

plantation, and the life of a young woman named Coobah who was enslaved in eighteenth-century Jamaica. If we are to take transatlantic slavery as antecedent to contemporary surveillance technologies and practices as they concern inventories of ships' cargo and the cheek-by-jowl arrangement laid out in the stowage plan of the *Brooks* slave ship, biometric identification by branding the slave's body with hot irons, slave markets and auction blocks as exercises of synoptic power where the many watched the few, slave passes and patrols, manumission papers and free badges, black codes and fugitive slave notices, it is to the archives, slave narratives, and often to black expressive practices, creative texts, and other efforts that we can look for moments of refusal and critique. Slave narratives, as Avery Gordon demonstrates, offer us "a sociology of slavery and freedom."²⁷ To paraphrase Gordon here, through their rendering of the autobiographical, the ethnographic, the historical, the literary, and the political, slave narratives are sociological in that they reveal the social life of the slave condition, speak of freedom practices, and detail the workings of power in the making of what is exceptional—the slave life—into the everyday through acts of violence.²⁸

Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of

Blackness

Surveillance Studies

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In this section, I provide a brief overview of key terms and concepts, some of them overlapping, as they relate to the concerns of this book. This is not meant to be a comprehensive review of the field of surveillance studies, but rather it is done to put this book into conversation with that body of research and writing and to also introduce the two main, interrelated conceptual schemes of this book: racializing surveillance and dark sousveillance. Research and writing that falls under the rubric of surveillance studies has come from a range of disciplines including sociology, geography, cultural studies, organization studies, science and technology studies, criminology, and critical theory. As an interdisciplinary field of study, the questions that shape surveillance studies center on the management of everyday and exceptional life—personal data, privacy, security, and terrorism, for example. In their introduction to *The Surveillance Studies Reader*, Sean Hier and Joshua Greenberg note that although "a qualitative shift in surveillance took place after 9/11," there still remains a certain absence in the literature "on the pre-9/11 forms of surveillance that made post-9/11 surveillance

possible."²⁹ *Dark Matters* seeks to make an intervention in the literature by naming the "absented presence" of blackness as part of that absence in the literature that Hier and Greenberg point to. In the sense that blackness is often absented from what is theorized and who is cited, it is ever present in the subjection of black motorists to a disproportionate number of traffic stops (driving while black), stop-and-frisk policing practices that subject black and Latino pedestrians in New York City and other urban spaces to just that, CCTV and urban renewal projects that displace those living in black city spaces, and mass incarceration in the United States where, for example, black men between the ages of twenty and twenty-four are imprisoned at a rate seven times higher than white men of that age group, and the various exclusions and other matters where blackness meets surveillance and then reveals the ongoing racism of unfinished emancipation.³⁰ Unfinished emancipation suggests that slavery matters and the archive of transatlantic slavery must be engaged if we are to create a surveillance studies that grapples with its constitutive genealogies, where the archive of slavery is taken up in a way that does not replicate the racial schema that spawned it and that it reproduced, but at the same time does not erase its violence.

Since its emergence, surveillance studies has been primarily concerned with how and why populations are tracked, profiled, policed, and governed at state borders, in cities, at airports, in public and private spaces, through biometrics, telecommunications technology, CCTV, identification documents, and more recently by way of Internet-based social network sites such as Twitter and Facebook. Also of focus are the ways that those who are often subject to surveillance subvert, adopt, endorse, resist, innovate, limit, comply with, and monitor that very surveillance.³¹ Most surveillance, as David Lyon suggests, is "practiced with a view to enhancing efficiency, productivity, participation, welfare, health or safety" leaving social control "seldom a motivation for installing surveillance systems even though that may be an unintended or secondary consequence of their deployment."³² Lyon has argued that the "surveillance society" as a concept might be misleading, for it suggests "a total, homogeneous situation of being under surveillance" rather than a more nuanced understanding of the sometimes discreet and varying ways that surveillance operates.³³ He suggests that we should look more closely at "sites of surveillance," such as the military, the state, the workplace, policing, and the marketplace in order to come to an understanding of the commonalities that exist at these various sites. For Lyon, looking at contemporary sites of surveillance requires us to examine

some "common threads" including rationalization (where reason "rather than tradition, emotion or common-sense knowledge" is the justification given for standardization), technology (the use of high-technology applications), sorting (the social sorting of people into categories as a means of management and ascribing differential treatment), knowledgeability (the notion that how surveillance operates depends on "the different levels of knowledgeability and willing participation on the part of those whose life-details are under scrutiny"), and urgency (where panic prevails in risk and threat assessments, and in the adoption of security measures, especially post-9/11).³⁴

