, suggesting that territorialist rulers identify power with the extent and population of their domain and conceive of wealth as a means and byproduct of the pursuit of territorial expansion; whereas capitalist rulers identify power with the extent of their command over scarce resources and consider territorial acquisitions as a means and byproduct of the accumulation of capital. In the capitalist strategy, the relationship between ends and means is turned upside down: control over mobile capital is the objective, and control over territory and population the means. See Giovanni Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power, and the Origins of Our Time* (London: Verso, 1994), 34.

In his 1977–79 lectures at the Collège de France, Foucault elaborated the concepts of security, territory, and population as specific modes of power within liberal governmentality. Foucault discussed sovereignty as concerned with the legal and political rule of territory, while "security" emerges as a set of strategies and apparatuses in relation to multivalent, fluctuating conditions; security concerns the problem of circulation and creating the conditions for governing

a population. See Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures Collège de France, 1977–1978*, ed. Michel Senellart, trans. Graham Burchell (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). In the improvised management of the opium trade within the liberal regime of free trade, freedom is the ideology and technique of government that enables and provides the conditions for the establishment of "security"; the nineteenth-century opium trade was not strictly the result of an economic theory of free trade; rather, it was a manifestation of a change in the techniques of imperial governance and an index of the shift to a new form of power that we might consider modern "security," and a new rationality for the biopolitical command of circulation and population. On biopolitics, see Michel Foucault, *"Society Must Be Defended": Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–1976*, ed. M. Bertani and A. Fontana, trans. D. Macey (New York: Picador, 2003); *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures Collège de France, 1978–1979*, ed. M. Senellart, trans. G. Burchell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

In *The* Nomos *of the Earth*, Schmitt situates the invention and rise of the sovereign territorial European nation-state within European international law, *jus publican Europaeum*, the international spatial, political, and juridical order that bound relations among states concerning peace and war from about 1492 to 1890. Schmitt emphasizes that all empires are founded on *land-appropriations*, discussing at length the example of the European conquest of the "new world." In later times, *sea-appropriations* as a means of navigating the space of the entire globe also became part of this history, with England representing the universal maritime sphere of a Eurocentric global order, "the sovereign of the balance of land and sea" (173). Ultimately, Schmitt suggests that the modern world of states after the First World War constituted a state of exception, in which international law arbitrates the struggles of imperial nations. He identifies the United States in the twentieth century challenging and ending the age of European domination, and creating a new nomos, a new territorial spatial order that exceeds continental concepts of the Western Hemisphere, and crosses the Pacific to demand an "open door" to Asia. Carl Schmitt, *The* Nomos *of the Earth*.

Anghie's argument that the colonial encounter was the central structure for international law's emergence, accords with Schmitt, although Anghie's intervention contributes to a very different political objective: decolonization. Tracing international legal history, beginning not with Hugo Grotius, but with the sixteenth-century Spanish jurist Francesco de Vitoria, in whose work he uncovers the relationship between Spain and the inhabitants of the "new world," Anghie demonstrates that colonialism, rather than being incidental to international law, is crucial to its formation and to its central concept: sovereignty. He argues that rather than accepting the normative notion of nation-

state sovereignty—the right of the state to exercise jurisdiction over its citizens, maintain internal order, and defend its territory—as an exclusively European invention extended to the non-European world, we might instead understand sovereignty doctrine as a means to divide the world into those nations with sovereignty, and those who did not possess it because they were allegedly not capable of self-government. The concept of sovereignty, exercised through colonial distinction between "civilized" and "uncivilized," was a central mechanism of exclusion that expelled non-European societies from the realm of sovereignty and power. Antony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty, and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

52 While the expansion of British empire in Asia may seem rather distant from settler colonialism in the Americas, in chapter 4, I observe that the settler logics of land seizure and elimination or assimilation of the indigenous community do not disappear, but are adopted and combined with new imperial strategies employed in the East Indies and China trades and in the governance of Chinese treaty ports and the Crown Colony of Hong Kong.

53 Elizabeth Maddock Dillon argues that colonial relations, temporalized by both Foucault and Marx as a gap between distant past and more developed present, should be viewed as spatial rather than temporal. See Dillon, *New World Drama: The Performative Commons in the Atlantic World, 1649–1849* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 35.

54 In this way, my argument about the coloniality of Western liberalism, and the elision of its essential imbrication in colonialism and empire, extends even to current critical social theory discussions of neoliberalism, which tend to periodize the "newness" of the present by identifying a developmental shift from liberalism to neoliberalism, and moreover, by universalizing this shift across all global spaces. While theorists of neoliberalism, whether inspired by Marx, Weber, or Foucault, have observed the defining feature of neoliberalism to be the generalization of the market logic of exchange to all spheres of human life, this important observation still requires further refinement in relation to colonialism. In *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978–1979*, Foucault distinguished liberalism and neoliberalism in relation to the organization of economic activity; classical liberalism employed the fiction of exchange and naturalized the market as a system with its own rationality; in neoliberalism, this market rationality becomes a reinterpretation of state power, "the problem of neo-liberalism is rather how the overall exercise of political power can be modeled on the principles of a market economy" (131). Elaborating Foucault, Thomas Lemke asserts that neoliberalism is characterized by the collapse of the distinction between liberal economy and liberal governance, in which the withdrawal of the state in favor of the apotheosis

of the economy is a technique of governance in which neoliberal subjects are controlled precisely through their "freedom." Thomas Lemke, "The Birth of Bio-politics: Michel Foucault's Lecture at the Collège de France on Neo-liberal Governmentality," *Economy and Society* 30, no. 2 (May 2001): 190–207. In her important analysis, Wendy Brown argues that neoliberalism involves "extending and disseminating market values to all institutions and social action"; "all dimensions of human life are cast in terms of a market rationality"; and the state ceases to be "the Hegelian constitutional state conceived as the universal representation of the people." Wendy Brown, "Neo-liberalism and the End of Liberal Democracy," in *Edgework: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 40–41. See also Nikolas Rose, *The Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), and "The Politics of Life Itself," *Theory, Culture and Society* 18, no. 6 (2001): 1–30; Andrew Barry, Thomas Osborne, and Nikolas Rose, eds., *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-liberalism, and Rationalities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

Yet in light of the commodification of human life within slavery, colonialism, as well as contemporary globalization, we can appreciate that what is currently theorized as the financialization of life as "human capital" in neoliberalism brutally and routinely occurred and continues to occur throughout the course of modern empires. Alyosha Goldstein observes that contemporary financialization and the subprime mortgage crisis not only echoes the territorial seizures of settler colonialism, but reproduces it and "forecloses" our access to this historical reiteration. He argues that the present-day United States builds upon the operations of primitive accumulation, racial dispossession and racialized property, asymmetrical social relations, and permanent indebtedness as modes of continuous profit. See Goldstein, "Finance and Foreclosure in the Colonial Present," *Radical History Review* 118 (winter 2014): 42–63.

The processes through which slavery turned men and women into merchandise is examined in chilling detail by Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988); Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul*: *Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market*; Stephanie Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009). Studies of colonialism that richly examine colonial governance through race, space, bodies, and technologies of "making live" include: Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California, 1997); Ann

Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Alison Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene: A Critical History of Colonialism, Nationalism, and Public Health* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Neferti X. M. Tadiar, *Things Fall Away: Philippine Historical Experience and the Makings of Globalization* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009).

Without denying the importance of reckoning with a "historical-institutional rupture" in Western political economy and governance in the late twentieth century, I mean to note that critical social theory's most astute analyses of neoliberalism—whether describing neoliberalism as governmentality, political economy, or society saturated by market logics, constituting the death knell of "democracy," the "public good," and collective political solutions—continues the elision of the longer history of colonization in ways that reiterate the Eurocentric blindness of liberal political philosophy. The colonized world is mentioned in these discussions as if their history begins with the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. Not only is there a "forgetting" of *colonial difference* in the accounts of neoliberalism, but perhaps even more importantly, mourning Western liberal democracy as the only form for imagining "the political," universalizes the future of politics across the globe; that is, subsuming the histories of decolonization in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Middle East to the normative narrative of liberal democracy—even in the critical project of observing how it has been hollowed out while being ideologically touted—universalizes the perceived absence of political solutions in the global north to the terrain of multivalent political alliances, alternative practices, and possibilities in the global south. For discussions that conceive neoliberalism as imbricated in coloniality, see Melinda Cooper, "Insecure Times, Tough Decisions: The Nomos of Neoliberalism," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 29, no. 5 (November–December 2004): 515–33; Lisa Rofel, *Desiring China: Experiments in Neoliberalism, Sexuality, and Public Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); Neferti X. M. Tadiar, "Life-Times of Disposability within Global Neoliberalism," *Social Text* 115, 31, no. 2 (summer 2013): 19–47; Kalindi Vora, *Life Support: Biocapital and the New History of Outsourced Labor* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, forthcoming).

55 Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, and Ann Laura Stoler, ed., *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North America*

(Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire*; Antoinette Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home, and History in Late Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, eds., *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

56 See Randall Williams, *The Divided World: Human Rights and Its Violence*.

57 C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: From Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962).

58 In analyzing culture as a mediation of social and historical forces, Raymond Williams developed his famous concepts of "dominant," "residual" and "emergent," which may be useful in framing the constellation of meanings of intimacy that I attempt here. Williams makes the important statement that "no mode of production and therefore no dominant social order and no dominant culture ever in reality includes or exhausts all human practice, human energy, and human intention." For Williams, culture is a dynamic expression of different coexisting tendencies, some of which are legible as "dominant," while others, like the "residual" and the "emergent," are active yet less legible. The residual is "at some distance from the effective dominant culture, but some part of it, some version of it—and especially if the residue is from some major area of the past—will in most cases have had to be incorporated if the effective dominant culture is to make sense in these areas . . . It is in the incorporation of the actively residual—by reinterpretation, dilution, projection, discriminating inclusion and exclusion—that the work of the selective tradition is especially evident." Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 123–25.

59 Elizabeth Maddock Dillon employs the term *intimate distance* to capture the way that colonialism sustains relations of intimacy across great distances in a way that was crucial to the structure of empire. See Dillon, *New World Drama*, 15.

60 *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., vol. 8 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 427. Also available at http://www.oed.com/.

61 "Structures of feeling" is Raymond Williams's way of discussing this assemblage in which the dominant, residual, and emergent combine and coexist;

"structures of feeling can be defined as social experiences *in solution*, as distinct from other social semantic formations which have been *precipitated* and are more evidently and more immediately available." Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 133–34. See Antonio Gramsci's discussion of the "subaltern" in "Notes on Italian History," in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks,* Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, eds. (New York: International Publishers, 1971).

62 See Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London: Methuen, 1986).

63 In the century and a half after 1492, it was reported that many thousands of Caribbean peoples died, some massacred during the Spanish occupation of Española, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica, others fleeing to other islands, while others still succumbed to diseases against which they had no immunity. The conspicuous omission of descriptions of indigenous people in many modern histories that allege extinction of native peoples illustrates the way in which indigeneity was temporalized as existing only in the past, with indigenous people as already dead, their "vanishing" viewed as natural, timely, inevitable, and the "origin" of modern capitalism and society. See, for example, Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985); in what remains one of the most important studies of the Caribbean plantation system, Mintz writes about the native people as being for all intents and purposes extinct.

Yet in the seventeenth century, when the English and French attempted to settle the Lesser Antilles, the mountainous islands to the south and east that had never been settled by the Spanish, their reports describe settlers being met by forceful resistance from the islanders referred to in English sources as "the Caribs." See Peter Hulme, *Remnants of Conquest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). For a powerful analysis of the erasure of indigeneity within postcolonial Caribbean nationalisms, see Shona N. Jackson, *Creole Indigeneity*.

64 Colonial papers on settlement in the Americas and the West Indies are collected in *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: America and the West Indies, 1574–1660*, Great Britain Public Records Office, ed. W. Noel Sainsbury (London: Longman, 1860); *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: America and the West Indies, 1667–1680*, Public Records Office, ed. W. Noel Sainsbury and John William Fortescue (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896); *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: America and the West Indies, 1689–1692*, Public Records Office, ed. Hon. John William Fortescue (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1901). See also Great Britain National Archives, *Privy Council and related bodies: America and West Indies, Colonial Papers* CO 1/16, no. 70; CO 1/17, no. 51; C 1/21; CO 1/23, no. 29; CO 5/286; CO 54, vol. 1126; C 66, vol. 1237; C 66, vol. 1796; C 66, vol. 2501, no. 5; C 66, vol. 2850; C 66, vol. 3046.

Colonial Office, Foreign Office, and Parliamentary Papers pertaining to the import of Chinese and Indian workers to the West Indies, particularly Trinidad and British Guiana include Great Britain, Colonial Office Correspondence, CO 885, vol. 1/20; CO 318, vol. 162; CO 295, vol. 17; CO 111, vol. 327; CO 111, vol. 334; Great Britain, Foreign Office Correspondence, FO 97, vol. 101; House of Commons Parliamentary Papers (HCPP) 1810, "On practicability and expediency of supplying West India colonies with free labourers from the east"; HCPP 1857, on "Mortality aboard British ships carrying Chinese and Indian emigrants"; HCPP 1857, on "Emigration from China to British Guiana and Trinidad" and on "Emigration from Hong Kong and from the Chinese Empire to West Indies"; HCPP 1860, on "Emigration from Canton." See also *Great Britain Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence, dispatches and other communications respecting the emigration of Chinese coolies, 1852–58* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971).

Colonial Office, Foreign Office, and parliamentary discussions of slave trade and abolition collected in House of Commons Parliamentary Papers 1802, 1803, "Respecting the Slave Trade"; HCPP 1804, "Papers Presented Respecting the Slave-Trade—West Indies" (Bahama, Barbados, Bermuda, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Leeward Islands, St. Vincent); HCPP 1810–11, "Report from the committee appointed to consider of the practicability and expediency of supplying our West India colonies with free labourers from the east; and to report their opinion thereupon, to the House"; HCPP 1813, "Papers Relating to Slave Ships"; Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons 1819, "Papers Relating to the Slave Trade"; HCPP 1831, "Orders sent to colonies for emancipating Crown slaves"; HCPP 1833, "Bill for the Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Colonies"; HCPP 1835, "Papers Presented to Parliament for Giving Effect to the Act for the Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Colonies."

65 On "intimacy" and citizenship in modern U.S. culture, see Lauren Berlant, *Intimacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Berlant, *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997); Lauren Berlant, *The Female Complaint: On the Unfinished Business of Sentimentality in American Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

66 On the origins of individualism in Adam Smith, Grotius, Hobbes, and others, see Warren Montag, "Who's Afraid of the Multitude? Between the Individual and the State," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 104, no. 4 (2005): 655–73.

67 See Dale Tomich, *Slavery in the Circuit of Sugar* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990); Arthur L. Stinchcombe, *Sugar Island Slavery in the Age of Enlightenment: Political Economy of the Caribbean World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995). Françoise Lionnet elaborates the concept "transcolonial" to stress the multiple spatialities of the colonized Caribbean. Lionnet, "Narrating the Americas: Transcolonial Métissage and

Maryse Condé's *La Migration des coeurs*," *Mixing Race, Mixing Culture: Inter-American Literary Dialogues*, ed. Monika Kaup and Debra J. Rosenthal (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), 69.

68 David Brion Davis, *Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975), 42. See also Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

69 Slavery was formally abolished in the Americas through the nineteenth century: 1804 in Haiti, 1823 in Chile, 1824 in Central America, 1829 in Mexico, 1834–38 in the British West Indies, 1848 in the French West Indies, 1854–58 in Peru and the rest of independent Latin America, 1863 in the Dutch Caribbean, 1865 in the United States, 1873 in Puerto Rico, 1886 in Cuba, 1888 in Brazil.

70 See Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985); Eltis, *Economic Growth*.

71 See Frederick Cooper, Thomas C. Holt, Rebecca J. Scott, eds. *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Postemancipation Societies* (Chapel Hill: Univesity of North Carolina Press, 2000); Rebecca Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860–1899* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton, 1985); Thomas Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832–1938* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

72 One finds the term *coolie* ambiguously described as derived from Tamil, Chinese, Portuguese, and other origins. The *Oxford English Dictionary* entry "coolie" defines its etymology as "origin uncertain" but speculates that it may have come from the Tamil word *kuli*, the payment for occasional menial work; or from the Gujarati *Koli*, "because members of this South Asian group frequently worked as labourers or performed menial tasks"; or from the Portuguese *cule*, or *quli*, which had been used as early as 1581 for a local hired laborer in India, and later in China. The latter is supported by the importance of Portugese Macao as a departure point for Chinese "coolie" trade. For an eloquent genealogy of the term, see Gaiutra Bahadur's preface to *Coolie Woman: The Odyssey of Indenture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).

73 Moon-Ho Jung, *Coolies and Cane*, 5. Jung's study examines how Chinese "coolie" labor confused the boundaries between slavery and freedom, and between black and white, in the U.S. congressional debates for and against slavery.

74 Kale, *Fragments of Empire*, 10.

75 See, for example, William Hardin Burnley, *Observations on the Present Condition of the Island of Trinidad and the Actual State of the Experiment of Negro Emancipation* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1842).

76 Look Lai, *Indentured Labor.* This migration was but a fraction of the much larger global dispersal of Asian labor from China and India in the nineteenth century; see also Look Lai, "Asian Contract and Free Migrations to the Americas," in *Coerced and Free Migrations: Global Perspectives*, ed. David Eltis (Stan-

ford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002); Adam McKeown, "Global Migration, 1846–1940," *Journal of World History* 15, no. 2 (June 2004), 155–89.

77 Kale, *Fragments of Empire.*

78 Holt, *Problem of Freedom*.

79 Eudell, *Political Language.* For the planters' argument that emancipation had produced a shortage of labor, see William Hardin Burnley, *Observations on the Present Condition*.

80 Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*.

81 Catherine Hall, *Civilizing Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002).

82 Amy Dru Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract: Wage Labor, Marriage, and the Market in the Age of Slave Emancipation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Yu-Fang Cho, *Uncoupling American Empire: Cultural Politics of Deviance and Unequal Difference, 1890–1910* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014).

83 Madhavi Kale argues that "free labor" was a "plastic" ideology, based on historically contingent, gendered, and raced assumptions about the nature of freedom and labor. Kale, *Fragments of Empire.*

84 Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996); Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shape American Citizenship and Labor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882–1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

85 Jung, *Coolies and Cane*.

86 Jung, *Coolies and Cane*.

87 Helly, *Cuba Commission Report.*

88 In Australia, settler colonialism was premised on displacing the native indigenous populations to appropriate their lands, rather than extracting surplus value from their labor; see Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London: Cassell, 1999). Initially, pastoralists sought indentured Indian laborers to replace the convicts, but when these plans were banned by British authorities, they turned in the late 1840s to the same Chinese indentured trade that had supplied Cuba, Peru, and the British West Indies, to bring approximately 35,000 indentured Chinese to New South Wales between 1847 and 1852. Chinese "coolies" were not represented as "free," as they were in the "Trinidad experiment," but were precisely regarded as a substitute for the "unfree" British convict labor. Charles Price, *The Great White Walls Are Built* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1974); Ann Curthoys, "Liberalism and Exclusionism: A Prehistory of the White Australia Policy," in *Legacies of White*

Australia: Race, Culture and Nation, ed. Laksiri Jayasuriya, David Walker, and Jan Gothard (Crawley: University of Western Australia, 2003); Andrew Markus, *Fear and Hatred: Purifying Australia and California, 1850–1901* (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1979).

