Chapter 4, Part II
Racist Landscapes: Southern Plantations

Of the three countries in North America, only in the United States did slavery, euhemeristically called the “peculiar institution” by Southerners, take hold on a grand scale, transforming economies, communities, and cultural landscapes. Because slavery was race-based in the United States -- which it was not necessarily and still is not in the source regions and now the countries of West Africa -- wide-spread racist agrarian and urban economies developed throughout the U.S. South, which was part of the larger Western Hemisphere slave economies. The evolution and the many forms of the U.S. racist landscapes based on Africans are examined in this chapter.

Since Ancient times, domestic slavery was practiced in West Africa where Europeans organized their own slave trade, but this time on a much greater scale in terms of numbers, value, and area in Africa and in the Western Hemisphere. European elites organized the trans-Atlantic slave trade and the ensuing plantation economies in the Americas, particularly in the Caribbean Islands, Brazil, and the United States. From 1619 until 1865, Africans were legally enslaved within the Thirteen Colonies and what became the United States, after independence. Around 500,000 Africans were imported to the United States from Africa during the slave trade (St. Claire 2006). Although the U.S. importation of slaves was officially banned in 1807, when Britain also banned it, under U.S. law the off springs of slaves were also slaves. While in most major slave-economies such as Brazil, the number of slaves declined rapidly with the secession of the slave trade, the slave population in the United States tripled after the slave trade was abolished and reached four million by 1860. This increasing slave population allowed planters to expand their plantations throughout the South which assured wide-spread and well-defined cultural landscapes.

According to the first U.S. Census of 1790, Negroes, as they were called then, comprised 19 percent, or 757,000, of the total population of 3,929,625 -- 92 percent were slaves and eight percent were free. During the Revolutionary era, slaves were particularly concentrated in two areas: 1) Maryland (103,036) and Virginia (292,627), mostly around the Chesapeake Bay, where they made up from 50 to 60 percent of the population; and 2) in coastal North Carolina (100,783) and South Carolina (107,094) (Figure 4-II-map). Although slaves were already widely scattered by 1790, a small number of plantation owners in a few counties owned most of the slaves in the Northshore tobacco counties of the Chesapeake Bay and the coastal rice counties of South Carolina (Figure 4-II-map). The first distinctive cultural landscapes of slave-based plantations emerged in the areas of large slave concentrations and large slaveowners.
The cultural landscapes of the slave-based plantations also include **slave ports** through which slaves arrived to work on plantations. Charleston, South Carolina, was the single largest slave ports in the USA. It functioned for African slaves like Ellis Island did for European immigrants. In 1770, Charleston was the fourth largest city in British America, exceeded in size only by New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. The slave trade was an important activity in the city -- about 33 percent of all slaves imported to the United States entered through Charleston. A total of 354 slave ships arrived in Charleston before the slave trade was banned, but detailed information exists for only 103 ships which carried 15,598 slaves on board at the time of departure from the last slaving ports in Africa (Eltis, Behrendt, Richardson, and Klein 1999) (Figure 4-II-map/graph). It was common for slave ships to lose from 25 to 33 percent of their slaves to disease or suffocation on the "middle passage" -- the name given to the second, longest, and hardest portion of the triangular voyages: from Europe to Africa with trading goods; Africa to Americas with slaves; and America to Europe with “New World” products such as timber, tobacco, and sugar. The stone ballast from slave ships, when their cargo was light, was used to pave some of the streets of Charleston. When slave ships arrived along the coast here, they often landed in Lazaretto, Georgia, which the Works Progress Administration (WPA) Guidebook for Georgia describes as the quarantine station for the port of Charleston before the Civil War. Sick slaves and others were kept here in a hospital, and those who died were buried in the local cemetery. Healthy slaves were sold in Charleston and Savannah, which in fact got 60 percent of its slaves from Charleston.

With the slow but steady reduction of tobacco cultivation (because of declining markets and lose of soil fertility) in Maryland and Virginia, planters spread southward and shifted to other lucrative crops, such as rice, cotton, and sugar. In fact, more than 80 percent of all field slaves were used to produce three crops: rice, sugar, and cotton. By 1850, the United States had 3.6 million Blacks, or 16 percent of the population, of which 14 percent were slaves. From 1800 to 1860, planters moved 800,000 slaves from the Atlantic states to the new western states; slave traders moved many others. Blacks made up more than 40 percent of the population in every state from South Carolina to Louisiana and 50 percent in three of these states. Planters established slave-based plantations in the **Low Country** of the Coastal Plain where the most fertile soils were located. This region contained the majority of slaves and here planters dominated the economy and politics. From 1830 to 1860 planters established antebellum (Latin for “before the war”) plantations from the Carolina coast to lower Louisiana, increasingly producing cotton. In 1860, the last census before the Civil War, the largest concentration of slaves and therefore the wealthiest and most lavish plantations were localized in four major regions: 1) the coastal areas from Chesapeake Bay to northern Florida, 2) inland arc from South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama to Mississippi, 3) bottomlands of the Mississippi Valley from New Orleans to Memphis, and 4) West Texas (Figure 4-II-map). The absence of slaves in the Piedmont and Appalachian Mountains is striking. Small-scale, largely self-sufficient Scottish-Irish farmers had settled the **Upcountry**. Here Whites predominated, absolutely and relatively. Later with secession and the Civil War, large numbers of Upcountry people, such as those in western Virginia (which became a separate state) and eastern Tennessee, would identify with the North. Although most mountain farmers neither needed nor could afford slaves,
large-scale farmers, professionals, and merchants in the Upcountry did own slaves, which Figure 4-II-slave map clearly shows.

By 1861, the USA was exporting four million bales of cotton a year, but in 1820, it had only been 400,000 bales. By the start of the Civil War, cotton had overtaken sugar and tobacco as the foremost traded crops in the world. The United States produced 66 percent of all the raw cotton exported in the world by 1861, and most of it went to Lancashire, United Kingdom, which produced 66 percent of all the cotton fabric that was traded world-wide (Prunty 1955). Other important plantation cash crops were tobacco, indigo, rice, and sugar (Figure 4-II-crop map). Planters were integrated into the world economy not only for their exports but also for their personal high-order consumer goods of wines, silverware, china, furniture, works of art, clothing, and education for their children.

The South had 3.9 million African slaves and 262,000 free Negroes in 1860. The White population of the 11 Confederate states was five million but only seven percent of the total population in the South owned nearly three million slaves in 1860. Only 3,000 planters owned 100 or more slaves. Two million Whites owned a few slaves, but six million Whites owned no slaves. Regardless of whether they owned slaves or not, Whites were frequently united with the interest of large slaveowners. They were the overseers, drivers, and dealers of slaves; others hired slave labor; and merchants and professionals identified with the planter classes whether or not they benefited from slavery economically.

In 1860, at the farthest geographical extent of plantation agriculture, the 46,274 largest slave-owning planters represented only 12 percent of all slaveholding families. The percent of slaveowners of the total population in each county in 1860 was quite small throughout the South, reaching only six percent in the core slave counties. The 20,789 plantations which were operated with 20 to 30 slaves and, especially, the 2,300 large-scale plantations which used 100 or more slaves created the most visible aspects of the cultural landscape of Southern plantation agriculture (Figure 4-II-map).
Large plantations with hundreds of slaves were very uncommon, yet they disproportionately left their distinctive marks on the imagination and landscape of the South. Only a very few planters in 1860 owned 100 or more slaves and these formed the core of the plantation and cash-crop economies of the South (Figure 4-II-map). Slaveholders with 200 or more slaves were also generally found in the same areas where slaveowners of 100 to 199 were concentrated. The Ball family provides an example of one of the largest slave-owning families in the South. They owned 25 rice plantations with nearly 4,000 slaves (Ball 1998). Large-scale planters needed lots of slaves to work their plantations. The percent of slaveowners with 100 or more slaves and farms with 1,000 or more acres were spatially correlated (Figure 4-II-map). The concentration of these large farms per county were found in the Low Country from Virginia to Texas. Southern farms and plantations in particular were substantially larger than family-operated farms in the North. This became apparent in 1862 when Congress passed the Homestead Act during the Civil War when Southern politicians were absent from Washington, D.C. The Act allowed each person to claim a maximum of 160 acres. Once their land was cleared and had produced a harvest, settlers were expected to pay the U.S. government $1.25 per acre. Ironically, during the Civil War Northern men from scale-farms were fighting and dying, as it turned out, to preserve large-scale plantations in the South.