In *Private Lives and Public Surveillance* (1973), James Rule set out to explore commonalities within sites of surveillance as well by asking whether the "sociological qualities" of the totalizing system of surveillance as depicted in George Orwell's 1984 could be seen in computer-mediated modern systems of mass surveillance in the United States and Britain, such as policing, banking, and national health care schemes.³⁵ Rule found that although the bureaucratic systems he studied did not function as malevolently as in 1984, Orwell's novel served as a "theoretical extreme" from which to analyze a given system's capacity for surveillance, in other words, how near it comes to replicating an Orwellian system of total control.³⁶ Using this rubric, Rule concludes that a large-scale and long-enduring surveillance system could be limited in its surveillance capacity in four ways: due to size, the centralization of its files, the speed of information flow, and restrictions to its points of contact with its clientele. Although much has changed with regard to innovations in information technologies, machine intelligence, telecommunications, and networked cloud computing since the time of Rule's study in the late 1960s and early 1970s, *Private Lives* is instructive in its understanding of the workings of centralized and diffused power by state and private actors and institutions, and for identifying earlier developments in what Gary T. Marx has called "the new surveillance."³⁷

What makes "the new surveillance" quite different from older and more traditional forms of social control is laid out by Marx in a set of ten characteristics that these new technologies, practices, and forms of surveillance share to varying degrees: (1) it is no longer impeded by distance or physical barriers; (2) data can be shared, permanently stored, compressed, and aggregated more easily due to advances in computing and telecommunications; (3) it is often undetected, meaning that "surveillance devices can either be made to appear as something else (one-way mirrors, cameras

hidden in a fire extinguisher, undercover agents) or can be virtually invisible (electronic snooping into microwave transmission or computer files); (4) data collection is often done without the consent of the target, for example with noncooperative biometric tagging and matching at a casino or a sporting event, or Facebook's prompt to "tag your friends" using the photo tag suggest feature; (5) surveillance is about the prevention and management of risk through predictive or anticipatory means; (6) it is less labor intensive than before, opening up the possibility for monitoring that which was previously left unobserved, like the detection of illegal marijuana grow-ops by thermal cameras set to sense unusually high temperatures or the detection of illicit bomb making by collecting and testing chemical air samples; (7) it involves more self-surveillance by way of wearable computing or "electronic leashes" such as fitness trackers or other means by which people come to monitor themselves; (8) the presumption of guilt is assigned to some based on their membership within a particular category or grouping; (9) technological innovations have made for a more intensive and interiorizing surveillance where the body is concerned, for example, with voice analysis that is said to measure stress as a way to differentiate between lies and truths; and (10) it is now so intense and with reduced opportunities to evade it that "the uncertainty over whether or not surveillance is present is an important strategic element."³⁸ With these developments regarding the scope and scale of surveillance, Marx has suggested that perhaps we have become a "maximum-security society."

For Marx, the maximum-security society is a way to conceptualize how the surveillance that was once figured as contained inside the military base or the maximum-security prison ("perimeter security, thick walls with guard towers, spotlights, and a high degree of electronic surveillance") now extends out to the whole society.³⁹ According to Marx, the maximum-security society is predictive, porous, monitored and self-monitored, and made up of computerized records and dossiers, where increasingly choices are engineered and limited by social location. In it, everyone is rendered suspicious at some time or another, while some individuals might be more of ten subject to what Marx terms "categorical suspicion" given their ascribed membership in certain groups. Notably, for Marx, the maximum-security society is also "a transparent society, in which the boundaries of time, distance, darkness, and physical barriers that traditionally protected information are weakened."⁴⁰ Marx's concept of "electronic leashes" and also what William Staples calls "participatory monitoring" are ways of understanding

how people, objects, and things come to be monitored in remote, routinized, and continuous ways—think of electronic ankle bracelets as a requirement of house arrest or car ignitions fitted with breathalyzers that measure a driver's breath alcohol content before the engine can be started.⁴¹ People who are subject to such monitoring are also tasked with actively participating in their own confinement by partnering, in a way, with the overseeing body or agency in the check for violations and infractions.