89 William Hildebrand, "Report on Supply of Labor by the Hon. Wm. Hildebrand, MD, Royal Commissioner to China and India to the Honorable Board of Immigration of the Hawaiian Islands," University of Hawaii, Hamilton Library Special Collections (UHSC); Transactions of the *Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society* (UHSC); Index to Passenger Manifests, Hawaii, 1843 (UHSC); Katherine Coman, *The History of Contract Labor in the Hawaiian Islands* (New York: Arno, 1978); Elliott Arensmeyer, "British Merchant Enterprise and Chinese Coolie Labor Trade, 1850–1874" (PhD diss., University of Hawaii, 1979).

90 The overcoming of the contradiction is elaborated in Hegel's dialectic of lordship and bondage in *Phenomenology of Spirit* [*Phänomenologie des Geistes*, 1807], trans. A. V. Miller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), and in the *bildung* of the state in the *Philosophy of Right* [*Philosophie des Rechts*, 1821], ed. Allen Wood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). See also Alexandre Kojève, *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel: Lectures on the Phenomenology of Spirit* [*Introduction à la Lecture de Hegel*, 1947], trans. James H. Nichols Jr. (New York: Basic, 1969); George Armstrong Kelly, *Idealism, Politics and History: Sources of Hegelian Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); Judith Butler, *Subjects of Desire: Hegelian Reflections in Twentieth-Century France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).

91 "A Person has the right to direct his will upon any object, as his real and positive end. The object thus becomes his. As it has no end in itself, it receives its meaning and soul from his will." Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, part 1, section 1, "Property," paragraph 44. Through property, the condition of possibility of human self-possession—of one's body, interiority, and life direction—is established. Indeed, Hegel argued that property enhances the possibility of moral action, because without property, without a locus of independence of the individual will, the person cannot be independent, thoughtful, or self-conscious; without property, he will be dominated by others, by needs, and by nature.

92 Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, part 3, section 1, "Ethical Observance: The Family," paragraph 163.

93 John Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies: Three Lectures* [1865] (Sunnyside, Kent, UK: George Allen, 1880), 91.

94 On the history of gendered separate spheres, see Janet Wolff, *Feminine Sentences* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990); Nancy Fraser, *Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse and Gender in Contemporary Social Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989); Cathy Davidson and Jessamyn Hatch, eds., *No More*

Separate Spheres! (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002); Wendy Brown, *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995). Criticism of the racial colonial dimensions of the separate spheres concept includes Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "Racial Ethnic Women's Labor: Intersection of Race, Gender, and Class Oppression," *Review of Radical Political Economics* 17, no. 3 (1983): 86–108; Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990). On the extension of separate spheres ideology through colonial and imperial projects, see Rosemary Marangoly George, *The Politics of Home: Postcolonial Relocations and Twentieth-Century Fiction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Amy Kaplan, "Manifest Destiny," in *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

95 Ann Laura Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies," in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Empire in North America*, ed. Stoler (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); also Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*.

96 On the role of Christian marriage as a social form for assimilating former slaves into middle-class citizenship, see Catherine Hall, *Civilizing Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002); and Nancy Cott, *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

97 *Great Britain Colonial Office Correspondence*, CO 295, vol. 17.

98 On the figure of the neighbor, see Kenneth Reinhard, "Freud, My Neighbor," *American Imago* 54, no. 2 (1997): 165–95.

99 As a trope for the "Chinese" capacity for bourgeois domesticity within the context of its historical impossibility, and a sign of colonial desire for a reproductive family community that would create a racial barrier between black and white, the figure of the "Chinese woman" signified the limits of the early nineteenth-century British colonial racial taxonomy.

100 Quijano and Wallerstein, "Americanity."

101 On state, scientific, and social scientific racial classification and taxonomy, see David Theo Goldberg, *The Racial State* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002); Donna Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature and the World of Modern Science* (New York: Routledge, 1989); Donald S. Moore et al., eds., *Race, Nature and the Politics of Difference* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); Roderick Ferguson, *Aberrations in Black: Toward a Queer of Color Critique* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004).

102 Jack D. Forbes, *Black Africans and Native Americans* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988). This history of misclassification is one way in which indigenous peoples were apparently eliminated through assimilation into other categories, contributing

to the myth of native extinction. For further discussions of Black and Native mixture in the Americas, see Tiya Miles and Sharon P. Holland, eds. *Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds: The African Diaspora in Indian County* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

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105 Joan Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods*, 190.

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108 *Colonial Office Correspondence*, CO 885, vol. 1/19.

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jana, " 'Left to the Imagination': Indian Nationalisms and Female Sexuality in Trinidad," in *A Question of Silence? The Sexual Economies of Modern India*, ed. Mary John and Janaki Nair (London: Zed, 2000), 111–38; Gaiutra Bahadur, *Coolie Woman: The Odyssey of Indenture.*

110 *Great Britain Colonial Office Correspondence*, CO 885, vol. 1/19, emphasis mine.

111 For a study of the legal disciplining of cross-racial intimacies among migrant workers in the different location of the early twentieth-century western United States, see Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality and Law in the North American West*.

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113 Frederick Douglass, "Coolie Trade" and "Cheap Labor," in *Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, vol. 4, *Reconstruction and After*, ed. Philip Foner (New York: International, 1955), 262–66, quotation 266.

114 W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860–1880* [1935] (New York: Free Press, 1992), 15–16.

115 Walter Rodney, *A History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881–1905* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981).

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119 On this erasure, see Jack D. Forbes, *Black Africans and Native Americans*; Shona N. Jackson, *Creole Indigeneity.*

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121 Paul Gilroy, *Black Atlantic*; Kamari Maxine Clarke, *Mapping Yoróba Networks* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).

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Chapter 2: Autobiography Out of Empire

1 See Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon, 2000); David Kazanjian, *The Colonizing Trick: National Culture and Imperial Citizenship in Early America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003); Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

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3 Great Britain Colonial Office Correspondence, CO 295, vol. 17.

4 David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the End of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

5 In "A Brief View of the Nature and Effects of Negro Slavery, as it exists in the Colonies of Great Britain," *Westminster Review* (1830) editors endorse the Statement by the Committee of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions.

6 For example, Seymour Drescher, *From Slavery to Freedom: Comparative Studies in the Rise and Fall of Atlantic Slavery* (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1999); David Eltis, Frank D. Lewis, Kenneth L. Sokoloff, eds., *Slavery in the Development of the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Much work complicates the assumption of transition: see, for example, Frederick Cooper, Thomas C. Holt, Rebecca J. Scott, eds., *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Postemancipation Societies* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Thomas Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832–1938* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Demetrius Eudell, *The Political Language of Emancipation in the British Caribbean and the U.S. South* (Chapel Hill: University North Carolina Press, 2002).

7 On the transatlantic slave trade and slavery system, see Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development and Structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson, 1975); Herbert Klein, *Slavery in the Americas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967); Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969); David Brion Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984); David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999); Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Stephanie Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

8 Houston A. Baker Jr., *Blues, Ideology, and Afro-American Literature: A Vernacular Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 33.

9 See Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon, 2000); Ian Baucom, ed., "*Atlantic Genealogies*," special double issue of *South Atlantic Quarterly* (spring/summer 2001); Alan Rice, *Radical Narratives of the Black Atlantic* (London: Continuum, 2003); Felicity Nussbaum, ed., *The Global Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); Pamela Scully and Diane Paton, eds., *Gender and Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); Ian Baucom, *Specters of the Atlantic: Finance Capital, Slavery, and the Philosophy of History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005). Laura Doyle, *Freedom's Empire: Race and the Rise of the Novel in Atlantic Modernity, 1640–1940* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

10 Cathy N. Davidson, "Olaudah Equiano, Written by Himself," *Novel* 40, no. 1/2 (fall 2006): 18–51, 19.

11 *The Speech of William Wilberforce, Esq., Representative of York, on Wednesday the 13th of May, 1789, on the Question of the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (London: Logographic Press, 1789), 12–13. For other key voices in the British abolition debate, see Peter J. Kitson, ed. *Slavery, Abolition, and Emancipation: The Abolition Debate* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1999).

12 Biographer Vincent Carretta unearthed documents that suggest that a "Gustavus Vassa" may have been born in Carolina rather than Africa, inaugurating a discussion of the possibility that Equiano may have invented his Igbo origins as fiction rather than reclaimed the accounts of Africa and the Middle Passage. See Vincent Carretta, "Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa? New Light on an Eighteenth-Century Question of Identity," *Slavery and Abolition* 20, no. 3 (December 1999): 96–105. My discussion addresses the cultural and social force of Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* as a canonical work that has been taken to describe African origins, the Middle Passage, and slavery in the Americas, through which ongoing interests in colonial slavery and abolition were mediated, in the time of its publication and in subsequent receptions; in this sense, the ambiguity of birth is of less significance than the meaning of the autobiography. Indeed, Carretta described Equiano as "the first successful professional writer of African descent in the English-speaking world." Vincent Carretta, *Equiano, The African: Biography of a Self-Made Man* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005), 366.

Carretta's discovery has given rise to numerous rejoinders from historians. For example, Andrew Byrd asserts that the autobiography's expression of Igbo

culture "actually suggests someone deeply familiar with and in some way affected by the social and political geography of the Biafran interior," and "whatever Vassa's origins, the ethnographic language of his memoir supplies good internal evidence that the origins of *The Interesting Narrative* lie decidedly in the Biafran interior and were profoundly African" (125). Andrew X. Byrd, "Eboe, Country, Nation, and Gustavus Vassa's 'Interesting Narrative,'" *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 63, no. 1 (January 2006): 123–48.

13 See Benjamin Franklin, *Autobiography: An Authoritative Text, Background, Criticisms* [1793], ed. J. A. Leo Lemay and P. M. Zall (New York: W. W. Norton, 1986); Mitchell Breitwieser, *Cotton Mather and Benjamin Franklin: The Price of Representative Personality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Michael Warner, *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990); Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse, *The Imaginary Puritan: Literature, Intellectual Labor, and the Origins of Personal Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Trish Loughron, *The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation Building, 1770–1870* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

14 Aphra Behn, *Oroonoko*, ed. Joanna Lipking (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), 13.

15 Chi-ming Yang, "Asia Out of Place," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42, no. 1 (2008): 235–53.

16 Srinivas Aravamudan, *Tropicopolitans: Colonialism and Agency, 1688–1804* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).

17 Adam Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments* [1759] (Oxford University Press, 1996), 9.

18 On sentimentalism and antislavery discourse, see Christine Levecq, *Slavery and Sentiment: The Politics of Feeling in Black Atlantic Slavery Writing, 1770–1850* (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2008).

19 See Lynn Festa, *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); Shirley Samuels, ed., *The Culture of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Shelley Streeby, *American Sensations: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Elizabeth Dillon, *The Gender of Freedom: Fictions of Liberalism and the Literary Public Sphere* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004).

20 Thomas Bicknell and John Day, *The Dying Negro* (London: W. Flexney, 1775).

21 Festa, *Sentimental*, 2.

22 The original two volumes of *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself*, printed and sold for the author by T. Elkins, London, in 1789, included an engraved portrait of

Equiano, wearing a formal dress coat, holding in his right hand a Bible. Across from the title page, it begins with a letter addressed to "The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of the Parliament of Great Britain," and is prefaced with the list of subscribers, endorsing the autobiography.

All page citations from Werner Sollers, ed., *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself* [1789] (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), 39.

23 Gerard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980).

24 Henry Louis Gates Jr. and William L. Andrews, eds. *Pioneers of the Black Atlantic: Five Slave Narratives from the Enlightenment, 1772–1815* (Washington, DC: Civitas, 1998).

25 William Louis Stern, "The Uses of Botany, with Special Reference to the 18th Century," *Taxon* 42, no. 4 (November 1993): 773–79.

26 Cugoano was captured in his native Ghana, sold into slavery, and taken to Grenada, then purchased by an Englishman for whom he became a servant; in England he became a freedman, and by 1786 emerged as a leader of the black poor in London. Ottobah Cugoano, *Thoughts and sentiments on the evil and wicked traffic of the slavery and commerce of the human species: humbly submitted to the inhabitants of Great-Britain* [1787], in Henry Louis Gates Jr. and William L. Andrews, eds. *Pioneers of the Black Atlantic,* 83–183. On Cugoano, see Saidiya V. Hartman, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey along the Atlantic Slave Route* (New York: Farrar, 2008), 121–22; Roxane Wheeler, " 'Betrayed by Some of My Own Complexion': Cugoano, Abolition, and the Contemporary Language of Racialism," in *Genius in Bondage*, ed. V. Carretta and P. Gould (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 17–38.

27 William Andrews, *To Tell a Free Story: First Century of Afro-American Autobiography, 1760–1865* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

28 Fred Moten, *In the Break: The Aesthetics of the Black Radical Tradition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

29 Henry Louis Gates Jr. and William L. Andrews, eds., *Pioneers of the Black Atlantic.*

30 Frances Smith Foster, *Witnessing Slavery: The Development of the Ante-bellum Slave Narrative*, 2nd ed. (University of Wisconsin Press, 1994).

31 Henry Louis Gates Jr., *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African American Literary Criticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

32 Andrews, *To Tell a Free Story*, 32–33.

33 See Robert Stepto, *From behind the Veil: A Study of Afro-American Narrative* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979); John Sekora, "Black Message/White Envelope: Genre, Authenticity, and Authority in the Antebellum Slave Narrative," *Callaloo* 32 (summer 1987): 482–515.

34 As in Fredrick Douglass's famous *chiasmus*: "You have seen how a man was made a slave; you shall see how a slave was made a man." Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave*, introduction by Kwame Anthony Appiah (New York: Random House, 2000). See also Deborah McDowell's "In the First Place: Making Frederick Douglass and the Afro-American Narrative Tradition," in William Andrews, ed. *Critical Essays on Frederick Douglass* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1991), 192–214.

35 Fred Moten, *In the Break*.

36 Hazel Carby, "Becoming Modern Racialized Subjects: Detours through Our Pasts to Produce Ourselves Anew," *Cultural Studies* 23, no. 4 (2009): 634.

37 Aravamudan, *Tropicolitans*; see also Srinivas Aravamudan, "Equiano Lite," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34, no. 4 (2001): 615–19; Christine Leveqc, "Sentiment and Cosmopolitanism in Olaudah Equiano's Narrative," *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 1, no. 1 (2008): 13–30.

38 Cathy Davidson discusses the "hybrid form" of Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* as resembling many eighteenth-century novels (both American and European), "a conscious shaping of myriad life-events into recognizable plot patterns." Davidson, "Olaudah Equiano," 19.

39 See Ronald Paul, " 'I Whitened My Face That They Might Not Know Me': Race and Identity in Olaudah Equiano's Slave Narrative." *Journal of Black Studies* 39, no. 6 (2009): 848–64.

40 Carby, "Becoming Modern Racialized Subjects," 634.

41 Aravamudan, *Tropicolitans*, 253.

42 Walter Johnson, "Time and Revolution in African America," in *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, ed. Thomas Bender (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 152.

43 Stephanie Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery*, 122.

44 Saidiya Hartman, "The Time of Slavery," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 100, no. 4 (fall 2002): 757–77; and Saidiya V. Hartman, *Lose Your Mother*.

45 See also Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection.*

46 Vincent Carretta, *Equiano*.

47 David Kazanjian, "Race, Nation, and Equality: Olauhah Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* and a Genealogy of U.S. Mercantilism," in *Post-nationalist American Studies*, ed. John Carlos Rowe et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 131; also Kazanjian, *The Colonizing Trick.*

48 The Mosquito coast extended about five hundred miles along the Caribbean Sea east along the coast of modern Honduras to the northeastern tip of present-day Nicaragua, and south to what is now Costa Rica; in the eighteenth century, control was disputed between the British and Spanish. See John Baily, *Central America; Describing Each of the States of Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica* (London: Trelawney Saunders, 1850). There is

a long history of frequent contacts of Mosquito Indians with British colonists in Jamaica, which included social and cultural mixing with settlers and slaves, some Mosquito enslavement as well as some Mosquito adoption of European practices of capturing Black slaves to be kept or sold; in 1728, the buccaneer and author M.W. described the Mosquito as mixed or "Zambo," and present-day Mosquito people are classified as of African-Native descent. See Mary W. Helms, "Miskito Slaving and Culture Contact: Ethnicity and Opportunity in an Expanding Population," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 39, no. 2 (summer 1983): 179–97.

49 Specifying the history of settler appropriation of indigenous lands, knowledges, and histories, indigenous studies scholars urge an analysis of colonial capitalism that nuances settler colonial seizure, appropriation, and removal as different from paradigms that center racial slavery or racialized labor, cautioning that adoption of liberal ideas of rights and sovereignty often reiterates this settler violence. See Jodi A. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); Shona N. Jackson, *Creole Indigeneity: Between Myth and the Nation in the Caribbean* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Glen Coulthard, "From Wards of the State to Subjects of Recognition? Marx, Indigenous Peoples, and the Politics of Dispossession in Denedeh," in Audra Simpson and Andrea Smith, eds., *Theorizing Native Studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 56–98; Manu Vimalassery, "The Prose of Counter-Sovereignty," in Alyosha Goldstein, ed. *Formations of United States Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

50 Carretta, *Equiano*, 225.

51 Levecq, "Sentiment," 26; Paul, "'I Whitened,'" 861.

52 Carretta, *Equiano*, 229.

53 On the Somerset case, see *English Historical Documents*, vol. 10, ed. D. C. Douglas, D. B. Horn, and M. Ransome (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953); Stephen Usherwood, "The Black Must Be Discharged: The Abolitionists' Debt to Lord Mansfield," *History Today* 31, no. 3 (March 1981): 40–45.

Later in 1783, the historical Equiano had told Granville Sharp of the events aboard the *Zong*, when 133 slaves were killed en masse so that the ship owners could seek insurance compensation for their "lost cargo," which prompted Sharp to become involved. On this notorious event, see James Walvin, *The Zong: A Massacre, the Law and the End of Slavery* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011); Baucom, *Specters of the Atlantic*; and the poetic rendering, M. NourbeSe Phillip, *Zong!* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2011).

54 Granville Sharp, *Short Sketch of Temporary Regulations (until Better Shall Be Proposed) for the Intended Settlement on the Grain Coast of Africa, near Sierra Leona* (London: H. Baldwin, Fleet-Street, 1786), 22.

Historians point out that the "black" settlers in Sierra Leone were actually a heterogeneous group of Africans, East Indians, Afro-Americans, and white Britons; the initial settlement would include former Virginians, Carolinians, other refugees of the American war from Nova Scotia, and later "recaptives," or slaves captured from illegal slave ships after 1807.

55 HCPP *Report from the Committee on Petition of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company* (May 1802).

56 For a comprehensive history of nineteenth-century Sierra Leone, see Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962); on the history of the Sierra Leone Resettlement project, see Alexander X. Byrd, *Captives and Voyagers: Black Migrants across the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008).

57 HCPP 1823, "Correspondence with the British commissioners, at Sierra Leone, the Havannah, Rio de Janeiro, and Surinam, relating to the slave trade," 6–7.

58 Adam Jones, *From Slaves to Palm Kernels: A History of the Galinhas Country (West Africa), 1730–1890* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1983).

59 Jones, *From Slaves*, 42–44, 50–51.

60 Parliamentary Papers collected accounts of all vessels seized, captured, or detained for illegal traffic in slaves, documents pertaining to their trials in the Commission Courts, and records of the numbers of slaves captured and "emancipated." See HCPP 1822, "Vessels captured, and Vessels Condemned"; HCPP 1823, "Correspondence with the British commissioners, at Sierra Leone, the Havannah, Rio de Janeiro, and Surinam, relating to the slave trade," for example, "List of Cases Adjudged in the Courts of Mixed Commission at Sierra Leone, between the 1st of January 1822 and the 1st of January 1823," 14.