Most Whites in Southern states never owned slaves and those who did usually owned fewer than ten. Slaveholders with one slave per county were found throughout the South in 1860, but these small slaveowners as a percentage of all slaveholders were disproportionately concentrated in the farthest margins of the counties with slavery, particularly in West Virginia, Kentucky, northern Arkansas, Missouri, and West Texas (Figure 4-II-map).

The ownership of large-sized farms and large numbers of slave assured the uneven distribution of wealth. Slavery and class were closely related in the United States as it was in countries like Russia, but in Russia class privileges were expressed within the same ethnic group in the form of serfdom. In 1860, the average wealth of slaveowners was 14 times that of average non-slaveowners in the South; and five times that of average...
Figure 4-II. Percent farms with 1,000 or more acres by county in 1860. Source: Ingolf Vogeler, data from the University of Virginia Library 2006.

Figure 4-II. Percent of slaveholders with one slave by county in 1860. Source: Ingolf Vogeler, data from the University of Virginia Library 2006.

Northerners (Kolchin 1987A). James Cobb in *The Most Southern Place on Earth* (1992) describes an ideal plantation. It would have 1,600 acres, of which 1,000 was cultivated: 750 acres in cotton and 250 acres in corn, peas, and sweet potatoes. With 135 slaves, including both old and young, at least 75 would be field hands. Slaves would cost from $500 to $1,500 and the total value of all land, buildings, machinery, and slaves would be about $150,000. Annual net return on investments would be $2,000, or eight percent. This uneven distribution of wealthy left a differentiated cultural landscape of a small number of mansions and many modest slave buildings; the former were better preserved than the latter.

I. Slave Plantation Landscapes, 1619-1860

Plantations are usually thought to be landscapes created by Whites, but in fact, slaves built and maintained plantation landscapes, even though White planters owned both land and workers from which planters acquired their wealth. Plantations had very similar geographies, regardless of location (Figure 4-II-diagram). The land use patterns and settlement patterns on slave plantations could be simple or elaborate but shared common characteristics. Plantations were dominated visually by “Big Houses,” domestic slave quarters, household buildings, vegetable gardens, and orchards. Adjacent to the main settlements or farther a field in remote sections of the plantations, field slave quarters and associated work buildings, including the cotton gin, were located. While most of the cultivated land was dedicated to only one or two main cash crops (such as indigo, tobacco, rice, cotton, or sugar cane), staple crops of corn, sorghum, and other food crops were grown to feed the slaves.

Katharine Jones (1957) has cataloged hundreds of plantation mansions through photos and short descriptions. John Vlack (1993) used archival photos and floor plans to study the historic architecture and landscape elements of Southern plantations from the perspective of slaves. He focused on the buildings which slaves used: kitchens, smokehouses, outbuildings, barns and stables, production buildings, overseers’ houses, and slave quarters. Many of these landscape elements persist today, due to neglect or through state and local preservation. The Historic American Building Survey (HABS), housed in the Library of Congress, is the best
source for information on the historic built-environment of the United States. The HABS has information on about 23,000 buildings, 33 percent from the South, and has more than 500 photographs and over a 100 sheets of measured drawings for 20 types of structures from mansions, slave cabins, kitchens, barns, and stables in nearly 300 different sites across the South. Most of the photos were taken in the 1930s (HABS 2006). The web-based data of the HABS list 422 photographs and drawings for the word “plantations” in nine Southern states, with Louisiana and South Carolina accounting for 32 and 26 percent respectively. “Slave quarters” are listed 115 times and another 21 entries for “slave cabins.” “Big house” appears 42 times and “mansions,” 267 (HABS 2006).

Agricultural land uses were also distinctive in the South. Southerners on average cultivated only 33 percent of the land in farms in 1860, whereas Northerners used more than 50 percent. Even the most recently settled Midwest had a much larger percent of improved land than the older-settled states along the southeastern Atlantic Coast. Although Northern farmers were more self-sufficient than Southern planters, they kept a higher percentage of their land in cultivation. Southerners practiced highly commercialized farming but with large portions of their land unused. To compensate for the shortage of manure and crops that deleted the soils, planters used fallowing, shifting cultivation, and moving to new lands farther south. This distinctive style of Southern agriculture was first developed in colonial Chesapeake Bay and then spread throughout the rest of the South. The variety of environmental conditions, agricultural products, scale of operations, and wealth of planters created many forms of plantation cultural landscapes.

The elements of the cultural landscape of slave plantations persist across the South today. The remnants of slave plantations are illustrated by a few examples. Middleton Place, South Carolina, on the Ashley River which provided access to the outside world, is a carefully preserved eighteenth-century rice plantation. Henry Middleton owned a total of 800 slaves, 50,000 acres, and 20 plantations; Middleton Place was only one of them. In 1741, gardens in the French and English traditions were created by 100 slaves over 10 years, in the off-season. The 900-year old life oak and many trees over 400 years old were incorporated into the design of the gardens. The Big House was destroyed by Union soldiers and by an earthquake in 1886. Although almost all the buildings are gone, the gardens are impressive reminders of the slave-generated wealth and the amount of slave labor on large-scale slave plantations (Figure 4-II ). On many of the coastal estates, absentee plantation owners were common. Wealthy families retreated, for example, to the cool breezes of Isle of Hope, now a historic district, in Savannah, Georgia, to get away from the stifling summer heat and malaria of coastal rural areas.

By the mid-eighteenth century slaves on rice plantations provided their masters with the highest per capita income in the British/American colonies. Many of the Africans who were brought to the South Carolina
Low Country came from rice-producing areas of Africa where they had learned methods of planting, hoeing, winnowing, and threshing rice. Slaves drained the cypress swamps for paddy rice here and all along the South Carolina coast (Figure 4-II-). Rice was the most lucrative crop before cotton became associated with plantation agriculture. The flooding of the paddies occurred as the ocean high tides pushed the sweet river water through the canals; at low tides, the paddies were drained.

Already by 1840 the value of cotton exports was greater than everything else the United States exported and slaves made this possible. Only land was more valuable than slaves in the South. The profitability of cotton was especially true in the fertile Mississippi River Valley where more millionaires lived than in the rest of the United States, but also in coastal areas such as the **Boone Hall Plantation** in South Carolina. This former cotton plantation of over 17,000 acres has one of the most majestic avenues of live oaks (planted in 1743) draped with Spanish-moss in the South (Figure 4-II-). The Big House has a typical Greek Revival style, preferred by Thomas Jefferson too (Figure 4-II-). The estate still has a row of nine eighteenth-century brick slave cabins known as the “slave street” (Figure 4-II-). The slave quarters along the road to The Big House and the expensive brick construction of the slave cabins indicates that Captain Thomas Boone was displaying his wealth and status to other planters as they rode up to the main house (Joyner 1984). The (cotton) gin house (now a gift shop) is also still standing. Another plantation, the Mansfield estate, established in 1718 on the banks of the Black River in historic Georgetown, South Carolina, also has a preserved slave village of six slave cabins and a slave chapel. In 1860, over one hundred slaves lived and worked in Mansfield. Today, this 1,000-acres private estate is a B&B.
plantation, not changed for at least 45 years, is the quintessential scene of the antebellum South. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 4-II-. The Big House on the Boone Hall plantation. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

The Hopeton plantation, in Georgia, illustrates the layout of buildings and land uses on Southern plantations. The owner's house, service buildings, slave quarters, and barns are clustered together. Only 840 acres out of a total of 4,500 acres were planted in commercial crops -- cotton and rice in this example -- and food crops for the slaves and White owners -- corn, potatoes, peas, pumpkins, and vegetables from the garden. The Altamaha River provided access to the Atlantic Oceans to markets in both the United States and Europe (Figure 4-II-map). According to a newspaper in Natchez, “The large planters -- the one-thousand-bale-planters -- do not contribute most to the prosperity of Natchez. They, for the most part, sell their cotton in Liverpool; buy their wines in London or Le Havre; their negro clothing in Boston; their plantation implements and fancy clothing in New Orleans” (quote in Meinig 1993, 291).

Figure 4-II-. Simplified map of land uses on the Hopeton plantation in 1827. Source: Ingolf Vogeler, based display at the plantation.

