390/D-38

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

and the

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

at

Hampton National Historic Site

by

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November 1, 1996

This study was conducted for the National Park Service under Cooperative Agreement #NPS1443 CA 000194018 dated September 3, 1994. Dr. Richard Briceland, Special Assistant for Science and Technology, served as contract administrator for the National Park Service, (202) 994-8642. A copy of the contract authorizing this report is appended to the end of this volume.

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Preface

During the Spring and Summer of 1996, faculty and graduate students from the American Studies Department of the George Washington University worked with four sites from the National Park Service to consider ways to expand and improve the historical content of interpretive programs currently in place. The four sites which participated in the project were Hampton National Historic Site in Towson, Maryland; Booker T. Washington National Monument in Hardy, Virginia; George Washington's Birthplace National Monument in Washington's Birthplace, Virginia; and Arlington House (the Robert E. Lee Memorial), in Arlington, Virginia.

Work on this project was funded by a National Park Service grant, through a Cooperative Agreement established between the National Park Service and the George Washington University. The grant was designed to fund assessments of the interpretive programs at the sites by George Washington University staff and to produce a bibliographic essay on historical literature for use by park staff.

An intitial meeting was held at George Washington University for project participants from the National Park Service and the University. As a result of that meeting, a decision was made to focus particularly on the interpretation of slavery and southern culture, since this was a theme shared by the four sites. All four of the sites are well aware that slavery existed on their

sites, and currently include discussions of slavery in their tours and presentations. However, most staff agreed they would benefit from a consolidated source of background information on African-American history applicable to the period.

Interpreters at some of the four sites currently are grappling with the problem of how to tell the history of plantations, which were homes to prominent Americans such as George Washington and Robert E. Lee. The enabling legislation for these sites, and others like them, generally focusses on memorializing a particular great leader. Yet these sites often were often home to many others, including slaves. Park staff are considering how these inhabitants should be represented in sites and tours, and how their stories can be interwoven with those of their white owners. Each of these sites not only represents an opportunity for educating the public about many aspects of American history, but also provides important resources for scholars who are researching the past. One of the contributions the George Washingto University staff hopes to have made with the bibliographic essay is to provide a sense of the way in which interpretations at individual sites are part of larger historical debates, whether or not that was the original or primary intention of park interpreters.

A graduate student and faculty adviser were assigned to each site to produce the assessments. Staff from the University made several visits to each site, usually (but not always) meeting with park staff to discuss the site. Each graduate student and a

faculty adviser also took responsibility for producing a particular subsection of the bibliographic essay. Once the subsections of the essay had been produced, the George Washington University staff worked to integrate them into one longer consolidated piece of work. Finally, each graduate student then "customized" the essay for the site which he/she originally had assessed, suggesting specific applications of the information contained in the essay. Throughout the process, the George Washington University team met weekly to critique each other's work. Drafts of the essays also were submitted to site staff for review and criticism as well.

The document which follows is one of four volumes created as a result of this project. The four volumes have a common format consisting of a "Site Assessment" section (Part I) and a "Scholarship on Southern Farms and Plantations" section (Part II). The Site Assessment section (Part I) summarizes how interpretive content might be enhanced at the site in order to present to the visitor a more comprehensive historical picture. The Scholarship section (Part II) deals with the practices and the consequences of slavery as they apply to life and culture on farms and plantations during the period. This bibliographic essay is the same in all four volumes except that the authors have included italicized inserts that identify historical and anecdotal information pertinent to the particular site under discussion which might be utilized in visitor interpretation programs.

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SITE ASSESSMENT

Hampton National Historic Site
Towson, Maryland

Introduction

Hampton National Historic Site in Towson, Maryland, consists of a vast array of cultural and natural resources. The focal point of the property is "Hampton Hall," a fine late eighteenth-century Georgian house surrounded by a remarkable collection of outbuildings and landscape features that constitute the remains of a once thriving agricultural, commercial, and industrial plantation complex. As stated by Hampton's curator, Lynne Dakin Hastings, the primary historical mission of Hampton National Historic Site is "to preserve, protect, and interpret the remnants" of the plantation, and it "provides an opportunity to relate the site's complex, dynamic history in the context of more than two hundred years of local, state, and national events."

At present, the primary interpretive focus of the property is the architectural significance of Hampton Hall, as well as the remarkable decorative arts collection that it contains. This focus is appropriate not only because the house is a splendid example of late Georgian architecture, but also because Hampton was the first property acquired by the National Park Service (in 1948) on the basis of its architectural significance. Hampton Hall was also the impetus for the formation of the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

While the site was originally preserved because of its architectural significance, Hampton's cultural resources, including its vast collections of physical artifacts and archival materials, present an exciting opportunity for expanding interpretive activities. The large number of extant structures, preserved formal gardens and grounds features such as orchards, work yards, and a family cemetery, provide the chance to explore the plantation as a cultural landscape--as a place where a wide variety of people lived and worked, including the elite Ridgely family, indentured servants, African-American slaves, and other workers.

Hampton was the site of ironworks, mills, and quarries in which industrial slaves worked, as well as a number of large farms and orchards in which agricultural slaves labored. (Slaves were also employed in the Ridgely's many mercantile endeavors.) Hampton thus provides the opportunity to explore a side of plantation life which is currently of great interest to scholars: the industrial side of slavery, and the interactions of this economy with that of the agricultural economy.

The purpose of this site assessment is two-fold: to reinforce successful interpretive strategies, and to identify opportunities for expansion. This information about the site's potential is provided as evidence that Hampton National Historic Site deserves greater administrative and financial support from the National Park Service to develop interpretative strategies that make greater use of its rich and unique cultural resources. Review of the 1993 Long Range Interpretive Plan for Hampton and the Interpretation Guideline NPS-6, Release No. 3 will continue to serve as additional guidance.

Current Interpretive Strategies

The mansion is open to the public on a regular basis. Guided tours, lasting approximately forty-five minutes, are given daily by Park Service rangers and other docents. All outbuildings, with the exception of one stable and the Orangery (the latter a 1970s reconstruction), are closed to the public. Visitors are encouraged to explore the farm by themselves, and the farm buildings are marked with small metal plaques that provide basic information (but are aging and are difficult to read). Brochures provide information about the farm property and the extensive gardens and grounds around the mansion.

Interpretation of Hampton Hall focuses mainly on its fine architecture, interior decoration, and furnishings as status symbols of the Ridgely family. Several rooms have been restored to different periods of the Ridgely's multi-generational occupancy, and changes in technology such as heating, lighting, and plumbing are also addressed.

Interpreters, who include Park Service rangers and volunteer staff, explain how each room was used by the Ridgely family, and how a guest might experience the house and the elaborate entertainments that the Ridgelys often provided. In general, this aspect of Hampton's interpretation is quite successful. The tour of house is not chronologically linked to the changes in interior design through the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries because the furnishings and the interpretation of each room maximize the use of original artifacts and documentation. While this "time travel" may be confusing to some visitors, it would be difficult for Hampton to do a chronological tour given the limited resources it has at present.

Some efforts are made to draw attention to the fact that not everyone who lived at Hampton experienced it in the same way. On one tour of the mansion, a ranger suggested that women, and the African-American slaves who worked in the house, might have "seen things differently." He did not go on to suggest what those different viewpoints might have been. Other staff and tour leaders, however, do discuss differential experiences in considerable detail. Given the fact that there are only two rangers at Hampton (sometimes aided by rangers from other sites), quality control of tours is a continuing challenge. Funding to provide each interpreter with a complete tour guide notebook would help to address this concern.

Perhaps Hampton's best interpretative work is the twenty-minute film created to introduce school children to the site, entitled "Hampton National Historic Site: Window to the Past." This video is part of a teaching package for students in grades four to eight. It introduces viewers to the people who lived and worked at Hampton, including the Ridgely family, indentured servants, and slave artisans. Actors portray individual characters, who talk about their work and how they spend their personal time. The film raises some important issues in regard to slavery; for example, a "slave" talks about the subversive qualities of field workers' songs. Their lyrics held very different meanings for slaves than they did for their owners. Park Service staff do not use the film at this time, indicating that

there is no place to show it to visitors on the site. Perhaps the Orangery might be used for this purpose, although at present it cannot be used for routine viewing of the video because of conflicts with building uses. The film is designed to appeal specifically to children, but it could also be used to introduce families with children, and perhaps other visitors, to Hampton.

Special Event: "Heritage Day"

Sunday, April 21, 1996 was "Hampton Heritage Day 1996," and provided a different interpretive experience. In the yard on the farm site was a series of exhibits and presentations under a tent, with the theme of "Transportation 1760s-1940s." Hampton Heritage Day's transportation theme provided visitors with a manageable, thematic topic through which they could learn about history. An event handout described how and where various generations of the Ridgely family traveled, and compared their travel experiences to those of their servants and slaves (including runaways). The information in the handout connected the theme of transportation to Hampton Hall with suggestions of items to look for in the mansion, including trunks, cloaks, traveling bath tubs, and foot warmers. The Heritage Day transportation theme is one example of the many different ways that Hampton provides a unique "window to the past."

For Heritage Day, most of the outbuildings were open to the public. The quality of the interpretation of the plantation site was largely determined by the abilities of individual docents at this event. At Hampton Hall, visitors wandered from room to room, where they were met by interpreters stationed in each one. Some interpreters were better than others, but without a general introductory talk, and because the rooms represent different periods in Hampton's history, the overall presentation was disjointed.

Interpretation of the farm buildings was similarly uneven. Some interpreters were extremely well informed, such as the person from John Milner Architects who provided a clear analysis of the evolution of the "farm house" with drawings and models, along with a

history of the building's occupants. A number of other docents had been brought from other Park Service sites, some of whom knew very little about Hampton. But the fact that the outbuildings were open indicates that the Hampton staff is making an effort to broaden the interpretation of the abundant cultural resources of the site, given their limited resources.

Special events such as "Heritage Day" are important because they draw a wider variety of visitors and generate publicity. They also provide the opportunity to experiment with different interpretive strategies. Successful strategies can perhaps be incorporated into daily tours of Hampton Hall, into other special events, and, at a later date, into tours of the gardens and farm sites.

The Gift Shop

Hampton has a small gift shop that is run by Historic Hampton, Inc., a chartered Friends Group and Cooperating Association that supports Hampton's preservation and interpretive efforts. The shop occupies the west one-room wing of the house. Books constitute a small fraction of its inventory. Among them is a very small collection of scholarly books, but most titles are of more general interest: historic houses, preservation, decorating, and some children's books.

The staff at Hampton indicated that they would like to have a larger book store, but that short of a new visitors' center, they have no place to put it. Cost and a shortage of staff are major problems in this regard. A possible interim solution might be to offer a handout of several "for further reading" suggestions to visitors after they have taken the tour. Certainly the complexity of Hampton National Historic Site, and the potential expansion of its interpretive program, offer justification for the expansion of the bookstore inventory--for both popular and scholarly audiences.

The Tea Room

Since 1949, Hampton has operated a tea room in the east wing. While its profit margins are not high, it remains something of an institution at Hampton, having been managed (and later owned) by an African-American family from its inception to the present--one of whom once worked for the Ridgelys. Some Park Service staff consider the tea room as a cultural resource itself, a twentieth-century artifact.

Continuing Opportunities for Improvement and Innovation

There are clearly many themes and stories that can be told through the interpretation of Hampton National Historic Site. The interpretation of Hampton Hall, with its important architectural features and decorative arts collections, is quite successful.

In regard to the interpretation of African-American life and labor on the plantation, Hampton's greatest challenges appear to be the following:

- providing for the interpretation of the lives of Hampton's slave population, beyond one brochure entitled "African Americans and Slavery."
- interpreting Hampton Hall as an important site of slave labor.
- interpreting the numerous extant structures and the landscape surrounding them, including gardens, orchards, fields, and burial grounds as a cohesive whole, representing the remnants of a working agricultural and industrial complex.
- time and/or funding to develop new interpretive programs and exhibits.
- time and/or funding to expand and train interpretive staff.

Potential interpretive strategies might include the following:

- interpretation of Hampton as a cultural landscape that explores its different meanings for the various people who lived and worked there.

- how Hampton resembled or differed from other Maryland and Chesapeake plantations.
- plantation work, both agricultural and industrial, performed by hired laborers, indentured servants, and slaves.
- how Hampton Hall functioned as a whole, comprised of work spaces for both blacks and whites, private spaces for the Ridgely family, and public spaces for entertainment.
- Hampton Hall as the site of slave labor.
- how the Ridgely family viewed and treated their workers and slaves.
- the Ridgelys' religious beliefs in regard to slavery.
- the material life of slavery.

Assuming that the outbuildings are structurally stable and meet necessary safety codes, a well-trained staff, equipped with accurate historical themes and specific facts, could tell the story of African-American slaves at Hampton as they lead visitors from building to building on the farm site--while relating the farm to the "big house" on the hill. The buildings need not be completely restored and furnished to provide a unique, compelling setting for the interpretation of slave life. Similarly, Hampton Hall's interpreters could incorporate African-American life into their tours. New tours could be designed to provide a holistic experience of the Hampton plantation as a cultural landscape, as experienced by both blacks and whites. A large amount of research has been done on Hampton slaves, and continuing research in this area will be an invaluable resource for new interpretive programs. Without additional financial support and staff from the National Park Service, however, these programs cannot become a reality.

Conclusion

Hampton National Historic Site has been the subject of many years of intensive study. This report synthesizes some of these studies and provides a user-friendly, site-specific series of recommendations on the implementation of such research. New programs and exhibits cannot be implemented, however, without considerable additional resources. Specifically, Hampton needs the following support from the National Park Service:

- preservation of extant structures.
- preservation and enhancement of the cultural landscape as a whole.
- funding to develop new programs and exhibits, and places to house them.
- funding for furnishings plans for all buildings.
- expansion of cultural resource and interpretive personnel.
- scholarly publications directed toward Hampton resources.

SCHOLARSHIP ON SOUTHERN FARMS AND PLANTATIONS

General Introduction

Historical sites, like historical scholarship, are created during particular moments in history. They not only tell us about the past, they interpret it. And their interpretations, like those of scholarly books and articles, bear the imprint of the time in which they are created. Each generation asks questions of its history that are informed by its contemporary concerns, a process which produces both new information and new interpretations. Thus it is crucial that historical sites periodically reexamine their interpretations, just as scholars regularly re-evaluate their work.

The essay which follows lays out some of the major changes and developments which have occurred in the scholarly interpretations of black communities on plantations and other sites, and selectively reviews landmark works pertaining to this topic. It is important to understand the works in their context, the scholarly knowledge that came before, and the social issues that influenced intellectual debate because all of these factors affect the writing of history. A general understanding of the evolution of historical scholarship will provide staff interpreters with the background to relate historical materials on site to current intellectual and popular debates. This information is particularly useful because materials at historical sites are part of larger debates going on in both the scholarly and the popular worlds, whether site staff members are aware of it or not. The goal here is to provide an intellectual road map for historical plantation sites that will be useful in re-evaluating, updating, or expanding current site interpretations, particularly in developing recommendations laid out in the site assessment.

Scholarship before Mid-Century

Scholarship of the early twentieth century through World War II was rooted in the assumptions of a political system that condoned segregation and assumed the inferiority of African Americans. As segregation was challenged, first during World War II and then with the emerging Civil Rights movement, many Americans began to realize their views of the past had been constructed exclusively from a white perspective. Scholars began uncovering rich, new historical sources which presented the views of slaves and other African Americans, whose experiences had been ignored or misrepresented by earlier historians. This research has resulted in a much more complex view of the past than was the case earlier.

The point of view which informed most historical writing in the first half of the twentieth century was that blacks were inferior to whites, that races should be separated, and that therefore slavery was not so bad after all. This perspective is best typified by Ulrich B. Phillips's American Negro Slavery (1918), a classic work which dominated the interpretation of southern history for the next thirty years. Phillips depicted a plantation system in which slaves were generally contented with their lot and unlikely to resist. Those rare occasions in which resistance did occur were more likely the result of slaves having lazy or criminal characters rather than any legitimate complaint about their conditions. Indeed, Phillips saw slavery as a system which was economically unprofitable but socially desirable--a civilizing institution necessitated by the racial inferiority of African Americans.

Similar social attitudes were at the root of early twentieth century scholarship on the various phases of Reconstruction--from the timid overtures of Andrew Johnson to the bolder strokes of the Radical Republicans. Many scholars writing during this period not only opposed racial integration, but also black voting rights. Thus they saw Andrew Johnson's extremely limited plans for rebuilding the South as those of a high minded constitutionalist. Conversely, they condemned the more radical phase of Reconstruction, pushed through by the Republican Congress in 1867. These scholars

dismissed Radical Reconstruction as a period of massive corruption and government mismanagement caused by the newly won voting rights of black men and the election of black politicians to office. Order was only restored, these scholars contended, when "home rule" was reestablished--that is when segregation and white supremacy were reestablished in the South and Reconstruction came to an end.

Since the 1950s

Not all scholars accepted this view of slavery and reconstruction, but it remained the dominant one until the 1950s, when it began to be successfully challenged, particularly as the Civil Rights movement began to take off and new information about the slave experience began to be uncovered. Two of the most important books on slavery to challenge Phillips's view during this decade were Kenneth Stampp's The Peculiar Institution (1955) and Stanley Elkins's Slavery: A Study of American Institutional and Intellectual Life (1959), though the books made very different arguments. Stampp argued that plantation slavery, far from being a benign way of life, was a repressive labor system committed to making profits at the expense of slaves. Slaves resisted this exploitation in any way they could, be it running away, breaking tools, or simply not working. This behavior was not an indication of black laziness or racial inferiority, Stampp argued, but rather the same kind of response which might be expected of anyone placed in similar circumstances, black or white. Stampp's work was particularly important, and very much in line with the emerging civil rights movement, because he challenged racist assumptions about black inferiority which were built into Phillips' work, and asserted that blacks were no different from whites.

Elkins, on the other hand, did not see blacks and whites as just alike, because, he argued, the experience of slavery had been so horrible and infantilizing, that blacks had developed a particular personality type as a result, which carried through to the

present. Elkins compared the experience of slaves to that of inmates in Nazi concentration camps, and argued that their survival techniques had undermined their abilities to form stable families, cultures, or minds. While Elkins successfully challenged Phillips's idea that slavery and plantation life constituted an idyllic retreat from the competitive world of capitalism, his portrait of slaves and their descendants as brutalized victims provoked tremendous controversy.

The next generation of historical writing, which began to emerge in the 1970s, not only continued the challenge to Phillips, but also to Elkins and even Stampp. Historians of this next generation continued to recognize the brutality and exploitation inherent in the system of slavery but also argued that it was not totally dehumanizing. African Americans were not simply victims. They had a noble African heritage and forged new traditions of which they could be proud, even if created in difficult circumstances. The scholarship which has evolved since that time has helped to define a new field of African-American studies in which researchers have demonstrated that the experience of African Americans in slavery and freedom was both complex and varied.

This scholarship has also helped to move questions of race into a central position in discussions about American history. As a result, scholars have recast the way they look at plantation culture, recognizing that it is no longer possible to talk about the white families who lived on plantations without also discussing their slaves. Both have contributed to our rich heritage, and their differences as well as their relationships are an important part of the historical record.

Scholars have been able to introduce these new perspectives by not only reading traditional sources such as diaries and plantation records with new questions; but also through the use of new sources. Slave narratives are now used extensively, as are material artifacts and architectural structures, to provide insight into the past.

Section 1

The Southern Plantation as a Cultural Landscape: Black and White Perceptions

Introduction

The interpretation of southern plantations has historically emphasized the planter's mansion house. Buildings and the landscape surrounding the main house that lack fine aesthetic qualities have been seen as ancillary and of lesser importance, and thus of little interest to the public. In the wake of the Civil Rights movement, the emphasis of scholarship on the plantation south is changing that viewpoint, both in its history and in its approach to landscape, to architecture, and to artifacts. As James Oliver Horton and Spencer R. Crew point out in their essay "Afro-Americans and Museums: Towards a Policy of Inclusion" (1989), historians are giving increasing attention to African Americans; with regard to the plantation south, this means greater interest in the slaves who actually performed the work that made the plantation system possible, and their owners prosperous. This new emphasis on slave life is being incorporated into interpretive programs in museums and historic sites, such as the important exhibition "Before Freedom Came," developed for the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond, Monticello's interpretation of "Mulberry Row" in Charlottesville, and Meadow Farm's interpretation of slave life on a yeoman's farm outside of Richmond.

- *Hampton National Historic Site provides an exciting opportunity to explore the plantation as a cultural landscape--as a place where a wide variety of people worked and lived, including the Ridgely family and their hired workers, indentured servants, and African-American slaves.*

Survey of Recent Scholarship

Definitions of Important Terms

In the early years of settlement in the British colonies, systems of forced labor were somewhat fluid. One such arrangement was *indentured servitude*, wherein a person's labor belonged to someone else for a finite period of time. Many poor white British subjects immigrated to the colonies through the indenture system. A servant's passage across the Atlantic was paid for by someone else, in exchange for the servant's labor for a certain number of years. While there were restrictions on indentured servants' personal freedom, their positions were temporary and only their labor was owned by another person--not their physical selves.

The first Africans brought to Jamestown in the early seventeenth century were purchased as indentured servants, not as slaves. Some of them eventually received their freedom and acquired land. The system of American slavery developed and became codified beginning in the mid-seventeenth century; by about 1680, it was fully established. Under this system, a *slave* was chattel--an article of property that could be bought, punished, sold, loaned, used as collateral, or willed to another at an owner's whim. Slaves were not recognized as persons in the eyes of the law; thus they had no legal rights. Slaves could not legally marry, own property, vote, serve as witnesses, serve on juries, or make contracts. The offspring of female slaves also belonged to their owners, regardless of whom their fathers were.

Slavery was certainly not unique to North America, but during the eighteenth century slavery became more strongly linked to race then it was elsewhere, as Edmund Morgan argues in his book American Slavery, American Freedom (1975). Skin color became the justification of slavery; whites argued that dark skin denoted the inherent inferiority of African peoples. Laws regarding slavery varied from place to place, but in general grew more stringent up until the Civil War.

According to John Michael Vlach in his book Back of the Big House (1993), a *plantation* in the early eighteenth century was a "large agricultural estate"; the Oxford English Dictionary provides a 1706 citation defining a plantation as "an estate or farm producing a crop with servile labor" (Vlach, 2). By the middle of the eighteenth century, the term in America meant, in its ideal form, "a large, tastefully appointed country estate belonging to a prominent gentleman" (Vlach, 5). The usage of the term plantation, however, was fluid. As Sam Hilliard points out in his essay "Plantations and the Moulding of the Southern Landscape" (1989), in the late eighteenth century James Madison referred to his 3,000 acre estate at Montpelier as a "farm," while owners of smaller estates in the area called their properties plantations (Hilliard, 105).