61 Johnson Asiegbu, *Slavery and the Politics of Liberation 1787–1861: A Study of Liberated African Emigration and British Anti-slavery Policy* (New York: Africana Publishers, 1969); Rosanne Marion Adderley, *"New Negroes from Africa": Slave Trade Abolition and Free African Settlement* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).

62 Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* [1787] (Baltimore: W. Pechin, 1800).

63 On "failure" as a critical project see Judith Halberstam, *The Queer Art of Failure* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 25.

Chapter 3: A Fetishism of Colonial Commodities

1 C. L. R. James, *Beyond a Boundary* (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 47.

2 Cedric Robinson remarked on James's regard for Thackeray in *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 266. Grant Farred, in "C. L. R. James and Anti/Post-colonialism,"

(January–April 2001) attends to this moment in James's work in his analysis of James's Marxism and interprets the reference to "Thackeray" as a signifier for James's immigration to England, and the subordination of "Marx" as a form of displacement for "Trotsky." Farred elaborates the importance of Trotsky for the Trinidadian anticolonial intellectual. See http://www.solidarity-us.org/node/1526. The *Oxford English Dictionary* credits Thackeray for the first published use of the word *capitalism* in his novel *The Newcomes* (1853–55), though it is clear from its context that this refers to finance capital, rather than as a "system." 2nd ed. Vol. II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 94. Also available at http://www.oed.com/.

3 Nicole King, *C. L. R. James and Creolization: Circles of Influence* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2001).

4 Michael Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China, 1800–1842* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951); Philip Lawson, *The East India Company: A History* (London: Harlow, 1993); H. V. Bowen, *The Business of Empire: The East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756–1833* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

5 HCSC *First, Second and Third Reports, Appointed by the Court of Directors of East India Company, to take into consideration the Export Trade from Great Britain to the East Indies, with appendixes* (London: East India Company, 1793); *Papers respecting the negociation for a renewal of the East-India Company's exclusive trade* (London: East India Company, 1793); *Papers respecting the negociation for a renewal of the East India Company's exclusive privileges* (London: E. Cox, 1813); *Charter Negociation Papers, 1812–1813*. HCSC *Reports on the Affairs of the East India Company China Trade* (London: Parbury, Allen, 1830); HCSC *Reports Appointed to Enquire into the Present State of the East India Company, together with the minutes of evidence, appendix of documents, and a general index* (London: Printed by order of the Honourable Court of Directors, by J. L. Cox, 1830); HLSC *Reports Appointed to Enquire into the present state of the East India Company, and into the trade between Great Britain, the East Indies, and China, together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix,* 3 vols. (London: Printed by J. L. Cox, 1830). All in British Library.

6 On imperial sovereignty, see Antony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

7 The term *free trade imperialism* became part of the economic historical discussion of British empire after the publication of John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," *Economic History Review,* Second Series, 6, no. 1 (1953): 1–15. They argue, against the orthodox imperial histories that counted only the formal territories as the British empire, or those who would consider imperialism (as the "highest stage of capitalism") and therefore discuss the British empire as the period after 1880, that in fact the late

nineteenth-century British empire was sustained by the informal means of "free trade," through maritime power and access to ports around the world. "Refusals to annex are no proof of reluctance to control," (3) they remark; "the most common political technique of British expansion was the treaty of free trade and friendship made with or imposed upon a weaker state" (11). On British empire broadly, see William Roger Louis, ed., *Oxford History of British Empire*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998–99); P. J. Marshall, *Trade and Conquest*: *Studies on the Rise of British Dominance in India* (Aldershot, UK: Variorum, 1993); David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

8 See Orlando Patterson, *Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development and Structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson, 1975); Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969); David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Joseph Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988); Stephanie Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007); Saidiya Hartman, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey along the Atlantic Slave Route* (New York: Farrar, 2007).

9 See also Stephanie Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery*; Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*; Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *Many-Headed Hydra*.

10 Hosea Ballou Morse, LLD, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1926); Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

11 H. V. Bowen, *The Business of Empire: The East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756–1833* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 5. In 1833, one report calculated that the Company had established control over 500,000 square miles of territory in India, containing 93.7 million "British subjects" who paid £22,718,794 a year in taxation.

12 See Ramakrishna Mukherjee, *The Rise and Fall of the East India Company* (London: Monthly Review, 1974); K. N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Sudipta Sen, *Empire of Free Trade: The East India Company and the Making of the Colonial Marketplace* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); Anthony Wild, *The East India Company: Trade and Conquest from 1600* (London: HarperCollins, 1999); Anthony Farrington, *Trading Places: The East India Company and Asia, 1600–1834* (London: British

Library, 2002); H. V. Bowen, Margarette Lincoln, and Nigel Rigby, eds., *The Worlds of the East India Company* (Rochester, NY: Brewer, 2003); Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Nicholas Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

13 HLSC *Report, Appointed to Enquire into the Present State of the Affairs of the East India Company, and into the Trade between Great Britain, the East Indies and China* (1830), 3 vols.

14 Carl Schmitt, in *The* Nomos *of the Earth*, emphasizes that all empires are founded on *land-appropriations*, discussing at length the example of the European conquest of the "new world," but he suggests that in later times, *sea-appropriations* as a means of navigating the space of the entire globe also became part of this history, with England representing the universal maritime sphere of a Eurocentric global order. Schmitt states: "There is . . . a historical and structural relation between such spatial concepts of free sea, free trade, and free world economy, and the idea of a free space in which to pursue free competition and free exploitation." Schmitt, *The* Nomos *of the Earth in the International Law of the* Jus Publicum Europaeum, trans. G. L. Ulmen [1950] (New York: Telos, 2006), 99. On the European imagination of imperial space in contests over rivers, seas, and islands, as well as territories, see Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

15 "Export Trade from Great Britain to the East Indies," in HCSC *First, Second and Third Reports, Appointed by the Court of Directors of East India Company* (1793).

16 Jardine transported the chests to China and set up the smuggling system that brought opium to Macao and Canton, reporting that the firm had turned over $4.5 million worth of opium in the 1829–30 season, handling over five thousand chests, about one-third of the total in China at that time. As rival firms followed Jardine's lead during the 1830s, there was an enormous expansion in imports from 16,550 chests in 1831–32 to over 30,000 in 1835–36, and 40,000 in 1838–39. Alain le Pichon, *China Trade and Empire: Jardine, Matheson & Co and the Origins of British Rule in Hong Kong* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

In nineteenth-century Indian regions of Patna and Benares controlled by the British colonial government, raw opium was harvested, then prepared for export in large factories, where the process consisted of evaporating the excess liquid from the raw opium, producing a brown residue that was shaped into three-pound spherical cakes, dried, aired, and then packed into chests of forty cakes apiece. *East India Company Factory Records: China and India* (British Library, London).

See also Algernon Sydney Thelwall, *The Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China, Being a Development of the Main Causes Which Exclude the Merchants of Great Britain from the Advantages of an Unrestricted Commercial Intercourse with that Vast Empire* (London: W. H. Allen, 1839); Nathan Allen, *Essay on the Opium Trade, Including a Sketch of Its History, Extent, Effects, etc. as Carried on in India and China* (Boston: John Jewett, 1850).

17 David Killingray, Margarette Lincoln, and Nigel Rigby, eds., *Maritime Empires: British Imperial Maritime Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (Suffolk: Boydell, 2004).

18 James saw racial division as a colonial legacy and was concerned, like Walter Rodney, to forge labor alliances between black West Indians and Asian West Indians, between "oil and sugar." See C. L. R. James, "Lecture on Federation (West Indies and British Guiana)," delivered at Queen's College, British Guiana, June 1958 (printed at the Argosy Company, Demerara); *The West Indian of East Indian Descent* (Ibis Pamphlet no. 1, Port-of-Spain, 1965); and "Walter Rodney and the Question of Power" (London: Race Today Collective, 1983). University of London, Senate House Library Special Collections. See also Walter Rodney, *A History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881–1905* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981); Walton Look Lai, "C. L. R. James and Trinidadian Nationalism," in *C. L. R. James's Caribbean*, ed. Paget Henry and Paul Buhle (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992).

19 Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 133–34.

20 Barbara Hardy, *The Exposure of Luxury: Radical Themes in Thackeray* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972); Geoffrey Tillotson and Donald Hawes, eds. *Thackeray: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968); Andrew H. Miller, *Novels behind Glass: Commodity, Culture, and Victorian Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); John Peck, "Middle Class Life in *Vanity Fair*," *English* 43, no. 175 (1994): 1–16.

21 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (London: Routledge, 1986), 6.

22 In *Vanity Fair*, we read the logics through which objects come to represent Britain's worldly status while simultaneously dislocating those objects from their global conditions of labor and production. The novel mediates the way in which the "global" had not been conceived as such; that frame, or "cultural dominant," would only be naturalized much later as the logical "ends" of what was, in the early nineteenth century, an emergent narrative of British liberal progress and modernization. The rendering of the "global" that emerges in the late twentieth century is built on the absence of histories and processes that had already been naturalized by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century colonialism

and orientalism; the absence of those histories is always already a part of the discourse of "globalization."

23 As tea drinking changed from being an exclusive courtly ritual to a widespread national phenomenon, the East India Company's imports rose rapidly: by 1800, the EIC sold over twenty million pounds a year, and tea had become the company's main trade. The East India Company (EIC) monopoly was continually disputed and targeted by the policies of "free trade." In 1813, legislation ended the East India Company monopoly on all goods, except the tea trade with China. The abolition of the Company's monopoly was finally effected in 1833. Historians have estimated that the illicit trade in tea constituted a market at least as large as that for the legal trade imported by the EIC, as a large black market trade flourished. See Hoh-cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui, *The Management of Monopoly: A Study of the English East India Company's Conduct of Its Tea Trade, 1784–1833* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984).

24 See Ellis Markham, ed., *Tea and the Tea-Table in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2010). Tea tables signified wealth, breeding, and feminized gentility, linking the Anglo and the American world. Clothing, decorative arts, rooms, furniture, objets d'art, and furnishings were colonial commodities that expressed the global relations between France, England, their American colonies, India, and China, while the social practice of tea itself was a condensation of the structural link between colonial slavery in the West Indies and the East Indian trades with China and India. See Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985); Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* [1940], trans. Harriet de Onis (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995); James Walvin, *Fruits of Empire: Exotic Produce and British Taste, 1660–1800* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Dena Goodman and Kathryn Norberg, eds., *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell Us about the European and American Past* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

25 Timothy Touchstone, "Tea and Sugar, or The Nabob and the Creole." In *Tea and the Tea-Table in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Markham Ellis, vol. 1 (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2010), 195–204.

26 Karl Marx, "The Fetishism of Commodities and the Secret Thereof," Section 4 in *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 1, *The Process of Capitalist Production*, ed. Friedrich Engels, trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling (New York: International, 1967), 71–83. Though Marx had not yet published his analysis of the fetishism of commodities by Thackeray's time, liberal thinkers would have already read Ricardo's 1817 *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, in which he argued that the labor theory of value and an object's "value in use" did not correspond to its price or exchange value. David Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (London: John Murray, 1819).

27 Marx, *Capital,* vol. 1, 74.

28 Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, section 3, "The Form of Value or Exchange Value": "D. The Money Form."

29 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Scattered Speculations on the Question of Value," "Marx after Derrida," special issue of *Diacritics* 15, no. 4 (winter 1985): 73–93; Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Two Histories of Capital," in *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 47–71.

30 We might read Marx's *Capital* as a Victorian novel, as Anna Kornbluh suggests, "reading for the ways that its insights materialize narratively, figuratively, and aesthetically, in addition to referentially or instantiatively." Anna Kornbluh, "On Marx's Victorian Novel," *Mediations* 25, no. 1 (fall 2010). http://www.mediationsjournal.org/articles/on-marx-s-victorian-novel.

31 Elaine Freedgood, *The Ideas in Things: Fugitive Meaning in the Victorian Novel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

32 See Andrew H. Miller, *Novels behind Glass.*

33 All page citations from William Makepeace Thackeray, *Vanity Fair,* ed. Peter Shillingsburg (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994), 28.

34 Eve Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 193.

35 Joseph Litvak, *Strange Gourmets* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).

36 Christina Sharpe, *Monstrous Intimacies: Making Post-slavery Subjects* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

37 Michael Rogin, *Blackface, White Noise: Jewish Immigrants in the Hollywood Melting Pot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Daphne Brooks, *Bodies in Dissent: Spectacular Performances of Race and Freedom, 1850–1910* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); Robin Bernstein, *Racial Innocence: Performing American Childhood from Slavery to Civil Rights* (New York: New York University Press, 2011).

38 Sylvia Wynter, "Sambos and Minstrels," *Social Text* 1 (winter 1979): 150.

39 See Jennifer DeVere Brody, *Impossible Purities: Blackness, Femininity, and Victorian Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 18.

40 Margot Finn writes of "perhaps 8 to 9 million Indian slaves [who] lived in bondage in territories under East India Company rule alone as late as the 1840s, a decade after parliament's much-touted emancipation of slaves in the British Atlantic colonies," though "women substantially outnumbered men in the Indian Ocean slave trade and normally fetched higher prices upon sale." Margot Finn, "Slaves Out of Context: Domestic Slavery and the Anglo-Indian Family, c. 1780–1830," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 19 (2009): 181–203, quotation 184. See also Indrani Chatterjee and Richard Eaton, eds.,

Slavery and South Asian History (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006); Andrea Major, *Slavery, Abolitionism, and Empire in India, 1772–1843* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012); Indrani Chatterjee, "Abolition by Denial: The South Asian Example," in *Abolition and Its Aftermath in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia*, ed. Gwyn Campbell (London: Routledge, 2005). Ironically, at the time that millions of East Indians were sold into slavery, they were also being represented as indentured workers who would provide a "free labor" alternative to African slavery in the West Indies.

41 See Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose, eds., *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Kathleen Wilson, ed., *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

42 Rosemary Crill, ed., *Textiles from India: The Global Trade* (Calcutta: Seagull, 2006); Giorgio Riello and Prasannan Parthasarathi, eds., *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Giorgio Riello and Tirthankar Roy, eds., *How India Clothed the World: Cotton Textiles and the Indian Ocean, 1500–1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

43 Giorgio Riello, "Asian Knowledge and the Development of Calico Printing in Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Journal of Global History* 5 (2010): 1–28.

44 Rosemary Crill, *Chintz: Indian Textiles for the West* (London: V and A Publishing, 2008); Giorgio Riello and Prasannan Parthasarathi, eds. *The Spinning World*; Giorgio Riello and Tirthankar Roy, eds., *How India Clothed the World*.

45 In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European-export style cloths, "the single most easily recognized format was the Chinoiserie-style theme of an asymmetrically twisting, multi-trunked flowering tree rising from a rocky mound." Steven Cohen, "The Unusual Textile Trade between India and Sri Lanka: Block Prints and Chintz, 1550–1900," in *Textiles from India: The Global Trade*, ed. Rosemary Crill (Calcutta: Seagull, 2006), 67.

46 Rosemary Crill, *Chintz*: "An exotic hybrid style was created that combined British, Indian and Chinese patterns and that fitted perfectly into the craze for Chinoiserie that swept Britain in the eighteenth century" (15).

47 Beverly Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Lara Kriegel, "Culture and the Copy: Calico, Capitalism, and Design Copyright in Early Victorian Britain," *Journal of British Studies* 43, no. 2 (April 2004): 233–65. Also, Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007). On eighteenth-century feminine consumerism and luxury, see Elisabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (New York:

Columbia University Press, 1997); Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

48 Quoted in John Irwin and Katherine Brett, *The Origins of Chintz* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1970).

49 See Geoffrey Turnbull, *History of the Calico Printing Industry* (Altrincham, UK: J. Sherratt, 1951).

50 *Papers Respecting the Negociation for a Renewal of the East India Company's Exclusive Trade* (1793).

51 See J. Forbes Royal, *On the Culture and Commerce of Cotton in India, and Elsewhere* (London: Smith, Elder, 1851). In England, the invention of machinery by Wyatt, Hargreaves, and Arkwright, from 1739 to 1769, and the subsequent establishment of the factory system after 1785, led to the growth of a dominant cotton industry. In 1738, Wyatt and Paul took out a patent for spinning by rollers; carding by cylinders was invented by Paul in 1748, and from 1764 to 1767, Hargreaves completed the spinning-jenny, patented in 1770. After the 1770s, the imitation of calicoes was successfully attempted.

52 *Report of the Select Committee Appointed to Take into Consideration of the Export Trade from Great Britain to the East Indies, upon the Subject of the Cotton Manufacture of This Country* (HCSC) (1793), 6.

53 Royal, *Culture and Commerce,* 9. In 1783, 114,133 pounds of cotton were imported from India; in 1790, it increased to as much as 442,207 pounds. By 1800, 56,010,732 pounds of cotton were imported from the United States.

54 Douglas A. Farnie, *The English Cotton Industry and the World Market, 1815–1896* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979); Douglas A. Farnie and Jeremy David, eds., *The Fibre That Changed the World: Cotton Industry in International Perspective, 1600–1990s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Sven Beckert, "Emancipation and Empire: Reconstructing the Worldwide Web of Cotton Production in the Age of the American Civil War, *American Historical Review* 109, no. 5 (December 2004): 1405–38, states that by the 1850s, the United States accounted for 77 percent of the 800 million pounds of cotton consumed in Britain (Beckert, 1408). J. Forbes Royal estimated that in 1834, the value of exports of British cotton goods was £570,000,000; Royal, *Culture and Commerce*, 11. See also John Irwin and Katherine Brett, *The Origins of Chintz* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1970); Beverly Lemire, ed., *The British Cotton Trade, 1660–1815*, 4 vols. (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2010).

55 Based on new histories from India that portray eighteenth-century South Asia as a robust society in the midst of commercial expansion, particularly textile production in South India, Prasannan Parthasarati suggests that it was not primarily the industrialization of British manufacture that accomplished the replacement of Indian cottons in the nineteenth century. Rather the reordering of Indian society by the East India Company, British colonial state, and

Anglo-Indian collaboration broke apart local solidarities and social networks that integrated work, worship, and caste, as they changed relations of production. Prasannan Parthasarati, *Transition to a Colonial Economy: Weavers, Merchants and Kings in South India, 1720–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Other histories describe significant social displacements of rural life (in terms of kinship, religion, state, and market interactions) with British colonialism and the rapid expansion of agricultural commodity production, yet contrary to earlier histories of British colonialism as shocks visited on a peasantry unchanged for centuries, there are accounts of changing regional peasant cultures, different agrarian localisms, and activities within villages altering relations of production and the growth of the market during the nineteenth century: David Ludden, *Peasant History in South India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), and *New Cambridge History of India*, vol. 4.4, *An Agrarian History of South Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). See also Vinay Gidwani, *Capital, Interrupted: Agrarian Development and the Politics of Work in India* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008). The histories of peasant and popular resistance to colonial rule, by the Subaltern Studies group, displaced the generations of work that had told the history of India from the perspective of the British colonizers or Indian nationalist elites. See Ranajit Guha et al., eds., *Selected Subaltern Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); Ranajit Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

56 Giorgio Riello, "Asian Knowledge."

57 For example, Dipesh Chakrabarty observes the intimate relation between work and worship among South Asian weavers, not to cast them as "superstitious" or "pre-modern," but to reckon with the sociality of work—rituals, practices, collectivities—within which South Asian work was inseparable from invocations of the divine. Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Translating Life-Worlds into Labor and History," in *Provincializing Europe,* 72–96. Chakrabarty reflects on his earlier study of jute millworkers in *Rethinking Working-Class History: Bengal, 1890–1940* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989) to discuss the "translation" of South Asian labor practices by the modern European category of "labor."