Near Greenwood, Mississippi, lies the Florewood River plantation State Park. The buildings on this 1850s plantation reflect a well-to-do, but not wealthy, planter who cultivated 100 acres with 50-60 slaves in the fertile Delta land. The buildings on this plantation were grouped into domestic and work spaces. Household slaves were assigned various domestic tasks in the many smaller buildings that were in back of the planter’s mansion (Figure 4-II-diagram). Even planters of modest means
tried to incorporate designs and decorations from lavish plantations. Popular elements were Greek Revival facades and styles; formal drives and decorative gardens; and specialized buildings for domestic tasks. To benefit from air circulation as much as possible in this subtropical climate, the houses of planters and yeomen had raised floors and verandahs. The planter’s family diet was supplemented from the vegetable garden and orchard. At the commissionary, slaves were issued staples of rice and corn and some times salted meat and fish. Once a year, well-disposed planters issued their slaves coarse woolen or cotton cloth, and/or clothing items.
Animal manure to fertilizer the specialized field crops was in short supply in the South in contract to the livestock and diversified agriculture of the North. Pigeon and chicken “droppings” and imported guano (from bats) -- both rich in phosphorus and nitrogen for organic deficient soils like the South -- were used to fertilize vegetable gardens and intensive crops.
Adjacent to the domestic buildings were the work buildings (Figure 4-II-diagram). Steam powered engines on the Florewood plantation ran a saw mill, planing mill, shingle mill, sorghum mill, cotton gins, and machinery for wood working, rice threshers, and other machinery (Figure 4-II-). Livestock, horse, and mule barns were also common (Figure 4-II-). The slave quarters consisted of slave cabins, communal kitchen, well, and the overseer’s, or driver’s, house. Overseers actually managed the plantations and were usually found only on large ones, e.g., half the Mississippi Delta plantations with more than 50 slaves had overseers. Overseers tried to extract as much work as possible out of the slaves in order to make their masters wealthy and happy. When slave unrest did occur over working conditions, planters replaced their overseers which allowed the planters to maintain a high moral stand. The overseer’s cabin on the Florewood plantation was a common house style, the dog-trot or saddlebag: two small cabins, each with a fireplace at the end, attached by an open breeze way (Figure 4-II-). The slave quarters for the field “hands” were close-by (Figure 4-II-).
The dog-trot style of houses later diffused throughout the rural and urban South. An additional style, “shotguns,” was added to the urban fabric of Southern cities. The ridge pole of this house style is perpendicular to the street, rather than parallel as with dog-trots, and rooms are aligned on one side of the building with a hall on the other side; hence, a shotgun could be fired down the hall without hitting anything (except the end wall). Poor Blacks and Whites alike lived, and continue to live, in such vernacular house styles, e.g., Elvis Presley was born in a shotgun in Memphis.

Slaves, Free Blacks, and Free Black Slaveowners in Southern Cities

Slavery was not only an integral part of plantations but also of urban economies in the South. Slaves in cities worked on the construction of public and private buildings almost as frequently as they served as household servants. When the government embarked on public works, slaves were hired; the U.S. Treasury Department paid absentee masters for the use of their human chattel. Artisan slaves and slave laborers represented half the workforce that created the cultural landscape of Washington, D.C. where “all men are created equal.” Pierre L’Enfant, the designer of the layout of Washington, D.C., used slaves to build The Mall, the White House, and the Capitol. Slaves worked in Virginia’s quarries, cutting and transporting stones to Washington; they hauled lumber and other materials, and laid the cut stones for the White House and the Capitol. Slaves also cleared the trees and brush for The Mall and Washington boulevards that lead to the seat of government “with liberty and justice for all.” Even the “Freedom” statue atop the dome of the U.S. Capitol was crafted by a slave.
In fact, the slave trade itself was conducted in front of the Capitol. In the 72 years from George Washington to Abraham Lincoln, slave-owning Presidents were elected for 50 years. Two prominent slave owning Presidents were George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. In his will George Washington did freed his slaves from his Mount Vernon plantation but only after his wife's death. Thomas Jefferson maintained that he could not afford to free his slaves because of his expensive life style, among them importing French wine. White planters, like Thomas Jefferson, often had sexual relations (voluntary or forced) with their female slaves. The slave ranks at Monticello Plantation grew to 140, including a number of slaves who were more than Jefferson's figurative "family," but literally his own children. In the North, textile companies which used Southern cotton, insurance company which insured Southern plantations, and merchants who sold supplies to Southerners benefited from slavery as well. The United States was truly a slaveholder Republic.

Today nine cities have major museums that tell the story of U.S. slavery: Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Detroit, Mystic, Fredericksburg, Charleston, and Mobile. Only the National Slavery Museum in Fredericksburg and the Middle Passage Museum in Mobile focus primarily on slavery rather than broader African and Black historical events and experiences.

Buildings associated with slavery are better preserved in urban areas than on former plantations. Most plantation buildings, except the Big Houses, became redundant with agricultural mechanization and consequently were abandoned and eventually rotted and disappeared. On the other hand, mansions with slave quarters in urban settings have been preserved and can readily be seen in Southern cities that were not destroyed during the Civil War. In Southern cities, domestic slaves lived in the back of the Big Houses. Many of these slave quarters persist although their uses have changed to tourist lodging in B&Bs (Figure 4-II- ) or outbuildings. In contrast, free Blacks lived in separate sections of Southern towns but close enough to their shops and other forms of work for Whites (Figure 4-II-diagram). The 1886 Sanborn Fire Insurance map of Natchez shows the building materials and structures of a former slave-owning family. In this and many other cases, the former urban slave quarters had been converted into servant quarters by the late nineteenth century (Figure 4-II- )

Southern cities had slave markets, particularly important and well-known ones were those in Vicksburg, Natchez, New Orleans, Charleston, and Savannah. Slaves were initially auctioned in open public places. In Natchez, the second largest slave market in the region, eight slave auction sites existed. An often reproduced 1860 slave auction flyer cites the slave market at “Fork on the Road,” north of the city -- the northern most slave market on Figure 4-II-map. In Charleston, off East Bay Street near the waterfront, slave auctions were held twice a week. Human chattel were placed on tables and turned around so that prospective buyers could appraise them; mouths were opened to show teeth. The highest bidders got the slaves; field slaves sold for about $500-$1,000. So intense was the status
for owning slaves that some White families who could not afford to buy their own would rent slaves at $6-10 per month in the 1820s, for example.

Later, slave auctions moved indoors. In 1856, Charleston passed an ordinance that prohibited the selling of slaves in the open, in view of the public, in this case on the north side of the U.S. Customs House. Thereafter, slaves were sold in "sales rooms," "yards," or "marts," in many places in the city. The Ryan Mart was established in 1852: the offices faced the street and the yard contained the barracoons (Portuguese for "jail") and the auction block (Figure 4-II- ). Other slave auction buildings have also survived, prominent among them is the one in St. Augustine, Florida. (Figure 4-II- ).
By 1860 about 10 percent of all U.S. slaves lived in cities. Slaves were used in urban work because they were cheaper than free White workers and earned planters more money than working on their plantations. In Adams County, where Charleston is located, 15 percent of slaves were owned by merchants and other urbanites, the remaining 85 percent by rural planters. Blacks were employed in many occupations in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: as butchers, carpenters, bricklayers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, cabinet makers, painters, gold and silversmiths, barber, tailors, tanners, shoemakers, hatters, rope makers, fishers, and traders. Most of them were slaves working for their masters or hired out to other employers at a profit. Some owners even allowed their slaves to work on their own and to keep their wages. Such earnings allowed some slaves to buy their freedom.

The large number of slaves in the city created the urban landscapes of the historic South. Many of these slave residences are still standing in the French Quarter and Garden District of New Orleans, for example. In addition, the largest free Black community in the Deep South lived here too. In 1862, New Orleans had a Black population of 25,000 of which 11,000 were free persons of color. The largest percentage of free Blacks were found in southern Louisiana, North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, and interestingly in northern Kentucky and southern Ohio, and even parts of southern Michigan (Figure 4-II-map). Certainly in the South, many of the free Blacks were well educated and prosperous. One Black family, the Ricaud, owned 4,000 acres and 350 slaves in 1859. The majority of Black slaveowners were light-skinned descendants of French settlers and Black women or wealthy mulatto immigrants from Haiti. Many spoke only French and their children were educated in Europe. They enjoyed more rights than freed Blacks in New Orleans and in other parts of the South before 1862. They owned $2 million worth of property, including slaves. Despite the importance of this aspect of slavery, the homes of Black slaveowners have not been designated. In this case, as in other important race and class issues, what is not seen, but should be made visible, in the cultural landscape is most important.