- *The fact that the Ridgelys called Hampton an estate attests to the fluidity of such terms.*

Today, cultural geographers such as Hilliard distinguish antebellum plantations from farms by the following characteristics:

> a landholding large enough to be distinguished from the family farm, generally over 250 acres; a distinct division of labor and management, with the latter primarily handled by the owner but often administered through an overseer; specialized production (monoculture), usually with one or two cash crops per proprietorship; location in the South in an area with a plantation tradition; distinctive settlement forms and spatial organization reflecting the centralized control; and finally, a considerable input of cultivating labor or power per unit of area (Hilliard, 106-07).

Many plantations were also responsible for some type of industrial processing of the crops before they were sold for export. Most importantly, plantations were run as profit-making operations; in addition to agricultural pursuits, some planters invested in industrial ventures that produced goods for export, such as iron works.

- *Using this scholarly definition, Hampton can correctly be called a plantation. While many visitors conceptualize a plantation along the lines of Tara in the Hollywood film "Gone with the Wind," interpreters can use Hampton to educate their audiences about the complex differences among southern plantations.*

The term plantation connotes a unity that was often more fiction that fact. As Vlach states in his essay "Plantation Landscapes of the Antebellum South" (1991), Chesapeake plantations were often collections of farms which were not contiguous land parcels, so that "an overall unity of place was to the planter probably more a mental than a visual reality. A planter knew from maps, deeds, and other documents what was his, for he rarely was able to stand in one place and see all that he owned" ("Plantation Landscapes," 25).

In contrast, Southern *farms* were smaller parcels of land that were generally run at the subsistence level by families. Farmers grew a greater variety of crops than did most planters, and they consumed much of their harvests themselves. They also depended on smaller labor forces--generally family members and in some cases a few slaves. In contrast to a plantation, a farm was typically administered by the owner without an overseer, thereby blurring the delineation between management and physical labor (Hilliard, 106-07).

Scholars today define a *planter* as a landholder who owned twenty or more slaves--a relatively small group. Only twelve percent of all southerners in 1860 qualified as planters ("Plantation Landscapes," 21). By that year, when plantation agriculture was fully developed in the South, there were only 46,274 southern plantations (and close to half of these were still relatively small, with just twenty to thirty slaves). Even so, the plantation "manorial ideal" became commonplace throughout the South. This was so in large part due to the image that great planters created for themselves through the spatial organization and the architecture of their estates, and to the fact that small farmers generally aspired to the idealized images that planters created (Vlach, 7-8).

Great planters with very large holdings were a small minority among landowners. In 1860, only 2,300 planters (about five percent) owned 100 or more slaves. Thus the landscapes that they created were the exception rather than the rule in the antebellum South. Statistically, however, a significant percentage of slaves lived and worked on large plantations. As Vlach points out, "although the plantation was a source of economic and political power for white elites, demographically it was a black institution. That blacks living on plantations were gathered into such large groups explains, in part, how they were able to develop such strong family alliances and ultimately forge a distinct culture. . . . Through the first half of the nineteenth century the plantation was thus the crucible for a large portion of the black experience" ("Plantation Landscapes," 23).

When scholars speak of a *plantation landscape*, they do not simply mean a physical setting. Rather, the term denotes a "cultural construction" that includes all of the modifications made by humans to the natural environment. The plantation landscape includes buildings, gardens, field patterns, roads, paths, trash pits, and other features created by human beings. As Vlach argues, "Since the inhabitants of these landscapes also created their living spaces, it follows that these features collectively convey deeply entrenched ideas regarding social order and well-being, ideas often not expressed as forcefully or clearly in words. A survey of plantations can reveal both what the planter had in mind and how his slaves may have found within his plans the means to create a landscape of their own" ("Plantation Landscapes," 23).

Overview of Southern Plantation Landscapes

Southern plantations differed by geographic location, size, types of crops and industries, and technological advances. These differences make it impossible to describe a "typical" example, though some patterns emerge in certain regions ("Plantation Landscapes," 23). Plantation buildings generally followed the customs of

spatial planning and construction methods of their respective areas. In Tidewater Virginia, for example, barns were generally single crib, while in the Piedmont and Upland South they were typically double crib. In Maryland, planters tended to follow the customs of the Mid-Atlantic region (Vlach, 11).

In the Chesapeake, planters generally built their houses on the highest point of their landholdings, where they dominated the landscape and from where they could survey much of their property ("Plantation Landscapes," 25). The center piece of such a plantation was the planter's mansion house, which was often designed and furnished in high style (although much of the construction was often undertaken by slaves, as at Hampton).

Such idealized plantations were laid out in accordance with the formal symmetry and rigid axes of Georgian design, an influence borrowed from English manorial estates. Planters aspired to the gracious lifestyle of landed British gentry, and they gleaned ideas from English country estates and architectural books as they designed their houses. As Vlach observes, "Guiding . . . planters in setting up their estates was a highly rational formalism. The world was, in their view, suitably improved only after it was transformed from its chaotic natural condition into a scene marked by a strict, hierarchical order. The planters' landscapes were laid out with straight lines, right-angle corners, and axes of symmetry, their mathematical precision being considered as a proof of individual superiority" (Vlach, 5).

The mansion house was typically surrounded by gardens and landscaped grounds that heightened the visual effect of the mansion's elegance and importance. Most also had a number of service areas and buildings close by. These included barns, stables, workshops, and dwellings and gardens for slaves who worked in the mansion and on the grounds surrounding it. Slave housing varied widely in size, construction, and quality; extant housing tends to misrepresent the "average" both in size and in quality. In general, as Dell Upton points out in his essay "White and Black Landscapes

in Eighteenth-Century Virginia" (1988), slave housing was representative of the living conditions of all poorer people, white and black (Upton, 358-61). For a more detailed discussion of slave housing and the material life of slavery, refer to the following section of this essay devoted to that subject.

The "Homesite"

The homesite, that is, the farm on which the planter's house was situated, was a complex cultural landscape in itself where whites and blacks lived and worked together in close contact. As Upton observes in his study of eighteenth-century Virginia plantations, "slave quarters were parts of two intersecting landscapes. They fit into a white landscape centered on the main house in one way and into a black landscape centered on the quarters in another. From the master's point of view, slave quarters were part of a working landscape that dictated to some degree their siting and location" (Upton, 361).

The spatial arrangement of the structures on the homesite varied a great deal. On some plantations, where slave housing was visible from the main house, the quarters were arranged as part of a larger ensemble and sometimes received some decorative treatment (Upton, 361). Quarters that were not visible from the planter's house were typically plainer, but still generally of better quality than those built for field hands and for other slaves who lived away from the homesite (Vlach, 20).

- *The extant stone slave quarters at Hampton were not only exceptionally well-built structures for slaves, but also for typical farmers. Most Ridgely slave quarters were of log construction (Vlach, Back of the Big House, 184). The stone quarters, one with decorative fascia boards and barge boards, were built in the 1850s--no doubt under the influence of the romantic movement in architectural and landscape design popularized by Andrew Jackson Downing. All of the structures that were rebuilt on Hampton's homesite during this period can be interpreted as part of the Ridgelys' efforts to "prettify" their slaves' dwellings and work areas, making the work yard look like a charming village.*

Upton uses the metaphor of the village to analyze the cultural landscape of the plantation. The plantation complex functioned as a center of commerce, governed by the "town hall" of the planter's mansion house. The plantation functioned as a social center, where dinner parties and balls were given, and where guests often stayed for extended visits. It also served as a school for white children, who were often instructed by private tutors (Upton, 362).

- *At Hampton, the west wing of the house was once used as a part-time school house.*

The importance of the plantation as a commercial and social institution is clearly reflected in the cultural landscape. As Upton argues, "the white landscape, or more precisely the great planters' landscape, was both articulated and processional" (Upton, 363). The entrance to a planter's house was often buffered by a series of "boundaries" calculated to have an intimidating effect on the visitor, thus serving as social "barriers." Such boundaries might include the rise of hills and terraces, parks, formal gardens, and a flight of steps leading to an impressive door. To heighten the imposing effect, many planters' houses in the Georgian and Federal modes had linear space plans which made the structures seem even larger than they were.

- *Hampton is an excellent example of this type of linear layout in a late Georgian-style structure.*

"The Big House"

Inside the mansion house were further physical barriers in the form of servants or slaves who monitored the entrances, doors to various rooms, and stairways to private spaces above. Depending on a visitor's social status, she or he might never be allowed into the house (at least not through the main entrance) or might be kept waiting

in the hall. Those who were more fortunate might be invited into the drawing room, or even to dinner. As Upton illustrates with the example of Mount Airy, the Tayloe family plantation, "each barrier served to reinforce the impression of . . . [the planter's] centrality, and each in addition affirmed the visitor's status as he or she passed through it" (Upton, 364).

The effect that such a processional landscape had on slaves depended to some extent on their status. "Field hands" probably never saw the inside of their masters' houses, while house slaves spent most of their time there. As household workers, slaves had access to areas of the house denied to most visitors. While slaves typically used back doors and stairways that bypassed formal circulation spaces as they went about their work in the house, they had access to every room, from the most formal, elaborate spaces to the most private. Thus, as Upton observes, "in this kind of landscape, blacks could pass almost at will, while whites from outside had to observe the formalities" (Upton, 365).

- *The complexities of the processional nature of the plantation landscape could be incorporated into tours of the mansion house and grounds at Hampton. Interpreters might ask visitors to imagine themselves as a first-time visitor confronted with the enormous house situated at the top of a large hill. They might also imagine themselves as workers, perhaps wondering if they were being observed by the Ridgely master from his belvedere. Discussing the psychological impact of the appearance of the mansion house on the Ridgelys' visitors and workers, including slaves, would add an important dimension to the interpretation of the house.*

Mechal Sobel argues in her book The World They Made Together (1987) that whites and blacks who lived and worked together inside the "Great House" became, in effect, members of the same extended "family" (although some scholars take a different viewpoint, stressing the tensions inherent in master and slave relationships). Even when slaves did not live in the mansion house, they were constantly at work in it, cleaning, cooking, serving, and caring for children. "Mammies" who raised white children could

not help but introduce them to black speech patterns and sometimes to black folklore. White children often played freely with slave children. And on many plantations whites and blacks had children together, becoming literal families (Sobel, 134-51). For a detailed discussion of slave families, refer to section 3 of this essay.

- *As research continues on the slaves who served at Hampton, more information can be added to the tour of the mansion house. An example of different perceptions of the mansion house and its occupants--human and otherwise--is the story of Eliza's daughter's pet squirrel, which allegedly met its end at the hands of a slave girl (also named Eliza) made to clean out its cage (Gregory, 7). Perhaps the young slave perceived the animal not as a household pet but as a rodent, like those who may have stolen from her family's rations in their quarters.*

- *Other structures were adjacent to the mansion, such as an octagonal dwelling for house servants (and/or slaves?), a large ice house, a cider cellar, a smoke house, privies, and a number of storage buildings. Buildings close to the mansion were probably built circa 1790; many structures in the work yard were constructed over the course of the nineteenth century. The use of stone in the construction of slave quarters and other structures may be both an indication of the Ridgelys' prosperity and a regional preference. As Vlach has observed, "The buildings at Hampton reveal a combination of northern and southern traits frequently encountered in this and other border states; the idea of the plantation travelled north from the Chesapeake, whereas the choice of building technology may reflect a northern or mid-Atlantic orientation" (Vlach, Back of the Big House, 185). A tour of the grounds that incorporated such support structures would enhance the interpretation of Hampton as a working plantation as well as a fine country seat.*

Work Yards

Work yards were areas where slaves on the homesite performed much of their labor. In some cases the yard was a good distance from the mansion house. Some planters placed slave dwellings among various work sites, "treating them essentially as workplaces where the personal lives and the domestic chores of . . . servants merged into one seamless experience" (Vlach, 21). Structures surrounding the yard typically included wells, kitchens, dairies, wash houses, and smokehouses. Many large tasks were accomplished in the yard with slaves working together in teams, no doubt

reinforcing a feeling of solidarity among them (Vlach, 34-35). The yard and nearby buildings were very busy places over which some slaves clearly felt some sense of ownership. Philip Fithian, an eighteenth-century tutor at the Virginia plantation Nomini Hall, recalled that slaves used the stables for their own after-hours diversions, and that he himself had been fined by slaves on a number of occasions for entering their work places without permission (Vlach, 15, 33).

- *A general note: slaves at Hampton performed a wide variety of tasks in various buildings, gardens, and fields on the homesite. The extant structures and other landscape features provide an excellent opportunity to talk about those workers. It is important to use the "active" than the "passive" voice when so doing--e.g. "slaves made butter and other products in the dairy" rather than "butter and other products were made in the dairy," for example (Horton, 215).*

- *Hampton's work yard was about sixty feet square and located almost a third of a mile downhill from the mansion. It was surrounded by slave quarters and a "Farm House" (where the "Farm Manager" or overseer lived), now greatly enlarged. Work buildings in the yard included a cow barn, a dairy, a granary, a corn crib, a mule barn, a shop for carpentry and black-smithing work, and other service buildings.*

- *A tour of the work yard at the farm site should discuss its location in relation to the mansion house. Its distance made it more difficult for slaves and other workers to transport products up and the hill, and the psychological effect of being geographically lower reinforced their inferior status. Even the "Farm House" was located in this work area, thus reinforcing the hierarchical division of ownership and day-to-day management of the homesite. For slaves, the close proximity of the overseer to their quarters meant a certain amount of supervision, both of their work and of their off-hours time.*

- *About half-way in between the work yard and the mansion were two stables for the Ridgelys' fine race horses. In the interpretation of the stables, attention can be brought to the fact that the Ridgelys had slave jockeys, such as Dick, whom Charles Carnan Ridgely purchased from John Tayloe. Some favored slaves even had horses for their own use, such as Ridgely's slave Bateman (Hastings, "A Sure Bet," 26, 32). Discussion of such individuals would help to illustrate the differences in slaves' experiences that were based upon their skills, and add a richer dimension to the interpretation of African-American life at Hampton.*

Plantation Farms As Cultural Landscapes

Many Chesapeake plantations consisted of a group of farms which were not contiguous parcels of land and that were often located at some distance from the homesite. Such farms were sometimes referred to as *Quarters* (*quarters* with a lower-case "q" denoted dwelling houses). ("Plantation Landscapes," 25, n. 14). Besides Hampton, examples of plantations with separate farms include Landon Carter's Sabine Hall, George Washington's Mount Vernon, and, further inland, Thomas Jefferson's Monticello. Smaller plantations in the Virginia Piedmont generally had land holdings that were more clustered than their Tidewater counterparts ("Plantation Landscapes," 25-26).

- *As Anne Edmonds points out in her thesis on the Ridgelys' landholdings, the family was one of the largest land owners in Maryland. Slaves lived at a number of different farms. In 1773, there were 47 persons living at Northampton Quarter, and in 1783, there were 117 slaves living on Ridgely properties "in the Middle River and Back River Upper Hundreds" (Edmonds, 45-46). At a later point, Charles Carnan Ridgely's 196 slaves lived at four different sites (Vlach, 184). The experiences of these slaves were no doubt quite different from those who lived and worked at the Hampton homesite.*

Each plantation farm generally had its own resident slave work force. Slaves typically lived close to their work places in groups of cabins. Many cabins had adjacent gardens where slaves grew crops to supplement their allotment of food. Each farm or Quarter, then, consisted of spaces that served the master--fields, barns, and workshops of various sorts--and living space for slaves. Clearly slaves on such farms, often quite remote from the planter's mansion house on the homesite, were able to exercise a degree of autonomy in their homes and their private lives. As Vlach observes, such slaves "created a social circle with its own schedule of appropriate behavior. Thus while slaves were held captive on their own plantations, they still managed to find certain measures of independence because they were held so far away from the master's daily authority. . . . They developed a sense of ownership over their cabins, gardens,

tools, and clothing even if these were provided by their owners. They formulated their own sense of place--one that the master could hardly imagine" ("Plantation Landscapes," 47). Some slaves even had locks on their doors that enforced their sense of personal ownership (Upton, 367).

The landscape of plantation slavery included fields and forests, where slaves could escape white supervision and join family and friends from other plantations. A network of paths, trails, and navigable streams and rivers enabled slaves to move from place to place undetected, forming what Rhys Isaac, in his book The Transformation of Virginia (1982), calls "an alternative territorial system" (Isaac, 53). This covert network helped to reinforce the links between slaves on different plantations, enhancing the sense of a widespread slave community. As Albert Raboteau points out in his book Slave Religion (1978), in their quarters and in the woods slaves were able to worship without disturbance, holding prayers in "hush harbors" with wet blankets and overturned pots to (magically) muffle the sounds of preaching, praying, and singing (Raboteau, 210-13). Forests were also the sites of slave festivities, such as barbecues (Vlach, 13).

Vlach argues that "the informal qualities of this kind of landscape, one established more by a set of behavioral associations than by material indications, may have reflected . . . an ethnic choice. The loose, ad hoc scheme of preferred paths and gathering places was created incrementally by a series of improvisational responses to the given landscape rules of white masters. Because similar improvisational responses by black people to Anglo-American culture are known to have resulted in the creation of distinctive African-American forms of speech, music, and dance, it is not too farfetched to suggest a parallel development in their responses to their assigned environments" (Vlach, 13).

Thus, as Dell Upton, concludes, "Slaves formed neighborhoods, black landscapes that combined elements of the white landscape and of the quarters in a way

that was peculiar to them and that existed outside the official articulated processional landscape of the great planter and his lesser neighbors" (Upton, 367). Vlach concurs: "In the process of laying claim to significant portions of their owners' land and buildings, slaves established defensible social boundaries for their communities in both pragmatic and symbolic terms. . . . the spaces that slaves claimed and modified for their own domestic purposes provided them with their own sense of place. In these locations they were able to develop a stronger sense of social solidarity, a feeling of community that would serve as a seedbed not only for further resistance but also for the invention and maintenance of a distinctive African American culture" (Vlach, 236).

Slaves on Smaller Farms

Examining slave life on plantations is important because so many slaves spent their lives toiling for planters. Yet many slave holders owned only several slaves. As James Oakes points out in his study of American slave holders, The Ruling Race (1982), in 1850 half of all slave owners in the United States owned five or fewer slaves (Oakes, 39). Slaves living and working on smaller farms were a sizeable group, and it is important to consider their experiences. It is impossible to make generalizations about whether or not they received better treatment than did plantation slaves. Oakes makes the argument that "as on the largest plantations, the interracial relations on the smallest farms depended upon the personalities of individual owners, their immediate economic circumstances, the economic structure of slavery itself, and the willingness of slaves to cooperate" (Oakes, 54).

Being owned by a small farmer did have significant implications for a slave's life. A slave on a smaller farm lived and worked more closely with his or her master and his family, and in greater isolation from other slaves. Small farmers were more mobile than planters as they searched for economic opportunities; therefore, their slaves' families were more likely to be broken apart by sale or by movement to

different locations. Thus it was more difficult for slaves on smaller farms to maintain a distinct cultural identity, to develop relationships with slaves on other properties, or to have a sense of control over their work or their environment.

Slaves in Southern Industry

While the majority of slaves in the South worked in agriculture, there were many other types of work in which slaves were involved. Many were skilled laborers, as the essays in The Other Slaves: Mechanics, Artisans, and Craftsmen (1978), edited by James Newton and Ronald Lewis, describe. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries southern industries employed large numbers of slaves, and a number of works have been published on this subject. Richard Starobin's Industrial Slavery in the Old South (1970) provides a broad overview of the topic in the period 1790 to 1861. Charles Dew's Bond of Iron (1994), a case study of Buffalo Forge in Rockbridge County, Virginia, and Dew's Ironmaker to the Confederacy (1966), a detailed examination of the Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond, are also important works. Ronald Lewis's Coal, Iron, and Slaves: Industrial Slavery in Maryland and Virginia, 1715-1865 (1979), a careful analysis of the iron and coal industries in the South, is particularly important because Lewis examines the everyday lives of slaves working in industry, and how they differed from those of agricultural slaves.

Before the American Revolution, Maryland and Virginia dominated the iron export market; after the Revolution, the Chesapeake remained the southern center of iron production. In Coal, Iron, and Slaves, Lewis argues that the relative lack of supervision and the ability to make money through the "overwork" (overtime with pay) system gave slaves in industry a measure of autonomy that was rare among agricultural slaves. Among enslaved ironworkers, who by necessity worked at remote locations, after-hours supervision was quite lax, and many had the freedom to pursue their own interests. Often slaves spent many hours working for overtime pay. Many of them used

their money to purchase food and goods for themselves and their families to supplement their often meager rations (Lewis, 147-51).

The ability of industrial slaves to provide in this way for their families, Lewis argues, "greatly enhanced their self-esteem in the family and in the quarters" (Lewis, 148). Even unskilled workers such as wood choppers could earn a fair amount through "overwork." Iron works typically had company stores that provided necessary goods for their workers and for others living in surrounding rural areas. While the ability to purchase goods was an exercise of personal power, ironwork owners were also able to maintain control of slave workers through store credit (Lewis, 159-61).

Whether or not slaves belonged to the owner of their work site varied according to the type of industry. While coal workers were typically hired from other owners, ironmasters generally owned their slave workers (Lewis, 162). This difference had a tremendous impact on slaves' daily lives, because it meant that many ironworkers lived with their families at the work site. This was especially true for skilled workers.

Industrial slaves exerted greater influence on their employers regarding their working conditions. Lewis argues that "slaves pushed just . . . hard enough to win additional advantages, gain some life-space, and yet remain within acceptable (if unspoken) bounds. On the other hand, employers yielded without losing ultimate control, while slave owners attempted to protect and profit from their property at the same time" (Lewis, 82). Lewis's work is an important contribution to the subject of industrial slavery, but more research remains to be done about the cultural landscape of industrial slavery.

- *As the site of ironworks, mills, quarries, and other work shops, Hampton provides the opportunity to address the issue of industrial slavery. Lewis's work provides some data specific to Hampton, which can provide a starting point for discussion about the Ridgelys' industrial slaves. During the 1780s, Ridgely's Northampton furnace labor force shifted from indentured servants and convict labor to blacks. By the 1790s, about 75% of the ironworks' labor force was black (Lewis, 35). As at*

other ironworks, many slaves earned significant amounts of cash at a variety of tasks for overtime work, which some spent at the company store (Lewis, 123, 161).