Oscar Grandy's "panoptic sort" names the processes by which the collection of data on and about individuals and groups as "citizens, employees and consumers" is used to identify, classify, assess, sort, or otherwise "control their access to the goods and services that define life in the modern capitalist society," for example, with the application of credit scores by lenders to rate the creditworthiness of consumers or put to use for targeted marketing of predatory lending with high-interest loans.⁴² The panoptic sort privileges some, while disadvantaging others. These concepts—categorical suspicion, social sorting, maximum-security society, electronic leashes, participatory monitoring, panoptic sorting—along with Kevin Haggerty and Richard Ericson's concept of the "surveillant assemblage," are some of the ways that the field has come to conceptualize surveillance. As a model for understanding surveillance, the surveillant assemblage sees the observed human body "broken down by being abstracted from its territorial setting" and then reassembled elsewhere (a credit reporting database, for example) to then serve as virtual "data doubles," and also as sites of comparison by way of, for example, credit scores or urinalysis drug testing, where one's biological sample is collected and tested for drug use, or when "the detectors align and compare assorted flows of respiration, pulse and electricity."⁴³

I want to add to these understandings of surveillance the concept of racializing surveillance. Racializing surveillance is a technology of social control where surveillance practices, policies, and performances concern the production of norms pertaining to race and exercise a "power to define what is in or out of place."⁴⁴ Being mindful here of David Theo Goldberg's caution that the term "racialization," if applied, should be done with a certain precision and not merely called upon to uncritically signal "race-inflected social situations," my use of the term "racializing surveillance" signals those moments when enactments of surveillance reify boundaries, borders, and bodies along racial lines, and where the outcome is often discriminatory treatment of those who are negatively racialized by such surveillance.⁴⁵ To say that racializing surveillance is a technology of social control is not to

take this form of surveillance as involving a fixed set of practices that maintain a racial order of things. Instead, it suggests that how things get ordered racially by way of surveillance depends on space and time and is subject to change, but most often upholds negating strategies that first accompanied European colonial expansion and transatlantic slavery that sought to structure social relations and institutions in ways that privilege whiteness. Racializing surveillance is not static or only applied to particular human groupings, but it does rely on certain techniques in order to reify boundaries along racial lines, and, in so doing, it reifies race. Race here is understood as operating in an interlocking manner with class, gender, sexuality, and other markers of identity and their various intersections.

John Fiske shows the operation of racializing surveillance in his discussion of video surveillance and the hypermediation of blackness where he argues that "although surveillance is penetrating deeply throughout our society, its penetration is differential."⁴⁶ Fiske argues that although Michel Foucault and George Orwell both conceptualized surveillance as integral to modernity, surveillance "has been racialized in a manner that they did not foresee: today's seeing eye is white."⁴⁷ Fiske gives the example that "street behaviors of white men (standing still and talking, using a cellular phone, passing an unseen object from one to another) may be coded as normal and thus granted no attention, whereas the same activity performed by Black men will be coded as lying on or beyond the boundary of the normal, and thus subject to disciplinary action."⁴⁸ Where public spaces are shaped for and by whiteness, some acts in public are abnormalized by way of racializing surveillance and then coded for disciplinary measures that are punitive in their effects. Racializing surveillance is also a part of the digital sphere with material consequences within and outside of it. For example, what Lyon calls "digital discrimination" signals this differential application of surveillance technologies, where "flows of personal data—abstracted information—are sifted and channeled in the process of risk assessment, to privilege some and disadvantage others, to accept some as legitimately present and to reject others."⁴⁹ In this way, data that is abstracted from, or produced about, individuals and groups is then profiled, circulated, and traded within and between databases. Such data is often marked by gender, nation, region, race, socioeconomic status, and other categories where the life chances of many, as Lyon notes, are "more circumscribed by the categories into which they fall. For some, those categories are particularly prejudicial. They already restrict them from consumer choices because of credit

ratings, or, more insidiously, relegate them to second-class status because of their color or ethnic background. Now, there is an added category to fear: the terrorist. It's an old story in high-tech guise."⁵⁰