The vast major of urban slaveowners were, of course, well-to-do
Whites. The Melrose Estate, Natchez, illustrates how urban slavery created the urban slave landscapes of the South. Melrose Estate is now a federal historic park (Figure 4-II- ). In the 1840s John T. McMurran, who belonged to the one percent of the richest men in the South, used slaves to build this mansion, which took four years. He lived in the Northeast of the United States or in Europe during the summer, and in the winter months in Natchez. He owned 200 slaves and four plantations.

From 18 to 25 domestic slaves were used to run the household at Melrose. Both the Rococo style of the front parlor and the dining room were furnished with the finest of European styles, furniture, lamps, drapes, art objects, and paintings. (Figure 4-II- ). By 1860, half of all U.S. millionaires were concentrated in Natchez!

White slaveowners and Whites in general used the Bible to subjugate and control Blacks. In four sections of the Bible (Leviticus, Exodus, Ephesians, and I Timothy), God expects “us” (Whites assumed them) to keep slaves, and no place in the New Testament does Jesus object to slavery (Harris 2006). Many slaveowners therefore took their slaves to church. In Natchez and elsewhere in the South, White planter families sat downstairs and their slaves sat in the balcony or in the back or even outside (Figure 4-II- ). Ironically, in the Natchez Presbyterian Church, the minister in the pulpit looked down on the Whites but up to the slaves.
Slaves used their unskilled and skilled labor to build the South. A Northern building contractor hired slaves from plantation owners to build the "old" courthouse in Vicksburg in 1858 (Figure 4-II-). This "famous" historic building, according to the city's tourist brochure, "hosted such great Americans as Jefferson Davis (the president of the Confederacy), Ulysses S. Grant (who, with his Union soldiers, destroyed the city), and Booker T. Washington (a prominent Black scholar)" -- what a combination of pro- and anti-slavery individuals! Can they all be great Americans?

In Vicksburg today, poor Blacks in their shotguns are still clustered "across the tracks" from the wealthy in their mansions on higher elevation (Figure 4-II-).
By 1848, 72 percent of slaves working in Charleston were used as house servants, and 46 percent of the laboring slaves were female domestics. Although the vast majority of slaveowners were Whites, some free Blacks also owned slaves. Many Black slaveowners hired out their slaves to White households, which may or may not have owned slaves themselves. By 1830, 65 percent of Black slaveowners in Charleston bought slaves for profit rather than to free family members. In 1850, Black slaveowners were concentrated among butchers (27 percent), barber (26 percent), and tailors (19 percent). Many urban slaves were skilled workers in wood, metal, and stone -- skills that were passed on to present-day Blacks, such as Phillip Simmons who created hundreds of iron gates in Charleston and one for the Smithsonian Museum in Washington, D.C. Figure 4-II shows a slave-made iron fence and gate in front of a slave merchant’s house in Charleston.

Another group of Blacks, mulattos -- racially mixed African and European -- were more likely to live in cities and be free than darker-skinned Africans. By 1800, one third of colored heads of households in Charleston had slave property. Between 1820 and 1840, the percentage increased to 75 percent. By 1850, the percentage had declined to 42 percent (Davis 1994). In Charleston, mulattos always dominated the Black slaveowning class (Figure 4-II-diagram). Although the free mulatto community represented 49 percent of the free Black population, they were 83 percent of the Afro-American slaveowners in South Carolina in 1850; dark-skinned masters accounted for only 15 percent of all Black slaveowners.

These lighter-colored Blacks held a privileged status, higher than dark-colored freed slaves and dark slaves, but lower than Whites, slaveowners or not. Many of the mulattos were the offsprings of White planters and merchants who provided them with slaves when they freed them. Whites preferred to do business with lighted-colored mulattos; this allowed them to accumulate more wealth than dark-colored free Blacks and thus to purchase their own slaves. By 1860 about 125 free Negroes owned slaves in Charleston; six of them owning 10 or more. Likewise in New Orleans, another city with many free Blacks, over 3,000 free Black families owned slaves in 1860, or 28 percent of the free Negroes in that city (Johnson and Roak 1984).

The majority of urban Black slaveowners were women. In 1820, free Black women represented 68 percent of heads of households and 70 percent of slaveholding heads of colored households. The large percentage of Black women slaveowners is explained by the combined effects of manumission (by their White masters for whom they fathered children), inheritance (from their White masters, relatives, and even husbands who...
had a higher mortality rate than women), and personal industry once they were free. Black women were the majority of slaves emancipated by White slave owning men with whom they had had sexual relations. The miscegenous nature of South Carolina society was common: 33 percent of all the recorded colonial manumissions (i.e., formal freeing of slaves) were mulatto children and 75 percent of all adult manumissions were females (Koger 1985).

Despite the destruction of plantation buildings, particularly slave quarters and barns, during the Civil War and subsequently through neglect and abandonment for decades, hundreds of plantations still exist throughout the South, either as public historic sites or as private homes. In Savannah, Georgia, slaves built 80 percent of all houses. Some private antebellum homes are open to the public regularly such as those along the lower Mississippi River north of New Orleans; others are, at least occasionally, open on Spring flower tours (Figure 4-II-map). In fact, tourism of “Southern hospitality,” antebellum architecture (Figure 4-II-), Civil War battle grounds and monuments, and even “slave tours” have become big business in many Southern cities, particularly in Vicksburg, Natchez, New Orleans, Savannah, and Charleston. Of the 32 historic “attractions” in Vicksburg, the city’s tourist brochure mentions slaves at three sites: one original slave quarters from 1839, a slave-built mansion from 1856, and the slave-built Courthouse in 1858.

Figure 4-II-. The Natchez Spring flower tours feature 32 antebellum mansions. Each tour, indicated by a different color, includes four houses. Source: tourist brochure.

Charleston is another city that specializes in Southern tourism with its annual Festival of Houses and Gardens and Flowers in Bloom. Many of Charleston’s finest homes were not only built by slaves but also by the wealth that the slave trade produced for the slave merchants (Figure 4-II-). The wealthy of Charleston and in other Southern cities had acquired their fortunes through their slave plantations, slave-related economic activities, and/or using domestic slave labor to maintain their urban lifestyles. Antebellum and Civil War history lives in the urban places of the South. Charleston’s distinctive house style called “single” for a single family or a “double” for two families was used by all classes of people. The narrow sides of these houses face towards the streets and they have two or more stories of porches (called piazzas, Italian for square) facing west or south to avoid direct sunlight, the heat of summer, and to catch the breeze. Figure 4-II-photo shows a very expensive version of the Charleston "single" house type: a 1838 Greek Revival three-story brick structure with giant Ionic columns on an arcaded base. A large piece of a Civil War cannon from 1865 is lodged in the attic of this house when the evacuating Confederates blew up a gun on the nearby Battery (fortifications), now White Point Park at the southern tip of the city.

Figure 4-II-. Natchez antebellum mansion. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.
Another important antebellum building in Charleston was the Aiken house. William Aiken inherited a 23-room house in 1817, which had been built by a merchant and real estate investor, from his Irish-born father, who had been the first president of the South Carolina Railroad. Aiken owned a great deal of land and became wealthy from rice, indigo, and cotton. He was Governor of South Carolina, 1844-46, and U.S. Congressman, 1851-57. He enlarged the house several times to its Italianate style, based on villas which he saw on his frequent trips to Europe. During the Civil War, in 1863, a reception for Confederate President Jefferson Davis was held here, and from December 1863 to April 20, 1864, the house was the headquarters of the Confederate commander, Gen. Pierre C.T. Beauregard (Figure 4-II-photo).

The (back) "yards" of the houses of wealthy families commonly had slave quarters, privies, kitchens, wells, cisterns, stables, and sheds for livestock. In the case of the Aiken house they were all built of expensive brick (Figure 4-II-). Six rooms on the second floor above the kitchen building housed 13 slaves. On the other side of the yard, the carriage house and spare rooms were located; in the back, a cow shed and in each of the corners of the yard, a brick privy -- to keep the smell from the outhouse farthest from the house. Although Whites thought town slaves living "in the yard" of the Big House were privileged, most slaves preferred to "live out" -- on their own even it meant in much poorer physical conditions.