58 Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999); Lara Kriegel, *Grand Designs.*

59 C. H. Gibbs-Smith, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: H.M.S.O., 1981). The Crystal Palace was itself a display of British architectural and engineering innovation and power. It was a massive glass house, 1,848 feet long by 454 feet wide (about 563 meters by 138 meters), con-

structed from cast-iron-frame components and glass made locally in Birmingham and Smethwick.

60 Quoted in Kylie Message and Ewan Johnston, "The World within the City: Great Exhibition, Race, Class and Social Reform," in *Britain, the Empire and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851*, ed. Jeffrey A. Auerbach and Peter H. Hoffenberg (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008), 27–46, quotation 27.

61 *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the World of Industry of All Nations, 1851, Part III* (London: Spicer Brothers, 1851), 479.

62 *Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the World of Industry of All Nations, 1851* (London: Spicer Brothers, 1851), 75.

63 See Emily Apter and William Pietz, eds., *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993).

64 David Porter, *The Chinese Taste in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Madeleine Dobie, "Orientalism, Colonialism, and Furniture in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell Us about the European and American Past*, ed. Dena Goodman and Kathryn Norberg (New York: Routledge, 2007), 13–36; Patrick Connor, "Chinese Style in Nineteenth-Century Britain," in *Chinese Whispers: Chinoiserie in Britain, 1650–1930*, ed. David Beevers (Brighton: Royal Pavilion and Museums, Brighton and Hove, 2008), 65–73; Chi-ming Yang, *Performing China: Virtue, Commerce, and Orientalism in Eighteenth-Century England, 1660–1760* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

65 Mrs. Archibald Little, a champion of the antifootbinding movement in the nineteenth century, wrote: "Whilst a roomful of Chinese ladies presents a very pretty appearance, from the exquisite gradations of colour of their embroidered skirts and jackets, the brilliancy of their head ornaments and their rouge, yet taken individually, probably no other nation is so deficient in charm. Their idea is that it is indecorous to show the figure; therefore only their deformed feet, cased, it is true, in beautiful embroidered little shoes, and their faces, are seen; even the hands, which are small and very elegantly shaped, with tapered fingers and filbert nails, are concealed in their large sleeves." Quoted in Dorothy Ko, "Bondage in Time: Footbinding and Fashion Theory," *Fashion Theory* 1, no. 1 (1997): 3–28, quotation 20.

66 Sir John Francis Davis, *The Chinese: A General Description of China and Its Inhabitants*, 3 vols. (London: Charles Knight, 1845), 252 .

67 See Dorothy Ko, *Cinderella's Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); also Ko, "Footbinding in the Museum," *Interventions* 5, no. 3 (2003): 426–39.

68 Maxine Berg, "Asian Luxuries and the Making of the European Consumer Revolution," in *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. M. Berg and E. Eger (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Jacques Anquetil, *Silk* (Paris: Flammarion, 1996).

69 See John Stuart Mill, "The Silk Trade" (1826), *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, vol. 4, *Essays on Economics and Society, 1824–1879*, ed. J. M. Robson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 124–40; John Prout, "Practical View of the Silk Trade: Embracing a Faithful Account of the Result of the Measures Enacted in 1824, for the Encouragement of Manufacture" (Macclesfield, UK: J. Swinnerton, 1824); Richard Badnall, "A View of the Silk Trade: With Remarks on the Recent Measures of Government in Regard to That Branch of Manufacture" (London: J. Miller, 1828), and John Balance, "A Brief Reply to the Pamphlet of Mr. R. Badnall on the Silk Trade" (London: J. M. Richardson, 1829); F. M. Martin, *British Relations with the Chinese Empire in 1832: Comparative Statement of the English and American Trade with India and Canton* (London: Parbury Allen, 1832).

70 HCSC *Reports Appointed to Enquire into the Present State of the East India Company* (1830), 62.

71 HCSC *Reports Appointed to Enquire into the Present State of the East India Company* (1830), 209.

72 Morse, *Chronicles*, vols. 3 and 4; Charles Stelle, "American Trade in Opium to China, 1821–39," *Pacific Historical Review* 10, no. 1 (March 1941): 57–74; Jacques M. Downs, "American Merchants and the China Opium Trade, 1800–1840," *Business History Review* 62, no. 4 (winter 1968): 418–42. See also HCSC *Report to inquire into the Grievances complained of in the Petition of Merchants interested in the Trade with China (presented 24th March), by reason of the Surrender of Opium to Her Majesty's Superintendent there, in the month of March 1839* (June 5, 1840).

73 In HLSC *Report Appointed to Enquire into the Present State of the Affairs of the East India Company, and into the Trade between Great Britain, the East Indies and China*, 3 vol. (1830), Charles Marjoribanks describes the smuggling of opium as "perfectly distinct" from the company trade in items like silk. "Two distinct trades are transacted with two distinct classes of people: one of legal merchants; the other, persons who are disclaimed by the government and declared to be illicit traders." Opium is "an entirely illicit trade. Entirely prohibited by the Chinese government" (43). Marjoribanks produces this statement of consumption and value of Indian Opium in China, from 1818–19 to 1827–28 (97); see table 3.1.

74 On Joshua Bates and the "Boston Concern," see Downs, "American Merchants"; Stelle, "American Trade in Opium."

75 Kenneth Burke, *Grammar of Motives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 504.

76 Aristotle defined *metaphor* as "giving the thing a name that belongs to something else; the transference being either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or on grounds of analogy." Alex Preminger, ed., *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974), 490.

Table 3.1. Statement of consumption and value of Indian opium in China, 1818–1819 to 1827–1828

	PATNA AND BENARES		MALWAH		TOTAL	
	Chests	*Value ($)*	*Chests*	*Value ($)*	*Chests*	*Value ($)*
1818–1819	3,050	3,050,000	1,530	1,109,250	4,580	4,159,250
1819–1820	2,970	3,667,950	1,630	1,915,250	4,600	5,583,200
1820–1821	3,050	5,795,000	1,720	2,605,800	4,770	8,400,800
1821–1822	2,910	6,038,250	1,718	2,276,350	4,628	8,314,600
1822–1823	1,822	2,828,930	4,000	5,160,000	5,822	7,988,930
1823–1824	2,910	4,565,000	4,172	38,591,000	7,082	8,515,100
1824–1825	2,655	3,119,625	6,000	4,500,000	8,655	7,619,625
1825–1826	3,442	3,141,755	6,179	4,466,450	9,621	7,608,205
1826–1827	3,661	3,668,565	6,308	5,941,520	9.969	9,610,085
1827–1828	5,114	5,105,073	4,361	5,251,760	9,475	10,356,893

Source: Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Commons Appointed to Enquire into the Present State of the East India Company (1830), 97.

77 Interview with Hollingworth Magniac, HLSC *Report Appointed to Enquire into the Present State of the Affairs of the East India Company, and into the Trade between Great Britain, the East Indies and China,* 3 vols. (1830), 727.

78 On Anglo-American collaboration, see James Fichter, *So Great a Proffit: How the East Indies Trade Transformed Anglo-American Capitalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010). On the export trades to the United States, see Huldah Smith Payson, *Museum Collections of the Essex Institute* (Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1978); Vanita Shastri, *The Salem-India Story: Maritime Trade between Salem, Massachusetts and India, 1788–1845* (Lexington, MA: Meru, 2008); Carl Crossman, *Design Catalogue of Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Market, 1785–1840* (Salem, MA: Peabody Museum, 1964).

79 Madhavi Kale discusses the British import of South Asian indentured labor after emancipation as an "imperial reallocation labor policy." Kale, *Fragments*

of Empire: Capital, Slavery, and Indian Indentured Labor Migration in the British Caribbean (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 5.

80 Miller, *Way of Death.*

81 Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013); Sven Beckert, "Emancipation and Empire: Reconstructing the Worldwide Web of Cotton Production in the American Civil War," *American Historical Review* 109, no. 5 (December 2004): 1405–28.

82 Farnie, *English Cotton*; Royal, *Culture and Commerce*; Parthasarati, *Transition to a Colonial Economy*.

83 In China studies, the First Opium War is often seen as the beginning of "modern" Chinese history, with all of the Eurocentric presumptions that the Western intrusion was the stimulus for modernization of China, displacing Sinocentric isolationism that defined itself against Western "barbarians," and drawing China into the global economic and legal order. I am arguing, quite differently, that China's relationship with Europe and the participation of Chinese migrant labor were the conditions for "free trade" and a new order of international trade in manufactured goods, the development of which we see in contemporary globalization.

84 Stelle, "American Trade in Opium"; Downs, "American Merchants"; Morse, *Chronicles of the East India Company*.

85 Lisa Yun, *The Coolie Speaks: Chinese Indentured Laborers and African Slaves in Cuba* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008).

86 Robert Irick, *Ch'ing Policy toward the Coolie Trade, 1847–1878* (Taipei: Chinese Materials Center, 1982), 153.

87 Curtis Marez, *Drug Wars: The Political Economy of Narcotics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 49; Christopher Munn, "The Hong Kong Opium Revenue, 1845–1885," in *Opium Regimes: China, Britain, and Japan, 1839–1952*, ed. Timothy Brook and Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 105–26, quotation 110.

Chapter 4: The Ruses of Liberty

1 CO 129/3, "War and Colonial Department and Colonial Office: Hong Kong, Original Correspondence, 1841–1951," 69–70.

2 Michel Foucault elaborated "biopolitics" as new technologies and instruments of power that permitted social, institutional, and political control over subjects through biological life itself, beginning with his lectures from 1975–76, collected as Michel Foucault, *"Society Must Be Defended": Lectures from the Collège de France, 1975–1976,* ed. Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana, trans. David Macey (New York: Picador, 2003). Foucault distinguished "biopolitics"

as another form of governance that differed from earlier understandings of politics tied exclusively to state power; biopolitics can be understood as the governing of life through public health, medicine, psychoanalysis, nutrition, etc., which regulate and produce the ratio of births to deaths, reproduction, fertility, and population. See also Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures from the Collège de France, 1978–1979*, ed. Michel Senellart, trans. Graham Burchell (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). On "vile" bodies, Grégoire Chamayou, *Le corps vils: Expérimenter sur les êtres humains aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Paris: La Découverte, 2008).

3 Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1926).

4 Recent economic historians argue that in the eighteenth century, trade and markets were more developed in East Asia than in Europe, and that the period of British and U.S. hegemony constituted a temporary eclipse of China's long-standing distinctive labor-intensive domestic-focused economy. See Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Giovanni Arrighi, *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the Twenty-First Century* (London: Verso, 2007); Giovanni Arrighi, T. Hamashita, and M. Selden, eds., *The Resurgence of East Asia: 500, 150, and 50 Year Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2003). Referencing these debates, Chi-ming Yang argues that in England of the eighteenth century, the excesses of credit, speculation, and self-interested entrepreneurship created a modern British crisis in conceptualizing virtue; British representations of China captured this paradoxical figuration, both as a rival in commercial wealth and an expression of traditional virtue, the coincidence of China's antiquity and modernity. Chi-ming Yang, *Performing China: Virtue, Commerce, and Orientalism in Eighteenth-Century England, 1660–1760* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011). On the eighteenth-century British perceptions of diplomacy and trade, and the understanding of China, see James Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005). On orientalism, see Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978); Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: On French and British Orientalism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991).

5 See Lydia Liu, *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in World Making* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), and Liu, ed., *Tokens of Exchange: The Problem of Translation in Global Circulations* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); Teemu Ruskola, *Legal Orientalism: China, the United States and Modern Law* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

6 Helen Henrietta Macartney Robbins, ed., *Our First Ambassador to China: An Account of the Life of George, Early of Macartney, with Extracts from His Letters,*

and the Narrative of His Experiences in China, as Told by Himself (London: John Murray, 1908), 394. In *Cherishing Men from Afar*, James Hevia examines Qing and British accounts of the embassy, emphasizing the different modes, practices, and conceptual frameworks that Qing and British actors brought to the symbolic encounter; he observes that both Qing and British imperial discourses were "absolutist"; that is, both strove to contain what were recognized as threats to the methods through which they produced power. Neither was, in other words, egalitarian or democratic; rather they operated to consolidate an imperial formation that placed the users of the discourse at the pinnacle of sets of complex hierarchical relationships (26).

7 The representation of China as stagnant and unchanging continues into the mid-twentieth century, characterized by the "China's Response to the West" approach in U.S.-China studies; see, for example, John K. Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842–1854* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953); John K. Fairbank and Edwin Reischauer, *China: Tradition and Transformation* (1989). In the latter volume, e.g., Fairbank described the defeat of China in the Opium War: "given the irresistible vigor of Western expansion and immovable inertia of Chinese institutions" (277). For a critique of the epistemology and politics exemplified by Fairbank's approach, see Tani Barlow, "~~Colonialism~~'s Career in Postwar China Studies," *Positions* 1, no. 1 (spring 1993): 224–67.

8 *First, Second and Third Reports of the Select Committee, Appointed by the Court of Directors of East India Company*, HCCP (1793); *Papers Respecting the Negociation for a Renewal of the East India Company's Exclusive Trade* (1793).

9 On the opium trade, see Alain le Pichon, *China Trade and Empire: Jardine, Matheson & Co and the Origins of British Rule in Hong Kong* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Timothy Brook and Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, eds., *Opium Regimes: China, Britain, and Japan, 1839–1952* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000): Michael Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China, 1800–1842* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951); Peter Ward Fay, *The Opium War*, 1840–1842 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

10 The addicting effects of opium were notably represented in British literature by De Quincey, Coleridge, Conan Doyle, and others. See Curtis Marez, *Drug Wars: The Political Economy of Narcotics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004).

11 In this way, the opium trade was a form of "biopower," targeting the biology of the Chinese population independent of formal territorial or state conquest; see Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France, 1977–1978*, ed. Michel Senellart, trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Picador, 2007).

12 Charles Stelle, "American Trade in Opium to China, 1821–39," *Pacific Historical Review* 10, no. 1 (March 1941): 57–74; Jacques M. Downs, "American Merchants and the China Opium Trade, 1800–1840," *Business History Review* 62, no. 4 (winter 1968); Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834*, vols. 3, 4 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1926); *Report of Select Committee House of Commons* (1830). See also James Fichter, *So Great a Profit: How the East Indies Trade Transformed Anglo-American Capitalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).

The British were not only concerned about the imbalance of trade with China; they were also vexed by American competition in the trades. Britain had a much longer history of trading in India and China than the Americans, by virtue of the East India Company monopoly, but reports suggest perceptions that the Americans had become innovators of new, unorthodox forms of free enterprise about which the British were curious and from which they sought to borrow. After 1821, the British merchants brought the Americans into what had previously been their exclusive import of Indian opium to China, with British merchants transferring opium to American ships stationed at islands off the Canton harbor, and Americans gaining protection from the Company's relations with the Chinese government. In September 1821, a seaman on the American opium ship the *Emily* threw a jar at a Chinese woman aboard a peddler boat, and she fell overboard and drowned; later in January 1822, there was another incident, the affair of the HMS *Topaze*, at Lintin, when fire from a musket wounded a woman, and villagers retaliated. The conflict regularized Anglo-American cooperation in the illegal trade. See Hosea Ballou Morse, LLD, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1926).

13 The Colonial Office, Foreign Office, and India Office representations of the events leading up to the outbreak of the First Opium War are fascinating. The account is collected in "Secret Department China Correspondence," in the India Office Records, IOR/1/PS/9/193, which includes British confidential reports and correspondence, and Chinese royal edicts and public notices, pertaining to the conflict.

In March 1839, the Chinese High Commissioner Lin and Provincial Authorities took measures to end the opium trade, which had grown rapidly since the 1820s and 1930s, demanding that the British discontinue the opium trade and surrender the twenty thousand chests of opium aboard ships in the Canton River estuary. Under orders from Commissioner Lin, the foreign community in Canton—including representatives from the largest British opium firms, as well as Charles Elliott, were detained in the foreign factory district for six weeks until the demands had been met. Elliot (1802–75), who served as Chief Superintendent of British Trade in China during this time, wrote to Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston on April 3, 1839:

> The movement of a few hours has placed the lives, liberty and property of the foreign community in China, with all the vast interests, commercial and financial, contingent upon our security, at the mercy of this Government. . . . It appears to me . . . the response to all these unjust violences should be made in the form of a swift and heavy blow, unprefaced by one word of written communication. The Chinese Government has committed an act of sudden and cruel war upon the persons of Her Majesty's Officer and subjects. And the forced surrender of British property under the late circumstances is an aggression so dangerous in principle, and so intolerable in practice, as to render the full indemnity of every loss sustained a high duty to the cause of civilization. ("Secret Department China Correspondence," India Office Records, IOR/1/PS/9/193)

The collected correspondence includes two series of letters, one series exchanged between Elliot and Commissioner Lin, and another series exchanged between Elliot and British Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston. The letters from Elliot to Lin are extremely respectful, and they promise to arrange the delivery of the British-owned opium so that matters may be peacefully resolved; Elliot politely requests the return of native servants to the foreign community, a supply of provisions, and the removal of barriers to and from the factories. In the other set of letters, Elliot to Palmerston, Elliot provides a narrative of what occurs each day, in rhetoric that begins with mild alarm in March, but by April, expresses great vexation and outrage at their "imprisonment," "intimidatory proceedings" and "menaced privation." These letters build to the recommendation that the British should respond with a military attack. In his April letters, Eliot proposes "swift and heavy blow," the forcible occupation of the Chusan Islands, and the blockading of the ports of Canton and Ningbo and the "Jung-tse-Kiang" River until China agrees to an apology for the indignities of their detention, an indemnity of five million sterling, the ceding of the Chusan Islands to the British Crown, and an edict permitting trade with islands and in all of the ports along the China coast.

In a sense, we might interpret Elliot's two series of letters as symbolizing two different approaches, not only to foreign trade and diplomacy, but to the representation of history, as well. Each treats the event that, in British imperial history, is cited as the crucial conflict inaugurating the First Opium War. It is frequently accepted that the British fought the First Opium War to redress these grievances of the British opium merchants in Canton, and to place the trade between the two empires on a more equal footing. Yet long before these events, British firms Jardine, Matheson and Dent and Company had for several decades sold opium produced in India to balance imports from China to Britain; they had long complained that the Chinese restrictions and "mistreat-

ment" of foreign merchants were hindering their trade, and the companies had urged a display of British naval or military strength to redress "intolerable indignities and impositions," and moreover, to force the Chinese government to allow a "reasonable and mutually beneficial" trade. See HCPP *Report of the Select Committee to inquire into the Grievances complained of in the Petition of Merchants interested in the Trade with China (presented 24th March), by reason of the Surrender of Opium to Her Majesty's Superintendent there, in the month of March 1839* (June 5, 1840), in which the Select Committee interviewed most of the merchants confined in their factories during the March–April 1839 events. When the High Commissioner ordered the merchants to surrender their opium and blockaded them in their factories in March 1839, the conflict provided the "opportunity" for the measures that the bellicose merchants had been advocating. Elliot's letters to Lin acknowledge this longer history that was the context for the Chinese embargo, while his letters to Palmerston, on which subsequent British imperial historiography has been based, represent the detention as "a sudden and cruel war upon the persons of Her Majesty's Officer and subjects," justifying the naval attacks and seizures of territory that followed. Eliot's two series of letters allegorize not only two different concepts of history, but two vastly different understandings of sovereignty: one conforms to the official imperial history that casts the Chinese as "inscrutable," "backward," and outside human history; the other diverges from this orientalist developmental temporality, and acknowledges the parity of conflicting, incommensurable perspectives of the British and the Chinese. It alludes to a broader context within which that history is not exclusive or hegemonic, nor its success inevitable. Elliot does not presume to represent a "Chinese" perspective, but his address seems to create the space for Lin: he apologizes for the opium trade, promises to remove the British ships, and pledges the "full and rapid fulfillment" of the Chinese demand for the chests of opium (Letter from Elliot to Commissioner Lin, March 25, 1839).