To conceptualize racializing surveillance requires that I also unpack the term "surveillance." Surveillance is understood here as meaning "oversight," with the French prefix *sur-* meaning "from above" and the root word *-veillance* deriving from the French verb *veiller* and taken to mean observing or watching. The root word *-veillance* is differently applied and invoked, for example, with the terms "uberveillance" (often defined as electronic surveillance by way of radio-frequency identification or other devices embedded in the living body), "redditveillance" (the crowdsourcing of surveillance through publicly accessible CCTV feeds, photographs uploaded to online image sharing platforms such as Flickr, and online discussion forums, such as Reddit and 4chan), and "dataveillance," to name a few.⁵¹ Lyon has outlined the "potency of dataveillance" in a surveillance society, which, he writes, is marked by "a range of personal data systems, connected by telecommunications networks, with a consistent identification scheme."⁵² The prefix *data-* signals that such observing is done through data collection as a way of managing or governing a certain population, for example, through the use of bar-coded customer loyalty cards at point of sale for discounted purchases while also collecting aggregate data on loyalty cardholders, or vehicles equipped with transponders that signal their entry and exit on pay-per-use highways and roads, often replacing toll booths.

The *Guardian* newspaper named "surveillance" and "sousveillance" as the words that mattered in 2013 alongside "Bitcoin," "Obamacare," and "binge-watching."⁵³ For Steve Mann, who coined the term "sousveillance," both terms—sousveillance and surveillance—fall under the broad concept of *veillance*, a form of watching that is neutral. Mann situates surveillance as the "more studied, applied and well-known *veillance*" of the two, defining surveillance as "organizations observing people" where this observing and recording is done by an entity in a position of power relative to the person or persons being observed and recorded.⁵⁴ Such oversight could take the form of red-light cameras that photograph vehicles when drivers violate traffic laws, or the monitoring of sales clerks on shop floors with CCTV, as well as, for example, punch clocks that track factory workers' time on the floor to more ubiquitous forms of observation, productivity monitoring, and data collection, such as remote desktop viewing or electronic monitoring software that tracks employees' non-work-related Internet use. Mann

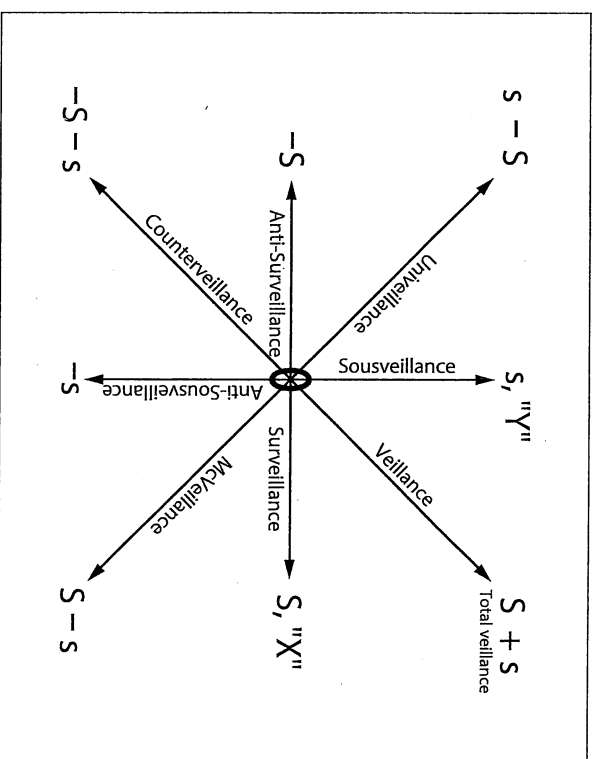


FIGURE 1.2. Steve Mann's Veillance Plane and the "8-point compass" model of its directionalities. From Steve Mann, "Veillance and Reciprocal Transparency." Reproduced with permission.

developed the term "sousveillance" as a way of naming an active inversion of the power relations that surveillance entails. Sousveillance, for Mann, is acts of "observing and recording by an entity not in a position of power or authority over the subject of the *veillance*," often done through the use of handheld or wearable cameras.⁵⁵ George Holliday's video recording of the beating of Rodney King by police officers of the Los Angeles Police Department on March 3, 1991, is an example of sousveillance, where Holliday's watching and recording of the police that night functioned as a form of citizen undersight.