- *Certainly not all slaves were content in industrial work. Lewis relates the story of a slave hired to work at Northampton in 1774 who cut his own throat upon being captured after he had run away. He lived, and whether or not he intended to commit suicide or just injure himself is unknown. He did manage, however, to avoid work for a large part of his contracted tenure at the ironworks (Lewis, 129-30).*

The cultural landscape of southern plantation agriculture and industry was experienced quite differently by slaves and their masters. As scholars such as John Vlach and Dell Upton argue, the cultural landscape of the antebellum South was clearly a contested terrain. Paying closer attention to a wide range of different viewpoints--those of great planters, small farmers, entrepreneurs, free laborers, indentured servants, and slave workers in agriculture, artisan trades, and industry--will continue to deepen our understanding of southern culture. In addition, we need to consider the material culture of African-American slaves, their family structures and domestic life, the types of communities they created, and the ways in which they interacted with free black communities. These topics are considered in the following sections of this essay.

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Section 2

The Architecture and Material Culture of Slavery

Introduction

Over the past twenty years, scholars have delved into the material worlds of slaves on colonial and antebellum southern plantations. The general focus of this work has linked architectural history and material culture. An important aspect of these recent studies has been the recognition that the worlds of slaves and slave holders were different, despite their physical proximity. The prime focus has been on archaeological evidence (both above and below ground), plantation records, contemporary newspaper advertisements and stories, and travel accounts. Several writers have indicated the need for more exploration in these sources.

The major emphasis of the most recent scholarship has been a recognition of different cultural worlds within the same landscape. An object or a building will have a different meaning for both whites and blacks/owners and slaves. A chamber pot or a spittoon will have a different meaning for the person who uses it than for the person who cleans it. Likewise, fields of tobacco might mean profits for the planter, but for the slave they mean hours picking off worms and tilling the earth. With these kinds of polarities in mind, writers of the past twenty years have begun to describe the material culture of the plantation as it existed behind the 'big house.'

James Newton's "Slave Artisans and Craftsmen: The Roots of Afro-American Art" (1977) set an important standard for the study of African-American material culture. In this piece, Newton gives a brief synopsis of previous scholarship on the work of slaves as artisans and craftsmen, addressing the cultural implications of being a skilled worker in an unfree world. Part of his discussion is an acknowledgment of the controversy over which skills were carried over from Africa and which were traded in as enslaved Africans became enslaved African Americans. No longer able to create or

have access to their traditional material culture, slaves turned to the immaterial. Newton argues that many skills and traditions which were a part of the African culture that slaves left were supplanted by dance and music which became the embodiment of the African inside them. Slave craftsmen began to create a product which was no longer African, but African American. This product resembled the material culture of the owner, though its level of refinement was considerably lower in most cases. To illustrate their range of talent, Newton briefly highlights the lives of various slave craftsmen. The paper is an excellent study in the discussion of Africanisms within the plantation and the social status of slave craftsmen.

A book worthy for its insights into the plantation world is James Breeden's book Advice Among Masters (1980). A presentation of letters and articles from nineteenth-century southern agricultural journals provides a view of the popular notions of how slave life should be run as written by the planters. Breeden breaks these letters up into subject areas such as advice about working habits, food, housing, clothing, and social lives of slaves. He points out that the information was merely advice and we cannot estimate how much of the advice was actually followed, or whether it represents established regional or national practices. It does, however, give us an idea of the issues that were addressed by southern planters as they wrote for each other, and helps give us a view into the material world of the slaves through the eyes of their masters.

Architecture

Plantation architecture is characterized by variety. Most buildings that were found on the plantation were vernacular structures built at the command of the planter, though certain customary conventions often dictated how large or what type of material was used in constructing certain types of buildings. Scholars who have studied plantation architecture over the last twenty years have attempted to synthesize some of the information that can be found through archaeological investigations, personal

records and memoirs, and newspapers and letters. While their findings are quite helpful in beginning a discussion of plantation architecture, several will readily admit that more work needs to be done on the subject. With that in mind, one can still learn a great deal through an examination of certain works.

For a quick reference on issues involving architecture of African Americans, the Encyclopedia of Southern Culture (1989) has an entry which considers architecture as both a means of black expression and identity. The section on black architecture is mostly about black architects, but recognizes the contributions of early slave craftsmen and later free builders. A lengthier discussion which spans colonial times through the end of the nineteenth century is George McDaniel's Hearth & Home: Preserving a People's Culture (1982). His study focuses on housing of black slaves, tenants, and landowners as interpreted through extant structures throughout southern Maryland. Included in this study is a detailed description of house types, a description of house furnishings, and the activities and lifestyles associated with them. To illustrate the differences between housing types across racial and class lines, McDaniel provides the reader with case studies and examples of various buildings. His later chapters focus on the difference between the material culture of land owning and tenant farming free blacks after emancipation.

- *While McDaniel does not address Hampton specifically, his work may provide some valuable comparative data.*

Camille Wells, in "The Eighteenth-Century Landscape of Virginia's Northern Neck" (1987), provides another perspective on plantation architecture. She emphasizes the importance of recognizing that "the few remaining early buildings [of the colonial Chesapeake] are not very reliable representatives of the vast quantity that have been lost." What Wells and other writers like Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach have

stressed is that the historian must be cautious of information that has been readily assumed and accepted about plantation architecture. Through close examination of a variety of sources, including existing buildings, however, we can establish some principals which were used in the region.

Wells's architectural analysis of Virginia's Northern Neck covers both the countryside and the architecture of the region. The landscape of the northern neck was "virtually an island," with plantations that depended upon water for travel broken up into plots of land both large and small, with buildings which "ranged in quality from unpretentious comfort to ramshackle misery." Of these buildings she has much to say using newspaper articles, photos of existing buildings, and plantation letters and accounts to describe a variety of dwellings types.

Dell Upton's essay "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia" (1988) is another essay that explores the material landscape of eighteenth-century Virginia plantations and its effect on whites and blacks. The theoretical arguments put forward by Upton are discussed in the preceding section of this essay on plantation landscapes. For our purpose, Upton's essay is important because of his discussion of the different types of slave quarters and planters' houses found on the Virginia plantations. Within these many styles, he stresses, the experience for slave and owner were quite different. The article is a valuable source for studying both the architecture of the plantation yard and the effects it had on those who lived and worked there.

John Michael Vlach has written extensively on the architecture and material culture of plantation slave life and goes even deeper than the analyses given by Wells and McDaniel. His essay "Not Mansions . . . But Good Enough: Slave Quarters as Bi-Cultural Expression" in Black and White Cultural Interaction in the Ante-bellum South edited by Ted Ownby (1993) speaks of the slave quarter as "a kind of dueling ground upon which the relative strengths of black and white cultural values was tested."

For slaves and their white masters, the quarters served different functions. Planters often took a paternalistic view of their slave housing. They were concerned with good construction of the quarters, a good appearance for the overall plantation, and the happiness of slaves, which they believed would make the slaves into better workers. For slaves, the autonomy within the area of the slave quarters allowed them to "construct their own associations" within the landscape and their role as slaves. Slave craftsmen could often have a large hand in the design and construction of their own quarters, the training for which might later benefit them if they became free. One of the important strengths of Vlach's article is his ability to analyze the social meanings for slaves who built quarters and slaves who lived in them by talking about the quarters themselves. In addition to the symbolic analysis, Vlach also provides a discussion of different slave housing types which could be found throughout the South.

Vlach is not without critics. Brenda Stevenson's article in the same volume commends Vlach's work for his discussion of the different types of slave housing, but then questions his notions that slaves would consider some wretched quarters a "home." Her focus is on the miserable and unhealthy conditions that some slaves were forced to endure. Stevenson forces us to consider, using the material culture of slavery, just how destructive an institution it was.

- *Both Vlach and Stevenson provide an insightful look into the meaning of housing to slaves which can be applied to the slave quarters at Hampton. As Vlach points out, most quarters at Hampton were log structures (Vlach, 184). Therefore, the extant quarters (2 stone and 1 log double-pen structures) are better built than was the "average" slave quarter. The stone structures in particular are of higher than average quality.*

For a more comprehensive discussion of the plantation's built environment, Vlach's Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery (1993) is an essential work. Through the use of photographs and architectural drawings of the

Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) and oral interviews with former slaves, Vlach explores a variety of plantation outbuildings providing a commentary often told through the words of those who lived and worked in similar spaces. Again, his emphasis is on the actions of slaves who took "advantage of numerous opportunities to assert counterclaims over the spaces and buildings to which they were confined." His book is divided into the different types of structures that were found in the HABS drawings which pertained to plantation slavery. These include "Big House Quarters," yards, kitchens, smokehouses, barns, quarters for field slaves, overseers' houses, buildings for slave welfare, and miscellaneous outbuildings. He concludes that despite attempts by white owners to control every aspect of the built environment, slaves often undermined these plans by refusing to acknowledge this dominance.

One of the best sources for the study of eighteenth-century Virginia architecture is the Virginia Gazette. In her article "The Planter's Prospect: Houses, Outbuildings, and Rural Landscapes in Eighteenth Century Virginia" (1993), Camille Wells offers a well documented analysis of the information which may be taken from the pages of this eighteenth-century newspaper. Wells is able to count 919 dwelling houses which were advertised in the paper offering a variety of descriptions to help the architectural historian get a better picture of what plantation buildings looked like at the time. Through both statistical and qualitative analyses, she is able to provide information on different types of outbuildings, building plans, room use, and construction materials. The essay includes an analysis of 134 different advertisements which make reference to slave quarters as well as hundreds of other mentions of different plantation outbuildings. Through a statistical analysis, Wells is able to provide a general picture of what several plantation outbuildings looked like. For those scholars looking for a general description of the plantation landscape and its buildings, it is an essential study.

Material Culture

Thomas Schlereth has defined material culture as "the study through artifacts (and other pertinent historical evidence) of the belief systems--the values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions--of a particular community or society, usually across time." In his anthology Material Culture Studies in America (1982), he has brought together a collection of essays that are essential to the serious scholar of material culture. What we get from the work of such writers as Henry Glassie, Kenneth Ames, and Fred Kniffen are models for using material objects to interpret the past. Though not specifically related to African-American material culture, this collection of essays provides an important introduction to the study of artifacts in understanding history.

In the study of African-American material culture, several writers have contributed studies which address specific types of objects as well as traditions which have their roots in African cultures. The focus has generally been on identifying what the African-American tradition is, highlighting those crafts which have been particularly notable within the black community. The emphasis is not necessarily on the differences between white and black material culture, but on the relevance of certain forms within the black community. An important recognition in some works is the identification of some 'Africanisms' that may be found in African-American culture.

An early work on the material culture of African Americans is John Vlach's book The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts (1978, reprint 1990). Research for this book comes out of a traveling exhibit which was developed at the Cleveland Museum of Art in 1978, featuring the traditional arts and crafts of black Americans and their links to African practice. Topics covered include basketry, musical instruments, wood carving, quilting, pottery, boatbuilding, blacksmithing, architecture, and funeral decoration. The book is filled with photos and diagrams which help to trace the development of an African-American style throughout the black history in the Americas. The introduction of the reprinted volume provides a good synopsis of scholarship since the first printing and indicates where more research is clearly needed.

William Ferris's edited volume Afro-American Folk Art and Crafts (1983) is a collection of several different essays which discuss various types of African American craft. Subjects include quilt makers, sculptors, instrument makers, basket makers, builders, blacksmiths, and potters. The essays are written by such notable scholars as John Michael Vlach, William Ferris, Robert Farris Thompson, David Evans, and others. Thompson's piece, "African Influence on the Art of the United States" is a reprinting of his 1969 essay, which had a tremendous impact on the direction of later scholarship as it examined African and African-American art together.

Another article by John Vlach focuses on a broader view of the material culture of slave life using plantation records. In "Afro-American Domestic Artifacts in Eighteenth Century Virginia," (1987) he describes "the material aspects of the domestic routine of the eighteenth-century slave in Virginia and to suggest, more broadly, what that experience reveals about black culture during the period." His primary source of material is the records of Landon Carter, who documented the accounts of his Richmond County, Virginia plantation in his diaries from 1752 to 1778. By combining Carter's records with several other plantation records and travelers' accounts, Vlach is able to reconstruct specific details on slave clothing, foodways, furniture, tools, and musical instruments. He concludes that the material culture of African-American life in Virginia was a result of a mixture between African, European-American, and African-American influences which resulted in an ambiguous landscape for the Virginia slave. He acknowledges that some of his findings are speculative because of a lack of sources. He ultimately suggests that more archaeology be done in areas which were known to have been settled by slaves to provide more material for analysis.

Historical archaeology has provided a wealth of information about colonial and antebellum plantation life. On particular analyses of archaeological artifacts found in African-American sites, Eric Klingelhofer provides some notes in his article, "Aspects of Early Afro-American Material Culture: Artifacts from the Slave Quarters at

Garrison Plantation" (1987). Though the Garrison Plantation site was not as carefully excavated as most professionals consider proper, the artifacts found can give us some clues on plantation life. The presence of decorated spoons, ritual objects and items of the 'lithic industry' (that is, those relating to industries dealing with stone) point to African influences and values among an adopted assemblage of artifacts.

A work which is useful both for its insights on interpretation and in analytical methods is Historical Archaeology on Southern Plantations and Farms, edited by Charles Orser, Jr. (1990). The papers presented in this volume attempt to explain several different aspects of early southern plantation and farm life based on archaeological data. The analysis of the material culture, for these writers, is a way of approaching significant issues of race, class, and ethnicity in the rural South. Specific topics include discussions of context with regard to the use of artifacts in different communities, racism, as revealed through archaeology, an analysis of tenant farms through archaeology, and an examination of material culture and ethnographic collection.

Flowerdew Hundred: The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation, 1619-1864, by James Deetz (1993) pulls together over twenty years of archaeological research from the Flowerdew Hundred site along the James River. The book is useful for its interpretation of this one important site over a period of two hundred and fifty years. Main topics include seventeenth and eighteenth-century impermanent architecture, economic diversification on the plantation, and local manufacture of tobacco pipes. Also included is a comparison of trash disposal techniques in nineteenth century Virginia and South Africa, and a discussion of slave diet on antebellum plantations. Though some of his findings are controversial and certainly will be challenged by other archaeologists in the future, he provides us with a great description of the material culture found at his site.

In Uncommon Ground (1992), Leland Ferguson focuses on the material culture of early African Americans on the Atlantic coast, highlighting archaeological remains of pottery and housing in early colonial times. In his analysis, he points out that though many remains offer suggestions of European American and Native American influences, certain elements exist which were carried by slaves from Africa into their new culture in the Americas. Though his findings are primarily based on archeological findings in South Carolina, his work is relevant to the entire mid-Atlantic region and helps shed some light on African-American material culture, especially with regard to making pottery, preparing food and building structures. Ferguson concludes that these elements served as symbols which empowered slaves against the oppression imposed upon them by their masters.

Dennis Pogue's treatise on his archaeological findings in King's Reach and 17th Century Plantation Life (1990) is helpful for his discussion of artifacts of the time period studied. Pogue focuses on the relevance of post holes and midden piles to the landscape and what we can determine from them. Using the information he has, he lays out the landscape of the main house and the outbuildings and uses chemical analysis to discuss types of items which were burnt or dumped. Of particular note is his analysis of artifacts for their link to different classes of dwellers. Pogue recognizes that King's Reach, and plantations like it, undoubtedly had classes of servants, planters, and possibly black slaves, but in the final analysis is unable to specifically identify particular artifacts that he may definitely say are of African slave relation.

One other study of note is Anne Elizabeth Yentsch's A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves: A Study in Historical Archaeology (1994). Yentsch begins with the recognition that historical archaeology is "at the interface of history and anthropology." Through an interdisciplinary evaluation of archaeological findings at an Annapolis site, she gives us a window into the cultural life of the Chesapeake Bay area. Her discussion covers the material culture and social culture of the Calvert family and their

slaves as determined by the artifacts they left behind. Yentsch's evaluation of this assemblage provides a good description of what eighteenth-century Annapolis life might have looked like. Though primarily a study of urban life, her evaluation of artifacts is relevant to any other study of eighteenth-century material culture because of the details it provides and its model for using artifacts.

Conclusion

Trying to determine the architecture and material culture at a given historical site has been made easier by the works of the authors mentioned above. Each has come one step closer to a general description of material life 'behind the big house.' Historic sites that use this information need be cautious, however, remembering that some qualities mentioned are site specific and less relevant to a majority of plantation sites in the Chesapeake area. The benefit of general descriptions provide us with a starting point from which to study other individual sites using existing records. These works offer not only specific information on plantation slavery, but also provide models for other studies which may be conducted at other sites.

- *At Hampton, the opportunity to perform archaeological research is extremely valuable. It has the potential to yield not only much information about slave life at the site, but also to contribute to scholarship on African-American material culture in general.*

In focusing on the material culture of slave life, we should keep in mind that different levels of experience existed for both whites and blacks on plantations as these writers have shown. Slaves often did not use the landscape as the planter had designed it to be used in accomplishing the duties required of them. They often had to move in and out of controlled space in an unrestrained manner out of necessity for their duties and in seeking some form of resistance. This resistance manifested itself in the slaves'

ability to preserve an African form in material culture that dominated art or craft on the plantation landscape. As we analyze plantation life, we must acknowledge the myriad cultures that have contributed to it: African, African American, Native American, European American, and European. Otherwise, we have not given a complete interpretation. In addition the study of architecture and material culture, we also need to consider studies of family structure and domestic life which are discussed in the following section of this essay.

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Section 3

Studies in Slave Family and Domestic Life

Introduction

Current scholarship has asserted to varying degrees the autonomy, vitality and complexity of slave culture, family, and community. The major scholarly debates concerning the slave family have revolved around issues of family structure, gender roles, and the agency of African Americans in creating a valid culture and nurturing community. This essay will selectively review the significant scholarship pertaining to studies in slave family and domestic life.

- *As research about slave life at Hampton continues, these works will help to link site-specific information to larger historical themes and scholarly debates. Research regarding slave naming patterns and geneaology, for example, provide insight into the nature of slave families and kinship networks.*

The laws of slaveholding states did not allow slaves to be legally married and slaves had no legal rights over their children. As many as one third of all slave families were broken apart as individual members were sold either to the deep South or further West. Nonetheless, slave families existed, slaves performed marriage ceremonies, and slaves raised their children. Slave family structure, while not always "traditional," created strong kinship ties despite the oppressive system which denied legal recognition of slave "marriages" and which prevented slave parents and "spouses" to protect each other from abuse and separation. The slave family and the extended family of the slave community provided individuals with a sense of identity and purpose independent of the master and white society.

Historical development of the scholarship

The earlier works of historians Kenneth Stampp (The Peculiar Institution, 1956) and Stanley Elkins (Slavery, 1958), while making very different arguments about the

nature of slaves, both emphasized the harsh and inhumane conditions of slavery. Along with the conclusions of sociologists E. Franklin Frazier (The Negro Family in the United States, 1949) and Gunnar Myrdal (The American Dilemma, 1944), a general notion persisted into the 1960s that an African-American culture was a pathological imitation of white practice and custom. Based on the existing historical documentation and sociological findings, the sweeping conclusions of Daniel P. Moynihan, in the government policy document The Negro Family: The Case for National Action (1965), had determined that the contemporary "crisis" of the modern black family--in which instability and fatherlessness fostered anti-social behavior--could be traced to the conditions that had shaped the slave family. In reaction to the use of history to create federal policies, social historians produced new studies in the 1970s to show that the slave family was indeed stable and nuclear insofar as was possible within the limits of their enslaved condition.

The primary works of the 1970s which have established the current scholarly views on slavery and shaped the nature of slave family studies include John Blassingame's The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South (1972). Blassingame uses records of the Freedman's Bureau and statistics from the federal census to show that, contrary to the claims of earlier scholarship, most slaves lived in two parent households. He argues the significance of the nuclear slave family, however precarious or short-lived, as a survival mechanism against the dehumanizing treatment of slavery. Slave parents were able to perform the "traditional" function of child-rearing, and therefore were able to instill values and a frame of reference apart from the master. Out of sight of the white master and in the privacy of their quarters, Blassingame asserts, slaves exhibited their true personality traits serving as models of behavior to their children.

Other important works that profoundly influence current scholarship are Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (1974) by Eugene Genovese, and Herbert

Gutman's The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom (1977). Genovese provides an extensive description of slave plantation life covering "marriage" patterns and sexual mores, family relations, and religious practices. Regarding family life, Genovese concludes that many slaves were able to set norms that were transferable to their lives in freedom. Slave men did provide for their families as much as they could by hunting and fishing to supplement rations, and by protecting their families from punishment when possible. Slave men and women recognized the sanctity of their "marriage" relationships even if the law or their masters did not. Like Blassingame, Genovese indicates that the strong affectionate ties among fathers, mothers, and children were a source of strength. Genovese emphasizes that these achievements were limited by the constraints of the slave system, but that they were all the more impressive under the circumstances.

- *In terms of slave family life, the Ridgelys may or may not have been more paternalistic than other owners. According to the memoirs of John Ridgely's grandson Henry White, the Ridgelys were supportive of slave family life. He asserts that they had slave marriages performed by clergy, and that they refrained from fracturing slave families by selling individuals (Farrar, 14). The veracity of these statements needs to be checked against other sources wherever possible. It is also likely that slaves in different locations had different relationships with the Ridgelys.*

- *We also need to keep in mind that benevolence could be a double-edged sword. While some slaves might have welcomed weddings performed by white ministers as an acknowledgment of their humanity by their masters, others might have seen them as interference in their private lives.*

- *The naming of slaves is important to consider because it speaks to the important issues of personal identity within the slave community and the relationship of the slave to the master and his family. Slaves sometimes used different names among themselves than those used by masters. A prime example is Mary Jones, a woman who received her freedom from Charles Carnan Ridgely; as a slave she was known merely as "Polly" (Gregory, 11).*

Gutman, in The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, uses census data, Freedman's Bureau records, and plantation records from Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana to show that despite the lack of legal recognition of slaves' marriages, they indeed established such unions and valued marriage and family life. Gutman offers extensive evidence of the complex relationships and kinship networks providing the slave family with a sense of cohesiveness despite the outside forces that could separate them: extended kin, such as uncles, aunts and cousins, were an important part of familial identity. On various plantations throughout the South, patterns of slave behavior and a common slave culture are documented. Gutman demonstrates the collective and effective resistance to oppression by slaves' maintenance of family ties.