See also Lydia Liu, *Clash of Empires.* Liu examines the Anglo-Chinese contests over sovereignty in terms of different systems of meaning—legal, diplomatic, religious, linguistic, and visual—in which the matters of who is civilized and barbarian, legitimate sovereign and illegitimate intruder, were disputed.

14 Teemu Ruskola observes that the U.S. treaty negotiated by Cushing invented a U.S. tradition of extraterritoriality in Asia, designed to protect American commercial interests there, laying the foundation for "an imperial American sovereignty in the Pacific" in the second half of the nineteenth century and after, becoming a model for other European states that later entered into their own extraterritoriality treaties. Ruskola, "Canton Is Not Boston: The Invention of American Imperial Sovereignty," *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (September 2005): 859–84. See also Teemu Ruskola, *Legal Orientalism.*

15 See "On Free Trade," *Westminster Review* 23 (January 1830): 66–80; Henry Booth, "Free Trade, as It Affects the People: Addressed to a Reformed Parliament," *Westminster Review*, no. 23 (January 1830). Rpt. (London: Wells and Banes, 1833).

16 "East-India and the China Trade," *WR* 27 (January 1831): 2–11. "It is part and parcel of the general plot, by which the aristocracy of England are to be supported by the commonalty. They dare not take it from them directly; they dare not take it without the trouble of going to China or India to fetch it. But they *do* take it; and trust to the hocus-pocus of the circuit, for the concealment of the fact" (10).

17 Mill wrote "Of the Laws of Interchange between Nations" in 1829–30 but published it later as the first essay in *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy* (1844); see *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, vol. 4, *Essays on Economics and Society* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1967), 232–61.

18 David Ricardo, *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (London: John Murray, 1819).

19 Mill had a long thirty-five-year career working in the Examiner's office of the East India Company, from 1823 to 1858. See John Stuart Mill, *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, vol. 1, *Autobiography*, ed. J. Robson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963); and vol. 30, *Writings on India*, ed. J. Robson, M. Moir, and Z. Moir (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

20 Mill ends the essay by distinguishing between the effects of the "Law of Equation of International Demands" in relation to European countries and in relation to British colonies with exports for which there exists "extensive demand here": "On the whole, England probably, of all the countries of Europe, draws to herself the largest share of the gains of international commerce: because her exportable articles are in universal demand. . . . But our own colonies, and the countries which supply us with the materials of our manufactures, maintain a hard struggle with us for an equal share of the advantages of their trade; for *their* exports are also of a kind for which there exists a most extensive demand here, and a demand capable of almost indefinite extension by a fall of price" (Mill, *CW* 4:261).

21 Prior to 1773, the three presidencies of Fort William in Bengal, Fort St. George in Madras, and Bombay were independent of one another; in 1773, Governor-General and Council were appointed. By 1786, the Company had transformed "from a loose form of commercial administration to a more centralized, hierarchical system, equipped to expand the Company's military and political power and to develop its own peculiar style of autocratic-bureaucratic government." See Martin Moir, *General Guide to the India Office Records* (London: British Library, 1988), 20. These developments were carried a stage further by the Charter Acts of 1833 and 1853; the first expanded executive powers of Governor-General and Council over subordinate governments in India and

gave them sole legislative authority throughout British India; the second enlarged the Executive Council into a "Legislative Council."

The principle stages of British expansion under East India Company rule in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries included the extension of the Madras presidency's control over districts formerly belonging to the rulers of Mysore, Tanjore, Hyderabad, and the Carnatic from 1792 to 1801; large parts of Oudh, Agra, and the districts around Delhi were taken from Oudh and the Marathas by the Bengal presidency, 1800–1803, which also assumed direct responsibility for the administration of Orissa; in 1816–20, Kumaon (1816), Saugur and Nerbudda territories (1817) and Ajmer and Merwara were added to Bengal, and a number of districts in western India, previously subject to the Marathas, were annexed to the Bombay presidency (1817–18); Arakan, Tenasserim and parts of Assam were ceded to Bengal by Burmese in 1826. Thereafter, main annexations during the company period included Coorg (1834); Sind (1834); Punjab (1849); Lower Burma (1852); Nagpur (1853); and Oudh (1856).

22 In the Examiner's Department, the Chief Examiner was in charge of four main branches—Political, Revenue, Public, and Judicial, each managed by an Assistant, or clerk; for the thirty years before he became the Chief Examiner, Mill was one of these Assistants, and over the course of his career, he was responsible for writing Company letters concerning the political and financial administration of Indian districts and territories, e.g., general discussion of matters pertaining to the administration of education, taxes, and revenues, the authorization of military and police operations, etc. See Martin Moir, "The Examiner's Office—The Emergence of an Administrative Elite in East India House (1804–58)," and "The Examiner's Office and the Drafting of Despatches," in *India Office Library and Records Reports for the Year 1977* (London: British Library, 1979), 2 vols. In the *Autobiography*, Mill wrote of his job drafting the company's official correspondence as "sufficiently intellectual not to be distasteful drudgery, without being such as to cause any strain upon the mental powers of a person used to abstract thought, or to the labour of careful literary composition" (*CW* 1:85). The India Office Records in the British Library include literally thousands of such drafted dispatches and corrected and revised drafts, as well as the final letters that Mill wrote while working in the Examiner's office; the two main series are E/4/612–1112, the Despatches to Bengal, India, Madras, and Bombay, and 1/P&S/6/233–399, the Political and Foreign Previous Communications and Drafts. Mill himself maintained a list of the drafts he prepared; some entries are confirmed by his penciled signature or initials on copies. For this list, see Mill, *CW* 30, *Writings on India*, ed. J. Robson, M. Moir, and Z. Moir (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

23 Mill's 1858 *Company Petition to the Parliament* in *CW* 30, *Writings on India,* 75–90; Mill wrote several other brief pieces, including *Report to the General*

Court of Proprietors, Drawing Attention to the Two Bills Now before Parliament Relating to the Government of India, CW 30:161–71. On Mill's relationship to the East India Company, see Martin Moir, Douglas M. Peers, Lynn Zastoupil, eds., *J. S. Mill's Encounter with India* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Lynn Zastoupil, *John Stuart Mill and India* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994).

24 *Memorandum of the Improvements in the Administration of India during the Last Thirty Years*, in Mill, CW 30: 91–160.

25 Uday Singh Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought* ; Lynn Zastoupil, *John Stuart Mill and India.*

26 Gramsci discussed the social function of the organic intellectual emerging from the material social relations in which he or she is situated. Organic intellectuals mediate, influence, and produce hegemony by means of their interventions in institutions and media of the public sphere: "Every social group, coming into existence on the original terrain of an essential function in the world of economic production, creates together with itself, organically, one or more strata of intellectuals which give it homogeneity and an awareness of its own function not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields." Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks,* ed. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 5.

27 As legal scholar Antony Anghie observes about the colonial origins of international law: "Sovereignty [was] formulated in such a way as to exclude the non-European; following which, sovereignty [could] then be deployed to identify, locate, sanction and transform the uncivilized. . . . It is seriously misleading to think of sovereignty as emerging in Europe and then extending—stable, imperial in its reach and control, unaltered, sovereign—into the colonial world." Antony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 311–12.

28 John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," *Economic History Review*, Second Series, 6, no. 1 (1953): 1–15.

The British empire was constituted both through direct conquest and occupation, and by means of the command of the circulation of goods and people. The United States played a role, as competitor and junior collaborator, in these early nineteenth-century innovations, and then took the lead of an Anglo-American world system in the twentieth century. Giovanni Arrighi argues, in *The Long Twentieth Century*, that the United States' succession of Britain as global hegemon is characterized both by adoption and transformation of the British empire's logics of territorialism and capitalism. Yet as Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri suggest, by the late twentieth century, "empire," which often goes under the name of "globalization," can no longer be

conceptualized as the traditional imperial possession of territories by a single national power but is better understood as a new spatial, political, juridical order, a global governmentality and postindustrial political economy mobilized and operated in multiple ways, without boundaries or limits. See Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century*; Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000). See also Carl Schmitt, *The* Nomos *of the Earth in the International Law of* Jus Publicum Europaeum, trans. G. L. Ulmen [1950] (New York: Telos, 2006); Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population.*

29 In a sense, we see in this early nineteenth-century moment a dialectic between territorialism and capitalism that portends the processes that analysts like Arrighi and Harvey have identified as more characteristic of late twentieth- or early twenty-first-century neoliberal globalization, or what has been identified as the "new imperialism," unfolding today. See Giovanni Arrighi, *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the Twenty-First Century* (London: Verso, 2007); David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Christopher Chase-Dunn and Thomas Hall, *Rise and Demise: Comparing World-Systems* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997).

30 Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* [1776] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), developed the critique of mercantilism adversely affecting economic growth.

31 David Killingray, Margarette Lincoln, and Nigel Rigby, eds., *Maritime Empires: British Imperial Maritime Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (Suffolk, UK: Boydell, 2004); Alan Frost, *The Global Reach of Empire: Britain's Maritime Expansion in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, 1764–1815* (Victoria, Australia: Miegunyah, 2003).

32 Carl Schmitt, *The* Nomos *of the Earth,* 178.

33 See Persia Crawford Campbell, *Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire* (London: P. S. King and Sons, 1923); Robert Irick, *Ch'ing Policy toward the Coolie Trade, 1847–1878* (Taipei: Chinese Materials Center, 1982); Curtis Marez, *Drug Wars*; Lisa Yun, *Coolie Speaks: Chinese Indentured Laborers and African Slaves in Cuba* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008).

34 See Marez, *Drug Wars*, 49; Christopher Munn, "The Hong Kong Opium Revenue, 1845–1885," in *Opium Regimes: China, Britain, and Japan, 1839–1952*, ed. Timothy Brook and Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 105–26.

35 See Chandan Reddy, *Freedom with Violence: Race, Sexuality, and the U.S. State* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).

36 Mill, *CW* 21:219. In his "Inaugural Address Delivered to the University of St. Andrews," Mill described education as "whatever helps to shape the human being, to make the individual what he is or hinder him from being what he is not." *CW* 21:217.

37 Mill's moral theory is based on utilitarian good: "actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness." Mill, *Utilitarianism*, *CW* 10:210. Bentham's utilitarianism was a "consequentialist" moral theory, measuring good in terms of actions' consequences. Mill refined Bentham's emphasis on quantity with a more complex elaboration of quality; i.e., he valued highly the discrimination by "competent agents," educated subjects who have enjoyed the liberty of self-development, and possess the liberal virtues of cultivated reason, reflection, and individual autonomy.

38 Mill, *On Liberty*, *CW* 18:224.

39 Mill, *CW* 18:224.

40 Mill, *CW* 18:230.

41 Mill, *CW* 18:233.

42 Bentham's "Panopticon," or the "inspection-house," was a plan for a model prison, which reformed, preserved, and socialized the subjects, enabling supervision of their conduct, while increasing the efficiency and productivity of their activities. Jeremy Bentham, *The Panopticon Writings*, ed. Miran Bozovic (London: Verso, 1995).

43 Mill, *Considerations of Representative Government*, *CW* 19:393.

44 In this sense, utilitarian notions of "liberty" anticipated what Michel Foucault would later term "governmentality." Foucault, "Governmentality," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, trans. David Macey (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 87–104; see also Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population.* On the relationship of liberal freedom and domination, see Barry Hindess, "The Liberal Government of Unfreedom," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 26, no. 2 (April–June 2001): 93–111.

It is important to observe, however, that although Foucault's concept of "governmentality" emerges as a description of western European liberal societies, it is too often universalized to other societies. To consider Foucault's insights in relation to non-European locations, we must insist on acknowledging that European colonialism formed the conditions for the emergence of Foucault's ideas of modern power in Europe. To make use of Foucault's concepts in the analysis of colonial relations, we can presume neither that a social practice in the metropole correlates with those bearing the same name or temporality in the colonies, nor that the colonized site follows a linear development from colonized unfreedom to liberal freedom. Rather, Foucault's concepts are most valuable if we take care to rework them in terms of the asymmetries that characterize the differential relationship between liberal metropolitan Europe and colonial sites. Foucault's observations that modernity was characterized by the shift from sovereignty invested in the king's power to make die (*faire mourir*), to governmentality organized by the productive power to make live

(*laisser vivre*), has given rise to developmentalist assumptions that while older authoritarian states governed through negative constraints of slavery, confinement, or torture, modern liberal societies govern through subjects' desires, and pursuit of life and well-being. These accounts elide "coloniality" as the material and epistemological conditions for the rise of European modernity and naturalize the Eurocentric philosophy of being, which Sylvia Wynter describes as a particular "ethno-cultural" philosophy in which Western man has come to "overrepresent" itself as if it were the "human" itself. See Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, after Man; Its Overrepresentation—An Argument," *New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (fall 2003): 257–337.

It should be evident that contrary to the understanding that governing through "liberty" overcame older forms of unfreedom, we must nuance the ways that "liberty," when introduced to govern colonial situations, did not end colonial domination, but in its *productive* power, precisely accounted for, and provided the terms, rationale, and practices through which older colonial domination continued and new forms of imperial government took hold.

45 Mill discusses the "colonies of European race," like America and Australia, as closest to self-government. British rule in these colonies is "a step towards universal peace, and general friendly cooperation among nations," "renders war impossible among a large number of otherwise independent communities," "hinders any of them from being absorbed into a foreign state," and it empowers British and "adds moral influence and weight in the councils world of the Power which, of all in existence, best understands liberty." *CW* 19:565.

46 Mill, *CW* 19:394.

47 Mill, *CW* 19:377–78.

48 Mill, *CW* 18:224.

49 Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 8–9.

50 Mill, *CW* 19:401.

51 Mill, *CW* 19, 415.

52 Of the East India Company's rule, Mill wrote: "This mode of conducting the highest class of administrative business is one of the most successful instances of the adaptation of means to ends, which political history, not hitherto very prolific in the works of skill and contrivance, has yet to show." Writing about the proper role of the executive office in representative government in chapter 14, he praised the relationship of the Governor-General to his Council in different presidencies in India. Mill, *CW* 19:523.

53 Mill, *CW* 18:217.

54 In the 1921 essay "Critique of Violence," Walter Benjamin wrote that the modern state instrumentalizes the law in order to eliminate any force that may pose

a threat to its legitimacy or sovereignty, such as a general strike by the workers, in which the state represents its access to violence as the "just means" for the achievement of "just ends." Walter Benjamin, "Critique of Violence," ed. Marcus Bullock and Michael Jennings, trans. Edmund Jephcott, in *Selected Writings*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

While Benjamin wrote critically about the liberal state's use of violence in imposing the "rule of law," his contemporary Carl Schmitt asserted in a prescriptive manner that this recourse to violence was necessary and integral to sovereignty, consisting in the state's power to decide the "state of exception." Schmitt wrote, "The Sovereign is he who decides on the state of exception." *Political Theology* [1922], trans. George Schwab, intro. Tracy Strong (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2004). Schmitt argued that the "concept of the political" is founded on the ineliminable role of power in an ongoing state of war that is epitomized in the distinction between "friend" and "enemy" and charged that pluralism and liberal process "depoliticized," or hid, this fundamental condition. He argued that the state's violence is not exceptional, as opposed to some normal stability, but is itself the predominant form of modern nations. Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political* [1932], trans. George Schwab, intro. Tracy Strong (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 27.

Giorgio Agamben's discussion of sovereignty in *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life,* trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998) builds on both Schmitt and Foucault. For Agamben, the political sphere of sovereignty is constituted through a "double exclusion"—the exclusion of the sovereign (who, above the law, may declare the state of exception in which to kill is not homicide) and the exclusion of the *homo sacer* (life that may be killed, that is, "sacred" because it is killed but unworthy of sacrifice, set outside the human without being brought into the divine); both constitute and yet are structurally exempt from political society. While modern liberal democracies attempt to distinguish republics from the excesses of absolute monarchy and totalitarianism, Agamben argues that this apparent distinction is belied by a continuum secured by a common biopolitical origin; liberal states extend the same notion of sovereignty, monopolizing violence to declare the state of exception in which killing of bare life is justified.

Remarkably, however, none of these theorists locate the emergence of sovereignty in relation to colonialism, as the conditions providing for the emergence of the modern liberal state. Achille Mbembe, in contrast, discusses modern state "sovereignty" in colonialism's racial administration of the life and death of the colonized, in which the "rights of man" were precisely coterminous with the *necropolitical* subjugation of enslaved life on the plantation; for Mbembe, colonialism is the state of exception par excellence. Achille Mbembe, "Necropolitics," *Public Culture* 15, no. 1 (2003): 11–40; also *On the*

Postcolony (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). Yet the context of the coloniality of the state of exception is evident in Asian, African, or Caribbean theorists of decolonization—from Frantz Fanon to Kwame Nkrumah to Ho Chi Minh. Fanon, for example, writes of the colonial state as regularizing the rule of the colonizer over the colonized through its monopoly on violence, and its criminalization of the anticipated uprising of the colonized against the social order and state. For this reason, Fanon wrote about the necessary violence of *decolonization* for the transformation of the unethical social relations of colonial rule. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* [*Les damnés de la terre*, 1961], trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1968).

55 Mill, *CW* 19:567.

56 This echoes the book of Isaiah, "The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart: and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come." Isaiah 57:1, King James Bible.

57 Mill's belief that the East India Company had been involved in a righteous civilizing mission is evident in his testimony before the House of Commons in 1852, and following the 1857 rebellion when the Company came under even greater scrutiny. "Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords Appointed to Inquire in the Operation of the Act 3 & 4 William IV, c. 85, for the Better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories: with Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index Thereto" (June 29, 1852), HCPP 1852–53, 30:304–36.

58 Mill, *CW* 30:79.

59 Mill, *CW* 30:121.

60 War and Colonial Department and Colonial Office: Hong Kong, Original Correspondence, 1841–51, Great Britain National Archives, Despatches, Offices and Individuals, 1842, CO 129/1. For Pottinger's correspondence discussing the terms of the Treaty of Nanjing and the establishment of the colony at Hong Kong, see War and Colonial Department and Colonial Office: Hong Kong, Original Correspondence, Great Britain National Archives, CO 129/1–3; see also Secret China Department Correspondence—Foreign Office 1842–43, in India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/1/PS/9/195, British Library, regarding negotiation of Treaty and establishment of Colony of Hong Kong. See also George Pottinger, *Sir Henry Pottinger: First Governor of Hong Kong* (Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton, 1997).

61 War and Colonial Department and Colonial Office: Hong Kong, Original Correspondence, 1844–45, Great Britain National Archives, CO 129/6–8, 11. Sir John Francis Davis (1795–1890) was a sinologist who had been a diplomat in China since the 1810s. In 1844, Davis became British Plenipotentiary and Chief Superintendent of British Trade in China, and in 1844–48, Second Governor of

Hong Kong. During his tenure, there was great antagonism against Davis among Hong Kong residents and British merchants because of his creation of heavy taxes, abrasive treatment of his subordinates, and his establishment of far-reaching police authority.

62 HCPP *Report from the Select Committee on Commercial Relations with China Together with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index*, July 12, 1847. Interviews with witnesses included many comments about the promise of Hong Kong and the reversal of its fortunes under Governor Davis, employing the rhetoric of degeneration and decay that characterized the discourse about Hong Kong in these years.