Mann's Veillance Plane (figure 1.2) places surveillance on the x-axis (uppercase S) and sousveillance on the y-axis (lowercase s). An "8-point compass" model, the Veillance Plane sees sousveillance and surveillance as "orthogonal vectors" or perpendicular, where "the amount of sousveillance can be increased without necessarily decreasing the amount of surveillance."⁵⁶ Other directionalities on this plane include univeillance (e.g.,

when one party to a telephone conversation records said conversation, making this action more aligned with sousveillance, rather than an approach closer to surveillance where a “nonparticipant party” to a conversation does the recording) and McVeillance. McVeillance would include an establishment that sets up a policy that forbids patrons from using cameras and recording devices on its premises, while at the same time recording those very patrons through CCTV surveillance, for example. McVeillance is surveillance minus sousveillance (S–s). Mann describes the “sousveillance era” as occurring prior to the increase and normalization of surveillance cameras recording in public and private spaces. He argues that although “the king or emperor or sheriff had more power” in the sousveillance era, during this era “the observational component of that power was more approximately equal than it is today,” where people are often prevented from recording entities in positions of power, for example, when signs are posted in government offices and business establishments warning visitors and patrons that the use of recording devices on the premises is prohibited.⁵⁷ On the sousveillance era, Mann further explains, “Before approximately 50 years ago—and going back millions of years—we have what we call the ‘sousveillance era’ because the only veilance was sousveillance which was given by the body-borne camera formed by the eye, and the body-borne recording device comprised of the mind and brain.”⁵⁸

I want to make a link here between Mann’s naming of the human eye as a “body-borne camera” and what Judith Butler terms the “racially saturated field of visibility” and what Maurice O. Wallace has called the “picture-taking racial gaze” that fixes and frames the black subject within a “rigid and limited grid of representational possibilities.”⁵⁹ In other words, these are ways of seeing and conceptualizing blackness through stereotypes, ab-normalization, and other means that impose limitations, particularly so in spaces that are shaped for whiteness, as discussed above with reference to Fanon’s epidermalization and to Fiske on how some acts and even the mere presence of blackness gets coded as criminal. We can read a rigid framing in how Rodney King’s acts of self-defense during a traffic stop in Los Angeles as recorded by Holliday on March 3, 1991, were coded as aggressive and violent. When King raised his hand to protect himself from police baton blows, his actions were met with more police force. Within what Butler has called a “racially saturated field of visibility,” such police violence is not read as violence; rather, the racially saturated field of visibility fixed and framed

Rodney King and read his actions, as recorded by Holliday, as that danger from which whiteness must be protected.⁶⁰

Although the observational component of the power of the sheriff might have been equal to that of the citizen in the sousveillance era, in the time of slavery that citizenry (the watchers) was deputized through white supremacy to apprehend any fugitive who escaped from bondage (the watched), making for a cumulative white gaze that functioned as a totalizing surveillance. Under these conditions of terror and the violent regulation of blackness by way of surveillance, the inequities between those who were watched over and those who did the watching are revealed. The violence of this cumulative gaze continues in the postslavery era.

Extending Steve Mann’s concept of sousveillance, which he describes as a way of “enhancing the ability of people to access and collect data about their surveillance and to neutralize surveillance,”⁶¹ I use the term “dark sousveillance” as a way to situate the tactics employed to render one’s self out of sight, and strategies used in the flight to freedom from slavery as necessarily ones of undersight. Using this model, but imagining Mann’s Veilance Plane as operating in three dimensions, I plot dark sousveillance as an imaginative place from which to mobilize a critique of racializing surveillance, a critique that takes form in antisurveillance, countersurveillance, and other freedom practices. Dark sousveillance, then, plots imaginaries that are oppositional and that are hopeful for another way of being. Dark sousveillance is a site of critique, as it speaks to black epistemologies of contending with antiblack surveillance, where the tools of social control in plantation surveillance or lantern laws in city spaces and beyond were appropriated, co-opted, repurposed, and challenged in order to facilitate survival and escape. This might sound like Negro spirituals that would sing of freedom and escape routes, or look like an 1851 handbill distributed by Theodore Parker, a white abolitionist from Massachusetts, that advised “colored people of Boston” to “keep a sharp lookout for kidnappers” who would act as slave catchers under fugitive slave laws that federalized antiblack surveillance (figure 1.3). In this way, acts that might fall under the rubric of dark sousveillance are not strictly enacted by those who fall under the category of blackness.