Urban Slave Revolts

Slaves resisted their captivity and periodically they revolted. One of the most famous urban slave revolts occurred in Charleston. Denmark Vesey, a slave who bought his freedom when he won a lottery, plotted with hundreds of free Blacks and slaves to take control of Charleston and kill all
Whites on 16 June 1822 in the city. At this time, the Black community in Charleston was divided into three groups: affluent persons of color who shared a direct interest in preserving slavery, poor members of the free Black community, and the many slaves. For the Negro elite to take part in a slave insurrection was unthinkable because they had their own slaves and wealth to lose. They also risked losing the "respect" of the White community upon whom they relied for their income. Many free mulattos had sought refuge in Charleston from the slave revolt in Santo Domingo where they had lost land and slaves. Consequently, these mulattos were unlikely to identify with slaves, even though they were Africans (Koger 1985). The Black elite continued to join churches of primarily White denominations, such as St. Philip's Episcopal Church, and they frequently lived on the same streets as White families. Vesey, on the other hand, identified with slaves and he belonged to the A. M. E. (African Methodist Episcopal) church which had been organized by slaves and free Blacks in 1791 and was erected in 1818. Vesey planned his revolt in this church. The plans of the insurrection were kept from Whites for nearly four years, but a mulatto slave told his White slave master. Once the slave conspiracy was discovered, a mob of White Charlestonians burned the A. M. E. Church and the city officials forced the church's bishop to flee the state, even though he and his congregation had nothing to do with the plot. The police seized the leaders and participants, who were held in irons in the city jail. Thirty-five slaves were executed, and more than 30 Blacks were deported from the state. The bodies of the executed were dissected by the city surgeon! After Vesey's attempted rebellion, the Citadel (state-run military academy) was built just outside of the historic city to protect against future slave revolts. The original Citadel is today a hotel.

Another way to rebel was to escape slavery. Run-away slaves used many places on their way northward. In Savannah, the First African Baptists church was used for the Underground Railroad by Quakers to help run-away slaves escape to the North. The floor boards of this church still have the breathing holes which slaves used while waiting in the basement.

Skin color of people is a visible feature of the cultural landscape. In the U.S. South and in the nation, the one-drop rule held that persons with even "one drop" of non-White ancestry should be classified "colored," especially for segregationist laws forbidding interracial marriage. This absolutist view of racial mixing was increasing enforced, legally and forcibly, during the later years of slavery and even after the Civil War. Today the mixed race term "mulatto" is not used in the USA, as it still is in countries like Cuba and Brazil. Miscegenation, cross-racial sex and marriage, has always been taboo, illegal, or not acknowledged. Although the term mulatto was used until the 1930 Census, not until the 2000 U.S. Census were respondents allowed to select more than one racial ancestry. On the other hand, in Mexico, mestizos, mixed race of Spanish and Indian, is still used to reflect the reality of inter-racial mixing from Spanish colonial times when priests, ministers, soldiers, merchants, and tradesmen came to the "New World" without, or only a few, European women and wives.

II. Civil War Landscapes, 1861-1865
The U.S. Constitution does not mention slavery, yet slavery was practiced and slaves were counted to give Southern states greater representation in Congress than their White and non-slave population would have given them. The U.S. Constitution says: “Representatives and direct Taxes . . . determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons [meaning slaves]. Despite what the Constitution says, slavery existed and the issue became contentious whenever new states were added and during the Civil War. Although Alexander Stephens was the Vice-President of the Confederacy, he expressed the views of most Southerners and many Northerners: “Our new government is founded on . . . the great truth that the Negro is not equal to the White man. That slavery -- subordination to the superior race -- is his [the Negro’s] natural and normal condition.” In the North, President Abraham Lincoln was no abolitionist; he did not believe in full Negro citizenship; and he emancipated the slaves half way through the war only in occupied Southern states and only because of military necessity -- the French might have started supporting the South. Yet he eventually supported abolishing slavery and he gave credit to Negro soldiers; however, he could never fully support Black citizenship. Even though the North had more than twice the population and roughly 10 times the economic capacity of the South, the Civil War (as Unionists called it) or the War Between the States (as Confederates called it), dragged on for years.

The largest number of soldiers (620,000) died in the Civil War of all U.S. military engagements from the Revolutionary War to the second Gulf War. Slightly over 14 percent of all soldiers died, only the Mexican War had a higher rate, although almost all died of non-combat injuries. The Civil War also had the second highest percentage of wounded soldiers (10.7) -- only Vietnam War had a higher wounded rate. Confederate soldiers who died in Union prisons, about 26,000-31,000, are not included in these death rates (infoplease 2005).
Reconstruction governments were enormously unpopular with White Southerners, and they tried to prevent Black political activity at all costs, through such groups as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) or paramilitary organizations such as the White League. Some Confederate soldiers even left the South after the Civil War to establish settlements in Brazil -- land was cheap and slaves were still legal! Americana (pop. 168,000) is the most successful and largest of such towns -- about 70 miles northwest of Sao Paulo.

The Civil War continues to interest specialists and the general public alike. More than 60,000 books, fiction and non-fiction, have already been written about it; the bibliography of books on Gettysburg alone runs to 277 pages! Seventeen biographies have been written about Jefferson Davis, the president of the Confederacy, alone. The popularity of the Civil War reflects the national ideology of anti-governmental attitudes which Garry Wills (1999) argues sees the South as a freedom-loving underdog fighting off a powerful central government. The North is seen as impersonal, mechanical, efficient -- the very things resented in central governments. The South is seen as spontaneous, traditional, and organic. The South sees itself repeating George Washington's war with England. Even at the site of Lee's greatest blunder, Gettysburg, vendors who sell boys' uniforms to tourists do a brisker trade in Confederate grays than in Union blues.

**Historic Military Sites and Confederate Monuments**

Although the Civil War technically was fought from 1861 to 1865, Confederate ideals and history live on in the cultural landscape. About 16 miles east of Atlanta, Georgia, four million visitors a year come to see the 825-foot high Stone Mountain, started in 1923, with carvings of three prominent confederate leaders: Jefferson Davis (President of the Confederacy), Robert E. Lee (Confederate general), and Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson (Confederate general). The Ku Klux Klan was directly involved in the design, financing, and early construction of the monument. The cultural landscape of the Civil War also consists of national historic military parks, Confederate monuments, Confederate sections in Southern public cemeteries, and flying Confederate flags, in part or in whole.

The campaign for Vicksburg was one of the most important battles of the Civil War because the Mississippi River came under Union control. On 31 March 1863 Ulysses S. Grant attacked the city and drove the Confederate soldiers under John C. Pemberton into the city fortifications, where they and the city residents were besieged until their surrender on 4
July 1863. Officially, the **Vicksburg National Military Park**, established in 1893 and administered by the U.S. Park Service, commemorates the campaign, the 47-day siege, and the defense of Vicksburg. But the landscape features of the park only commemorate the Union side of this battle. The park includes 1,325 historic monuments and markers, 20 miles of reconstructed trenches and earthworks, 144 emplaced cannons, restored Union gunboat (USS Cairo), a 16-mile tour road, and the Vicksburg National Cemetery (Figure 4-II- ). The Vicksburg National Cemetery has 18,244 graves (12,954 unidentified) of Union soldiers but none of the Confederate soldiers who died in this battle; they were buried in the **Vicksburg public cemetery** around a Confederate statute and under a Confederate battle flag (Figure 4-II- ). Militarily-related sites and buildings outside the park in Vicksburg and in other Civil War battle sites throughout the South are well documented and visited (e.g., Schulze 2006 and Foote 1997).

The U.S. Civil War is peculiar in its longevity and severity of human deaths and, yet rare in human history, that this conflict and its symbols live on and are even celebrated by those who lost without much opposition from those who won! When do “losers” get to have monuments built by the “winners,” let alone by themselves and their “rebellion” becomes a symbol of resistance in their own country and abroad in such divergent countries as Japan and Germany? Image the reaction in the “civilized” world, including the United States, if the German government would build monuments to “fallen” Nazi soldiers and Nazi symbols were widely used as symbols of national pride today. In fact, it is illegal in Germany to deny the Holocaust and to use the term “Jew” in pejorative ways.