Scholars of women's history have pointed out the heavy male-oriented bias in the works of Blassingame, Genovese, and Gutman. The emphasis on the black female matriarch was central to the analysis of Frazier and Moynihan. The emasculation of black men in slavery, they asserted, was exacerbated by the economic and familial dominance of women within the black family. Thus, the refutations of Blassingame, Genovese, and Gutman focus on demonstrating the dominance of the male in the slave family: proving that most (not all) slaves lived in two parent households. They suggest further evidence of male dominance by focusing on male slave status within the community, recognition of men as head of the family group by masters, and the heavy labor activities of men. The works of Jacqueline Jones, Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow (1985), and Deborah Gray White, Ar'n't I a Woman? (1985) question what scholars establish as the norm for slave families. They also assert that the respect and recognition of women's work with the black family cannot be equated with dominance in the political or socio-economic sense that was implied by Moynihan. They argue that the slave family was indeed *matrifocal*, or mother-centered (rather than *matriarchal*, or

female-dominated), but that the roles for mother and father in the slave household were complementary; one did not necessarily maintain a dominant position over the other.

An important aspect of White's analysis is the influence of African traditions that shaped slave family customs. The works of Blassingame, Genovese, and Gutman recognize and discuss the slave's cultural process of adapting African practices and European customs to their unique situation in American slavery, called syncretism. Naming practices, burial rituals, marriage ceremonies, and the blending of Christian beliefs with African religion created a unique American slave culture. For instance, scholars show that slave marriages, although illegal, were often conducted in Christian churches. They were also often followed by the "jumping the broomstick" ceremony (the exact meaning of which scholars interpret differently). Focusing on gender roles, White compares slave culture with West African practices and reveals similarities in familial relationships and work roles: female work and domestic activities--such as child rearing, laundry, and sewing as well as field work--were recognized within the slave community as central to their survival.

Both Jones and White also argue that black women's confidence in themselves as workers enabled them to build a "culture of resistance" and a sense of identity apart from the roles imposed upon them by slavery. Likewise, in Within the Plantation Household (1988), a comparative study of white and black female experience in the antebellum South, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese finds that slave women took pride and satisfaction in their work skills even though their production primarily benefited their white owners. Fox-Genovese asserts that while essentially experiencing different statuses as free and enslaved women, both groups acquired self-conscious identities through their labor activities as it related to their distinct families and communities. All three scholars demonstrate ways in which culturally dominant conventions of family relations and gender roles are not transferable to the slave community. Thus, women's historians revise the language of scholarship that has focused on the roles and

experiences of male slaves and portray slavery as a culturally adaptive process in which the norms of white society did not necessarily apply.

In the most recent work on the subject, Brenda E. Stevenson's Life in Black and White (1996) directly challenges the 1970s scholarship that portrayed the nuclear slave family structure as the norm. Stevenson studies the cultural practices and family structures of white planters, poorer white farmers, free blacks and slaves in Loudon County, Virginia, during the early nineteenth century. She finds that neither monogamous "marriages" nor nuclear families characterized slave family norms. More significant to the slaves' experience were matrifocal families, "spouses" living on separate plantations, and extended family groups. Stevenson asserts that slaves' ideals of marriage and family were neither reflective of nor sanctioned by the dominant white culture. Ultimately, slave marriage and family structures are too diverse to provide a typical characterization, but by its very multiplicity the slave family demonstrates its adaptability and speaks to the slave family's survival.

Another very recent work is Wilma King's Stolen Childhood (1995), which focuses on the experience of children during slavery. While all of the works discussed above touch upon children in slavery--such as work roles and treatment by masters and mistresses--none give the child's experience the singular importance that King asserts. King argues that enslaved children were deprived of a childhood because they started work early and were subject to the same atrocities and abuse as adult slaves. The author equates the condition of slavery with being in a state of war, and compares the intense suffering of children in war and slavery due to their inability to protect themselves from devastation.

- *Evidence suggests that the Ridgelys both rewarded their slave children and disciplined them. Eliza Ridgely gave Christmas gifts to well-behaved young slaves, and withheld them from those who did not meet her standards. The slave girl Eliza, who allegedly killed her young mistress's pet squirrel, was promised a whipping. Another slave girl, a mulatto who was proud of her long hair which resembles that*

of whites, was humiliated by having it cut off to break her pride (Gregory, 7). Thus rewards and punishments were both means of behavioral control of slave children at Hampton.

Sources in Slave Scholarship

Blassingame's work has been hailed as a major turning point in slave studies, successfully challenging Elkins' Slavery which had previously dominated the scholarly representation of slavery. Blassingame reinterprets the nature of the slave community as one imbued with dignity, humanity, and self-determination. He does so not only with the hard evidence of statistical data, but also with the words of slaves themselves through ex-slave autobiographies. However, criticism of The Slave Community points to the vast number of slave testimony sources that were not used and questioned Blassingame's use of psychology to interpret slave accounts (Al-Tony Gilmore, ed. Revisiting Blassingame's The Slave Community, 1978). For instance, George P. Rawick uses the slave interviews from the Federal Writer's Project (FWP) narratives to discuss slave experiences from their own vantage point in From Sundown to Sunup (1972), which is volume 1 of the collectively published interviews, The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography, a forty-one volume set. Of particular interest to the Booker T. Washington and Arlington House sites is volume sixteen of The American Slave, and Weevils in the Wheat, edited by Charles L. Perdue et.al (1976), as well as the FWP publication The Negro in Virginia (1940) which provide interviews with people who had been enslaved in Virginia.

In Weevils in the Wheat, Perdue collects all of the extant Virginia Writer's Project (under the aegis of the FWP) interviews of ex-slaves, including the interviews conducted by the all-black unit of interviewers previously published in The Negro in Virginia. The introduction to Perdue's collection provides an excellent background to the development of the FWP: Perdue discusses the problems with the recording and transcription of interviews and the effects of bias and censorship which are inevitable in

the interviewing and editing process. A serious problem recognized by all scholars using the interviews is that many FWP workers were white southerners, sometimes even the descendants of former owners, whose presence no doubt affected the response of former slaves. For the most part, the problem of interracial interviews is avoided in the Virginia interviews because the majority of the interviewers were African American.

In a more recent work, Born a Child of Freedom, Yet a Slave (1990), Norrece T. Jones, Jr. makes the observation concerning the use of the FWP interviews that slaves were probably reticent in relating the harsher aspects of slavery. Also, editors of the interviews deleted some of the most brutal descriptions. More revealing to the thoughts and feelings of slaves are, he suggests, is black folklore, as Lawrence Levine has argued in Black Culture, Black Consciousness (1977). Jones portrays the physical, psychological, and spiritual resistance by slaves while emphasizing the harsh and cruel environment of slavery. Using South Carolina the plantations as a case study, the author depicts the world of slavery as a "state of war" in which masters exerted mechanisms of control--such as reward and punishment or the threat of sale--and slaves, in various ways and degrees, resisted, retaliated, and survived.

Conclusion

We can identify general trends in the scholarship of slave studies and in the interpretation of slave family and domestic life. In the 1970s, scholars interpret evidence of an autonomous slave culture and forms of family structure that carried over into freedom. In the 1980s, scholars reinforce the assertion of an autonomous slave culture with the interpretation of female slave experience and the significance of family structures in sustaining slave communities. The essays collected in Women and the Family in a Slave Society (1989) provide the work of scholars discussed here and other significant scholarship in article form.

Also useful is Peter Parish's Slavery: History and Historians (1989), which presents the scholarly debates and social contexts of slave studies in detail. Most recent studies of the 1990s continue to scrutinize the nature of slave family and domestic life and tend to emphasize the harsh and debilitating conditions of slavery which make the persistence of the African-American family all the more significant.

Historians continue to revise and expand our understanding of slave culture. What modern studies have in common is a belief in the humanity of slaves and recognition of the complex nature of slave communities. The scholarship of today reveals that the slave experience cannot be simply depicted as either the suffering or the non-suffering victim of oppression. By portraying the multiplicity of adaptive processes to survive a life of slavery, historians present slaves as people instead of typecast characters. As the historian Thomas Holt has stated, there is a consensus among historians of slavery that despite the harshness of the system, slaves were able to create "institutions and cultural ethos that were functional to their needs, that enabled them to survive the rigors of slavery and bequeath a legacy of resistance to their posterity" (Holt, 215).

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Section 4

Slave and Free Black Communities

Introduction: Definitions, Historiography, Relevance

The concept of "community" can prove vague and ambiguous in a general conversation on the subject. In this context "community" refers to the construction of organized social interaction. In antebellum black society "community" specifically consists of social institutions such as church, family, school, communal clubs or orders, and social and political movements. Unfortunately, due to the racial prejudice inherent in American society, scholars first had to prove that such "community" existed among slaves and free blacks before examining the organizational and functional details of those communities. The project of proving and then exploring early African-American communities has its own history.

As in general studies of African-American history, the trend in the interpretation of slave and free communities has developed from works positioning African Americans as passive victims of circumstance to studies identifying them as real players in the formation of their own communities and their world. In the earliest works an effort was made to prove that slave and free populations had very little, if anything, in common. This movement hoped to prove that "freedom" was the answer to the atrocities of slavery.

Later studies that focuson community make-up are the foundation of modern scholarly interpretation. These works attempt to determine the amount of freedom and agency afforded to black populations and how those populations negotiated the restrictions placed on their lives. These investigations reveal that freedom meant something different than assumed when the group in question was black and not white. Studies tended to idealize antebellum black communities in order to show that blacks' existence constituted more than mere reaction to circumscription and violence. The

texts mapped out communities, their organizational elements, and the way that they functioned emphasizing unity and communal support. Works by Herbert Gutman, Lawrence Levine, and Leon Litwack are good examples of this type of scholarship.

The current trend is to examine antebellum black populations with greater scrutiny, looking at conflict as well as unity within slave and free communities. This trend is seen in the works of James Horton, Jacqueline Jones, Shane White, and Deborah Gray White. These scholars are examining the human complexity within communities and the specific differences between communities noting how specific circumstances and regional environments and values affected their development and operation. These monographs weave African-American history into the larger fabric of American history as a whole.

Close study has revealed that slaves and free blacks existed along a spectrum of freedom. Slaves and free blacks in America experienced levels of freedom that were different from each other but *always* less than that afforded to white people. Texts exploring slave and free communities show where certain populations fall on this spectrum and how members of those populations dealt with their circumstances. While providing compelling accounts of specific communities in specific regions of the country, more recent texts all illustrate that black communities, slave and free, were able to carve a rich existence for themselves out of the constricted opportunities available to them in spite of the racial hatred that faced them at every turn.

Slave Communities

Recent studies about slavery are less concerned with examining the institution itself or the relationship between blacks and whites than with discovering the inner life of slave communities. These works teach us how slaves lived and interacted in the fields and in the quarters, before the master, and especially behind the master's back. Some texts even attempt to delve into the values and thought processes of slave

populations. The ability to describe the workings of slave communities is essential in understanding African-American and American history. Without a clear picture of the complexity of black life during this early stage of history the propensity exists to continue to marginalize and dehumanize the slave population and consequently the African-American population of the past and today. The view that recent studies provide of the plantation slave community enriches our knowledge of American history and takes a step towards regarding slaves as more than supporters of white planter lifestyles.

There were many similarities between and interactions among slave and free black communities, as both faced discrimination and were denied American citizenship. The mechanisms utilized to cope with this reality and to establish community shows the strength and character often demonstrated by oppressed peoples.

Free Communities

All over the South the existence of free blacks was deemed an ideological and practical threat to slavery; whites feared that slaves would be inspired to desire freedom by seeing others of their race free. That blacks could earn wages and support themselves not only proved slavery's paternalism unnecessary, but also undermined its rationale. Common thought also assumed that free blacks would help slaves to escape. Thus the actions and behaviors of free black people in slave states were as controlled as the slaves, if not more so since free blacks posed a threat to the racial ideology that supported the slave system. Being free was not easy. One must remember that even though free, all blacks were subject to the rigid social codes that dictated their behavior and demeanor as members of an "inferior" race.

We learn more from studying the interaction between free blacks and slaves as well as free blacks and whites, as none of these populations existed in a vacuum. The presence and activities of each group affected all of the others. It is especially

enlightening to consider that communities of slaves on plantation sites were existing simultaneously to those of free people. Indeed, escaped or manumitted slaves joined free communities or were brought to them. There is also evidence that the infrastructure of antebellum free communities paved the way for African-American political activity and group development after emancipation as well as set the pattern for white black interaction in the "new" post-bellum America.

'Although a Slave . . .': Historiography and Context of Scholarship

As one of the first texts concerning slave communities following the Civil Rights movement, Eugene Genovese's Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (1974) recognizes the constraints and influences imposed by the dominant white culture and the slave system, yet asserts slaves' active participation in shaping an African-American culture that was distinct from the white one. Genovese identifies religion as the focal point of the slave community. He argues that Christianity was used by slaves both in its accommodationist capacity to sanction acceptance of the slave system, and its revolutionary capacity to justify resistance. Religion brought spiritual comfort and relief to the individual slave and sustaining power to the slave community.

Dealing expressly with religion, Albert Raboteau's Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South (1978), identifies not only the organization, but also the content and form of religion as vital to the slave community. Raboteau asserts that slave religion inspired a powerful sense of community and created leaders and spokespersons for that community. Slaves' practice of religion allowed for organized interaction and the establishment of spiritual leadership to the community. Raboteau elaborates upon Genovese's assertion that slave religion represented a major force in slave communities; he sees slave religion as a creation of slaves' inner culture and community to a greater extent than does Genovese. The doctrine of deliverance, faith, and love helped slaves to maintain their belief in eminent freedom in the

supernatural and earthly world in spite of "past sufferings, present uncertainty, and the anticipation of future trouble." Religious practices provided slaves with the opportunity to meet and to express themselves together and in their own manner without white supervision.

- *The Ridgelys' various religious beliefs and practices and their effect on slave life is a topic that deserves further exploration. Rebecca Ridgely was a devout Methodist from a prominent Methodist family. Her husband Charles Ridgely (1773-1790) may have been influenced by her beliefs to a certain degree, because a Methodist circuit rider during the first Great Awakening, Robert Strawbridge, lived in a house on the Hampton homesite rent free from 1776 until his death in 1781. (The house was near the intersection of Cromwell Bridge Road and the I-695 Baltimore Beltway) (Maser, 55-57).*

- *Rebecca's younger sister Priscilla, who married Charles Carnan Ridgely, Charles Ridgely's nephew and heir, was also a practicing Methodist. Whether or not his wife's faith had any direct influence on his manumission of his slaves is unknown. A connection is unlikely, however, given the fact that by the 1790s most Methodists in southern states had abandoned an anti-slavery position (Butler, 151).*

- *In the nineteenth century, church services were held at Hampton for the Ridgelys and the workers on the homesite. A white minister led the services (Gregory, 8). While these services were probably provided to slaves in the spirit of paternalism, they were also a form of control. Such services could not provide slaves the freedom of expression or the spiritual solace that services among their own community would have given them (although it is certainly possible that they held their own private meetings at other times).*

- *The religious experiences of slaves on the homesite would have been quite different from those who lived on other Ridgely properties. Ronald Lewis suggests that opportunities to participate in organized religion were very limited for slaves working in ironworks because of their remote locations (Lewis, 159). It is likely that both agricultural and industrial slaves--far removed from the Ridgelys' influence--had their own religious practices.*

Realizing that in addition to religion and social organization the mainstay of any community is its family relations, Herbert Gutman emphasizes family structure and function in slave communities. Responding to scholarship that was attacking the black

family, asserting its pathology rooted in the experience of slavery, Gutman's The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925 (1976) establishes the structure and stability of the black family. The work demonstrates that blacks in America maintained a family structure that was suited to the reality of their lives at particular times and according to particular conditions. Gutman uses quantitative data as well as personal testimony to trace the dynamics of family interaction and development.

Focusing on another aspect of slave community development and tradition, Lawrence Levine's Black Culture, Black Consciousness (1977) highlights the development of African-American oral culture, including spirituals, work songs, folk tales, and jokes. The work succeeds in establishing a unique black American culture and cultural thought. Levine explores the complexity and richness of African-American culture that at once results from the oppressive forces of racism and the liberating elements of the human capacity to adapt and survive. Levine also argues and provides evidence of the retention of an African cultural style that persists in oral expressions.

In Deep Like the Rivers: Education in the Slave Quarter Community (1978) Thomas Webber focuses on the *socialization* as well as the education of slaves in a plantation community. The text demonstrates how slaves were educated and socialized to inhabit two worlds: the white world that was closely monitored by masters and the general white community in which the slave was trained to be the "perfect" industrious, non-resistant, ignorant, and demonstrably racially inferior "servant"; and the black world in which the child encountered family, religion, and social inclusion. The socialization that slaves received in the slave community from family, church, peers, elders, and songs and stories taught them how to accept lessons from the dominant culture and how the world should be viewed and understood.

While recognizing the restrictions imposed by whites' values and control, Webber demonstrates that slave populations constituted their own communities

grounded in African traditions that imparted values, beliefs, and survival skills to its members. Webber focuses upon the intellectual and social autonomy inherent in human existence that provide one with the opportunity to create and interpret one's world. He attempts to depict the nature of life under slavery as it was understood by the slaves themselves, instead of through the perspective of a population that existed on the outskirts of slave existence.

John Blassingame's The Slave Community (1979) also carefully establishes the existence and stability of slave community including slave religion, social organization, and family. Through these assertions, Blassingame challenges the assumption that the slave system was a closed system, as expressed in Elkins's Slavery that positioned slaves solely as victims. In the tradition of his contemporaries, Blassingame asserts that despite the harshness of oppression, the plantation was a place of work and life. Slaves took part in creating the existence as opposed to having it constructed for them.

Blassingame also highlights the interaction of cultures that took place between Africans and Europeans in the slave society, and the impact that this interaction held for the overall development of black and white culture. The Slave Community illustrates the boundaries between communities were not impermeable. Blacks and whites learned from each other. Blassingame's perspective also implies that both groups suffered from the scars and bruises imparted by a nationally condoned system of human bondage.

With the works of Litwack, Webber, and others like them, scholars not only established the existence and the nature of slave communities, but also began to explore the subtle textures of slave life and culture. Through continued research, scholars have added depth and breadth to our knowledge of human experience in America by addressing areas that have been previously ignored or silenced. Greater complexity surfaced as idealized interpretations reflecting pure, harmonious, and united slave communities were no longer valid. For instance, African as well as European

influences on African-American life began to be explored. In addition, women came to be viewed as legitimate members and contributors to slave communities.

Charles Joyner's Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community (1984) takes the concept of shared culture even further than Blassingame. He provides a case study of a particular community in order to reveal the various aspects of slave folklife, particularly the "creolization" process. This process, denoting the convergence of two or more languages to form a new native tongue, is applied to the wider scope of cultural adaptations. Hence, a "creolization of culture" is articulated. Using an interdisciplinary approach, Joyner explores the material as well as the verbal culture of the community and its development to highlight the mixture of cultures (African, African American, European and Native American) that united to shape the culture of the slave community.

Delving into the role of women in the slave community, Jacqueline Jones's Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women Work and the Family from Slavery to Freedom (1985) presents the labor of black women as significant to our understanding of labor history, and especially to the development of black working families. Their position in the slave economy and wage labor force reinforced their subordinate status as women and as blacks. Nonetheless, black women worked hard to maintain their families and to improve their community's quality of life. This family role represented an alternate source of respect and control for black women.

In Ar'n't I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South (1985), Deborah Gray White also diverges from the predominant focus on male involvement in community to investigate women's roles and lives in slavery. While not asserting that slavery was worse for female slaves than for male slaves, White argues that it was nonetheless different and examines how the system of slavery affected women in particular. She notes that female work, living, and social patterns that were separate from men created a community among women that supported the general slave

community. Women's work and their childbearing and childcare responsibilities tied them more closely to the plantation or farm than men and, consequently, to greater supervision and control. White asserts that in order to offset these difficulties slave women established what White calls "the female slave network" that was based upon female development, maturity and rites of passage, and served as a support system to the community of female slaves as well as the greater slave community.

Especially with more recent works, historical investigation into slave communities begins to access the inner lives of slave populations and reflect the complexity of slave life. The large number of internal and external factors that influenced slave community development (and generally tend to influence all human community development) become clear through a broad knowledge of the scholarship to date. The diversity of slave experience also becomes evident as scholars articulate the existence of many types of slave communities that differed in number, gender composition, locale, and types of labor. Nevertheless, another form of community existed, that of free blacks, a knowledge of which is essential to understanding labor, political movements, and race relations in the antebellum United States.

'Freedom Like Mine': Historiography and Context of Scholarship

In North of Slavery (1961), one of the first modern examinations of antebellum free black populations, Leon Litwack maps Northern black existence from the inception of freedom and emancipation through the turbulence and complexity of antebellum white and black abolition movements. One of the major contributions of Litwack's text is its refutation of the antebellum North's status as a mecca of equality and opportunity for free blacks. Litwack establishes that, while antislavery Northern whites were not necessarily social integrationists, Northerners believed that America was politically, socially, and economically "a white man's country." The rampant racial segregation and exclusion that was coded into law proves this fact. Litwack also demonstrates that

while the North afforded more opportunities in terms of education, self-expression, job opportunity, and political agency, these opportunities were negligible in relation to the opportunities afforded "full" white citizens.

Litwack asserts that the "more free" environment in the North produced different kinds of action, thought, and leadership than did that of the South. He characterizes these differences in the form of the major antebellum black leaders that the regions produced, Frederick Douglass and Nat Turner. The varying "degrees of freedom" available in the free North and slave South made for differing possibilities of activism. The intellectual nature of Douglass's leadership was impossible for slaves and free men in the South, who were denied education and free speech. The severity of the condition of slavery in the South and the restrictions on thought and social activity produced a leader like Nat Turner to encourage social and political change.

As one of the first monographs following studies that positioned blacks as victims in society, it is important to note the tone and perspective that North of Slavery adopts: it investigates the agency and organization invested within antebellum free black communities. Litwack recognizes the humanity of the free black community by exploring groups' own efforts to improve their own lives as well as by examining these efforts with respect to whites' actions and views. Litwack also attempts to balance description of the proscription and injustice meted out to the free black population with description of free black's attempts to shape a positive existence out of a oppressive situation.

Berlin's Slaves Without Masters (1974) is a work that sets the parameters of the debate. It is a comprehensive study of the formation and development of free black communities in the South that vary according to size, wealth, origination, color, and region. Berlin directly addresses earlier scholarship by dealing with free blacks in the South, revising much of the equivocal and unclear information concerning free blacks'

social life. Berlin asserts that, though able to develop a rich community life, free blacks in the South enjoyed very little more "freedom" than did slaves.