63 "Report on the Island of Hong Kong" (1844) by R. Montgomery Martin, Her Majesty's Treasurer for the Colonial and Consular Service in China. The report described Hong Kong as "decomposed," "disintegrating," "rotten," "fetid," "pestiferous," "mortific," "deadly," etc. Martin wrote: "The Chinese are formed into secret societies for the mutual protection of villains, and no man dare inform against another. At this moment, the European inhabitants are obliged to sleep with loaded pistols under their pillows; frequently to turn out of their beds at midnight to protect their lives and property from gangs of armed robbers, who are ready to sacrifice a few of their number if they can obtain a large plunder." Enclosure 1, no. 1, House of Commons Session HCPP 1857 on Hong Kong.

64 In letters to the Colonial Office, Davis described the specter of threatening criminal activity, cited as justification for the establishment of ordinances. For example, in a letter of May 17, 1844, Davis reported to Lord Stanley an attack on a ship on its way to the military post on the south side of the island, to explain the need to establish a Police Department there: "The pirates in this neighbourhood have become so daring and formidable, and I fear that the most summary measures may become necessary for their suppression. . . . The growing Chinese population has hitherto existed so independent of control as to become exceedingly ungovernable. . . . The only means of establishing some degree of order and control on the south side of the island was the erection of a Police Court and Station." CO 129/6, 89. Ordinance No. 20 of 1845 empowered "the Governor of Hong Kong, with the advice of the Executive Council thereof, in cases of exigency, to place any districts or public or Military stations of the said Island under Martial Law." CO 129/11, 82.

65 Christopher Munn, *Anglo-China: Chinese People and British Rule in Hong Kong, 1841–1880* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2001). See also Munn, "The Hong Kong Opium Review, 1845–1885," in *Opium Regimes*, ed. T. Brook and B. T. Wakabayashi; and Munn, "The Chusan Episode: Britain's Occupation of a Chinese Island, 1840–46," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 25, no. 1 (January 1997): 82–112. Munn's history contributes to the

recent studies of Hong Kong that have aimed to counter the liberal-modernist success story of Hong Kong as the model of laissez-faire economics, on the one hand, and the anti-imperialist logics in historical accounts that can tend to dismiss Chinese merchants as "running dogs" of British imperialists, on the other. Works by Carl Smith, Elizabeth Sinn, and Chan Wai-kwan study Chinese merchant elites, and Chinese community organizations such as the Tung Wah Hospital and the Po Leung Kuk; Jung-fang Tsai refutes the view of Chinese in Hong Kong as passive willing subjects of colonialism by demonstrating that Hong Kong working classes had long traditions of popular antagonism toward colonial rule; Law Wing Sang considers cultural institutions of Hong Kong Chinese in the colonial power formation, the colonial state, and changing strategies of rule. See Elizabeth Sinn, *Power and Charity: Early History of the Tung Wah Hospital, Hong Kong* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Carl Smith, *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Chan Wai-kwan, *The Making of Hong Kong Society: Three Studies of Class Formation in Early Hong Kong* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991); Jung-fang Tsai, *Hong Kong in Chinese History: Community and Social Unrest in the British Colony, 1842–1913* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Law Wing Sang, *Collaborative Colonial Power: The Making of the Hong Kong Chinese* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009).

66 The population and economy in Hong Kong was closely related to the changing situation in Canton city (Guangzhou) and larger Canton province (Guangdong). The densely populated region was under pressure, and there had been great social and economic dislocations of peasants owing to commercialization of rural economy, the war with Britain, unequal treaties, and social unrest, which resulted in a large migrant population to Hong Kong in the 1840s. The Taiping uprising, which began in 1850 in neighboring Kwangsi province, had rapidly spread to Canton province. Warfare erupted among Sze Yap, Punti, and Hakkas over land disputes; peasants faced famine and starvation in the late 1840s and 1850s. After the Taiping rebellion, there was a large exodus of Cantonese to Hong Kong. Jung-fang Tsai reports the Chinese population in Hong Kong in 1848 as 22,496; by 1865, it had risen to 121,497. See Tsai, *Hong Kong,* 22.

67 England had prosecuted beggars and the homeless poor for centuries, and legislation such as the Vagrancy Act of 1824 made it illegal to "sleep rough" or beg, addressing the large influx of discharged soldiers after the Napoleonic Wars, and poor emigrants from Scotland and Ireland. *An Act for the Punishment of idle and disorderly persons, and Rogues and Vagabonds, in that Part of Great Britain called England*, June 21, 1824. Great Britain National Archives.

68 For example, more than eighty thousand English, Scottish, and Irish "orphans" (or poor children) were shipped to North America to work as farmhands and

servants between 1867 and 1917. See Elaine Freedgood, "Fictional Settlements: Footnotes, Metalepsis, the Colonial Effect," *New Literary History* 41, no. 2 (spring 2010): 393–411; Roy Parker, *Uprooted: The Shipment of Poor Children to Canada, 1867–1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Lydia Murdoch, *Imagined Orphans: Poor Families, Child Welfare, and Contested Citizenship in London* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006).

69 Davis to Stanley, December 21, 1843: "There is nothing which commands the respect of the Chinese Government to a British Functionary so much as the evident fact that he has an efficient control over his own people. The presence of this power made them respect the mixed commercial and political character of the East India Company's President. The absence of it to neglect and despise the late officer of the Crown." CO 129/6, 45.

70 CO 129/6.

71 Ordinance No. 18 differentiated the "Census" for Europeans from "Registration" that pertained only to the Chinese, utilizing the language of employment and property in order to exempt the English and Europeans and to restrict registration to Chinese.

72 CO 129/11, 78–83, 80.

73 The Ordinances grant to the Registrar-General the duties and prerogatives of the "Superintendent of Police, a Justice of the Peace, and Protector of the Chinese Inhabitants in the said Colony," authorizing him "at any time or times to enter any house or boat within the Colony or adjacent waters wholly or partly inhabited or manned by Chinese" (CO 130/2, Hong Kong: Acts 1845–62).

74 In a letter of June 1, 1844, Davis wrote to Stanley, "On the very important subject of regulating the native Population of this Colony, consisting already of about 20,000 persons, I have been led seriously to reflect in consequence of the appalling amount of robbery and other crimes of violence." CO 129/6, 110–11.

75 In 1845, there was a series of ordinances formalizing the authority of the Chief Magistrate and Police force with respect to the Chinese, outlining in great detail the many kinds of activities that can be used to justify seizure, penalties, fining, and imprisonment. Most noteworthy is Ordinance No. 14 of 1845, an elaborate set of laws that permitted police to apprehend any Chinese without warrant, and to jail, punish, seize goods, etc.; it states, "It shall be lawful for any Constable belonging to the Police Force, to take into custody without a Warrant all loose, idle, and disorderly persons whom he shall find disturbing the public peace, or whom he shall have good cause to suspect of having committed or being about to commit any Felony, Misdemeanor, or breach of the peace, and all persons whom he shall find between sunset and the hour of six in the morning lying or loitering in any highway, yard, or other place, and *who cannot give a satisfactory account of themselves*" (CO 130/2: Hong Kong: Acts). This language of giving "a satisfactory account" is suggestive about the discourse

through which the colonial state separated the poor Chinese migrants from the British colonial community. The subject "who cannot give a satisfactory account" cannot be ethical because he cannot place himself in relation to a community from whose norms he is constitutively excluded, and in whose norms he would need to grammatically constitute himself. He is cast out, through this condition of not "giving a satisfactory account of himself." On this question, see Judith Butler, *Giving an Account of Oneself* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005). Throughout 1844 to 1848, repeated laws widened police power to such an extent that not merely the police, but basically any Englishman, could seize any Chinese and bring them to a police station to have them jailed, flogged, or branded. Specific language in one law explicitly permitted the English to punish their domestic servants.

76 Munn, *Anglo-China*, 111; Carol Jones and Jon Vagg, *Criminal Justice in Hong Kong* (London: Routledge-Cavendish, 2007); Thomas W. P. Wong, *Colonial Governance and the Hong Kong Story* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, 1998).

77 Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

78 Nayan Shah examines the discourse of "oriental depravity" in relation to the state's criminalization of the sexuality of male migrant laborers in early twentieth-century North America. Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and Law in the North American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

79 Philip Howell, *Geographies of Regulation: Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Britain and the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

80 *Report of Committee Appointed to Enquire into Pathology and Treatment of the Venereal Disease, with View to Diminish Its Injurious Effects on Men of the Army and Navy,* HCPP 1867–68, 37:67.

81 These measures would seem to be in step with the Contagious Disease Acts passed by Parliament in 1864–69 to regulate prostitution in English ports. See Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 227.

82 Parliamentary Papers (C.108) 19, *Report from the Royal Commission on the administration and operation of the Contagious Diseases Acts, 1866–69*, 17.

83 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* [*La volonté de savoir*, 1960], trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1980), 24–25.

84 Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 39.

85 Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 11.

86 Correspondence repeatedly cited the large numbers of sick troops and the high mortality rates of European soldiers in Hong Kong; appendices record the monthly sick among the European troops: e.g., in August 1842, of 673 men, 396 were sick, mostly with diarrhea, cholera, and *febris intermittens* (intermittent fever); in September 1842, of 608 men, 482 were sick (daily average number of sick, 350). In 1844, revenues granted for the Colonial Hospital acknowledge the importance of establishing medical care; see "War and Colonial Department and Colonial Office: Hong Kong, Original Correspondence, 1841–1951," CO 129/1; CO 129/6. See also Elizabeth Sinn, *Power and Charity: The Early History of the Tung Wah Hospital, Hong Kong* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

87 The *mui tsai*, female bondservants or "child slavery," figured for British colonial administrators, along with Chinese indentured labor and prostitution, as "Chinese custom" that revealed Chinese colonial difference. But the mui tsai did not become a contested object of knowledge for British colonial regulation, church and missionary reform, and the Chinese elite until later in the century. By the turn of the century, British reformers bring the mui tsai question to parliamentary attention in 1917, and the mui tsai become a central figure for British representations of Chinese colonial difference in Hong Kong. A Mui Tsai Commission was established in 1936, which recommended child protection ordinances requiring registration of all forms of adoption. See Maria Jaschok, *Concubines and Bondservants: The Social History of a Chinese Custom* (London: Zed Books, 1988); Karen Yuen, "Theorizing the Chinese: *Mui Tsai* Controversy and Transnational Chineseness in Hong Kong and British Malaya," *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 6, no. 2 (December 2004): 95–110.

88 Shah, *Stranger Intimacy.*

89 Quoted in Howell, *Geographies*, 215.

90 Soldiers from the Indian subcontinent served in British armed forces during the Opium War, and in Hong Kong. The term *sepoy* came into use in the forces of the British East India Company in the eighteenth century, along with *peons*, *gentoos*, or *mestees*, to refer to native soldiers in the service of the European powers in India. India Office Records contain the "Secret China Department Correspondence," in which one finds discussion of the Indian military participation and their deprivations suffered in Hong Kong and Chusan during the "Chinese Expedition" (the Opium War); see "Letter from Melvill to Stephen," November 28, 1844, India Office Records, regarding inadequate barracks, hard duty, and insufficient food.

91 Munn, *Anglo-China*, 71; Tsai, *Hong Kong.*

92 Tsai, *Hong Kong.*

93 John M. Carroll, *Edges of Empire: Chinese Elites and British Colonials in Hong Kong* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

94 Ordinance No. 1 of 1845, January 21, provides for the suppression of the Triad and other secret societies; Davis explains the dangerous nature of these societies and encloses his correspondence with the Chinese Authorities on this subject in CO 129/11, 72. See Munn, *Anglo-China*, 17; Tsai, *Hong Kong.*

95 Tsai, *Hong Kong*; Walton Look Lai, "Asian Contract and Free Migrations to the Americas," in *Coerced and Free Migrations: Global Perspectives*, ed. David Eltis (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), 227–58; Elizabeth Sinn, *Pacific Crossing: California Gold, Chinese Migration, and the Making of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013).

96 *China Mail*, no. 88 (October 22, 1846): 146. The correspondence between British and Chinese officials about this event are also collected in the parliamentary record: HCCP *Papers relating to the riot at Canton in July 1846, and to the proceedings taken against Mr. Compton, a British subject, for his participation in the riot* (London: T. R. Harrison, 1847). It was reported that a British merchant named Compton had been struck by a Chinese man, and returned the blow; when local military officers with troops arrived, the crowd threw stones, provoking fire on the crowd; three Chinese were reported killed, six wounded. In the correspondence, Chinese administrators "Commissioner Ke and the Governor of Kwangtung" charge that the British Compton was repeatedly the aggressor, while the British cast their actions as doing what was necessary to protect themselves against mobs: "the greater the violence of the mob, the greater will be the loss of life which will be inflicted upon them." Letter from Palmerston to Davis, October 3, 1846, HCCP *Papers*, 14. The events are arbited by an American account, cited by Davis, which casts it as necessary protection of property against mobs, to prevent "scenes of 1842—when the British factories were sacked and burnt" (HCCP *Papers*, 32).

97 In another famously reported incident, at Amoy in November 1852, Chinese anger and antagonism toward the firm of Syme and Muir erupted in riots as a party of Chinese assaulted Mr. Syme, who was in the process of exiting a Chinese court with a Chinese broker in his employment who was being tried for kidnapping. During the rioting, British marines fired into the crowd, killing four Chinese and wounding many others. Mr. Syme and his assistant were held for breach of treaty in the 1852 Amoy incident. Bowring, then Superintendent of Trade in China, commented that "Amoy has been the scene of much disturbance and disorder, accompanied with loss of life—the result of the irregularities and abuses connected with coolie emigration." "Correspondence relative to Emigration of Chinese Coolies 1852–53," CO 885 1/20.

98 Campbell, *Chinese Coolie Emigration*, 104.

99 Sir John Bowring, the liberal advocate of "free trade" and contributor to the *Westminster Review*, had a long career that included service as British Consul in Canton, as Superintendent of Trade in China, and then as Fourth Governor

of Hong Kong. Bowring's eldest son, J. C. Bowring, was a partner in Jardine, Matheson, and Company. As Hong Kong Governor, Bowring initiated many liberal reforms, from a property-based franchise for elections and legal reforms, to roads, street lighting, and port facilities project, to improvements in education and establishment of public libraries. Bowring advocated for the Chinese Passenger Act of 1855, passed under his governorship, which provided for search by British officials of any ships of any nation transporting Chinese from Hong Kong, and any British ship transporting Chinese from any port, if the voyage exceeded seven days; it also provided for regulations for maintenance and safety of ships. Bowring later played a significant role in the Arrow Affair, which preceded to the Second Opium War in 1856. He narrowly escaped death in January 1857, in an attempt to poison the European residents by putting arsenic into their bread, killing four hundred; Lady Bowring fell ill and left for England, where she died soon after her arrival.

100 *The Chinese Passenger Act of 1855*, FO 97/101.

101 James Hevia, *English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 24–26.

102 Letter from Aberdeen to Pottinger, November 4, 1841, FO 17/53.

103 We can appreciate how this liberal rationality of "free" circulation and technologies of "security" is then developed within *neoliberal* globalization, as the conditions wherein "free" labor and commodities have a mobility apart from the population or place from which it originates. Kalindi Vora discusses, for example, the "biocapital" of transnational Indian surrogacy or call center service work, both of which exemplify complex processes of "outsourcing" and the formation of new affective, biological, transportable commodities. See Kalindi Vora, "Limits of 'Labor': Accounting for Affect and the Biological in Transnational Surrogacy and Service Work," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 111, no. 4 (fall 2012): 681–700. Kavita Philip also analyzes the neoliberal extension of liberal imperial logics, in which contemporary intellectual property "theft" within globalization, builds on the longer eighteenth- and nineteenth-century history of colonial "knowledge economies" that collected scientific knowledge, colonial commerce, and plant specimens from around the globe. See Kavita Philip, *Civilizing Natures: Race, Resources and Modernity in Colonial South India* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003).

Chapter 5: Freedoms Yet to Come

1 Yinka Shonibare's *Nelson's Ship in a Bottle* was commissioned to be placed on the Fourth Plinth to reflect specifically on the historical symbolism of Trafalgar Square; the work was placed there May 24, 2010, and remained until

January 30, 2012. It now has a permanent home at the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich.

2 There is another theory that West African indentured soldiers who fought for the Dutch in Indonesia returned home with the fabrics as gifts. Wax prints are now associated with West Africa, and often considered "authentically African," which obscures their colonial history.

3 Michel Foucault discussed the "history of the present" as a critical interrogation of one's moment and the critical refusal of empty affirmations of freedom; it is the critique of given knowledge, the disbelief in facile claims, a permanent critique of ourselves, unlimited by what we can currently imagine. See Foucault, "What Is Enlightenment?," in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. P. Rabinow (New York: Pantheon, 1984), 50; and "The Art of Telling the Truth," in *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings*, ed. L. Kritzman (New York: Routledge, 1988).

4 Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); William Warner and Deirdre Lynch, eds., *Cultural Institutions of the Novel* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996); Michael McKeon, ed., *Theory of the Novel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

5 Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975).

6 Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1969), 253–64.

7 Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 28.

8 For example, James's work has been engaged as a history of the Haitian Revolution; see Carolyn Fick, *Making Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990); Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); Jeremy Popkin, *You Are All Free: The Haitian Revolution and the Abolition of Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Philippe Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoléon: Toussaint Louverture and the Haitian War of Independence* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011). Girard writes, for example: "The English-language literature was long dominated by C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins* . . . which was more notable for its political passion than the diligence of its research. Some more recent summaries of the Haitian Revolution are more balanced and scholarly" (433).

Historians of U.S. slavery, Reconstruction, and the longer Black freedom struggle owe much to Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction* as a history of African Americans struggles for freedom: John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*

[1947] (New York: Knopf, 2000); Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper, 2002); Steven Hahn, *A Nation under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2005). Others engage with Du Bois as a critical social theorist, e.g., Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983); Anthony Bogues, *Black Heretics, Black Prophets: Radical Political Intellectuals* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Eric Porter, *The Problem of the Future World: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Race Concept at Midcentury* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); Nikhil Singh, *Black Is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle of Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

9 Susan Buck-Morss, "Hegel and Haiti," in *Unpacking Europe*, ed. S. Hassan and I. Dadi (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2002); Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

10 Sibylle Fischer, *Modernity Disavowed: Haiti and the Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).

11 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract* [*Du contrat social,* 1762], trans. G. D. H. Cole (London: Everyman, 1973), 189. In French, collected in *Oeuvres Complètes de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, vol. 3 (Paris: Pléiade, 1964). On the roots of political philosophical freedom in tyranny and slavery, see Page duBois, *Slaves and Other Objects* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Mary Nyquist, *Arbitrary Rule: Slavery, Tyranny and the Power of Life and Death* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013); Susan Buck-Morss, *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009).

12 The individual guided by particular interests and passions, receiving its laws from something external to it, is heteronomous and in bondage. In contradistinction, the ethical subordination of individual self-interest to the moral law constitutes the progressive development, the *bildung*, of the human race "becoming enlightened." See Immanuel Kant, "An Answer to the Question: 'What Is Enlightenment?' ["Beanwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?," 1784], in *What Is Enlightenment?*, ed. James Schmidt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Kant, *Critique of Practical Reason* [*Kritik der praktischen Vernunft*, 1788], and *Metaphysics of Morals* [*Metaphysik der Sitten*, 1797], in *Cambridge Edition of the World of Immanuel Kant: Practical Philosophy*, ed. Allen Wood, trans. Mary J. Gregor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). All German works collected in *Kants Gesammelte Schriften* (Berlin: Ausgabe der königlich presussischen Akademi der Wissenschaften, 1910–). On Kant's philosophy and colonial narratives of race, civilization, and development, see Emmanuel Eze, "The Color of Reason: Idea

of 'Race' in Kant's Anthropology," *Anthropology and the German Enlightenment: Perspectives on Humanity*, ed. Katherin M. Faull (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1995); David Lloyd, "Race under Representation," *Oxford Literary Review* 13, nos. 1–2 (1991): 62–94; David Theo Goldberg, *The Racial State* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).