Dark sousveillance charts possibilities and coordinates modes of responding to, challenging, and confronting a surveillance that was almost all-encompassing. In the *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, Fred-

erick Douglass carefully describes how surveillance functioned as a comprehensive and regulating practice on slave life: "at every gate through which we were to pass, we saw a watchman—at every ferry a guard—on every bridge a sentinel—and in every wood a patrol. We were hemmed in upon every side."⁶² This sweeping ordering did not, of course, preclude escapes and other forms of resistance, such as antisurveillance "pranks" at the expense of slave patrollers by stretching vines across roads and bridges to trip the patrollers riding on their horses, or countervailing songs, for example, the folk tune "Run, Nigger, Run," which warned of approaching slave patrols.⁶³ Recalling acts of antisurveillance and countervailing, ex-slave Berry Smith of Forest, Mississippi, tells of "the pranks we used to play on them paterollers! Sometimes we tied ropes across the bridge and the paterollers'd hit it and go in the creek. Maybe we'd be fiddling and dancing on the bridge and they'd say, 'Here come the paterollers!' Then we'd put out."⁶⁴ Such playful tricks were a means of self-defense. These oral histories of ex-slaves, slave narratives, and runaway notices, in revealing a sociology of slavery, escape, and freedom, recall the brutalities of slavery (instruments of punishment, plantation regulation, slave patrols) and detail how black performative practices and creative acts (fiddling, songs, and dancing) also functioned as sousveillance acts and were employed by people as a way to escape and resist enslavement, and in so being were freedom acts.

As a way of knowing, dark sousveillance speaks not only to observing those in authority (the slave patroller or the plantation overseer, for instance) but also to the use of a keen and experiential insight of plantation surveillance in order to resist it. Forging slave passes and freedom papers or passing as free are examples of this. Others include fugitive slave Ellen Craft escaping to Philadelphia in 1848 with her husband, William, by posing as a white man and as William's owner; Henry "Box" Brown's escape from slavery in 1849 by mailing himself to freedom in a crate "3 feet long and 2 wide"; Harriet Jacobs's escape from slavery to a cramped garret above her grandmother's home that she named as both her prison and her emancipatory "loophole of retreat"; slave spirituals as coded messages to coordinate escape along the Underground Railroad; Harriet "Moses" Tubman and her role in the 1863 Combahee River Raid that saw over seven hundred people escape enslavement in South Carolina; Sojourner Truth's escape to freedom in 1826 when she "walked off, believing that to be alright."⁶⁵ Dark sousveillance is also a reading praxis for examining surveillance that allows for a questioning of how certain surveillance technologies installed

CAUTION!
COLORED PEOPLE
OF BOSTON, ONE & ALL,
 You are hereby respectfully CAUTIONED and
 advised, to avoid conversing with the
Watchmen and Police Officers
of Boston,
 For since the recent ORDER OF THE MAYOR &
 ALDERMEN, they are empowered to act as
KIDNAPPERS
AND
Slave Catchers,
 And they have already been actually employed in
 KIDNAPPING, CATCHING, AND KEEPING
 SLAVES. Therefore, if you value your LIBERTY,
 and the *Welfare of the Fugitives* among you, *Save*
 them in every possible manner, as so many *HOUNDS*
 on the track of the most unfortunate of your race.
Keep a Sharp Look Out for
KIDNAPPERS, and have
TOP EYE open.
APRIL 24, 1851.

FIGURE 1.3. "Caution! Colored People of Boston," handbill (1851). Library of Congress, Printed Ephemera Collection, Portfolio 60, Folder 22. 30.5 x 25 cm.

during slavery to monitor and track blackness as property (for example, branding, the one-drop rule, quantitative plantation records that listed enslaved people alongside livestock and crops, slave passes, slave patrols, and runaway notices) anticipate the contemporary surveillance of racialized subjects, and it also provides a way to frame how the contemporary surveillance of the racial body might be contended with.