During the Civil War, battles and the subsequent destruction of the slave-based economy in the South resulted in the destruction of most slave-built and slave-maintained buildings in both the countryside and urban areas. For example, the siege of Vicksburg destroyed most of its antebellum houses as did the burning of Atlanta, while those in Natchez were preserved because the city surrendered without a fight to Union forces. Likewise, Richmond, the capital of the Confederate States of America was partially burned, yet retains many Civil War era buildings.
Amazingly, long after the Civil War, statutes and monuments were still being erected. In 1904 the state of Arkansas, United Daughters of the Confederacy, United Confederate Veterans, and Sons of Confederate Veterans erected a Confederate monument outside the state capitol (Figure 4-II- ). In 1906, Congress even approved the marking of Confederate graves for soldiers who died while imprisoned in Union prisons during the Civil War. The government commissioned four Confederate monuments at National Cemetery Administration sites: Point Lookout Confederate Cemetery, Maryland; Finn’s Point National Cemetery, New Jersey (Figure 4-II- ); North Alton Confederate Cemetery, Illinois; and Confederate Mound in Oakwoods Cemetery, Illinois. The National Cemetery Administration had already dedicated 24 monuments to Confederate soldiers in other cemeteries (NCA 2006). Elsewhere, Confederate graves appear in public city cemeteries in the South, usually in separate sections as in Vicksburg. In the large municipal cemetery of Danville, Virginia, "Confederate Row" leads to a Confederate Soldiers’ Monument — a 16-ton, 32-feet obelisk atop a six-foot artificial mound. The Anne Eliza Johns Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy conducts their Jefferson Davis celebration at this 1878 obelisk each year (Danville Historical Society 2006).

Flags are the language of past glory or disgrace and present pride or shame for particular cultural groups. Flags are also powerful markers in cultural landscapes. During most of the Reconstruction era, public display of Confederate flags was illegal in the states occupied by federal troops. With the end of Reconstruction, the Confederate flag began a resurgence. The widespread popularity of the flag is illustrated when during World War II some military units used Southern nicknames and made the flag their unofficial emblem. Some soldiers even carried Confederate flags into battle. After the Battle of Iwo Jima a large Confederate flag was raised from the top of Mount Suribachi, but it was quickly taken down and replaced with the Stars and Stripes. The use of
the Confederate flag by soldiers came under investigation after some Black soldiers filed complaints. By the end of the World War II the use of the Confederate flag in the military was rare.

Today, for many Whites in the U.S. South, the Confederate flag is a symbol of their heritage and pride in their ancestors who held out during years of war under terrible odds and sacrifice. For most Blacks in the North and especially in the South, on the other hand, Confederate flag stand for slavery, Jim Crow laws, and violence against Blacks. As a result, numerous political battles have been fought over the use of the Confederate battle flag in Southern state flags, at sporting events at Southern universities, and on public buildings. In Savannah’s Forsyth Park the Confederate monument is fenced off because Blacks have repeatedly vandalized this symbol of racism. The flying of contested flags, whether in the U.S. South or in French Canada, is both a sign of official tolerance on the one hand but also of group resistance, defiance, and deep-seated prejudices.

The Confederate Battle flag is still officially used in Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Although Mississippi already used it by 1894, the Georgia state flag incorporated the Confederate Battle flag only from 1956 to 2001. Nine Southern states continue to issue “vanity” license plates for cars with the Confederate battle flag. The use of the Confederate flags continues to be as controversial in the South as Indian names and motifs are in Midwestern public school sports teams.

III. Sharecropper Plantation Landscapes, 1866-1940s

The War Between the States was never about the emancipation of slaves and equality of Blacks with Whites but only about ensuring the unity of the United States on Northern terms and belatedly about ending the institution of slavery.

1. President Abraham Lincoln said “If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would do that” (quoted by Meinig 1993, 518).
2. President Lincoln’s well-know Emancipation Proclamation in 1862, two years after the war had started, only “freed” slaves between enemy lines, in the Confederate states, not in the North over which Lincoln had control.
3. After the Emancipation Proclamation, enlistment of Whites dropped because they resented Black soldiers joining “their” fight. To assure adequate troops, Lincoln introduced conscription.

4. When escaped Blacks joined Union forces, they were at first not allowed to bear arms. And when the War Department organized the first 5,000 Black soldiers in 1862, they were only paid half the wages of White soldiers.
5. Three constitutional amendments were passed after Reconstruction before Blacks were defined as persons with all the rights of White males, at least in principle: XIII Amendment, abolishment of slavery, 1865; XIV Amendment, defining citizenship, 1868; and XV Amendment, voting rights for Black men, 1870. Ironically, all women, both White and Black, only got the vote with the XIX Amendment in 1920.
6. As late as April 1865 President Lincoln said: “I can hardly believe that the South and the North can live in peace unless we get rid of the Negroes. Although 150,000 Blacks had fought with Union forces, it would be better to export them all to some fertile country with a good climate, which they could have for themselves.”
7. Although Congress passed several land redistribution acts which were designed to address land issues during Reconstruction, the lack of enforcement of these acts resulted in no land being distributed to the ex-slaves. White planters essentially retained their land wealth, although their other form of property, slaves, was confiscated without compensation -- something U.S. corporations should keep in mind when they claim compensation for their assets after the Cuban Revolution.

These attitudes, institutional behaviors, and policies would assure that Blacks would continue in their subjected role, despite the abolition of slavery. Michael Wayne (1983) documents that despite military defeat in the Civil War, emancipation of slaves, crop failures, and the 1870 depression, the old landed elites retained their relative position even though immediately after the Civil War, the federal government dispatched federal troops to the South and provided some services to the ex-slaves.

In 1863, Congress created the Freedman's Bureau (its full title was Bureau for Refugees, Freedman, and Abandoned Lands) and placed it within the War Department but without an independent budget. The Bureau was to assist the emancipated slaves by distributing clothing, food, and fuel to destitute "freedmen," as ex-slaves were called. For ex-slaves, land distribution of the former plantations seemed a logical consequence of emancipation. The Bureau employed a maximum of 900 agents in the entire South. In South Carolina, one agent was responsible for 40,000 freedmen! By 1865, the Bureau controlled 850,000 acres of abandoned land -- hardly
enough to accommodate all the ex-slaves. Freedmen were to receive 40 acres of abandoned or confiscated land at nominal rents or they were to be given the option to buy the land for a fairly appraised price. Blacks had to occupy the land to gain control of it; Whites had to occupy the land to retain it. The Freeman’s Bureau also built schools for Blacks. Blacks, of course, built their own schools as soon as they could afford to. The slave market building in Savannah, appropriately, became a free Black school during Reconstruction (1866-1877).

During the Reconstruction era, Congress passed four laws which were to address land issues in the South: Confiscation Acts (1861 and 1862) which authorized Union forces to seize of rebel properties; Captured and Abandoned Property Acts (1863 and 1864) which allowed the federal government seizure of property of absent individuals who supported the South; and the Southern Homestead Act (1866) for settling Whites and Blacks on federally held land in the South. By issuing Special Field Order No. 15 on 15 January 1865, Union General William Sherman actually did more to help ex-slaves acquire land than federal laws did. He set aside the Sea Islands and a portion of the Low Country rice coast of Charleston, extending 30 miles inland, for the exclusive settlement by Black families. Each family received 40 acres, and later Sherman authorized the army to assist these settlers with the loan of mules -- hence, the phrase, "40 acres and a mule." Over 40,000 freedmen settled 400,000 acres in coastal South Carolina and Georgia. Despite laws to the contrary, the U.S. army evicted tens of thousands of freedmen throughout the South who did not voluntarily leave their newly occupied homes. Virtually all the land in Bureau hands, as well as that which Sherman had distributed, was returned to former slave-owners. Despite the removal of Black settlers, the rural settlement pattern had changed forever, from one of concentrated slave settlements to scattered family sharecroppers.

After Lincoln’s assassination, Vice President Andrew Johnson became president, and he promptly granted amnesty and pardons to participants in the rebellion, thereby restoring their land to them. Congress simultaneously allowed major Confederate officials and owners of taxable property valued more than $20,000 to apply for presidential pardons. Despite the land reform laws, President Johnson restored the economic and political hegemony of the prewar elite by returning their land to them. During Reconstruction, state governments also took control of vast tracts of land fell for non-payment of taxes -- in Mississippi over six million acres alone (20 percent of the entire state). Despite state laws requiring that these lands be sold to small-scale farmers, almost none were. In Mississippi, for example, 95 percent of the forfeited lands eventually found their way back to their original owners. Only slaveholding Indians who had sided with the Confederacy had to provide land to their former slaves!

White supremacy and violence were used to keep Blacks “in their place.” The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) used violence to suppress Black empowerment during Reconstruction. They used beatings, burning, and lynchings. Klan intimidation was often targeted at school teachers and federal Freedmen’s Bureau employees. Earlier violence had been used against Whites who opposed slavery. Between 1830 and 1860, over 300 Whites were lynched in the South for being sympathetic to the abolition of slavery (Wilks 1999). In 1868, the KKK had 550,000 members. When the federal government used the Civil Rights Act of 1871 (also known as the Ku Klux Klan Act) to crack down on the KKK in several Southern counties, Rite Clubs and Red Shirts took their place. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court and the federal government have repeatedly and consistently abandoned the rights of Blacks, despite the Constitution and federal and state laws.