Berlin identifies the development of black church, school, and fraternal and mutual aid organizations as the stalwarts of the free black community. He argues that the majority, if not all, of community life, activism, and organization grew out of the church. The establishment of the free black church represented a milestone in the development of a free black community. Free black congregations, along with slaves, started schools to facilitate the attainment of highly valued education and fraternal associations to protect, serve, and strengthen the free Black community. All of these activities were illegal and barely tolerated by a controlling and faultfinding white population.

In urban port centers in the deep South, particularly Charleston and New Orleans, prosperous groups of light-skinned blacks created communities that more closely emulated white society than those created by poor freemen or slaves. These groups enjoyed significantly more freedom than poor free blacks--or slaves--largely due to their skin color. This privilege resulted from the status conferred upon mulattoes by a white population that valued whiteness over blackness. Thus the development of a light-skinned black "upper" class is a direct result of the dominant notion of white supremacy. The development of color-coded class stratification proves that American cultures do not exist in a vacuum, but affect each other greatly.

Occupying a middle ground between slave and free, black and white, they created a flourishing network of schools, churches, and other organizations that had very little in common with the slaves around them. While relatively "unconnected to the poorer Black population during the antebellum period", this free elite became an important force in the turbulent politics of the Civil War and Reconstruction (Berlin, 1974).

Jane and William Peases' They Who Would Be Free (1974) takes a very different and rather pessimistic look at free black communities. The text also adopts a negative view of the elite and non-elite leadership that Berlin recognized as essential to the future of emancipated blacks. The text argues that free African Americans in the North were powerless, their efforts to effect change largely futile, as they operated in a milieu of racism, factionalism, and apathy.

They Who Would Be Free examines the black abolition movement and determines that it was a failure. The failure is attributed to external forces that prevented black efforts from being effective and attributes the failure to inherent problems in black leadership. The Peases assert that the leaders were more interested in advancing their own interests and status than in freeing the slaves. In making this point the text reflects the pessimism of its post-Civil Rights era context and rails the division and self interest of the black leadership of the antebellum period interpreting its division in terms of the crisis in black leadership during the 1970s.

The Peases' work is important in its willingness to forgo the idealization of the antebellum free black community in order to expose the complexity of black ideas and interaction. Other historians, however (such as Robert Cottrol, Barbara Jeanne Fields, and Leonard Curry), abandon this negative perspective. These authors recognize the strides taken by black leaders (both elite and non-elite in different contexts) in helping to develop black communities both before and after emancipation. Monographs published subsequent to the Peases' work are similar in-depth case studies of specific communities in specific places. The texts analyze the ways in which particular environments affected various issues in free black life such as work, religion, gender roles, and community organization.

In The Afro-Yankees (1982), Robert Cottrol studies the social and political life in antebellum black Providence, Rhode Island. His work reinforces the pattern of community activism and organization among free blacks found in other cities. His

extensive treatment of unlikely interracial political alliances struck during the period is instructive and suggests that historians should pay greater attention to issues of race and class in attempting to understand the dynamics of community life. Here region was a critical factor in accessing the options open to black people in creating a community support apparatus.

In Slavery and Freedom in the Middle Ground (1985), Barbara Jeanne Fields explores Maryland's black population that consisted of nearly equal numbers of free people and slaves. Fields explores the revolutionary consequences of freedom upon a society dominated by a slave system. Fields demonstrates that even before emancipation Maryland was coping with the existence of two competing and ideologically conflicting systems of labor and citizenship. The author points out the social impossibility of a group of powerless individuals (free blacks) to bring about change in the economic, political, and social system. Free blacks, slaves, and whites were all part of and affected by the slave system. The free status of many individual blacks in Maryland did not erode the foundation of slavery; instead, the slave system defined and limited the status of blacks. Although free blacks in Maryland (called "conscript slaves" by Fields) supported themselves, they were not truly free from systemic bondage until after the Civil War.

Free blacks were subject to random violence, threat of legalized re-enslavement, and forced expulsion from the state. The existence of this mixed population also had impact on the quality of black life itself. "The middle ground imported an extra measure of bitterness to enslavement, set close boundaries on the ostensibly free, and played havoc with bonds of love, friendship, and family among slaves and between them and free black people."

- *Fields's work provides an excellent background for putting the experience of slavery at Hampton into larger historical perspective. Hampton's experience as a plantation that weathered the Civil War and Emancipation intact was not an anomaly in*

northern Maryland. Much of the northern part of the state had become agriculturally progressive; it was no longer financially dependent upon slavery and it had developed close ties to the economy of the North (Fields, 18-22).

- *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground also sheds light on relationships between white people, slave communities, and neighboring free black communities in northern Maryland. Nineteenth-century northern Maryland (i.e. Allegany, Baltimore, Carroll, Frederick, Harford, and Washington counties) was mostly white. In 1850, only 16% of the population of northern Maryland was African American, but a significant fraction of that group was free; only 5% of the total population was enslaved (Fields, 6). Free African Americans tended to congregate in cities and towns, especially Baltimore. In Baltimore county, 13.8% of the population were free blacks (Fields, 34, 12).*

- *Maryland was characterized by a great amount of interaction between slaves and free blacks through intermarriage, friendship, and work in both urban and rural areas (Fields, 31). The complexities of these relationships had direct bearings on the everyday lives of members of both communities. Even when masters manumitted their slaves with good intentions, the repercussions could be devastating to individual families. When owners freed their slaves through delayed manumission--as Charles Carnan Ridgely did at Hampton--women, children, and men could be separated for years (Fields, 30).*

In Freedom at Risk, Carol Wilson illustrates that freedom was a tenuous and dangerous position for African Americans. Wilson not only recognizes and decries the reality and injustice of the kidnapping of free blacks, but also identifies patterns in what abolitionists referred to as "manstealing."

Leonard Curry's The Free Black in Urban America (1988) demonstrates that free blacks faced a precarious and difficult existence due to legal restrictions of employment, advancement, and living opportunities. The political and social violence committed against blacks in all areas of life was rampant and continuous. Curry argues that in spite of *and* because of these conditions, free blacks formed a strong community with consisting of cohesive organizational forces that united community members and facilitated the expression of political and social discontent. Blacks continuously protested and petitioned for relief and agitated for suffrage and equal political rights.

As the title implies, the ideological starting point for Curry's text is the notion that nineteenth-century free blacks shared the same goals for individual achievement as did whites. Curry demonstrates that in spite of adhering to the dominant ideology, free blacks were still primarily shut out from larger society and found themselves chasing the "shadow" of the American dream.

Gary Nash's book, Forging Freedom, (1988) highlights the significance of leadership, organizational development, communal interdependence, and economic independence in the early formation of a free black community in Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary America. Since Philadelphia was one of the early havens for free blacks, its free black population grew quickly, providing opportunities for leadership, community development, and social consciousness. Nash also explores the barriers to independence and autonomy that blacks faced at every turn. In some cases free blacks faced sanctions on religious and meeting practices, in other instances free blacks were barred from equal participation in the job market. In all instances, free black life was circumscribed by white racism, resentment, and hatred.

While attuned to the tragedy of the history of free blacks, Nash gives more attention to the "internal history" of a people striving to create the best possible lives for themselves that their inner resources and external circumstances allowed. Nash traces the emergence of a gifted black leadership in Philadelphia and an organizational infrastructure that supported a rich and diverse community. Nash follows the development and changes in elite black leadership throughout the social and economic upheavals that plagued blacks during the turn of the century, and through the rising prevalence of anti-black violence in the late 1830s and early 1840s.

Similar to the argument in Forging Freedom, Harry Reed describes a black population agitating to change and improve the conditions of their lives. In Platform for Change (1994), Reed challenges the Pease argument asserting that antebellum African Americans were empowered through the development of community and the creation of

an active group of leaders. He argues that church, social organization, newspapers, national conventions, and the development of a philosophy of emigration constitute African-American expressions of "empowerment." Reed asserts that free blacks exercised this "power" through aggressive self-determination and by agitating and petitioning for the attainment of political goals.

In Somewhat More Independent: The End of Slavery in New York City, 1770-1810 (1990), Shane White grounds a discussion of emancipation and free black life in New York in an enlightening discussion of slavery before widespread manumission or emancipation. White shows that slaveholding in New York was a widespread practice among the middle and upper classes, revealing the presence of a large slave population during the post-revolutionary period. White's identification of these patterns facilitates a comparison between the lives of slaves and free blacks in an urban setting. He demonstrates that by 1810 growing numbers of free blacks had built an impressive community, including a varied and highly skilled occupational structure derived from the largely artisanal and industrial nature of urban slavery.

White notes that for a brief moment, while slavery was gradually ending in the North, free blacks flourished--attending the African Free School and African Church, making a difference in local elections, and rising to the ranks of skilled craftsman and petty proprietors. After this short period, however, with the development of wage labor the strong hand of racism served to circumscribe new found opportunity. Somewhat More Independent attests to the creativity and stamina of thousands of previously ignored African slaves and ex-slaves who forged a free culture in a slave society.

James Horton's book, Free People of Color (1993), explores many important aspects of the antebellum free black community in a manner that emphasizes issues of community cooperation and values, of gender, and of color. Unlike many studies, this text examines African-American life according to specific issues. In dealing specifically with issues of community building and interaction, the text highlights the importance of

organizations and associations in uniting the population and organizing their ideals and values. This approach illuminates not only the formation and functioning of a community, but the tensions and complexity that characterize every human society.

Free People of Color explores unity as well as conflicts within free black society that arose through ideology, over courses of action and racial priorities, issues of migration and assimilation, gender, and color. The text deals with many issues that concern us today from a historical perspective thus opening up discussion for very difficult subjects in the black community and in the wider society.

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Section 5

Studies in Reconstruction in the South

Introduction

The scholarly literature analyzing the aftermath of the Civil War of the United States is vast. The Civil War and Reconstruction continue to raise difficult questions about the meaning of democracy, freedom, and justice in America that are yet to be resolved. Thus, historical interpretation of the period goes to the very heart of the way we interpret America.

As in studies of slavery and free black communities, historical interpretation of Reconstruction has evolved from portraying a simplistic, exclusively white point of view to the representation of an era that epitomizes both the promise and failure of freedom for all Americans. Modern scholarship explores issues interior to the African-American community of how newly freed slaves coped with the new status of freedom, as well as the general issue of how a nation begins to transform its own social, economic, and political culture. This essay will briefly discuss major events of Reconstruction and selectively review scholarship that shapes our understanding of Reconstruction and the history of Americans.

- *These works will help to link information about African Americans at Hampton in the post-Civil War period to larger historical themes and scholarly debates.*

The Facts of Reconstruction: A Brief Overview

Although the exact dates demarcating Reconstruction are not universally agreed upon, Eric Foner indicates the years 1863 to 1877: the period from the Emancipation Proclamation to the year that the ideal of Reconstruction to protect the fundamental rights of all citizens gave way to southern "Redemption" and "home rule," the equivalent to white rule. (Still others might point to 1883 as the end of Reconstruction,

the year the Supreme Court declared the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional.) By law, at least, African Americans made significant gains for their rights as citizens during Reconstruction. Racism prevailed however, and once "Southern Redemption" took hold by the 1880s, racist policies continued and proliferated. Federal laws, Supreme Court decisions, and presidential initiatives would vacillate between furthering and hindering the civil rights of African Americans.

Following the Civil War, Congress amended the Constitution in ways that confirmed American democracy and raised the hopes of African Americans for attaining equality. The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments of 1865 and 1867 ended the institution of slavery and guaranteed equal protection under the law regardless of race, respectively. In 1869, the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment allowed black men to vote. The adoption of restrictive "Black Codes" by southern states however, sought to secure white supremacy and keep blacks as a laboring class. President Andrew Johnson's moderate policy supported the concerns of the South and did little to advance blacks' civil rights. Nonetheless, Congress passed bills to ensure civil rights and enforce Reconstruction in the South with the passage of a civil rights bill in 1866 and the Reconstruction Act of 1867 (i.e., "Radical Reconstruction").

The federal government did much to improve and aid the newly freed slaves through the establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1865. Among the many services provided, the Bureau supplied legal aid, set up schools, and provided health care. Also during Reconstruction, African-American men gained seats in Congress: two in the Senate and twenty in the House of Representatives. Despite the accomplishments, racism operated to subvert equality and justice.

The economic depression of the 1870s was particularly severe in the South: yeomen farmers were engulfed by poverty and planters by indebtedness. Just as African Americans were increasing their political influence, the depression limited their power to influence working conditions: independent black farming became difficult so that

most owners and renters were reduced to sharecroppers and wage laborers. Resentment and resistance among white southerners would increasingly undermine the law of the land through organized acts of violence and state legislation.

Supreme Court decisions hastened the end of Reconstruction. Under the Enforcement Act of 1870, indictments were made against several southerners who were charged with preventing blacks from voting. In 1875, the Court's decisions favored the defendants and interpreted the Fifteenth Amendment in an ambiguous fashion. By 1877, radical Republicanism gave way to conservative policies favoring southern Democrats and "home rule" was restored to southern states. Finally, the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was declared unconstitutional in 1883 and the constitutional laws that were supposed to guarantee African-American citizenship rights were successfully subverted.

Historical Development of the Scholarship

Current scholarship depicts Reconstruction as a critical period in the development of post-Civil War political, economic and social relations in the United States and as a struggle in which African Americans played a significant role. Over time, historians have characterized the Reconstruction era as "tragic," "conservative," and a "failure." In the early twentieth century this period was portrayed as "tragic" by the racist assumptions of historians who declared that a "monstrous" mistake was made by northern Republicans granting political privileges to an inferior race. Revised scholarship, influenced by the contemporary civil rights movement of the 1960s, saw the Radical Republicans as idealists attempting to realize an interracial democracy. Still, further studies of the 1970s and 1980s portrayed Republican efforts as "conservative" measures that recognized blacks' citizenship while upholding racist ideology and keeping them in an oppressive system of plantation labor. Finally, while Reconstruction was a time of radical and dramatic change, it was a "failure" in its aspiration to create an egalitarian and prosperous post-emancipation South.

A major theme in modern studies of Reconstruction is the role of African Americans in shaping social and economic relationships. Earlier scholarship asserted that former masters imposed the sharecropping system on poor blacks who never were provided with enough land from Congress. Later studies show blacks as active participants in the development of a sharecropping system. While resisting total domination by white planters, sharecropping was the only way for newly freed slaves to maintain a modicum of control over their lives. The later scholarship corresponds to studies of slave communities' autonomy and agency in shaping the nature of their life after emancipation. Unlike the scholarship that came about in the 1960s, earlier writings largely ignored the role African Americans played in the Civil War and Reconstruction era both as political actors and as social beings in American history: earlier scholarship had portrayed the role of African Americans in government as damaging to the nation's welfare and a "sad chapter" in American history.

A noteworthy exception is W. E. B. Du Bois's Reconstruction (1935), which asserted that African Americans were principal actors in the drama of emancipation and Reconstruction, but the work was ignored by the established academy at the time. A precursor to modern scholarship, Du Bois depicted Reconstruction as an idealistic endeavor to create a democratic and interracial political order after the Civil War. Today, most historians concur with Du Bois's assertion that, along with military and diplomatic pressures, the presence of slave refugees compelled Lincoln to implement the Emancipation Proclamation and that, as freedmen and political leaders, blacks demanded the equal economic and civil rights legislation made during Reconstruction.

As in the studies on slavery, historians of Reconstruction in the 1960s began to revise racist assumptions of black inferiority and depicted the complex process of emancipation and Reconstruction that included the active will, desire, and enterprise of African Americans. For instance, Willie Lee Rose, in Rehearsal for Reconstruction (1964) shows the ways freedpeople took initiatives in establishing new labor

relationships that reflected their concerns for family and community. Thus, the evolution of race relations in the South can not simply be said to have been determined by whites. In Race Relations in the Urban South (1978), Howard Rabinowitz discusses the role of blacks in the origins of segregation. African Americans protested racial segregation for its effective inequality and affront to their dignity, but they also favored it as a way to improve their condition by controlling institutions themselves. African Americans sought to have their own teachers, run their own schools, churches, and financial organizations.

Earlier, the work of John Hope Franklin, Reconstruction: After the Civil War (1961), had presented the facts of the turbulent period in a balanced manner to show as the historian Daniel Boorstin stated, that neither North nor South, Blacks nor Whites "had a monopoly on virtue, ignorance, vice, greed, or courage." The collection of essays in The Facts of Reconstruction (1991), review and critique the work in light of current scholarship. Seeking to present a balanced analysis of African Americans' experiences, Leon Litwack's Been in the Storm So Long (1979) examines in detail the myriad perceptions and methods by which freedpeople attempted to define their new found freedom. Spanning the years just before, during, and after the Civil War, Been in the Storm So Long reveals that the meaning of freedom for ex-slaves was manifested in ways as diverse as their individual experiences, but all blacks sought to achieve the greatest possible autonomy in every aspect of the their lives.

Eric Foner's Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution (1988) provides the most comprehensive account of Reconstruction that avails modern scholarly views of American social history. Foner portrays the black experience as central to the developments of Reconstruction in their pursuit for individual and community autonomy. Reconstruction traces how southern society was restructured and considers the role of, as well of the effect upon, race and class relations. Foner also examines the

national significance of Reconstruction by studying the effect of North's economic and social structure on the South.

Scholars have also explored the role of violence in the era of Reconstruction and southern "Redemption." By examining the significance of violence, scholars demonstrate how many white Americans chose to deal with the massive process of dismantling slavery. Essays in Black Freedom/White Violence, 1865-1900, edited by Donald G. Nieman (1994), show that violence was a legacy of slavery that permeated social relations in the South: southerners were conditioned by the slave system to confront any challenge to white authority and dominance, which Reconstruction was implementing, with brutal force. George C. Rable, in There Was No Peace (1984) provides a comprehensive and detailed account about the role of violence in the failure of Reconstruction. Southern whites used terrorist tactics to prevent blacks from voting, going to school, protecting themselves and gaining control of their economic decisions. The violence developed from random attacks to and organized campaigns that also targeted Republican political leaders that allowed the triumph of southern "Redemption."

The motivations of racial ideology from southern whites' point of view are explored in Joel Williamson's A Rage for Order (1986). He asserts that the dramatic experience of Reconstruction led southerners to reject the antebellum stereotype of blacks as docile "Sambos" in favor of the harsher portrayal of blacks as dangerous beasts requiring rigorous control. Williamson offers a useful discussion of the development of "Negrophobia." However, an emphasis on the psychological effects of Reconstruction on southern whites downplays the real economic and political benefits they gained through their strategy of "racial radicalism" (the advocation of strict segregation, disfranchisement, and subordination of blacks). These works reveal the legacy of anti-black violence that would erupt time and again, most notably during the

Civil Rights movement, and the tremendous obstacles African Americans faced in their struggle to realize a life of freedom.

The development of education in the South, particularly as it pertained to African Americans, is an area of Reconstruction history thoroughly explored by scholars. The education of the masses of newly freed slaves, as well as poor whites, was a major part of Reconstruction that was as controversial as issues of black suffrage. Examining the struggles over black education approaches the issue of the meaning of freedom for African Americans as well as the problem of how the nation negotiates an adjustment to a world without legal slavery.

The mobilization to bring public schools to the South was spearheaded by private missionaries, supported by the federal government, and involved the personal devotion of many individuals both black and white. Jacqueline Jones, in Soldiers of Light and Love (1980), explores the motivations and experiences of white northern teachers in Georgia after emancipation and reveals the significance of schooling as an agent of social change during Reconstruction. Regarding the movement to educate the freedpeople as an interracial endeavor, Robert C. Morris, in Reading, 'Riting, and Reconstruction (1981) studies the work of black and white missionary teachers, the Freedmen's Bureau, and benevolent societies with a focus on the role of individual teachers in effecting the implementation of educational policies. These works shift scholarly attention from institutional operations of education to the significance of individuals' motivations and dedication to success. They also temper the idealization of teachers from the north as "heroes" with analysis of the shortcomings of their strategies to educate southern blacks.

A more critical view of northern influence in the education of black southerners is developed in James D. Anderson's The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935 (1988). Anderson argues that the motives of northern philanthropists in supporting industrial education was to impose a means of social control by socializing blacks to

become common laborers and servants in the southern caste economy. He asserts that freedpeople and the missionaries who spearheaded black education immediately after the Civil War rejected the notion that African Americans were destined to remain a subordinate class and many private schools resisted control by philanthropists. Samuel L. Horst, in Education for Manhood (1987) examines efforts to educate African Americans in Virginia during the Civil War, with a focus on occupied Virginia and the District of Columbia. The author finds that runaway slaves were self-assertive and active in promoting their education and fostering social change. Religious zeal and the belief that education was essential to improving the physical and moral condition of ex-slaves motivated most northern reformers.

Sources

Recently, Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867, edited by Ira Berlin, *et. al* presents the sources which have also been used for slave studies--records from the Freedman's Bureau, National Archives, and other federal agencies--to construct a picture of emerging social structures and patterns of work-force participation during Reconstruction. The four volume series includes, The Destruction of Slavery, 1861-1865 (1985), which documents the transformation of a war of the Union into a war against slavery, and The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor (1993), detailing the experiences of ex-slaves as military laborers, residents of "contraband" camps, and first-time wage workers in the city and country. Free at Last (1992), brings together selected documents from the first four volumes that reveal the voices and strong will of African Americans.

Conclusion

As in the study of slave and free black communities, the historical interpretation of Reconstruction is continually being revised. Current interpretations show that the

complex workings of the various responses by blacks and whites to the nation's most profound period of crisis shaped the nature of race, class, and political relations as we know them today. Collectively, the scholarship reveals that the historical process of adjusting to the end of slavery is an ongoing process.

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Rose, Willie Lee. Rehearsal for Reconstruction: the Port Royal Experiment. New York: Vintage Books, 1967.