13 Du Bois studied German language and history as an undergraduate student at Fisk, and history, political science, and sociology at Harvard; by the time he spent two years of study at the University of Berlin, 1892–94, he had already written his master's thesis and would finish its elaboration as his Harvard doctoral dissertation, "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870." The Berlin period is described in his autobiography, *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept* [1940] (New York: Schocken, 1968). See also David Levering Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race* (New York: Holt, 1993), who states concerning Du Bois's "affinity" for Goethe and for Hegel, "Du Bois found in the Hegelian World-Spirit, dialectically actualizing itself through history, a profoundly appealing concept. 'Lordship and Bondage,' Hegel's lodestar essay, explicated a complex reciprocity of master and slave in which the identities of both could be fully realized only to the extent that the consciousness of one was mediated by the other. If the master understood dominance, it was the slave who truly understood the sovereign value of freedom" (135–36). The force of dialectical thinking is evident in *Black Reconstruction*, and in the concept of "double consciousness" in *Souls of Black Folk*. Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk*, ed. Henry Louis Gates Jr. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999).

In an interview with Stuart Hall, James discussed his years in London, 1933–38, "in the Labour Party milieu" (21), when he first read Marx and Hegel, as well as "Garvey and Du Bois" and others (23). In these years, James was involved in a Trotskyist group, whose members broke with Trotskyism and then merged with the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL); he also became chair of the Pan-Africanist International African Friends of Abyssinia, later renamed the International African Friends of Ethiopia (IAFE), which became the International African Service Bureau led by George Padmore, James's childhood friend. It was in these years that James wrote his play *Toussaint L'Ouverture* (in which Paul Robeson played the title role), and wrote the work that became *The Black Jacobins.* See "A Conversation with Stuart Hall," in *Rethinking C. L. R. James*, ed. Grant Farred (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).

14 C. L. R. James, *Notes on Dialectics: Hegel, Marx, Lenin* [1948] (London: Allison and Busby, 1980).

15 C. L. R. James, "Dialectical Materialism and the Fate of Humanity," in *Spheres of Existence* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1980).

16 C. L. R. James, "The Philosophy of History and Necessity," in *Spheres of Existence.*

17 Anthony Bogues treated the early James as a Black anticolonial Marxist, and later emphasized the degree to which James and Du Bois were "heretical" to the Western intellectual tradition, including Marx. See Anthony Bogues, *Caliban's Freedom: The Early Political Thought of C. L. R. James* (London: Pluto, 1997) and *Black Heretics and Black Prophets: Radical Political Intellectuals* (London: Routledge, 2003). Lewis Gordon, Reyland Rabaka, and others cast Du Bois and James as formative figures in Africana critical theory or "Black existentialism," a Black anticolonial and anti-imperial tradition that refutes the negation of Black humanity, and draws upon anti-slavery and anti-imperial traditions, and includes Black thinkers from George Padmore, Oliver Cox, Amilcar Cabral, and Walter Rodney, to Marcus Garvey, Frantz Fanon, Ella Baker, and Sylvia Wynter. See Lewis Gordon, *An Introduction to Africana Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Reyland Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory: Reconstructing the Black Radical Tradition, From W. E. B. Du Bois and C. L. R. James to Frantz Fanon and Amilcar Cabral* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2009).

18 See Robinson, *Black Marxism*. See also Dale Tomich, *Through the Prism of Slavery: Labor, Capital, and World Economy* (Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield, 2004).

19 We can note that the focus on displacing Marx's understanding of African slavery as "primitive accumulation," and the task of rehumanizing the slave laborers who had been dehumanized by slavery, is less able to account for the "primitive accumulation" of lands and resources seized from indigenous peoples. For example, indigenous scholars differentiate the logic of settler conquest and native removal for land appropriation from the capture and subjection of slaves for labor, and rethink Marx's "primitive accumulation" as an ongoing characteristic of settler modes in the past and in contemporary capitalism. See Glen Coulthard, "From Wards of the State to Subjects of Recognition? Marx, Indigenous Peoples, and the Politics of Dispossession in Denedeh," in *Theorizing Native Studies*, ed. Audra Simpson and Andrea Smith (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 56–98; Alyosha Goldstein, "Where the Nation Takes Place: Proprietary Regimes, Antistatism, and U.S. Settler Colonialism," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 107, no. 4 (2008): 833–61; Nicholas A. Brown, "The Logic of Settler Accumulation in a Landscape of Perpetual Vanishing," *Settler Colonial Studies* (2013): 1–26. On the question of indigenous difference in relation to the labor theory of value, see Manu Vimalassery, "The Wealth of the Natives: Toward a Critique of Settler Colonial Political Economy," *Settler Colonial Studies* 3, nos. 3–4 (2013): 295–310.

20 Sidney Mintz, in *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985), observes that sugar production in the Caribbean involved a synthesis of field and factory, of cane field and boiling house. In "En-

during Substances, Trying Theories: The Caribbean Region as Oikoumene," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2, no. 2 (June 1996), Mintz wrote: "Technical features, many tied to careful timing, introduced more than just an aura of industrial modernity in to what were operations which predated in many cases by whole centuries, the Industrial Revolution" (295). David Scott credits Mintz's work as having placed sugar production in the Caribbean within the history of global capitalism. Scott, "Modernity That Predated the Modern: Sidney Mintz's Caribbean," *History Workshop Journal* 58 (autumn 2004): 191–210.

21 The overcoming of the contradiction is elaborated in Hegel's dialectic of lordship and bondage in Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit* [*Phänomenologie des Geistes*, 1807], trans. A. V. Miller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977); in the *bildung* of the state in the *Philosophy of Right* [*Philosophie des Rechts*, 1821], ed. Allen Wood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); and in *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History* [1837], ed. Johannes Hoffmeister, trans. H. B. Nisbet, intro. Duncan Forbes (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975). See also Alexandre Kojève, *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel: Lectures on the Phenomenology of Spirit* [*Introduction à la Lecture de Hegel*, 1947], trans. James H. Nichols Jr. (New York: Basic, 1969); George Armstrong Kelly, *Idealism, Politics and History: Sources of Hegelian Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); Judith Butler, *Subjects of Desire: Hegelian Reflections in Twentieth-Century France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).

22 Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, 31.

23 Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History,* 61.

24 Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History,* 42.

25 Because the dialectic takes place both on the level of self-consciousness, and through the historical evolution of the civil society and the state, the dialectic of sublation or "overcoming" can be illustrated by a close reading of Hegel's dialectic of lord and bondsman in *The Phenomenology of Spirit*. In the allegory of the lord and bondsman, each is a potential self-consciousness who exists for the other. First, each is a simple being-for-itself, and they are for each other mere objects; then, in seeking the other's recognition, each presents itself and negates the other simultaneously; in this double cancellation, each consciousness sublates and is mediated through the other, and comes to understand itself in relation to the other, in a struggle unto death: "In so far as it is the action of the other, each seeks the death of the other. . . . Thus, the relation of the two self-conscious individuals is such that they prove themselves and each other through a life-and-death struggle. They must engage in this struggle, for they must raise their certainty of being *for themselves* to truth, both in the case of the other and in their own case. And it is only through staking one's life

that freedom is won" (*Phenomenology*, 113–14). The two are "unequal and opposed"; the lord or master is independent and seeks to be for itself, while the bondsman or slave is dependent, and its essence is life or existence for another. The master subjugates the slave and wishes to negate his self-externality in the other. But when the master, who achieves his mastery by means of the slave, whom he had regarded as an object, sees the slave not as independent but as dependent, the master's being-for-self is shaken; he becomes as inessential as he once considered the slave. Yet through sublation, in the process of canceling and negation, the relation of the two is elevated to another level, the principles superseded are said to be both preserved and maintained, even as they are transformed. "Their act is an abstract negation, not the negation coming from consciousness, which supersedes in such a way as to preserve and maintain what is superseded, and consequently survives its own supersession." It is at this moment in the discussion, after the explanation of supersession, that Hegel's discussion then turns to describe the slave's perspective of the conflict, and represents the moment in which the slave who, facing the lord, is "seized with dread . . . has experienced the fear of death" (117). Owing to this dread, the slave does not struggle unto death; rather, *he diverts his desire toward work*. Hegel explains this shift in terms of "the two moments of fear and service" (117–18) necessary in the slave's realization of his being. Whereas the master's relationship to things and other objects has been mediated through the slave, the slave, unlike the master, mediates himself directly through the thing, "he *works* on it." That is, he cancels the thing, and negates it through labor.

In reading this passage, we can see that dialectical sublation is a crucial logic that precisely recognizes and denies slavery and its negative power as it accommodates it within a teleology of progress. In the dialectical supersession in which the struggle between lord and bondsman is overcome, we can consider the overcoming as an *allegory* for what liberal historiography has narrated as the "the transition from slavery to free labor." Like the trope of the Chinese "coolie" in the British colonial archive, the figure or *supplement* that defers the necessity of slave revolution and projects a new division of labor, the sublation of the dialectic of lord and bondsman "resolves" the crisis of the colonial order. In a similar process, the colonial worlds outside Europe are not merely foreclosed; rather their otherness is internalized within the historiography of European self and society. The dialectical struggle is "overcome" when the bondsman does not struggle unto death, but rather labors and serves. In the "overcoming" of the bondman's negation that would have been the "struggle unto death," the possibility of rebellion is deferred. The supersession of the antagonism between lord and bondsman transforms the bondsman into a figure who stands in, not for the slave and slavery, I would suggest, but for *another who would be forced to labor rather than revolt*. This

transformation of the bondsman from a slave who potentially revolts into a slave who labors is, in other words, an allegory for the transformation of the *slave* into a *coolie*, which frames the Hegelian dialectic as a central mechanism through which the violent negation of colonial slavery and indenture is both acknowledged and assimilated in a narrative of freedom overcoming slavery.

I realize this reading diverges from not only those of James and Du Bois, but also of Alexandre Kojève (1947) and Orlando Patterson (1985), who interpreted Hegel's bondsman precisely to mean that only the oppressed slaves can achieve human freedom, and that it is through labor that the slave achieves human consciousness to transform the world. My reading highlights how the persistent dependence on the dialectic in histories of human emancipation continues to subsume intimately connected yet divergent historical processes to universal forms of subject, society, and progress. See Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit* [*Phänomenologie des Geistes*, 1807], trans. A. V. Miller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977); Alexandre Kojève, *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel: Lectures on the Phenomenology of Spirit* [*Introduction à la Lecture de Hegel*, 1947], trans. James H. Nichols Jr. (New York: Basic, 1969); Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985).

26 Hegel, *Philosophy of Right* [*Philosophie des Rechts*, 1821], ed. Allen Wood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

27 Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, 129.

28 Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, on Africa, 190; on the "New World," 162–65.

29 Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, 190.

30 Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History,* 164.

31 For discussions of "antiblackness" as foundational to history, society, ontology, and aesthetics, see Hortense Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," *Diacritics* 17, no. 2 (summer 1987): 64–81; Frank B. Wilderson III, "The Position of the Unthought: An Interview with Saidiya V. Hartman," *Qui Parle* 13, no. 2 (spring/summer 2003): 183–201; Jared Sexton, *Amalgamation Schemes: Antiblackness and the Critique of Multiculturalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008); Christina Sharpe, *Monstrous Intimacies: Making Post-slavery Subjects* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

For an indigenous critique of the Hegelian politics of recognition and inclusion, see Glen S. Coulthard, "Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the 'Politics of Recognition' in Canada," *Contemporary Political Theory* 6 (2007): 437–60; Coulthard reads the Hegelian dialectic of lordship and bondage as central to recognition-based theories of liberal pluralism, and argues that the colonial relationship between settler states and indigenous people cannot be significantly

transformed through the politics of recognition or multicultural inclusion that merely reproduces the foreclosure of colonized people's humanity.

32 Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, 109.

33 Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, 127–28.

34 The early Marx critique of Hegelian dialectic targeted its idealism and insistent abstraction, e.g., the supersession of one category by another occurs in thought, even objects become moments of thought or "mental forms," rather than historically determined, materially changing, objects in the world. See especially Karl Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*" (1843), "The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844" (1844), in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert Tucker (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978), 16–25, 66–125.

35 On the material force of aesthetic and symbolic forms, see Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature*; Fredric Jameson, *Marxism and Form: Twentieth-Century Dialectical Theories of Literature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974) and *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981).

36 Stuart Hall, in an essay on Marx's 1857 Introduction, discussed the later *Grundrisse*, in which Marx was most of all concerned to argue against Hegelian reductions and abstractions by specifying historical conditions for actually existing capitalism. Inasmuch as "Hegelianised" political economy posits essential categories and modes of production, value, labor, etc., Marx in the *Grundrisse* was at pains to nuance that material history, specific to time and conditions, would always transform these essential abstractions. The *telos* of dialectical materialism, in this sense, must not already be conceived in the mind, but is socially specified and historically determined; in this sense, an actual dialectical materialism attuned to concrete social processes would comprehend that capitalism exploits and expands through social differentiation, and not through ever-inclusive homogenization; its materialist method should mitigate against the abstract categories of idealist political economy. Hall wrote: "The 'way of thought,' Marx seems to be arguing, must 'lay hold upon historical reality'—'appropriate the concrete'—and produce, by way of its own distinct practice, a theoretical construct adequate to its object ('reproduce it as the concrete of the mind')." See Stuart Hall, "Marx's Notes on Method: A 'Reading' of the 1857 Introduction," *Cultural Studies* 17, no. 2 (2003): 113–49, quotation 129.

37 For Marx, the relation of the capitalist to worker is summarized in private property. The more labor man puts into the object, the more alienated he becomes from himself. The more abstracted man becomes, the more estranged, inhuman, and barbarous he becomes. Estranged labor "tears" man from *species-being*, degrades man to physical existence, and degrades the relationship in which man stands to other men (77). In the early Marx, man's self-alienation (in the form of private property) must be eliminated in order

for man to return to *species-being* and achieve true humanity; Marx, "The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," 66–125. Hegel anticipates Marx's critique of capitalism, yet his answer is political emancipation, a more comprehensive civil society and state. Marx, on the other hand, in "On the Jewish Question," argues that the misery of capitalism is not remedied by political emancipation; that is, through the concept of rights, the political state is the abstract guarantor for the capitalist property system and its attendant inequalities. He identifies the promise of freedom in abstract citizenship, as "unreal," famously condemning a state where "man is the imaginary member of an imaginary sovereignty, divested of his real, individual life, and infused with an unreal universality" (34). Marx, "On the Jewish Question." Both in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert Tucker (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978), 26–52.

38 Stuart Hall commented on Marx's relation to Hegel, "It is the relation to Hegel in terms of method which continues to be troubling. Early and late, Marx and Engels marked the thoroughgoing manner in which the whole idealist framework of Hegel's had to be abandoned. The dialectic in its idealist form, too, had to undergo a thorough transformation for its real scientific kernel to become available to historical materialism as a scientific starting-point." Hall, "Marx's Notes on Method," 147.

39 Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 2.

40 See Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996); David R. Roediger and Elizabeth D. Esch, *The Production of Difference: Race and the Management of Labor in U.S. History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

41 Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 2–4. Robinson's work has been deeply influential to several generations of Black studies scholarship, from Robin D. G. Kelley, Brent Edwards, and Nikhil Singh, to work on race and capitalism by Avery Gordon, Shelley Streeby, Grace Kyungwon Hong, Jodi Melamed, and Moon-Ho Jung. See Darryl C. Thomas, "The Black Radical Tradition—Theory and Practice: Black Studies and the Scholarship of Cedric Robinson," *Race and Class* 47, no. 2 (October 2005): 1–22.

42 Scholars of decolonization and indigeneity in the Caribbean observe the limitations of privileging "labor" in both anticolonial and nationalist Caribbean discourses, which has erased the history of settler colonialism and the contemporaneity of indigenous Caribbeans, reinscribing the imperial myth of aboriginal disappearance in anticolonial and antislavery claims to "native" land. See Shona N. Jackson, *Creole Indigeneity: Between Myth and Nation in the Caribbean* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), and Melanie J. Newton, "Returns to a Native Land? Indigeneity and Decolonization in the Anglophone Caribbean," *Small Axe* 17, no. 2 (July 2013): 108–22.

43 For a Marxist historical analysis of a world capitalist system, see Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, 4 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004). Wallerstein's important analysis of a worldwide expansion of capitalism beginning from the sixteenth century until the present employs the concept of a "world-system," an integrated world economy with a single division of labor across multiple systems characterized by "uneven development" that is summarized by core, semiperipheral, and peripheral zones. However, by emphasizing a single, unified global totality, Wallerstein's frame of systemic integration tends to reduce many different activities and movements within a functionalist schema that cannot account for specific variation in the historical emergence of heterogenous modes of production within the so-called core or periphery, global interdependencies, or differentiated temporalities of development attributable to histories of slavery, migration, etc.

44 Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* [1944], (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Anthony Bogues, *Black Heretics, Black Prophets: Radical Political Intellectuals* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Nikhil Singh, *Black Is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle of Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

45 Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* [*Les damnés de la terre*, 1961], trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove, 1968), 39.

46 Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* [*Peaux Noirs, Masques Blancs*, 1952], trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove, 1967). Lou Turner argues that Fanon intervened in the dialectic of Hegel's concept of self-consciousness within Western civilization by interrogating the master-slave dialectic and introducing a "specifically black *ontos*" into the dialectic. See Turner, "On the Difference between the Hegelian and Fanonian Dialectic of Lordship and Bondage," in *Fanon: A Critical Reader*, ed. Lewis Gordon et al. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996). On Fanon's work as a radical interrogation of European colonial racism as bad faith, see Lewis Gordon, *Fanon and the Crisis of European Man: An Essay on Philosophy and the Human Sciences* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

47 Fanon described the conditions of colonialism as "a world cut in two inhabited by two species": "The zone where the natives live is not complementary to the zone inhabited by the settlers. The two zones are opposed, but not in the service of a higher unity." Fanon, *Wretched*, 37–38.

48 Fanon, *Wretched*, 39. Fanon defined "decolonization" as "a program of complete disorder. . . . Decolonization is the veritable creation of new men . . . the 'thing' which has been colonized becomes man during the same process by

which it frees itself" (35–36). For Fanon, decolonization named precisely the *struggle unto death* that would continue beyond the capture of the colonial state by the national bourgeoisie, beyond the promises of political emancipation through citizenship in a new postcolonial state.

49 Bipan Chandra, "Colonialism, Stages of Colonialism, and the Colonial State," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 10, no. 3 (January 1980): 272–85. See also Diptendra Banerjee, *Marxian Theory and the Third World* (Los Angeles: Sage, 1985); Lisa Lowe and David Lloyd, eds., *The Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).

50 See Samir Amin, *Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism* (New York: Monthly Review, 1976); *Eurocentrism: Modernity, Religion and Democracy* [1988] (New York: Monthly Review, 1989); and *Delinking: Toward a Polycentric World* (London: Zed, 1990).

51 On anticolonial intellectual histories in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, see Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* (New York: New Press, 2008); Pankaj Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire: The Intellectuals Who Remade Asia* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, Giroux, 2012); Kris K. Manjapra, *M. N. Roy: Marxism and Colonial Cosmopolitanism* (London: Routledge, 2010).