END

The Chapters

If, for Foucault, "the disciplinary gaze of the Panopticon is the archetypal power of modernity," as Lyon has suggested in the introduction to *Surveillance Studies: An Overview*,⁶⁶ then it is my contention that the slave ship too must be understood as an operation of the power of modernity, and as part of the violent regulation of blackness. Chapter 1, "Notes on Surveillance Studies: Through the Door of No Return," considers the Panopticon (1786) and the plan of the slave ship *Brooks* (1789) for what these two schematic plans disclose about surveillance, race, and the production of knowledge. My intent in this chapter is not to reify the Panopticon as the definitive model of modern surveillance, but rather I want to complicate it through a reading of the slave ship. Both of these diagrams were published in and around the same time period, and they continue to provoke, in different ways, questions for both surveillance studies and for theorizing the black diaspora. Taking up David Murrakami Wood's call for a "critical re-interpretation" of panopticism, what I am suggesting here is that one of the ways that this reinterpretation can be done is through a reading of the slave ship.⁶⁷ Panopticism, for Murrakami Wood, is understood as "the social trajectory represented by the figure of the Panopticon."⁶⁸ Panopticism, then, is the Panopticon as a social practice. I interrogate the Panopticon and the plan of the slave ship *Brooks* to ask: What kinds of subjects were these two spaces meant to produce? How is social control exercised? What acts of subversion and resistance do these structures allow for? Also in this chapter, I explore the operation of disciplinary and sovereign forms of power over black life under slavery by looking at plantation management and running away.

In Jeremy Bentham's plan for the Panopticon, small lamps worked to "extend to the night the security of the day."⁶⁹ I examine this idea of the security of the day and surveillance by lamps at night in Chapter 2, "Ev-

erybody's Got a Little Light under the Sun: The Making of the *Book of Negroes*." In this chapter I discuss what I call "lantern laws," which were ordinances "For Regulating Negroes and Slaves in the Night Time" in New York City that compelled black, mixed-race, and indigenous slaves to carry small lamps, if in the streets after dark and unescorted by a white person. With this citywide mandate, "No Negro, Mulatto or Indian slave could" be in the streets unaccompanied "an hour after sunset" without "a lantern and lighted candle in it, so as the light thereof may be plainly seen" without penalty.⁷⁰ Here technologies of seeing that are racializing in their application and effects, from a candle flame to the white gaze, were employed in an attempt to identify who was in place with permission and who was out of place with censure. The title of this chapter is taken, or sampled, from the lyrics of funk band Parliament's song "Flash Light" (1977). I do this to hint at and imagine what it might mean in our present moment to be mandated to carry a handheld flashlight in the streets after dark, illuminating blackness. This chapter also looks to prior histories of surveillance, identification documents, and black mobilities through a reading of the archive of the *Book of Negroes*. Working with treaties, letters and other government documents, maps, memoirs, and fugitive slave advertisements as primary source data, I use this archive to examine the arbitration that took place at Frances Tavern in New York City between fugitive slaves who sought to be included in the *Book of Negroes* and those who claimed them as escaped property. The *Book of Negroes* is an eighteenth-century ledger that lists three thousand self-emancipating former slaves who embarked mainly on British ships, like *Danger* and *Generous Friends*, during the British evacuation of New York in 1783 after the American Revolution. The *Book of Negroes*, I argue, is the first government-issued document for state-regulated migration between the United States and Canada that explicitly linked corporeal markers to the right to travel. This linking of gender (often recorded in the ledger as "fine wench," "ordinary fellow," "snug little wench"), race ("healthy Negress," "worn out, half Indian," "fine girl, ¾ white"), labor ("brickmaker," "carpenter by trade," "formerly slave to"), disabilities ("lame of the left arm," "stone blind," "blind & lame"), and other identifying marks, adjectives, and characterizations ("3 scars in her face," "cut in his right eye, Guinea born," "remarkably stout and lusty," "an idiot") points to the ways that biometric information, understood simply as "bio" (of the body) and "metric" (pertaining to measurement), has long been deployed as a technology in the surveillance of black mobilities and of black stability.