Williamson, Joel. A Rage for Order: Black-White Relations in the American South since Emancipation. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

American Historical Association's Guide to Historical Literature
Mary Beth Norton, general editor. N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1995

immigrants from Asia. Focuses on rise of monopoly capitalism, complexities in class relations, and racial hostility. [NF]

42.261 Charlotte Erickson. *American industry and the European immigrant, 1860–1885.* 1957 ed. New York: Russell & Russell, 1967. ▸ Provocative, influential examination of mass migration, labor competition, and politics. Finds American industry did not sponsor vast contract labor immigration, 1864–85. Ignores overarching capitalist promotion of cheap labor. [NF]

42.262 Dirk Hoerder. "An introduction to labor migration in the Atlantic economies, 1815–1914." In *Labor migration in the Atlantic economies: the European and North American working classes during the period of industrialization.* Dirk Hoerder, ed., pp. 3–31. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1985. ISBN 0-313-24637-8. ▸ Sweeping reexamination of nineteenth-century European migrations of workers. Sketches complex mosaic of intra-European, transatlantic labor markets and labor pools, including return migrations. Synthesizes broad literature, reviews historiography, and compares acculturation processes. [NF]

42.263 Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, eds. *German workers in industrial Chicago, 1850–1910: a comparative perspective.* De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1983. ISBN 0-87580-089-0. ▸ Fourteen essays examining group's urban experience, focus on German American segment of working class. Analyses of immigrant occupations, union activism, political culture, and neighborhood life contribute to broader understanding of ethnic integration. [NF]

42.264 Howard Roberts Lamar. "From bondage to contract: ethnic labor in the American West." In *The countryside in the age of capitalist transformation: essays in the social history of rural America.* Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude, eds., pp. 293–324. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985. ISBN 0-8078-1666-3 (cl), 0-8078-4139-0 (pbk). ▸ Succinct survey stressing importance of bonded, contract labor systems to economy and ethnic group relations in trans-Mississippi United States. Illuminates patterns of Western racism; provides comparisons to United States South and other frontiers. [NF]

42.265 Bruce Laurie, Theodore Hershberg, and George Alter. "Immigrants in industry: the Philadelphia experience, 1850–1880." *Journal of social history* 9 (1975) 219–42. ISSN 0022-4529. ▸ Careful analysis of manufacturing census data to illuminate process of industrialization and foreign-born occupational patterns. Demonstrates limited mechanization in consumer industries, skill levels of Germans higher than Irish workers, and dilution of crafts. [NF]

42.266 Bruce Levine. *The spirit of 1848: German immigrants, labor conflict, and the coming of the Civil War.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992. ISBN 0-252-01873-7. ▸ Discussion of how cultural, economic, and political influences shaped experience of German American craftworkers. Unites examination of homeland background, industrialization, and making of ethnic working class with analysis of political crisis over slavery. Challenging, ambitious interpretation. [NF]

42.267 June Mei. "Socioeconomic origins of emigration: Guandong to California, 1850–1882." In *Labor immigration under capitalism: Asian workers in the United States before World War II.* Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich, eds., pp. 402–34. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. ISBN 0-520-04829-6. ▸ Traces class formation within ethnic enclave in group's leading center, revealing dynamics of Chinatown. Outlines distinctive attitudes of capitalists, petite bourgeoisie, and wage workers to homeland politics and adaptation to America. [NF]

Nativism, Racism, and Antisemitism

42.268 David A. Gerber. "Cutting out Shylock: toward a reconceptualization of the origins of anti-Semitism." *Journal of American history* 69 (1982) 615–37. ISSN 0021-8723. ▸ Thoughtful case study of Buffalo, New York, connecting economic history and social relations. Expansion of commercial capitalism altered Jewish-Gentile relations. Powerful native white Protestant men increasingly denied credit to Jewish entrepreneurs. [NF]

42.269 Elliott J. Gorn. "'Good-bye, boys, I die a true American': homicide, nativism, and working-class culture in antebellum New York City." *Journal of American history* 74 (1987) 388–410. ISSN 0021-8723. ▸ Study of incident of murder of butcher-saloonkeeper to probe nativist sentiment and nature of workingmen's social life. Nuanced analysis of interplay of ethnic, class, and gender politics contributes to reassessment of know-nothingism. [NF]

42.270 Dale T. Knobel. *Paddy and the republic: ethnicity and nationality in antebellum America.* Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press; distributed by Harper & Row, 1986. ISBN 0-8195-5117-1. ▸ Thought-provoking study of evolving popular image of Irish during pre–Civil War era. Social psychological perspective on prejudice and ethnic stereotypes. Content analysis of various printed sources illuminates period's emerging nationalism and concomitant nativism. [NF]

42.271 Leon F. Litwack. *North of slavery: the Negro in the free states, 1790–1860.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961. ▸ Traces denial of equal rights for African Americans and support for white supremacy in northern states during nineteenth century. Early study; significant in documenting distinct pattern of racism in North. [NF]

42.272 David Montgomery. "The shuttle and the cross: weavers and artisans in the Kensington riots of 1844." *Journal of social history* 5 (1972) 411–47. ISSN 0022-4529. ▸ Astute exploration of class, ethnic, and religious conflict and antebellum politics. Virulent nativism arose from ashes of urban radicalism in Philadelphia working-class manufacturing suburb. Political demands of evangelical Protestantism fractured class solidarity. [NF]

42.273 George Anthony Peffer. "Forbidden families: emigration experiences of Chinese women under the Page Law, 1875–1882." *Journal of American ethnic history* 6.1 (1986) 28–46. ISSN 0278-5927. ▸ Argues ban on prostitutes from China, passed before Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882 and after), effectively curtailed female immigration, limiting family formation. Exercise in legal history demonstrates ties between views of gender and race. [NF]

42.274 David R. Roediger. *The wages of whiteness: race and the making of the American working class.* London: Verso, 1991. ISBN 0-86091-334-1 (cl), 0-86091-550-6 (pbk). ▸ Neo-Marxist analysis of racism from bottom up. Explores race in forging of class consciousness among white workers; special attention to Irish Americans. [NF/GJK]

42.275 Alexander Plaisted Saxton. *The indispensable enemy: labor and the anti-Chinese movement in California.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971. ISBN 0-520-01721-8 (cl), 0-520-02905-4 (pbk). ▸ Absorbing analysis of economic and ideological origins and consequences of attitudes and actions against Chinese immigrants in post–Civil War period. Political leaders, white craft unionists gained by asserting racial definition of nationality. [NF/WFD]

SEE ALSO

40.402 Stuart Creighton Miller. *The unwelcome immigrant.*
40.406 Ronald T. Takaki. *Iron cages.*

THE SLAVE SOUTH

Institution of Slavery and the Slave Trade

42.276 Randolph B. Campbell. *An empire for slavery: the peculiar institution in Texas, 1821–1865.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State

University Press, 1989. ISBN 0-8071-1505-3. • First comprehensive narrative on numerous facets of Texas servitude—early development, legal structure, economics, and slave life. Excellent, broad-based research; no new interpretations but significant contribution to southern historiography. [MW]

42.277 Stanley W. Campbell. *The slave catchers: enforcement of the fugitive slave law, 1850–1860.* 1970 ed. New York: Norton, 1972. ISBN 0-393-00626-3. • Argues enforcement of 1850 fugitive slave law was effective, contrary to general belief. Important subject, significant data revealed, yet historical treatment and presentation lack vitality. [MW]

42.278 Merton L. Dillon. *Slavery attacked: southern slaves and their allies, 1619–1865.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990. ISBN 0-8071-1614-9. • Analysis of internal and external issues leading to emancipation. Slaves' agency and subversive behavior, together with northern antislavery pressure, brought downfall of ruthless, coercive bondage. Old arguments; new, comprehensive, probing synthesis. [MW]

42.279 Stanley Elkins. *Slavery: a problem in American institutional and intellectual life.* 3d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976. ISBN 0-226-20476-6 (cl), 0-226-20477-4 (pbk). • Controversial thesis, original interpretations. Rigid, coercive plantation authority regime created childlike Sambo personality-type among North American slaves, unlike Latin America's more flexible system. See Lane, ed. 42.287. [MW]

42.280 George M. Fredrickson. *The arrogance of race: historical perspectives on slavery, racism, and social inequality.* Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1988. ISBN 0-8195-5177-5. • Intellectual, comparative, historiographical focus on slavery, racism, and cultural matrixes of white supremacy, citing specific historical actors and historians. New and old essays challenging paternalist perspective and neo-Marxist historians. [MW]

42.281 Eugene D. Genovese. *The slaveholders' dilemma: freedom and progress in southern conservative thought, 1820–1860.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992. ISBN 0-87249-783-6. • Proslavery intellectuals admired technological and cultural progress but condemned free-labor capitalism that brought it. Acute, expert analysis by similarly ambivalent Marxist historian. [CJG]

42.282 Eugene D. Genovese. *The world the slaveholders made: two essays in interpretation.* 1969 ed. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press; distributed by Harper & Row, 1988. ISBN 0-8195-5198-8 (cl), 0-8195-6204-1 (pbk). • Part 1 compares United States and Latin American slavery as class structures; part 2 interprets George Fitzhugh's proslavery, anticapitalist writings as ideology of a pre- and antibourgeois society. Provocative Marxist viewpoint. [CJG]

42.283 Claudia D. Goldin. *Urban slavery in the American South, 1820–1860: a quantitative history.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976. ISBN 0-226-30104-4. • Examination of differences in urban and rural slavery and uneven development of institution in cities. Argues against incompatability of slavery with urban life, citing availability of white labor as reason for fluctuations; refutes Wade 42.351. [MW]

42.284 Richard Hofstadter. "U. B. Phillips and the plantation legend." *Journal of Negro history* 29 (1944) 109–24. ISSN 0022-2992. • First major scholar to call for critical interdisciplinary approach to slavery. Discusses limitations of Phillips's paternalism, narrowness of his sources, and unconvincing portrayal of African American slaves as docile and content. [MW]

42.285 Nathan Irvin Huggins. *Black odyssey: the Afro-American ordeal in slavery.* 1977 ed. New York: Vintage, 1979. ISBN 0-394-72687-1 (pbk). • Intricate description of slavery as journey from Africa to America focusing on plantation life as triumph of human courage and will over unmitigated force. Impressionistic narrative aimed at capturing essence and vitality of slave life. [MW]

42.286 John C. Inscoe. *Mountain masters: slavery and the sectional crisis in western North Carolina.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989. ISBN 0-87049-597-6. • Study of North Carolina yeoman counties and culture, emphasizing thriving agriculture, small but entrenched slave system, and sectional loyalty. Rejects nineteenth-century perspective of Yankee traveler, Frederick Law Olmsted. [MW]

42.287 Ann J. Lane, ed. *The debate over slavery: Stanley Elkins and his critics.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971. ISBN 0-252-00157-5 (pbk). • Anthology of interdisciplinary articles written in response to Elkins's thesis (42.279), including his rejoinder. Focus on methodology, comparative approach, and Elkins's logic. Useful presentation of major issues in slave studies. [MW]

42.288 James Oakes. *Slavery and freedom: an interpretation of the Old South.* New York: Knopf, 1990. ISBN 0-394-53677-0. • Explores contradiction of slavery's existence in dynamic, liberal economy that took freedom as given. Excellent synthesis of how all Old South social relationships were affected by contradiction. [MW]

42.289 Ulrich Bonnell Phillips. *American Negro slavery: a survey of the supply, employment, and control of Negro labor as determined by the plantation regime.* 1918 ed. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966. • Classic, early account of slavery in the Americas with focus on slavery in antebellum South. Analysis makes extensive use of plantation records. Marred by assumptions of biological and cultural inferiority of African Americans. [TD]

42.290 Julia Floyd Smith. *Slavery and plantation growth in antebellum Florida, 1821–1860.* Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1973. ISBN 0-8130-0323-7. • Extensive examination of plantation records, slave narratives, and census and tax records to support absence of paternalism in Florida slavery. Argues for slavery's profitability, widespread family separation, and cruelty of system. [MW]

42.291 Kenneth M. Stampp. *The peculiar institution: slavery in the ante-bellum South.* 1956 ed. New York: Vintage, 1989. ISBN 0-679-72307-2. • Presents slavery as profitable, exploitive system based on labor coercion which slaves resisted while remaining culturally and communally isolated. Pathbreaking revision of Phillips 42.289; weak on slave life and culture. [MW]

42.292 Michael Tadman. *Speculators and slaves: masters, traders, and slaves in the Old South.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989. ISBN 0-299-11850-9. • Critique of paternalist interpretations. Argues for extensive interregional antebellum slave trade, revising previous estimates by using census data and slave traders' records. Views masters as racist, insensitive, profit-oriented. [MW]

42.293 Allen Weinstein, Frank O. Gatell, and David Sarasohn, eds. *American Negro slavery: a modern reader.* 3d ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979. ISBN 0-19-502470-2. • Essays focusing on comparative slavery, master-slave relations, origins of bondage, labor, and resistance. Good introduction and contemporary historiographical discussion, but Aptheker's work (see 42.324) conspicuously missing. [MW]

42.294 Theodore Branter Wilson. *The black codes of the South.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1965. • Examination of southern legislation and court action to control personal, political, social, and economic life of newly freed African Americans which led to Radical Reconstruction. Important work on brief period. [MW]

SEE ALSO
34.238 Peter Kolchin. *Unfree labor.*

Economics of Slavery

42.295 Alfred H. Conrad and John R. Meyer. *The economics of slavery and other studies in econometric history.* Chicago: Aldine, 1964. • Early cliometric analysis reframing debate over slavery's efficiency as economic institution; found that by modern standards, American slavery was profitable. Also essays on methodology, economic growth. [GJK]

42.296 Paul A. David et al. *Reckoning with slavery: a critical study in the quantitative history of American Negro slavery.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1976. ISBN 0-19-502033-2. • Collaborative essays by economic and social historians. Sharp critique of Fogel and Engerman 42.298 for empirical, methodological, and theoretical errors. [GJK]

42.297 Robert William Fogel. *Without consent or contract: the rise and fall of American slavery.* New York: Norton, 1989. ISBN 0-393-01887-3. • Expansion of argument in *Time on the Cross.* American slavery was economically efficient, making triumph of antislavery campaign morally necessary if not historically inevitable. Synthesis of cliometric and conventional approaches. [GJK]

42.298 Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman. *Time on the cross: the economics of American Negro slavery.* 1974 ed. New York: Norton, 1989. ISBN 0-393-30620-8 (pbk). • Highly controversial cliometric interpretation that efficiency of American slavery materially benefited both profit-minded slaveholders and hard-working slaves. Supplementary volume supplies evidence and calculations. For critique, see David et al. 42.296. [GJK]

42.299 Eugene D. Genovese. *The political economy of slavery: studies in the economy and society of the slave South.* 2d ed. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1989. ISBN 0-8195-6208-4 (pbk). • Influential Marxist interpretation of Old South as slave society ruled by precapitalist planter class. Inefficiency and ideology drove planters to seek slavery's expansion, precipitating Civil War. [GJK]

42.300 Richard G. Lowe and Randolph B. Campbell. *Planters and plain folk: agriculture in antebellum Texas.* Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1987. ISBN 0-87074-212-4. • Challenge to thesis that farming economy declined in antebellum era. Argues slave planters' profits not as high as previously believed and farmers created vital economy, sharing in Texas prosperity. [MW]

42.301 William M. Mathew. *Edmund Ruffin and the crisis of slavery in the Old South: the failure of agricultural reform.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988. ISBN 0-8203-1011-5. • Qualitative analysis of problems in southern society, focusing on slavery and southern economics through eyes of Virginia planter and agricultural reformer. [MW]

42.302 John Hebron Moore. *The emergence of the cotton kingdom in the old Southwest: Mississippi, 1770–1860.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988. ISBN 0-8071-1382-4 (cl), 0-8071-1404-9 (pbk). • Comprehensive, but somewhat dated socioeconomic perspective on complexities of change, development of new resources, and mechanics of cotton production in Mississippi. [MW]

42.303 William K. Scarborough. *The overseer: plantation management in the Old South.* 1966 ed. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984. ISBN 0-8203-0732-7 (cl), 0-8203-0733-5 (pbk). • Sympathetic treatment of overseer concludes friction between planter and overseer stemmed from ill-defined areas of jurisdiction, planter mistrust, and manager's stressful supervisory position. [MW]

42.304 Julia Floyd Smith. *Slavery and rice culture in low country Georgia, 1750–1860.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985. ISBN 0-87049-462-7. • Argues tidewater rice cultivation produced wealth, and planters encouraged slave autonomy through task system, contributing to higher living standard for slaves than elsewhere. Unconvincing paternalist argument; thin evidence. [MW]

SEE ALSO
39.410 Peter A. Coclanis. *The shadow of a dream.*

Southern Society and Culture

42.305 Dickson D. Bruce, Jr. *Violence and culture in the antebellum South.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979. ISBN 0-292-77018-9. • Explores cultural context of meaning, sources, and implications of southern violence. Southern beliefs about passion, pessimistic world view, and historical events impelled sense of resignation toward necessity of violence. [MW]

42.306 Orville Vernon Burton. *In my father's house are many mansions: family and community in Edgefield, South Carolina.* 1985 ed. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987. ISBN 0-8078-1619-1 (cl, 1985), 0-8078-4183-8 (pbk). • Comparison of black and white families in Piedmont county before and after slavery. Emphasizes pervasive influences of evangelical Protestantism, patriarchal values, and racism. [DSS]

42.307 Victoria E. Bynum. *Unruly women: the politics of social and sexual control in the Old South.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992. ISBN 0-8078-2016-4 (cl), 0-8078-4361-x (pbk). • Three Piedmont counties provide evidence of female autonomy and resistance within patriarchal constraints. Concludes unmarried, free black women, poor white women, and white yeomen wives defied private and public authority. [VBB]

42.308 Joan E. Cashin. *A family venture: men and women on the southern frontier.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. ISBN 0-19-505344-3. • Experiences of slaveholding families' trek to Southwest, focusing on gender, race relations, isolation, sexuality, and how increasing wealth fostered rejection of slaves' humanity. Rich prose, compelling interpretations. [MW]

42.309 Jane Turner Censer. *North Carolina planters and their children, 1800–1860.* 1984 ed. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990. ISBN 0-8071-1135-x (cl, 1984), 0-8071-1634-3 (pbk). • Comparison of planter society with elites elsewhere. Portrayed as attractive, self-controlled, industrious, and egalitarian—except in slave relations, where cruelty prevailed. Rejects paternalistic approach. [MW/DSS]

42.310 Catherine Clinton. *The plantation mistress: woman's world in the Old South.* New York: Pantheon, 1982. ISBN 0-394-51686-9. • Rich data from 500 manuscript collections, emphasizing female victimization under patriarchal slaveocracy. Analysis minimizes white privilege, female agency, solace in kinship, religion, and motherhood. Focus on elite white women, 1780–1835. [VBB]

42.311 Liliane Crete. *Daily life in Louisiana, 1815–1830.* Patrick Gregory, trans. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981. ISBN 0-8071-0887-1. • Focuses on New Orleans life during early statehood including creole family, racial variety, religion, leisure, slaves, common folk, and food. Limited by neglect of major sources. Uncritical; lacks originality. [MW]

42.312 Carl N. Degler. *The other South: southern dissenters in the nineteenth century.* 1974 ed. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1982. ISBN 0-930350-33-2 (cl), 0-930350-34-0 (pbk). • Antislaveryites, unionists, and Populists bore witness to southern diversity but remained minority largely because class and economic views were subordinated to race. Upholds continuity of southern distinctiveness. [CJG]

42.313 Elizabeth Fox-Genovese. *Within the plantation household:*

black and white women of the Old South. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988. ISBN 0-8078-1808-9 (cl), 0-8078-4232-x (pbk). • Important, controversial work. Study of black and white women as members of elite plantation family. Subordinates racial antagonism, sexuality, and religion in effort to depict distinctly southern household as locus of economy. [VBB]

42.314 John Hope Franklin. *The militant South, 1800–1861.* 1956 ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 1970. • Analysis and explanation of southern military and historical penchant for violence. Views rural ambiance, fear of slave insurrection, and self-satisfied arrogance as major factors. Fresh, important perspective on mind of white South. [MW]

42.315 J. William Harris. *Plain folk and gentry in a slave society: white liberty and black slavery in Augusta's hinterlands.* Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press; distributed by Harper & Row, 1985. ISBN 0-8195-5125-2. • Local community study addressing why nonslaveholders supported Civil War. Examines white ideology, culture, economy, and political independence to explore old argument of fundamental white antipathy toward blacks. [MW]

42.316 Frances Anne Kemble. *Journal of a residence on a Georgia plantation in 1838–1839.* 1961 ed. John A. Scott, ed. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984. ISBN 0-8203-0707-6. • English actress's assessment of slavery while married to slaveowner. Accounts reflect British, New England antislavery sentiments alongside racism. Interesting data; useful introduction on Kemble's life by Scott. [VBB]

42.317 Louis D. Rubin, Jr. *The edge of the swamp: a study in the literature and society of the Old South.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. ISBN 0-8071-1495-2. • Analysis of southern literary figures focusing on limited creativity due to defensiveness about slavery, isolation, illiteracy, weak intelligentsia, and planter aspirations. Challenges antibourgeois, paternalistic interpretation of master class. [MW]

42.318 Todd L. Savitt. *Medicine and slavery: the diseases and health care of blacks in antebellum Virginia.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978. ISBN 0-252-00653-4. • Exhaustive research and analyses. Concludes slave work routine impaired by poor health due to disease, lactose deficiency, sickle cell anemia, poor clothing, and diet. Offers new methods of challenging paternalist thesis. [MW]

42.319 Todd L. Savitt and Ronald L. Numbers, eds. *Science and medicine in the Old South.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. ISBN 0-8071-1464-2. • Examines growth of science in Old South including impact on plantation economy, scientific societies, theology, and southern thought. Medicine section explores health practices, slave folk beliefs, insanity, and domestic medicine. [MW]

42.320 Theresa A. Singleton, ed. *The archaeology of slavery and plantation life.* Orlando, Fla.: Academic Press, 1985. ISBN 0-12-646480-4. • Discussion of adaptability and behavior patterns of owners, managers, and laborers on plantations. Examines artifacts, food, and skeletal remains. Interdisciplinary fusion of history, anthropology, and archaeology. [MW]

42.321 Steven M. Stowe. *Intimacy and power in the Old South: ritual in the lives of the planters.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987. ISBN 0-8018-3388-4. • Study of planter rituals as manifestations of collective power, and denial of race or class perspectives. Duels, courtships, and friendships important within internal dynamics of elitist, hierarchial planter culture and family relationships. [MW]

42.322 Earl E. Thorpe. *The Old South: a psychohistory.* 1972 ed. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1979. ISBN 0-313-21113-2. • Psychoanalytical approach examining psychosexual nature of antebellum white racial attitudes, how southern apologists treat slavery, and need to study repressed unconscious in African American history. [MW]