52 A. W. Singham and Shirley Hune, *Non-alignment in an Age of Alignments* (London: Zed, 1986).

53 Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon, 1995), 73.

54 C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*. [1938; 2nd rev. ed. 1963] (New York: Vintage, 1989), viii.

55 Hayden White observed that nineteenth-century historians employed poetic, stylistic, and rhetorical devices to represent the past, imposing a formal coherency in order to create verisimilitude and closure to the recounted events. White asserted that the historical record was mediated by the fictive and figurative styles of Romance, Satire, Tragedy or Comedy; historical narrative form carries a moral content, there is a "content of the form." Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), and *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975).

56 See David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 14.

57 Scott, *Conscripts,* 12.

58 Scott observes that "tragedy" is about the *paradox* of enlightenment, which is not to be conceived as being either for or against, erased or overcome, but is rather a "permanent legacy." (Scott, *Conscripts,* 21). Scott's last chapter considers the

seven fresh paragraphs James added to the second edition, which emphasized the "tragedy" of Toussaint: when Toussaint is defeated in the War of Independence, and eclipsed by the rise of Dessalines, James explains it as "the failure of the Enlightenment" (James, *Black Jacobins,* 288). Toussaint is "in the end ruined" (290) by his inability to break with France. For James, the "*hamartia*, the tragic flaw, which we have constructed from Aristotle, was for Toussaint not a moral weakness. It was a specific error, a total miscalculation of the constituent events" (291).

59 See Paget Henry and Paul Buhle, eds. *C. L. R. James's Caribbean* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992); Grant Farred, ed. *Rethinking C. L. R. James* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); Anthony Bogues, *Caliban's Freedom: The Early Political Thought of C. L. R. James* (London: Pluto, 1997); Aldon Lynn Nielsen, *C. L. R. James: A Critical Introduction* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1997); Nicole King, *C. L. R. James and Creolization: Circles of Influence* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2001); Brett St. Louis, *Rethinking Race, Politics, and Poetics*; Christian Hogsbjerg, *C. L. R. James in Imperial Britain* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014); Aaron Kamugisha, "C. L. R. James's *The Black Jacobins* and the Creation of the Modern Atlantic World," in *Ten Books That Shaped the British Empire: Creating an Imperial Commons,* ed. Isabel Hofmeyr and Antoinette Burton (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

60 C. L. R. James, *Mariners, Renegades, and Castaways: The Story of Herman Melville and the World We Live In* [1953], introduction by Donald Pease (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2001).

61 James's narrative of Toussaint's rise is both a *bildungsroman* in which the individual hero develops from youth to maturity (he reads Abbé Raynal, is "called" to become an exceptional "courageous chief" (25); has a "superb intellect," is a "master of himself" (91), and it is a story of a slave among slaves, who grasped the connections "between the local parties and the international forces at work" (91). Toussaint had a "fully fledged political maturity" (104), but "to the end of his days could hardly speak French, he literally could not write three words without the grossest errors in spelling and grammar" (104). "An important thing for his future was that his character was quite unwarped. Since his childhood he had probably never been whipped as so many slaves had been whipped" (92). Yet, Toussaint, "ex-slave, with his army of ex-slaves led by ex-slaves, the most powerful force in San Domingo, was essentially the man of the black labourers" (165). A mythical rise, "he had joined the French and assumed his command in May 1794 . . . in the early months of 1796, all San Domingo knew that Toussaint l'Ouverture, the black general, stood first in the councils and affection of the Governor"(162). Throughout, there is a tension between the demands of individual development and the "difference" of racialized colonial conditions, which is not dissimilar to the tensions observed of Equiano's narrative in chapter 2.

62 James, *Black Jacobins*, 103.

63 James's method was resolutely dialectical, understanding the world as torn by contradictions. See C. L. R. James, "Dialectical Materialism and the Fate of Humanity" [1947], in *Spheres of Existence* (London: Allison and Busby, 1980), 70–105, and *Modern Politics* (Port-of-Spain, Trinidad: PNM Publishing, 1960); also Anna Grimshaw, "C. L. R. James: A Revolutionary Vision for the Twentieth Century," in *C. L. R. James Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 1–22. James wrote, as "J. R. Johnson": "Bourgeois thought has collapsed because bourgeois society has collapsed. We have learnt by hard necessity the truth of the following dictum of Trotsky: 'Hegel in his *Logic* established a series of laws: change of quantity into quality, development through contradictions, conflict of content and form, interruption of continuity, change of possibility into inevitability' " (James, *Spheres* 71). Yet James believed that Trotsky's and Lenin's Marxist ideology could not dictate the progress of Black revolution, which must originate with "the people." James describes telling Trotsky that the Black people in America "don't need the leadership of the Marxist party." See Stuart Hall, "A Conversation with C. L. R. James," in *Rethinking C. L. R. James,* ed. Grant Farred (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 15–44, quotation 34.

64 James, *Black Jacobins,* 85–96.

65 James, *Black Jacobins,* 243, italics mine.

66 Shona Jackson observes that slavery and the subordination of indigenous peoples were irrevocably yoked, yet argues that affirming labor as the basis of humanity erases the history of settler colonialism, while reproducing the myth of extinction that obscures the ongoing survival of indigenous peoples in the Caribbean. Shona N. Jackson, "Humanity beyond the Regime of Labor: Antiblackness, Indigeneity, and the Legacies of Colonialism in the Caribbean," *Decolonization: Indigneity, Education and Society* (June 6, 2014). http://decolonization.wordpress.com/2014/06/06/humanity-beyond-the-regime-of-labor-antiblackness-indigeneity-and-the-legacies-of-colonialism-in-the-caribbean/.

In this sense, James's comparisons of the Black slaves to the French workers, even as a critical means for calling attention to the antiblackness of the Marxist discourse of labor, can be understood to valorize labor as the measure of "humanity" for Black and colonized people.

67 James, *Black Jacobins,* 25.

68 Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (New York: International Publishers, 1963), 15.

69 Marx wrote: "The bourgeois republic triumphed. On its side stood the aristocracy of finance, the industrial bourgeoisie, the army, the *lumpenproletariat* organized as the Mobile Guiard, the intellectual lights, the clergy and the rural population. On the side of the Paris proletariat stood none but itself" (Marx, *Eighteenth Brumaire,* 23). While Marx may have appreciated the first Napoleon

for having consolidated a state machinery through bourgeois revolution as a stage toward proletarian revolution, Marx's bitterness expresses his critique of a *second* bourgeois revolution in France under Louis Bonaparte, the nephew.

70 In Marx's account, Louis Bonaparte, dressed in the myth of his imperial uncle, triumphs because the conservative peasants permitted themselves to be represented by him. Marx famously condemns the "small peasants" for leaving the proletariat to "stand alone": "The small-holding peasants form a vast mass, the members of which live in similar conditions but without entering into manifold relations with one another. Their mode of production isolates them from one another, instead of bringing them into mutual intercourse. . . . Their field of production, the small holding, admits of no division of labor in its cultivation, no application of science and, therefore, no diversity of development, no variety of talent, no wealth of social relationships . . . much as potatoes in a sack form a sackful of potatoes. In so far as millions of families live under economic conditions that separate their mode of life, their interests and their culture from those of other classes, and put them in hostile opposition to the latter, they form a class . . . They cannot represent themselves, they must be represented" (Marx, *Eighteenth Brumaire*, 123–24).

71 Only later, in 1963, would the disappointments of anticolonial emancipation that David Scott identifies as the "tragedy of colonial enlightenment" have constituted then a possible parallel to Marx's analysis of 1848. See Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity.*

72 Sylvia Wynter calls for a revisioned "humanism," an epistemology, politics, sociology, and geography that does not reiterate the coloniality of European liberal humanism and its violent exclusions, but which would be adequate to the humanity of enslaved and colonized peoples. See Sylvia Wynter, "The Ceremony Must Be Found: After Humanism," *boundary 2* 12, no. 3 (spring–autumn 1984): 19–70, and "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man: Its Overrepresentation—An Argument," *New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (fall 2003): 257–337.

Alexander Weheliye, David Scott, Katherine McKittrick, Greg Thomas, and others have distinguished Wynter's alternative humanism from the European posthumanist or antihumanist poststructuralist thinking. See Weheliye, *Habeas Viscus: Racializing Assemblages, Biopolitics, and Black Feminist Theories of the Human* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014); Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); David Scott, "The Re-Enchantment of Humanism: An Interview with Sylvia Wynter," *Small Axe* 8 (September 2000): 119–207; Greg Thomas, "PROUD FLESH Inter/Views: Sylvia Wynter," *ProudFlesh: New Afrikan Journal of Culture, Politics and Consciousness* 4 (2006).

73. James was involved with the specificities of struggle in Detroit, Port-au-Prince, Accra, London, and Moscow, with a transnational network of associates that included at different times George Padmore, Selma James, Raya Dunayevskaya, Grace Lee Boggs, James Boggs, Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, and others. See Grant Farred, "First Stop, Port-au-Prince: Mapping Postcolonial Africa Through C. L. R. James and His Black Jacobins," in *The Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).

74 C. L. R. James, *Mariners, Renegades, and Castaways: The Story of Herman Melville and the World We Live In.* James was interested in the whaling ship the *Pequod* as a figure for the modern factory, and the ship's crew as an allegory for the modern division of international labor.

C. L. R. James, *Beyond a Boundary* (New York: Pantheon, 1983). In this memoir, James wrote about cricket as an anti-imperial cultural terrain, in which players from various parts of the empire collaborate together, drawing precisely upon their different skills and energies. Stuart Hall comments that James wrote about cricket in the same way he wrote about Trinidadian calypso or carnival, as a "condensation of historical forces. It was the rise of a new class, a new conception of humanity." See Stuart Hall, "C. L. R. James: A Portrait," in *C. L. R. James's Caribbean*, ed. P. Henry and P. Buhle, 14. Kenneth Surin notes that "the James of *Beyond a Boundary,* for all his avowals in regard to the dialectic made in this text and elsewhere, emerges in the end as a conceptual persona who expresses a non- or para-dialectical thinking . . . Several key episodes in *Beyond,* even when they are ostensibly rendered in terms of some version or other of the dialectic, or are given what finally looks like a dialectical resolution, are in fact launched on trajectories that are "eventive," expressive of pure singularities, and hence necessarily para-dialectical." Kenneth Surin, "The Future Anterior," in *Rethinking C. L. R. James*, ed. Grant Farred (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 197.

75. We can identify in James's larger corpus a prescience, one that implied imagination beyond a more singular form of teleology associated with orthodox understandings of dialectical history, which portended the work of Stuart Hall, who would be concerned in the 1980s to differentiate and connect multiple sites of contradiction within historically situated social formations. Hall's "open Marxism" proposed that the contradictions of capitalism, colonialism, racism, and patriarchy converge in a "structure in dominance," and that the conditions of a particular historical moment will bring one contradiction to the surface out of the *overdetermination* of these contradictions; see, for example, Hall, "Signification, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-Structuralist Debates," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 2, no. 2 (June 1985): 91–114. With respect to the possibility for the formation of a complex unity out of the social differences among, e.g., transnational immigrants to

Britain following South Asian, Caribbean, and African independence, Hall discussed the "non-homogeneous class character" of the subject of capitalism; see Stuart Hall, "Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity," in *Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, ed. David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen (New York: Routledge, 1996), 437. In other words, in light of colonialism, immigration, and globalization, Hall observed that the "class subject" could not be economically, politically, or ideologically unified in any simple way, but that its multiple non-equivalent racial, national, or gendered determinations could create a *differentiated unity* according to a process of strategic alliances across variously situated struggles; see Stuart Hall, "Gramsci's Relevance"; Stuart Hall, "Marx's Notes on Method," 127.

76 C. L. R. James, "Lecture on Federation (West Indies and British Guiana)," delivered at Queen's College, British Guiana, June 1958 (Demerara: The Argosy Company, 1958).

77 C. L. R. James, "The West Indian of East Indian Descent" (Port-of-Spain: Ibis Pamphlet, 1965). In discussing James's commitment to workers' unity as a means to bridge the Afro-Indian racial divide in Trinidad, Walton Look Lai details James's resignation from the national PNM, his split with Eric Williams, his critique of the Afro-Trinidadian bourgeoisie who dominated the nationalist movement; see Walton Look Lai, "C. L. R. James and Trinidadian Nationalism," in *C. L. R. James's Caribbean*, ed. P. Henry and P. Buhle.

78 James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 63–64.

79 Kenneth Surin, "The Future Anterior," 199.

80 W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860–1880* [1935] (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998), 634.

81 Du Bois wrote three autobiographies. See W. E. B. Du Bois, *Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1920), *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1940), and *The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last Decade of Its First Century* (New York: International Publishers, 1968). See also Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois*.

82 Eric Foner, "The Continuing Evolution of Reconstruction History," *OAH Magazine of History* 4, no. 1 (winter 1989): 11–13.

83 David Roediger developed Du Bois's insights in his very important histories *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* [1991], rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2007), and *Toward the Abolition of Whiteness: Essays on Race, Politics, and Working Class History* (London: Verso, 1994).

84 Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 207.

85 Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction,*16.

86 Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, 184.

87 Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction,* 13.

88 On the gendered dimensions of U.S. slavery and racial capitalism, see, for example, Angela Y. Davis, *Women, Race, and Class* (New York: Random House, 1981); Darlene Clark Hine, *Hine Sight: Black Women and the Re-Construction of American History* (Brooklyn: Carlson, 1994); Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Jennifer Morgan, *Laboring Women: Gender and Reproduction in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Alys Eve Weinbaum, *Wayward Reproductions: Genealogies of Race and Nation in Transatlantic Modern Thought* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004). Weinbaum argues that the use of slave-women's reproductive labor inaugurated modern biocapitalism, which has expanded into the contemporary moment in global practices of surrogacy. In a recent essay on Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction*, Weinbaum argues persuasively that a black feminist philosophy of history enables the reader to appreciate the degree to which Du Bois narrated the General Strike as a *gendered* black mass movement against slavery. See Weinbaum, "Gendering the General Strike: W. E. B. Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction* and Black Feminism's 'Propaganda of History,'" *South Atlantic Quarterly* 111, no. 3 (summer 2013): 437–63. See also Susan Gillman and Alys Weinbaum, eds., *Next to the Color Line: Gender, Sexuality, and W. E. B. Du Bois* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

89 Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, 80.

90 Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, 633.

91 Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, 634.

92 Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, 632–34.

93 Moon-Ho Jung, "*Black Reconstruction* and Empire," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 111, no. 3 (summer 2013): 465–71, quotation 468.

94 Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, 16.

95 Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, 15.

96 Porter, *Problem of the Future World*, 3. Porter analyzes Du Bois's writings of the "early late period," not to recuperate the post-1940 Du Bois or even to claim that he provides the necessary tools for addressing the contradictory persistence of racism in the present, but rather he argues that Du Bois's midcentury writings helps "open up the usable past of his intellectual history and the radical possibilities in mid-twentieth-century black intellectual life more generally."

97 Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, 632.

98 See W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Pan-African Congresses" (*Crisis*, 1927), 670–76; "The Disfranchised Colonies" (*Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace*, 1945), 676–82; "On Britain and Africa" (*People's Voice*, 1947), 683–85; "Gandhi and the American Negroes" (*Gandhi Marg*, 1957), 90–93; and "China and Africa" (*Peking*

Review 2, 1959), 93–95, in *W. E. B. Du Bois: A Reader*, ed. David Levering Lewis (New York: Holt, 1995). Du Bois wrote in "China and Africa": "China after long centuries has risen to her feet and leapt forward. Africa arise, and stand straight, speak and think! Act! Turn from the West and your slavery and humiliation for the last 500 years and face the rising sun. Behold a people. The most populous nation on this ancient earth which has burst its shackles. . . . Speak, China, and tell your truth to Africa and the world. What people have been despised as you have? Who more than you have been rejected of men?" (93–94).

99 Bill V. Mullen and Cathryn Watson, eds. *W. E. B. Du Bois on Asia: Crossing the World Color Line* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2005).

100 U.S. Black radical thought took inspiration from third world Marxisms, especially Maoism; see Robin D. G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Boston: Beacon, 2003); Bill V. Mullen, *Afro-Orientalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004); Gerald Horne, *The End of Empires: African Americans and India* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009); Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin, *Black against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013); Nico Slate, ed., *Black Power beyond Borders: The Global Dimensions of the Black Power Movement* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

101 Grace Lee Boggs, *Living for Change* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998); Diane C. Fujino, *Heartbeat of Struggle: The Revolutionary Life of Yuri Kochiyama* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

102 Vivek Bald, *Bengali Harlem and the Lost Histories of South Asian America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013); Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Helen Heran Jun, *Race for Citizenship: Black Orientalism and Asian Uplift from Pre-emancipation to Neoliberal America* (New York: New York University Press, 2011); Moon-Ho Jung, ed., *The Rising Tide of Color: Race, State Violence, and Racial Movements across the Pacific* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014); Ashvin Kini, "Racial Encounters: South Asian Diasporas, Blackness, and Queer Politics" (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, forthcoming). See the work of Chinese-Trinidadian video artist Richard Fung, especially *My Mother's Place* (1990), *Sea in the Blood* (2000), *Islands* (2002), and *Dal Puri Diaspora* (2012); see also Helen Lee and Kerri Sakamoto, eds., *Like Mangoes in July: The Work of Richard Fung* (Toronto: Insomniac Press, 2002).

103 Moustafa Bayoumi, "Moving Beliefs: The Panama Manuscript of Sheikh Sana See and African Diasporic Islam," *Interventions* 5, no. 1: 58–81.

104 It has been more possible for Black feminist practice and politics to conceptualize cross-racial international links, as Black women often negotiate the multiple valences of race, class, gender, sexuality, and nation within the

settings of left, civil rights, women's, Black Power, and anticolonial politics. For example, consider the Black feminist perspectives of Claudia Jones, the Trinidadian compatriot of James, or Shirley Graham Du Bois, Du Bois's wife, who traveled to China, both of whom opened the way for transnational alternatives to the Marxist historical tradition and its categories of struggle, and conceived anti-imperial connections among Asian, African, and Caribbean peoples, under colonialism and in the diaspora, as necessary for social, economic, and political transformation of existing conditions. See Carole Boyce Davies, *Left of Marx: The Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); Gerald Horne, *Race Woman: The Lives of Shirley Graham Du Bois* (New York: New York University Press, 2000); Dayo F. Gore, Jeanne Theoharis, and Komozi Woodard, eds., *Want to Start a Revolution? Radical Women in the Black Freedom Struggle* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

On transnational and third world feminism, see Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Anne Russo, and Lourdes Torres, eds., *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); Chandra Talpade Mohanty and M. Jacqui Alexander, eds., *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

105 See, for example, Saidiya Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," *Small Axe* 26, 12, no. 2 (June 2008): 1–14.

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Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University
British Library, London
    India Office Records (IOR)
    Great Britain House of Commons Select Committee Reports (HCSC)
    Great Britain House of Lords Select Committee Reports (HLSC)
China Mail (CM)
Collected Works of John Stuart Mill (CW)
Great Britain National Archives, Kew Gardens, London
    Colonial Office (CO)
    Foreign Office (FO)
    Royal African Company (RAC)
House of Commons Parliamentary Papers (HCPP)
National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago, Port of Spain
National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London (NMM)
University of Hawaii at Manoa
    Hamilton Library Special Collections (UHSC)
University of London
    Senate House Library Special Collections (SHL)
University of West Indies at St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago
    West Indiana and Special Collections
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (VA)
Westminster Review (WR)

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