By the mid-1870s, the interest of the Northerners in reforming the South had shriveled, and one by one Democratic governments began to return to Southern states. By the time of the disputed presidential election of 1876, only three states of the South (Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida) remained “unredeemed” by Democratic rule (hence the name Redemption), as illustrated by Figure 4-II-confederate map. The disputed election between Republican governor of Ohio Rutherford B. Hayes and Democratic governor of New York Samuel J. Tilden was finally resolved by the Compromise of 1877, in which Hayes became President in exchange for numerous favors to the South, one of which was the removal of Union troops from the remaining “unredeemed” Southern states. With the removal of these forces, Reconstruction came to an end.

In response to the loss of their civil rights and increased intimidations, Black churches became particularly important to keep “hope alive.” It would take another 100 years before the next reconstruction would occur -- the modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. With emancipation, Blacks withdrew from White churches and created their own Black versions of mainstream churches, such as Baptist, Methodist, Episcopalian, and Pentecostal (often with the word “African”) and their own Christian churches. Independent Black churches emerged because Whites refused Blacks an equal place within the congregations (e.g., separate pews and no part in church governance) and Blacks wanted, finally, self-determination like other cultural groups. So, for example, in
1862, 42,000 Black Methodists worshiped in bi-racial South Carolina churches; but by 1877, only 600 Blacks remained (Du Bois 1983 and Foner 1988).

Sharecropping replaced slavery during the Reconstruction era and continued until the 1940s. After the Civil War, planters no longer had slaves as their guaranteed workforce. The freed ex-slaves wanted their independence and many moved away to other plantations. In order to keep Blacks on their farms, planters developed various forms of sharecropping (Figure 4-II-diagram). Nancy Virts (1991) uses the term “tenant plantations” to describe at least five sharecroppers who worked one landholding. Owners provided the necessary inputs of mules, tools, and seeds, and land; and sharecroppers provided the labor. Sharecroppers worked a section of the plantation independently, usually growing cotton, tobacco, rice, and other cash crops, and received a small portion of the value of their production. Black farmers and White owners “shared” in the harvest in varying ratios, frequently 1:3 or 1:4, respectively. Income was frequently inadequate to survive throughout the year so planters would "give" their Black families credit at their commissionaires (planter-owned stores on or near plantations). Black poverty persisted after the Civil War because the plantation economy essentially continued even as its landscape forms changed (Mandle 1978). Poor White farmers also participated in sharecropping whether in the South or the Midwest.

Sharecropper farms in 1880 were mostly concentrated in the former slave counties of the South, but rarely accounted for more than 50 percent (Figure 4-II-map). Sharecropping was also important in Illinois and Kentucky. The “colored” population in 1880 correlates with the sharecropper patterns (Figure 4-II-map). The percentage of large farms of 1,000 or more acres continued to be found in the same counties as before the Civil War (Figure 4-II-map). In South Carolina, for example, Blacks accounted for 57 percent of all farmers, but almost 70 percent of the state’s tenants in 1920. Over 65 percent of both Black and White tenants were sharecroppers (Kovacik and Winberry 1987). By 1920, sharecropper farms, more commonly now called tenant farms, were much more concentrated (Figure 4-II-map 1920). Traditional sharecropping declined after farm work became economical in the mid-twentieth century. As a result, many sharecroppers were “forced” off the farms (they were of course “free” now), and migrated to the industrialized North to work in factories, or become migrant workers in the West during World War II.
Cotton continued to be grown on all sizes of farms during this era. Cotton gins dotted the rural landscape and cotton exchanges were found in cities (Figure 4-II- ).

The ex-slaves scattered across the landscape, building cabins near the fields that they were assigned by their White landlords -- about 30-40 acres per house site (Figure 4-II-photo). Fields became smaller and crop patterns became diverse because Black families were now working separate plots of land for cash and food crops. More roads and trails were built to provide access to the scattered settlements. As late as 1936, about 60 percent of plantations were organized into sharecropper units. Freed Blacks constructed many small churches and cemeteries, usually without ordained ministers (Figure 4-II-photo). Indeed, the density of rural Black churches in the South is striking. For example, in two random 56 square-mile areas (the size of a topographic map, e.g., Hollywood and Robinsonville) in

Source: Ingolf Vogeler, data from the University of Virginia Library 2006.
Mississippi from 2 to 1.5 churches were found per 10 square miles whereas in other random areas of the Midwest, none were found.

Cultural Landscapes of Southern Cities

Before the Civil War, Black slaves lived close together with White families, whether on plantations or cities in the South. Even free Blacks, who depended on work from Whites, lived close to White residential sections. With Reconstruction came spatially segregated Southern cities: Whites occupied larger and finer houses on the main streets or boulevards whereas Blacks lived in small shotguns in the inner most city blocks of “super blocks” (Figure 4-II-diagram) or on the outskirts of cities, called “free town,” what Whites often called “Liberia.” New Orleans maintained these racial residential patterns longer than any other Southern city, remainants of it can still be seen in the Garden District. In Charleston, distinctive Freedman’s cottages from the 1880s and 1890s are still common (Figure 4-II-)

After Reconstruction, White racists used terror, largely in the form of lynchings, to control Blacks now that they were free. From 1880s to 1960s, nearly 5,000 people were killed by lynch mobs, according to Tuskegee University records -- nearly all in the South and 73 percent were Blacks. The actual numbers are much higher. Lynching was socially acceptable, particularly in the South where it occurred in all but four states.
Sometimes lynchings were occasions for parades and picnics, as depicted in the film *Rosewood*, which takes place in Florida. Postcards were even printed of lynchings, a sample of which can be found in slave museums.

Postcards exist of five lynchings: Russville, Kentucky, 1908; Cairo, Illinois, 1909; Robinson, Texas, 1916; and Center, Texas, 1920 (Kane 2000). In addition, hundreds of photographs were taken of lynchings (Allen, Als, and Litwack 2000). The U.S. Senate formally apologized for failing to pass legislation that would have made lynching a federal crime (*Economist* 2005). Yet sites of lynchings are not marked with historic plaques in the cultural landscapes whereas dead soldiers on both sides of the Civil War are honored in monuments and cemeteries (Foote 1997). In sharp contrast, atrocities against Jews in Western Europe are well marked in large and small cities and in the countryside, although not as many as in Eastern Europe where more of these pogroms occurred.

Although Black culture was originally ignored and even despised by the dominant White society, Blacks left a cultural legacy that has given the United States its most distinctive cultural features, and now, ironically celebrated and appreciated in the United States and even in many countries abroad as different as Japan, France, and Iran. The African origins of jazz, blues, zydeco, and gospel are now part of the mainstream of U.S. music (Figure 4-II- ). The National Park Service even operates the New Orleans Jazz site in the French quarter to explain and celebrate this music.

**Figure 4-II-** . Idealized Black-White residential patterns at the neighborhood scale in Southern cities in the Postbellum era. Source: Ingolf Vogeler.

**Figure 4-II-**. Freedman’s cottage in Charleston. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

**Figure 4-II-** . The Blues Capital: Beale Street in Memphis. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.
Black churches and their critical role in the civil rights movement are also well known (Figure 4-II-). Many Southern and Northern cities now have civil rights museums documenting the events from 1956 to 1970. Better known examples are found in Birmingham, Memphis, Atlanta, and Selma, Alabama. The one in Memphis is well known because Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated here. Another famous museum is the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social change and the Martin Luther King, Jr. Historic site in Atlanta. Savannah’s Civil Rights Museum is housed in a former Black-owned bank, started in 1914. Detroit and Wilberforce, Ohio, have institutes that focus on African-American history and culture.