SEE ALSO

40.134 John B. Boles and Evelyn Thomas Nolen, eds. *Interpreting southern history.*

40.156 Bertram Wyatt-Brown. *Southern honor.*

41.489 James Hugo Johnston. *Race relations in Virginia and miscegenation in the South, 1776–1860.*

Slave Culture, Community, and Resistance

42.323 Roger D. Abrahams. *Singing the master: the emergence of African American culture in the plantation South.* New York: Pantheon, 1992. ISBN 0-394-55591-0. • Study of English harvest celebration that bound master and slave, each with different agenda, reinforcing slave accommodation through minstrelsy. Paternalistic, hegemonic theme imbedded in interesting analysis of slave subversive interplay and performance. [MW]

42.324 Herbert Aptheker. *American Negro slave revolts.* 1943 ed. New York: International Publishers, 1987. ISBN 0-7178-0605-7 (pbk). • Significant, long-ignored work revealing extent and levels of slave resistance and rebellion. Counterbalances perspective that slaves did not resist. Excellent primary documentation. [MW]

42.325 John W. Blassingame. *The slave community: plantation life in the antebellum South.* Rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979. ISBN 0-19-502562-8 (cl), 0-19-502563-6 (pbk). • Pioneering, internal examination of life in slave quarters through slave's voice using fugitive narratives, autobiographies, and sociological perspectives. Illustration of plantation personality types challenges Elkins's thesis (42.279). [MW]

42.326 John H. Bracey, August Meier, and Elliott M. Rudwick, eds. *American slavery: the question of resistance.* Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1971. ISBN 0-534-00017-7. • Collection of essays discussing historical spectrum of slave resistance. Ranges from conservative paternalist argument to daily resistance, acculturation, white repression, slave personality, and New Left approaches. [MW]

42.327 Janet Duitsman Cornelius. *"When I can read my title clear": literacy, slavery, and religion in the antebellum South.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991. ISBN 0-87249-737-2. • Analysis of literacy as integral component of slave religious and communal experience despite slaveholders' efforts to prevent its attainment. Links slave literacy to spiritual conciousness, self-esteem, resistance, and freedom. [MW]

42.328 Margaret Washington Creel. *A peculiar people: slave religion and community-culture among the Gullahs.* New York: New York University Press, 1988. ISBN 0-8147-1404-8. • Interpretive, analytical history of Sea Island slave culture emphasizing African heritage, resistance, community consciousness, and social cohesion. Challenges thesis of planter paternalism and slave accommodation. [MW]

42.329 Angela Davis. "Reflections on the black woman's role in the community of slaves." *The black scholar* 3.4 (1971) 2–15. ISSN 0006-4246. • Revolutionary argument for centrality of slave woman's role in slave resistance. Child-rearing and domesticity recast with ironic political meaning. Major source for much subsequent research and debate on gender and slavery. [VBB]

42.330 Paul D. Escott. *Slavery remembered: a record of twentieth-century slave narratives.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979. ISBN 0-8078-1340-0 (cl), 0-8078-1343-5 (pbk). • Uses computer analysis to examine information in slave narratives in Federal Writers Project as window into black consciousness. Data reveal levels of slave resistance, endurance, cultural creativity, and adaptability. [MW]

42.331 Christie Farnham. "Sapphire? The issue of dominance in the slave family, 1830–1865." In *To toil the livelong day: America's women at work, 1780–1980*. Carol Groneman and Mary Beth Norton, eds., pp. 68–83. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1987. ISBN 0-8014-1847-x (cl), 0-8014-9452-4 (pbk). • Female-headed slave families, women's double work duty in two-parent families, serial marriages do not represent sexual equality. Views African-influenced adaptations to exigencies of slavery as evidence of female self-reliance. [VBB]

42.332 Barbara J. Fields. *Slavery and freedom on the middle ground: Maryland during the nineteenth century*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985. ISBN 0-300-02340-5. • Examination of slavery and black-white post–Civil War transition, focusing on black oppression, economic conditions, politics, and social problems. Places emancipation process in national and international perspective. [MW/SHH]

42.333 Eugene D. Genovese. *In red and black: Marxian explorations in southern and Afro-American history*. 1971 ed. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984. ISBN 0-8704-9428-7 (cl), 0-87049-429-5 (pbk). • Polemical essays linking black nationalist political concerns of 1960s with African American southern slave heritage. Views existing black struggle as rooted in limitations of past and lacking Marxist vision. [MW]

42.334 Eugene D. Genovese. *Roll, Jordan, roll: the world the slaves made*. 1974 ed. New York: Vintage, 1976. ISBN 0-394-71652-3. • Trendsetting interpretation of paternalism as model for understanding masters and slaves through application of Gramsci's theory of hegemony. Slaves accepted white rule thereby compromising revolutionary potential and accommodating own oppression. [MW]

42.335 Vincent Harding. *There is a river: the black struggle for freedom in America*. 1981 ed. New York: Vintage, 1983. ISBN 0-394-71148-3 (pbk). • Black resistance viewed in terms of continual antislavery theme prominent in intellectual and social thought of black leadership. Affirming, celebratory approach to freedom struggle as vision of hope transcending bondage. [MW]

42.336 Harriet A. Jacobs. *Incidents in the life of a slave girl: written by herself*. Jean Fagan Yellin, ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987. ISBN 0-674-44745-x (cl), 0-674-44746-8 (pbk). • Definitive edition of female slave narrative comparable in detail and analysis to that of Frederick Douglass. Thorough introduction and annotation enriches valuable source on sexual exploitation, morals, motherhood, escape, abolitionists, and conditional freedom. [VBB]

42.337 Jacqueline Jones. "My mother was much of a woman: black women, work, and the family under slavery." *Feminist studies* 8 (1982) 235–69. ISSN 0046-3663. • Slave women's lives an extreme reflection of all women's lives within patriarchal capitalism: duality of production and reproduction. Extends Davis's thesis (42.329) regarding ironic assertion of African patriarchy as resistance. Slightly revised version of this article appears as chapter 1 of 40.456. [VBB]

42.338 Norrece T. Jones. *Born a child of freedom, yet a slave: mechanisms of control and strategies of resistance in antebellum South Carolina*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press; distributed by Harper & Row, 1990. ISBN 0-8195-5213-5. • Explores conflict between masters and slaves, examining mechanisms and success of white control, slave reaction including counterstrategies, and efforts to undermine white dominance. Challenges paternalism thesis. [MW]

42.339 Charles Joyner. *Down by the riverside: a South Carolina slave community*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984. ISBN 0-252-01058-2. • Reconstruction of All Saints Parish's Gullah heritage through folklore, ethnography, oral history, and plantation records, highlighting daily life, labor, and culture. Rich, sensitive narrative fusing African and American culture in paternalistic context. [MW]

42.340 John Lofton. *Denmark Vesey's revolt: the slave plot that lit a fuse to Fort Sumter*. Rev. ed. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1983. ISBN 0-87338-296-x (pbk). • Narrative and analysis of most extensive urban slave conspiracy in South Carolina (1822), focusing on social, economic, and political forces shaping African American resistance. Revealing revision of Richard Wade's interpretation. Earlier title: *Insurrection in South Carolina: The Turbulent World of Denmark Vesey*. [MW]

42.341 Ann Patton Malone. *Sweet chariot: slave family and household structure in nineteenth-century Louisiana*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992. ISBN 0-8078-2026-1. • Discussion of slave family life in Louisiana emphasizing tendency toward stability, importance of family ties, and community cohesion, despite extreme vulnerability. Excellent research and analysis of household composition in slave quarters. [MW]

42.342 Melton Alonza McLaurin. *Celia, a slave*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991. ISBN 0-8203-1352-1. • Account of trial of slave woman who murdered owner for sexual violation and events surrounding crime. Compelling, yet undeveloped themes on antebellum violence against black women. [MW]

42.343 Stephen B. Oates. *The fires of jubilee: Nat Turner's fierce rebellion*. 1975 ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1990. ISBN 0-06-013228-0 (cl, 1975), 0-06-091670-2 (pbk). • Dramatic study of most chilling American slave uprising through reconstruction of mindset of mystical leader and analysis of racial climate of South. Compelling narrative and documentation; dispels previous fictional account. [MW]

42.344 Gary Y. Okihiro, ed. *In resistance: studies in African, Caribbean, and Afro-American history*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986. ISBN 0-87023-519-2 (cl), 0-87023-520-6 (pbk). • Commemorative papers, focusing on slave resistance, celebrating work of scholar-activist Herbert Aptheker. Reviews studies of resistance in African diaspora, noting their distance from Marxist scholarship. [MW]

42.345 Leslie Howard Owens. *This species of property: slave life and culture in the old South*. 1976 ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977. ISBN 0-19-501958-x (1976, cl), 0-19-502245-9 (pbk). • Internal examination of slaves' lifestyle, including culture, personalities, behavior, and living conditions. Uses impressive array of plantation records, narratives, and autobiographies; challenges Elkins's Sambo thesis (42.279). [MW]

42.346 George Rawick. *From sundown to sun up: the making of the black community*. Vol. 1 of *The American slave: a composite autobiography*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1972. ISBN 0-8371-6299-8. • Pioneering, original interpretation of previously unexamined Works Progress Administration slave narratives, demonstrating social structure in slave quarters, importance of African heritage, resistance, and nature of racism. Counterbalances Elkins's thesis (42.279). [MW]

42.347 Mechal Sobel. *Trabelin' on: the slave journey to an Afro-Baptist faith*. 1979 ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988. ISBN 0-691-00603-2 (pbk). • Innovative study of antebellum African American values, culture, and institutional development within religious framework. Argues for African heritage and consciousness within African American Christian beliefs, particularly those of Baptist faith. [MW]

42.348 Robert S. Starobin, comp. *Denmark Vesey: the slave conspiracy of 1822*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970. ISBN 0-13-198440-3. • Argues for existence of conspiracy and contributes to historiographical debate over propensity of urban slaves to rebel. Uses unexamined manuscript sources. [MW]

42.349 Sterling Stuckey. "Through the prism of folklore: the black ethos in slavery." *Massachusetts review* 9 (1968) 417–37. ISSN 0025-4878. • Exploratory treatise, emphasizing value of

slaves' folklore as historical documents for interpreting African American thought, consciousness, and resistance. Significant analysis, pathbreaking implications for slave historiography. [MW]

42.350 William L. Van Deburg. *The slave drivers: black agricultural labor supervisors in the antebellum South.* 1979 ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. ISBN 0-19-505698-1. • First work devoted to black slave supervisors emphasizes complexity of their position. Drivers not tools of masters—alienated from community, from families—nor crushed by their unenviable positions. [MW]

42.351 Richard C. Wade. *Slavery in the cities, the South, 1820–1860.* 1964 ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967. ISBN 0-19-500755-7. • Original discussion comparing urban slavery in ten cities. Maintains that complex urban structures, presence of free people of color, and inability to keep races separate contributed to demise of urban slavery. Thesis refuted by Goldin 42.283. [MW]

42.352 Thomas L. Webber. *Deep like the rivers: education in the slave-quarter community, 1831–1865.* New York: Norton, 1978. ISBN 0-393-05685-6. • Reconstructs slave communal life and value system using oral history, emphasizing socialization of young to distrust any white instruction in favor of folk-learning and black ethos. Portrait of slave autonomy. [MW]

42.353 Deborah Gray White. *Ar'n't I a woman? Female slaves in the plantation South.* 1985 ed. New York: Norton, 1987. ISBN 0-393-02217-x (cl, 1985), 0-393-30406-x. • First full-length treatment of female slaves. Finds separate female experience privileged motherhood over relations with men or escape. Deconstructs Mammy and Jezebel images. Author's claims to slave sexual equality weaken under contradictory evidence. [VBB]

SEE ALSO
39.313 Philip J. Schwarz. *Twice condemned.*
40.354 Sterling Stuckey. *Slave culture.*

Free People of Color

42.354 Ira Berlin. *Slaves without masters: the free Negro in the antebellum South.* 1974 ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981. ISBN 0-19-502905-4 (pbk). • Analysis of growth and development of southern free black communities from early national period through 1875. Meticulous research and comprehensive portrait of caste structure, institutions, black identity, and white domination. [MW/DMS]

42.355 Letitia W. Brown. *Free Negroes in the District of Columbia, 1790–1846.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1972. ISBN 0-19-501552-5. • Examination of growth and development of Washington's African American population focusing on routes to freedom, race relations, and traditions of servitude in Virginia and Maryland. Detailed discussion of individual lives of free people of color. [MW]

42.356 William F. Cheek and Aimee Lee Cheek. *John Mercer Langston and the fight for black freedom, 1829–1865.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989. ISBN 0-252-01550-9. • First biography of brilliant, privileged African American leader. Social history of period exploring critical issues for free blacks and story of Langston's remarkable career in pre–Civil War America. [MW]

42.357 Leonard P. Curry. *The free black in urban America, 1800–1850: the shadow of the dream.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981. ISBN 0-226-13124-6. • Case studies of antebellum free communities in largest cities, comparing data, focusing on internal relations, stressing optimism, efforts, sacrifice, and communal pressures in search of American dream. Innovative, original, comparative study. [MW]

42.358 John Hope Franklin. *The free Negro in North Carolina, 1790–1860.* 1943 ed. New York: Norton, 1971. ISBN 0-393-00579-8. • Exploration of antebellum life of free people of color, tracing internal social structure, legal restraints, racism, and economic factors impeding their progress. Original perspective using previously unexamined sources. [MW]

42.359 Willis Augustus Hodges. *Free man of color: the autobiography of Willis Augustus Hodges.* Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., ed. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982. ISBN 0-87049-353-1. • Descended from Virginia blacks free since eighteenth century, Hodges was cofounder of *Ram's Horn.* First publication of 1849 autobiography intended as brief on behalf of southern free people of color. [MW]

42.360 Luther P. Jackson. *Free Negro labor and property holding in Virginia, 1830–1860.* 1942 ed. New York: Russell & Russell, 1971. • Account of free people of color, demonstrating farmers' and tradesmen's important economic and commercial contributions to Virginia life. Impressive research dispelling previously held notions of free black economic liability in Virginia. [MW]

42.361 Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark. *Black masters: a free family of color in the Old South.* New York: Norton, 1984. ISBN 0-393-01906-3. • History of William Ellison, free African American, wealthy slaveholder, and craftsman. Exceptional individual's life reveals collective experience of free blacks and thin line between slavery and freedom. [MW]

42.362 Larry Koger. *Black slaveowners: free black slave masters in South Carolina, 1790–1860.* Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1985. ISBN 0-89950-160-5. • Portrait of African American slaveholders as either upwardly mobile mulattoes firmly committed to slavery or as purchasers of family members. Overwhelming detail, tedious reading, although impressive on black resourcefulness. [MW]

42.363 Gary B. Mills. *The forgotten people: Cane River's creoles of color.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977. ISBN 0-8071-0279-2 (cl), 0-8071-0287-3 (pbk). • History and genealogy of Cane River, Louisiana, people; prosperous, self-contained, antebellum community. Revealing descriptions of inter- and intraracial relationships, placing creoles in broader history of antebellum South. [MW]

42.364 Herbert Sterkx. *The free Negro in ante-bellum Louisiana.* Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1972. ISBN 0-8386-7837-8. • Study of origins, development, and plight of free people of color, recounting socioeconomic life, legal proscriptions, and economic success. Descriptive narrative ignores complex relations among free blacks and between slaves and free blacks. [MW]

42.365 David O. Whitten. *Andrew Durnford: a black sugar planter in antebellum Louisiana.* Natchitoches, La.: Northwestern State University Press, 1981. ISBN 0-917898-06-0. • Portrait of antebellum life through primary sources left by affluent African American planter and physician. Revealing illustration of Durnford's emulation of whites, including keeping slave mistress and owning seventy-five slaves. [MW]

42.366 Marina Wikramanayake. *A world in shadow: the free black in antebellum South Carolina.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973. ISBN 0-87249-242-7. • Challenges southern myth of black indolence. Economically productive free black community marginal to white society; built racial identity with slaves through religion and charity, but fostered class stratification as well. [MW]

THE WEST

General Studies

42.367 Ray Allen Billington and Martin Ridge. *Westward expansion: a history of the American frontier.* 5th ed. New York: Macmillan, 1982. ISBN 0-02-309860-0. • Grandly Turnerian survey of West; covers 1492 to 1896, European colonial society to Populist

4. • Rhetorical, ideological analysis of Hawthorne exploring conundrums of liberal dissent in antebellum culture and America generally. *Tour de force* of radical criticism. [CJG]

42.718 Hazel Dicken-Garcia. *Journalistic standards in nineteenth-century America.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989. ISBN 0-299-12170-4 (cl), 0-299-12174-7 (pbk). • Analysis of press criticism and standards documenting evolution from information to entertainment, business service to social force. Workmanlike example of new journalism history moving beyond editor and newspaper biographies. [CJG]

42.719 Sarah Elbert. *A hunger for home: Louisa May Alcott and "Little Women."* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984. ISBN 0-87722-317-3. • Neither full-scale biography nor exhaustive literary exegesis. Uses Alcott and her fiction to illustrate liberal feminist's definition of true womanhood. Situates Alcott's writing on political continuum as popularizer of liberal feminism. [VBB]

42.720 David Grimsted. *Melodrama unveiled: American theater and culture, 1800–1850.* 1968 ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987. ISBN 0-520-05996-4. • Melodrama attained huge popularity by praising natural goodness of common people, upholding ideals of domesticity, female purity, and social progress under benevolent providence. Thorough study of plays, actors, and audiences. [CJG]

42.721 Neil Harris. *The artist in American society: the formative years, 1790–1860.* 1966 ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982. ISBN 0-226-31754-4 (pbk). • Examination of social attitudes toward visual arts and ideals, careers, and achievements of artists. Long, slow process of legitimizing artistic endeavors hinged on moral approval as well as private patronage and institutional support. Ambitious, widely researched if somewhat uneven approach. [CJG/DMS]

42.722 Elizabeth Johns. *American genre painting: the politics of everyday life.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991. ISBN 0-300-05019-4. • Theoretically informed social history of art. Antebellum genre painting reflected middle-class typing of others by class, region, race, and gender; simultaneously encouraged belief in harmony of interests between unequals. [CJG]

42.723 David Leverenz. *Manhood and the American renaissance.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989. ISBN 0-8014-2281-7. • Caught in shift from comfortable patrician and artisan norms toward rugged individualism, male and female writers wrestled with new code of entrepreneurial manhood. Provocative rereading from gender viewpoint. [CJG]

42.724 Anne Scott MacLeod. *A moral tale: children's fiction and American culture, 1820–1860.* 1975 ed. Hamden, Conn.: Archon, 1990. ISBN 0-208-01552-3 (cl, 1975), 0-208-02292-9 (pbk). • Belief in reality of good and evil was foundation of juvenile literature, whose morality plays preached Protestant pieties. Lively survey. [CJG]

42.725 Leo Marx. *The machine in the garden: technology and the pastoral ideal in America.* 1964 ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967. • Classic, influential American studies text eliciting cultural commentary from literature. Major artists and writers evolved complex pastoralism seeking elusive middle landscape that reconciled technology and nature. [CJG]

42.726 F. O. Matthiessen. *American renaissance: art and expression in the age of Emerson and Whitman.* 1941 ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968. ISBN 0-19-500759-X. • Classic presentation of achievements of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, and Walt Whitman. Centers on writers' merger of aesthetic form and function, but offers reflections on nineteenth-century literature and culture. [CJG]

42.727 Barbara Novak. *Nature and culture: American landscape and painting, 1825–1875.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1980. ISBN 0-19-502606-3. • Thematic approach relates American landscape tradition to transcendentalism, science, spiritualism, and photography, but especially to concept of nature as God. Interesting comparisons with European art. [CJG]

42.728 Raymond Jackson Wilson. *Figures of speech: American writers and the literary marketplace from Benjamin Franklin to Emily Dickinson.* 1987 ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990. ISBN 0-8018-4003-1. • Accessible study of Benjamin Franklin, Washington Irving, William Lloyd Garrison, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Emily Dickinson arguing that writers devised idea of purified literary calling in opposition to rise of literature as commodity. [CJG]

42.729 Larzer Ziff. *Literary democracy: the declaration of cultural independence in America.* New York: Penguin, 1982. ISBN 0-14-006199-1 (pbk). • Midcentury writers established American literary independence by transforming antebellum social and cultural concerns into imaginative works. Lucid, context-oriented alternative to Matthiessen 42.726. [CJG]

CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

General Studies

42.730 Richard F. Bensel. *Yankee leviathan: the origins of central state authority in America, 1859–1877.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990. ISBN 0-521-39136-9 (cl), 0-521-39817-7 (pbk). • Sweeping analysis of Civil War's centrality to formation of modern nation-state in America. Offers southern separatism as alternative to class conflict and consensus interpretations of political development. [SHH]

42.731 Richard E. Beringer et al. *Why the South lost the Civil War.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986. ISBN 0-8203-0815-3. • Argues against interpretations stressing northern economic and military might or southern states' rights. Claims confederate nationalism weak and southerners lost will to fight. [SHH]

42.732 David Paul Crook. *The North, the South, and the powers, 1861–1865.* New York: Wiley, 1974. ISBN 0-471-18855-7. • Study of Civil War diplomacy focusing on United States relations with England and France. Argues war marked turning point in Atlantic history. [SHH]

42.733 Drew Gilpin Faust. *The creation of Confederate nationalism: ideology and identity in the Civil War South.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988. ISBN 0-8071-1509-6. • Essays exploring culture and ideology of Confederacy with special attention to religion, identity, and slavery reform. [SHH]

42.734 George M. Fredrickson. *The inner Civil War: northern intellectuals and the crisis of the Union.* 1965 ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1968. • Study of both intellectual response to collective trauma of war and how war began to reshape intellectual life. [SHH]

42.735 Thavolia Glymph and John J. Kushma, eds. *Essays on the postbellum southern economy.* College Station: Texas A&M University Press; for University of Texas at Arlington, 1985. ISBN 0-89096-227-8. • Essays by four historians on emergence of free labor during Civil War, development of postwar plantation agriculture, and postbellum South in international perspective. [SHH]

42.736 Harold M. Hyman. *A more perfect Union: the impact of the Civil War and Reconstruction on the Constitution.* 1973 ed. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1975. ISBN 0-395-20537-9. • Examination of role of war and Reconstruction in process of advancing centralization of power and authority in United States. [SHH]

42.737 Robert Kaczorowski. *The politics of judicial interpretation: the federal courts, Department of Justice, and civil rights, 1866–1876.*

New York: Oceana Publications, 1985. ISBN 0-379-20818-0. • Study of revolutionary impact of Civil War and Reconstruction on American constitutionalism. Looks at constitutional amendments, civil rights statutes, and role of federal judges and attorneys in South. [SHH]