All-Black Towns

All-Black towns were created by “freedmen” after the Civil War as soon as they accumulated enough money to buy land and build homes, usually several decades after they were free. Many of these settlements were never large enough to incorporate such as the 28 Black hamlets in the Kentucky horse-breeding region of the Lexington Basin. In 1878, former slaves, who once did and still predominately work on the horse estates, bought 23 acres to build New Zion which includes a Black church and cemetery (Figure 4-II-map). These Black hamlets are quite invisible in the landscape: a small cluster of houses, occasionally with a church and/or cemetery, lying off the main highways. The absence of barns and other outbuildings indicates that these Blacks have never worked their own land but work(ed) on the adjacent horse farms, at least initially. Most of the larger Black towns eventually incorporated; but many no longer exist. Oklahoma once had 48 Black towns; only 12 incorporated towns are left (Figure 4-II-map). Chapter 9 provides a detailed topographic exercise on these horse farms and Black hamlets.
Figure 4-II- . Map of extinct (mostly in Oklahoma) and present Black towns in the United States. Many smaller Black settlements have existed and some persist. Source: Ingolf Vogeler, from various sources.

Mound Bayou in the Mississippi Delta is only one of several all-Black towns in the United States (Figure 4-II-topo and 4-II-sign). Several denominations serve the diverse religious needs of Mount Bayou (Figure 4-II- ). In comparison to the White towns with Black sections in the Delta, Mound Bayou has a lot of good housing (Figure 4-II- ).
Most Blacks moved to existing towns during this era rather than create all-Black towns. The **residential pattern of Black housing** evolved into distinctive types in the South and the North. Blacks, as slaves, had lived among their White owners. After the Civil War, freed Blacks created distinctive residential areas away from their previous owners; yet, they lived close enough to the White wealthy classes who employed them as domestics and industrial workers. In the North, Blacks were segregated into spatially-separated ghettos and this pattern eventually spread to the South as well (Figure 4-II-diagram). "Old" Southern cities like New Orleans have retained some of the dispersed Black housing patterns from an earlier era (Figure 4-II-diagram, p. 30), but "new" Southern cities like Atlanta have very spatially segregated residential patterns. Shelby, in the Delta of Mississippi, illustrates the segregated pattern of residential housing of Blacks and Whites in small Southern towns today. White parts of towns have bigger, conventional-style houses on large lots, set back from the streets (Figure 4-II-). Black parts of towns, on the other hand, have small houses, e.g., shotguns, on smaller lots at high densities (Figure 4-II-).
neighborhoods labeled. Source: Shelby Quad, 1: 48,000, labels by Ingolf Vogeler.

Cemeteries were and continue to be segregated like residential areas in Southern towns. Sometimes they are found side-by-side (Figure 4-II-). In 1999, the wrought-iron fence, erected in 1836, that had separated the Black and White graves for more than 150 years was torn down in Jasper, Texas. Other times, Black and White cemeteries are located in separate public cemeteries. Some of these Black cemeteries do not even appear on city maps. In Savannah, Georgia, for example, the Black cemetery of South Laurel Grove Cemetery is not shown on official city maps. Hand-written tombstones, many empty plots, and over grown graves are common in this Black cemetery. In sharp contrast, Bonaventure Cemetery was reserved for Whites, especially the elite, and is well maintained. In fact, large numbers of tourists visit this cemetery, made famous by the song Moon River and the book Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil.

IV. Black-Worker Plantation Landscapes, 1950s-present

After World War II the mechanization of harvesting cotton and other cash crops allowed large-scale farmers to create neoplantations (Figure 4-II-diagram). Mechanization required fewer workers and resulted in larger field sizes. Prior to the industrialization of agriculture, Southern farmers with 500 acres needed 200-300 workers; today, six or seven can now operate farms ten times larger. Between 1940 and 1987, the number of Delta farms, for example, fell from 105,037 to 6,561 and the average farm size tripled. And with it, the number of Black sharecroppers fell by 98 percent. The restructuring of Southern agriculture resulted in massive out-migration of Blacks to Northern cities. Black out-migration resulted in many former sharecropper cabins being vacated and razed. The remaining Black workers remain in houses along the main roads and close to the
farms on which they work. Loosely-defined nucleated settlements emerged that recall antebellum plantation villages. Tractor stations, not mule sheds, are now the focus on neoplantations (Prunty 1955; Aiken 1971 and 1998; Hilliard 1990). Neoplantations produced a new cultural landscape (actually old, similar in appearance to slave-based plantations). White landowners continued to live, invariably, in the Big Houses (Figure 4-II-photo) and

Black workers in scattered former sharecropper cabins and/or worker housing on neoplantations (Figure 4-II-photo). Topographic maps clearly show these settlement patterns (Figure 4-II-topo). And cotton gins and cotton warehouses continue to visually dominate small towns (Figure 4-II-photo).

Figure 4-II-. Idealized Black-worker plantations. Source: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 4-II-. The Big House, often now owned not by farmers, but by wealthy Whites who “play” Gone with the Wind. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 4-II-. Two Black worker houses, their church (middle), and machine sheds (right) in 1990 on a neo-plantation in Louisiana. The Big house lies nearby. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 4-II-. Cotton gin in Tunica, Mississippi. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 4-II-. White farmstead with Black worker houses in Mississippi. Source: Hollywood Quad, 1:24,000.
As Black moved North, they took with them their culture: language (Black English), music (blues and jazz), food (soul food), body language, clothing styles, and social structure. In both the South and the North, Black-inspired music is splayed in juke (or jute) joints, bars, and night clubs (Figure 4-II- ). Southern places often inspired Blues artists and as their music spread North, historic markers were erected to recognize the importance of these places in the national lore. A good example is the “Where the Southern crosses the Dog” marker in the Mississippi Delta -- the source region of the Blues and birth place of many of its earliest musicians (Figure 4-II- ).

Figure 4-II- . Blues joint in Mound Bayou. Photo: Ingo Vogeler.

Slavery-Era Place Names in New Orleans

Place names give overt meaning to cultural landscapes. What names are used, eliminated, or re-named, speak to the prevailing cultural meaning of places. But in contrast to other cultural groups in North America, Blacks never had the power to name physical and human places after their preferences. Think of all the Northern European place names in the United States, such as New England, Stockholm, and Berlin, and all the Spanish physical and settlement place names. But where are the African place names of New Dahomey, Ashanti, and Fulani?

With Black empowerment during the civil rights movement place names are being renamed to reflect Black preferences. For example, in New Orleans with over 90 percent Blacks now, the city's school board has a policy of dropping slave-owner names from public schools. The George Washington school was renamed Charles Dew, a pioneering Black doctor who urged the army to stop segregating blood by race. George Washington (who in the 1790s was far more enlightened than most slaveowners: he freed his slaves in his will) is the latest in a string of name changes, 22 since the policy took hold in 1993. Although confederate names still appear on statutes and streets throughout the city, Confederate leaders like Robert E. Lee, P. G. T. Beauregard, and Davis Jefferson are gone from school names. The city's 121 public schools, 49 were originally named after slaveowners. The school board also wants to purge the names of four mixed-race New Orleanians who owned slaves despite being part-Black themselves.

Despite all the profound changes in the lives of African Americans over the last several hundred years, the regional distribution of Blacks in the United States is still concentrated disproportionally in the very places where slavery was practiced (Figure 4-II-map). Past injustices can never be completely erased in memories or landscapes. Randall Robinson (2000) raises the interesting question of how Blacks today should be compensated for 246 years of slavery, especially as those interned in Japanese camps are being compensated by the U.S. government and Jewish Holocaust survivors and forced workers in World War II factories are being compensated by Germany for their “enslavement.”

Comparison of Southern Plantation Types over Time

The complex evolution of the African American cultural landscapes that developed from slavery to today in the United States can best be summarized by comparing the three types of plantations and the simultaneous evolving urban patterns that characterized the U.S. South
(Figures 4-II- and 4-II-). On slave plantations, Blacks were concentrated in slave quarters near their owners’ homes and/or in isolated settlements near the cultivated fields. In Southern cities, slaves lived with their White masters and free Blacks clustered together but not far from Whites upon whom they depended for their livelihoods. Once Blacks were freed after the Civil War, they preferred to live away from the “Big House” on their own section of the White-owned farmland. These free-Black plantations are better known as sharecropper plantations. Despite difficult conditions, free Blacks, for the first time, could build their own churches and schools -- two institutions which had been denied to them by Whites under slavery. In cities, Blacks were segregated in larger areas but located close to White employers in homes, shops, and factories. With the mechanization of Southern agriculture, Blacks abandoned their scattered sharecropper cabins and moved North; the few remaining farm workers and families lived again close to or even on large farms. The settlement patterns of the Black-worker plantations uncannily resemble the layout of the earlier slave plantations, albeit the Blacks are now “free” and they use machinery rather than mules.
Figure 4-II. Stages in Black-White urban patterns. Source: Ingolf Vogeler.