42.738 J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson, eds. *Region, race, and Reconstruction: essays in honor of C. Vann Woodward.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1982. ISBN 0-19-503075-3. • Collection of essays by students of honoree. Focus on social, economic, and political history of South in middle period. [SHH]

42.739 James M. McPherson. *Battle cry of freedom: the Civil War era.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. ISBN 0-19-503863-0. • Most recent and compelling one-volume history of Civil War. Includes treatment of sectional conflict and social and political history with focus on military aspects of war. [SHH]

42.740 Allan Nevins. *The war for the Union.* 4 vols. New York: Scribner's, 1959–71. ISBN 0-684-10429-6. • Classic multivolume political, institutional, and military history of Civil War with broad-ranging insights and assessments. [SHH]

42.741 Stephen B. Oates. *With malice toward none: the life of Abraham Lincoln.* 1977 ed. New York: New American Library, 1978. ISBN 0-451-62314-2 (pbk). • Most recent, controversial one-volume biography. Emphasis on political and military history. [SHH]

42.742 Frank Lawrence Owsley. *King cotton diplomacy: foreign relations of the Confederate States of America.* 2d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966. • Discussion of Confederate efforts to gain diplomatic recognition and intervention from England and France. Emphasizes role of cotton supply. [SHH]

42.743 Joseph H. Parks. *Joseph E. Brown of Georgia.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977. ISBN 0-8071-0189-3. • Biography of important, enigmatic secessionist Civil War governor, turned Reconstruction Republican, turned United States senator, and member of Georgia's Bourbon triumvirate. [SHH]

42.744 James L. Roark. *Masters without slaves: southern planters in the Civil War and Reconstruction.* New York: Norton, 1977. ISBN 0-393-05562-0. • Study of revolution planters made to defend their slave society and destruction of that world during Civil War and Reconstruction. [SHH]

42.745 Joel H. Silbey. *A respectable minority: the Democratic party in the Civil War era, 1860–1868.* New York: Norton, 1977. ISBN 0-393-05648-1 (cl), 0-393-09087-6 (pbk). • Analysis of struggle of northern Democrats to survive electoral defeats, challenge policies of Lincoln administration, and contest for state and national power. [SHH]

42.746 Emory Thomas. *The Confederate nation, 1861–1865.* New York: Harper & Row, 1979. ISBN 0-06-014252-9. • Interpretation of Confederate experience arguing secession and war transformed society and politics of Old South. [SHH]

Secession Crisis

42.747 Richard H. Abbott. *The Republican party and the South, 1855–1877: the first southern strategy.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986. ISBN 0-8078-1680-9. • Study of Republican party policy and practice regarding building party in southern states. Emphasis on limited resources and attention devoted to task. [SHH]

42.748 Steven A. Channing. *Crisis of fear: secession in South Carolina.* 1970 ed. New York: Norton, 1974. ISBN 0-393-00730-8. • Political and intellectual history of last phase of secession crisis in vanguard southern state. Sees fear of racial unrest as unifying force of secessionism. [SHH]

42.749 Paul D. Escott. *After secession: Jefferson Davis and the failure of Confederate nationalism.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978. ISBN 0-8071-0369-1. • Blames defeat of Confederacy chiefly on alienation of southern white common folk from policies of Davis administration and southern cause. [SHH]

42.750 Michael P. Johnson. *Toward a patriarchal republic: the secession of Georgia.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977. ISBN 0-8071-0270-9. • Argues secession was double revolution, struggle both for home rule and over who would rule at home. Inspired by fear of northern Republicans and southern nonslaveholders. [SHH]

42.751 David M. Potter. *Lincoln and his party in the secession crisis.* 1942 ed. New York: AMS Press, 1979. ISBN 0-404-14809-3. • Efforts of Abraham Lincoln and other leading Republicans to find peaceful solution to secession crisis. Refreshingly avoids trap of inevitability of outcome. [SHH]

42.752 Kenneth M. Stampp. *And the war came: the North and the secession crisis, 1860–1861.* 1950 ed. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1980. ISBN 0-313-22566-4. • Study of northern reaction to secession of southern states. Seeks to explain why northerners unwilling to accept disunion. [SHH]

Military History

42.753 Michael C. C. Adams. *Our masters the rebels: a speculation on Union military failure in the East, 1861–1865.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978. ISBN 0-674-64643-6. • Cultural and psychological assessment of Union military defeats. Northerners assumed martial superiority of southerners and doubted ability to defeat them. [SHH]

42.754 Ira Berlin, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, eds. *The black military experience.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982. (Freedom: a documentary history of emancipation, 1861–1867, 2.) ISBN 0-521-22984-7. • Documents from National Archives and interpretive essays by editors, covering mobilization and experiences of black troops during Civil War and their role in winning war, ending slavery, and beginning Reconstruction. [SHH]

42.755 Bruce Catton. *Grant takes command.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1969. • Survey of military experience of Ulysses S. Grant and his army from victory at Vicksburg until Confederate surrender at Appomattox. [SHH]

42.756 Dudley T. Cornish. *The sable arm: Negro troops in the Union army, 1861–1865.* 1956 ed. New York: Norton, 1966. • Study of process by which African Americans mobilized by Union army during Civil War. Emphasis on obstacles to be overcome and on contributions to war effort. [SHH]

42.757 Michael Fellman. *Inside war: the guerrilla conflict in Missouri during the American Civil War.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. ISBN 0-19-505198-X (cl), 0-19-506471-2 (pbk). • Study of ways in which social changes of 1850s together with sectional conflict provoked most intense and destructive guerrilla war during Civil War. [SHH]

42.758 Douglas Southall Freeman. *R. E. Lee: a biography.* 1934–35 ed. 4 vols. New York: Scribner's, 1961. • Preeminent, full-scale biography of Confederate general. Concentrates overwhelmingly on Civil War years. [SHH]

42.759 Joseph T. Glatthaar. *Forged in battle: the Civil War alliance of black soldiers and white officers.* New York: Free Press, 1990. ISBN 0-02-911815-8. • Exploration of experiences, attitudes, aspirations, and contributions of white Union army officers and black troops they commanded during Civil War. [SHH]

42.760 Herman Hattaway and Archer Jones. *How the North won: a military history of the Civil War.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983. ISBN 0-252-00918-5. • Military history of Civil War from point of view of high commanders. Emphasizes decisive role of strategy and logistics to outcome. [SHH]

42.761 Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. *The Civil War in the American West.* New York: Knopf; distributed by Random House, 1991. ISBN 0-394-56482-0. • Narrative history of Civil War in trans-Mississippi West, from skirmishes in western Texas and New Mexico to Indian wars in northern Plains. [SHH]

42.762 Ella Lonn. *Desertion during the Civil War.* 1928 ed. Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smith, 1966. • Study of causes and patterns of desertion in Union and Confederate armies. Argues that northern desertions had greater impact on course of war. [SHH]

42.763 William S. McFeely. *Grant: a biography.* 1981 ed. New York: Norton, 1982. ISBN 0-393-01372-3 (cl, 1981), 0-393-30046-3 (pbk). • Most recent and important full-scale biography of Union general and later president of United States. [SHH]

42.764 Grady McWhiney and Perry D. Jamieson. *Attack and die: Civil War military tactics and the southern heritage.* 1982 ed. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1984. ISBN 0-8173-0073-2 (cl, 1982), 0-8173-0229-8 (pbk). • Links causes of Confederate defeat to Celtic-inspired military tactics. Many costly and unnecessary attacks resulted in very high casualties. [SHH]

42.765 Reid Mitchell. *Civil War soldiers.* New York: Viking, 1988. ISBN 0-670-81742-2. • Fresh account of motives and experiences of ordinary soldiers in Union and Confederate armies. [SHH]

42.766 Phillip S. Paludan. *Victims: a true story of the Civil War.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981. ISBN 0-87049-316-7. • Psychological, anthropological, and historical analysis of murder of Union guerrillas by Confederate soldiers in western North Carolina. Looks at impact of war on traditional society. [SHH]

42.767 Benjamin Quarles. *The Negro in the Civil War.* 1953 ed. New York: Da Capo, 1989. ISBN 0-306-80350-X (pbk). • Important early revisionist study of contributions of African Americans, North and South, to winning of Civil War and abolition of slavery. [SHH]

42.768 Charles Royster. *The destructive war: William Tecumseh Sherman, Stonewall Jackson, and the Americans.* New York: Knopf; distributed by Random House, 1991. ISBN 0-394-52485-3. • Examination of activities of two important officers to explore level of destruction to which participants in Civil War committed themselves. [SHH]

42.769 Bell I. Wiley. *The life of Billy Yank: the common soldier of the Union.* 1952 ed. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978. ISBN 0-8071-0477-9 (cl), 0-8071-0476-0 (pbk). • Lively history of experiences of common soldiers in Union army, in battle, on campaign, and in camp. [SHH]

42.770 Bell I. Wiley. *The life of Johnny Reb: the common soldier of the Confederacy.* 1943 ed. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978. ISBN 0-8071-0477-9 (cl), 0-8071-0475-2 (pbk). • Lively social history of Confederate army's common soldiers in battle, on campaign, and in camp. [SHH]

42.771 T. Harry Williams. *Lincoln and his generals.* 1952 ed. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1981. ISBN 0-313-22842-6. • Lincoln in his role as commander-in-chief and war director whose greatness as strategist did more than any general to win war. [SHH]

42.772 Ann Douglas Wood. "The war within a war: women nurses in the Union Army." *Civil War history* 18 (1972) 197–212. ISSN 0009-8078. • Nurses in Civil War used maternal status in bid for professional status in medicine. Women waged power struggle, challenging male medical authorities and defying bureaucracy in name of womanly care. [VBB]

The Home Front

42.773 Iver Bernstein. *The New York City draft riots: their significance in American society and politics in the age of the Civil War.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. ISBN 0-19-505006-1. • Relation of draft riots to patterns of social and political development in antebellum New York. Role of riots in reshaping political economy of city. [SHH]

42.774 Mary Chesnut. *Mary Chesnut's Civil War.* C. Vann Woodward, ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981. ISBN 0-300-02459-2. • First publishing of classic journal of upper-class Confederate woman. Insightful female view of slavery, southern patriarchy, and Civil War. Definitive edition incorporates previously unpublished material and includes informative introductory essays. [VBB]

42.775 Daniel W. Crofts. *Reluctant Confederates: upper South unionists in the secession crisis.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989. ISBN 0-8078-1809-7. • Examination of secession crisis in states of Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee. Suggests differences with lower South owing to patterns of slaveholding and strength of whiggery. [SHH]

42.776 Sarah Morgan Dawson. *The Civil War diary of Sarah Morgan.* Charles East, ed. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991. ISBN 0-8203-1357-2. • One Confederate female's critical view of life before and during federal occupation of Baton Rouge and New Orleans. Similar to Mary Chesnut's more famous journal (42.774). Complete version of biting personal record. [VBB]

42.777 Drew Gilpin Faust. "Altars of sacrifice: Confederate women and the narratives of war." *Journal of American History* 76 (1990) 1200–1228. • Suggestive exploration of construction of gendered ideology of sacrifice for Confederacy and its growing rejection by white women, rich and poor, as Civil War dragged on. Intriguing perspective on "why South lost Civil War." [TD]

42.778 Frank L. Klement. *The copperheads in the Middle West.* 1960 ed. Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smith, 1972. • Discussion of movement based in Democratic party that contested policies of Lincoln administration. Focus on antiabolitionism and opposition to centralization of state authority. [SHH]

42.779 Grace Palladino. *Another civil war: labor, capital, and the state in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, 1840–1868.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990. ISBN 0-252-01671-8. • Study of relation between wartime labor unrest in coal fields and process of political centralization under Republican auspices. [SHH]

42.780 Phillip S. Paludan. *A people's contest: the Union and Civil War, 1861–1865.* 1988 ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1989. ISBN 0-06-015903-0. • Broad-ranging exploration of how North redefined itself through war and great social changes that accompanied it. Links new social history with more traditional political and military history. [SHH]

42.781 George C. Rable. *Civil wars: women and the crisis of southern nationalism.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989. ISBN 0-252-01597-5. • Exploration of role of white women in both political struggle against North and cultural contest within South. [SHH]

Emancipation and Southern Society

42.782 Stephen V. Ash. *Middle Tennessee society transformed, 1860–1870: war and peace in the upper South.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987. ISBN 0-8071-1400-6. • Study of transition from slavery to freedom in upper South. Argues for

experience of "third South" and evolution of dual societies divided by race. [SHH]

42.783 Ira Berlin et al., eds. *The destruction of slavery*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985. (Freedom: a documentary history of emancipation, 1861–1867, 1.) ISBN 0-521-22979-0. • Documents from National Archives and interpretive essays by editors, covering process by which slavery was abolished during Civil War. Attentive to role of blacks and to patterns in different parts of South. [SHH]

42.784 Ira Berlin et al., eds. *The wartime genesis of free labor: the lower South*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990. (Freedom: a documentrary history of emancipation, 1861–1867, 3.) ISBN 0-521-39493-7. • Documents from National Archives and interpretive essays by editors, covering rise of new labor arrangements as slavery destroyed during Civil War. Looks at areas under federal and Confederate control. [SHH]

42.785 LaWanda Cox. *Lincoln and black freedom: a study in presidential leadership*. 1981 ed. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985. ISBN 0-252-01173-2 (pbk). • Sympathetic treatment of Lincoln's role in helping to advance cause of black freedom as quickly as circumstances would allow. [SHH]

42.786 Eric Foner. *Nothing but freedom: emancipation and its legacy*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983. ISBN 0-8071-1118-x. • Collection of essays on emancipation and its aftermath. Places southern experience in comparative perspective and argues for centrality of struggles over meaning of free labor. [SHH]

42.787 Celine Fremaux Garcia. *Celine: remembering Louisiana, 1850–1871*. Patrick J. Geary, ed. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987. ISBN 0-8203-0964-8. • Reminiscence of growing up in middle-class creole family in Civil War era. More revealing of psychological than political dynamics. Chronicles divided loyalties of immigrant French mother. [VBB]

42.788 Gerald David Jaynes. *Branches without roots: genesis of the black working class in the American South, 1862–1882*. 1986 ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. ISBN 0-19-503619-0 (cl, 1986), 0-19-505575-6 (pbk). • Economic history of development of sharecropping. Emphasis on failure of ex-slaves to receive land and ex-masters to receive federal financial assistance. [SHH]

42.789 Leon F. Litwack. *Been in the storm so long*. 1979 ed. New York: Vintage, 1980. ISBN 0-394-74398-9. • Sweeping account of black struggle for freedom during Civil War and early phases of Reconstruction. Discusses making of postwar black community and postwar black oppression. [SHH]

42.790 Edward Magdol. *A right to the land: essays on the freedmen's community*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1977. ISBN 0-8371-9409-1. • Essays on struggle of various black communities for land and social justice in immediate aftermath of slavery. [SHH]

42.791 James M. McPherson. *The struggle for equality: abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964. • Sympathetic examination of role of abolitionists in advancing cause of black civil and political rights during Civil War and Reconstruction. [SHH]

42.792 Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch. *One kind of freedom: the economic consequences of emancipation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977. ISBN 0-521-21450-5 (cl), 0-521-29203-4 (pbk). • Analysis of making of black poverty and economic underdevelopment in post–Civil War South. Emphasizes role of extra-market factors such as racism and merchants' territorial monopolies. [SHH]

42.793 C. Peter Ripley. *Slaves and freedmen in Civil War Louisiana*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976. ISBN 0-8071-0187-7. • Distinctive early experience of Louisiana under military rule anticipated broader failure of Reconstruction to advance black prospects and rights. [SHH]

42.794 Clarence E. Walker. *A rock in a weary land: the African Methodist Episcopal Church during the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. ISBN 0-8071-0883-9. • Study of missionary activities in South of northern-born black church. Discusses political and social as well as religious role highlighting contradictions that African Americans faced. [SHH]

42.795 Michael Wayne. *The reshaping of plantation society: the Natchez district, 1860–1880*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990. ISBN 0-252-06127-6. • Social history of transition from slavery to freedom in plantation district of Mississippi. Shows persisting landed elite amidst changing labor relations inspired by black struggles. [SHH]

42.796 Vernon L. Wharton. *The Negro in Mississippi, 1865–1890*. 1947 ed. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1984. ISBN 0-313-24568-1. • Study of black experience in Mississippi from end of slavery to advent of segregation and disfranchisement. Especially good treatments of economic and political life. [SHH]

42.797 Joel Williamson. *After slavery: the Negro in South Carolina during Reconstruction, 1861–1877*. 1965 ed. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England for Wesleyan University Press, 1990. ISBN 0-8195-6236-x. • Impressive study of black struggle to adapt to changes occasioned by abolition of slavery. Highlights creative black role in economic, political, and community life as well as early rise of segregation. [SHH]

State and Local Studies

42.798 Randolph B. Campbell. *A southern community in crisis: Harrison County, Texas, 1850–1880*. Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1983. ISBN 0-87611-061-8. • Study of major Texas slaveholding county through trials of secession, war, and Republican Reconstruction. Emphasis on persisting wealth and power of antebellum elite despite political turmoil. [SHH]

42.799 Russell Duncan. *Freedom's shore: Tunis Campbell and the Georgia freedmen*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986. ISBN 0-8203-0876-5. • Study of role of northern-born African American in building black political power in coastal Georgia that outlasted his demise. [SHH]

42.800 William McKee Evans. *Ballots and fence rails: Reconstruction on the lower Cape Fear*. 1967 ed. New York: Norton, 1974. ISBN 0-393-00711-1. • Important local history of Reconstruction. Draws attention to significant political role of African Americans. [SHH]

42.801 Steven Hahn. *The roots of southern populism: yeoman farmers and the transformation of the Georgia upcountry, 1850–1890*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983. ISBN 0-19-503249-7. • Study of commercialization of nonplantation region, occasioned by Civil War and Reconstruction. Focus on white family farmers and social origins of populist revolt. [SHH]

42.802 William C. Harris. *The day of the carpetbagger: Republican Reconstruction in Mississippi*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979. ISBN 0-8071-0366-7. • Lengthy narrative history that sees missed opportunities for equal rights, political tolerance, and material rehabilitation in Mississippi. [SHH]

42.803 Janet S. Hermann. *The pursuit of a dream*. 1981 ed. New York: Vintage, 1983. ISBN 0-394-71375-3. • Fascinating story of community built and rebuilt by Joseph Davis and his slaves at Davis Bend and Mound Bayou, Mississippi. [SHH]

42.804 Thomas Holt. *Black over white: Negro political leadership*

in South Carolina during Reconstruction. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977. ISBN 0-252-00555-6. • Study of black politics arguing for importance of class divisions within African American community to course and outcome of Reconstruction. [SHH]

42.805 Peter Kolchin. *First freedom: the responses of Alabama's blacks to emancipation and Reconstruction.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1972. ISBN 0-8371-6385-4. • Examination of black labor, migration, family, education, and political consciousness in early Reconstruction Alabama. [SHH]

42.806 Richard G. Lowe. *Republicans and Reconstruction in Virginia, 1856–1870.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991. ISBN 0-8139-1306-3. • Sympathetic treatment of Virginia Republicans as active reformers who sought to take state from slaveholding past to new age of late nineteenth century. [SHH]

42.807 Jack P. Maddex, Jr. *The Virginia conservatives, 1867–1879: a study in Reconstruction politics.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970. ISBN 0-8078-1140-8. • Study of Virginia politics arguing that conservative leaders were new elite who hoped to integrate state into world that northerners were making. [SHH]

42.808 Clarence L. Mohr. *On the threshold of freedom: masters and slaves in Civil War Georgia.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986. ISBN 0-8203-0793-9. • Study showing how social crisis of Civil War laid bare meaning of slavery for whites and blacks, while undermining institution from within as well as from without. [SHH]

42.809 Carl H. Moneyhon. *Republicanism in Reconstruction Texas.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980. ISBN 0-292-77553-9. • Rise and fall of republican power owing to party factionalism, democratic violence, and contention between different sections of large state. [SHH]

42.810 Elizabeth Studley Nathans. *Losing the peace: Georgia Republicans and Reconstruction, 1865–1871.* 1968 ed. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969. • Exploration of failure of Republicans to build broad coalition capable of retaining power. Blames radicals for relying too heavily on federal support. [SHH]

42.811 Horace W. Raper. *William W. Holden: North Carolina's political enigma.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985. ISBN 0-8078-5060-8. • Biography of perhaps most prominent figure in North Carolina's political experience of Civil War and Reconstruction. [SHH]

42.812 Joe M. Richardson. *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865–1877.* 1965 ed. Tampa, Fla.: Trend House, 1973. (Florida State University studies, 46.) ISBN 0-88251-038-x. • Study of adjustment of ex-slaves to emancipation and role they played in Florida politics. Critical of Dunning 42.830. [SHH]

42.813 Willie Lee Rose. *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: the Port Royal experiment.* 1964 ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976. • Important revisionist study of Reconstruction focusing on experience of South Carolina Sea Islands under wartime federal occupation. [SHH]

42.814 Loren C. Schweninger. *James T. Rapier and Reconstruction.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978. ISBN 0-226-74240-7. • Biography of freeborn, black political leader of Reconstruction Alabama. [SHH]

42.815 Alrutheus A. Taylor. *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia.* 1926 ed. New York: Russell & Russell, 1969. • Pioneering account of roles of African Americans in Reconstruction of southern state. Examines social and economic changes, community development, and political activity. [SHH]

42.816 Joe Gray Taylor. *Louisiana reconstructed, 1863–1877.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974. ISBN 0-8071-0084-6. • Wide-ranging account of Louisiana's complex experience of Reconstruction with political narrative at center. Suggests limited changes in society, economy, and politics. [SHH]

42.817 Ted Tunnell. *Crucible of Reconstruction: war, radicalism, and race in Louisiana, 1862–1877.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984. ISBN 0-8071-1181-3. • Brief but interesting examination of rise and fall of republican rule in Louisiana. Sees ability of white militants to gain control of countryside through vigilante violence as key. [SHH]

42.818 Charles Vincent. *Black legislators in Louisiana during Reconstruction.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976. ISBN 0-8071-0089-7. • Challenges Dunningite stereotypes (42.830) with close account of African American leaders at local and, especially, state level. Argues direct power limited, but leaders often had education, economic independence, and experience. [SHH]

42.819 Jonathan M. Wiener. *Social origins of the New South: Alabama, 1860–1885.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978. ISBN 0-8071-0397-7. • Important study arguing Alabama planters survived Civil War and emancipation, continued to preside over repressive labor system, and stymied industrial development. [SHH]

Reconstruction

42.820 Roberta Sue Alexander. *North Carolina faces the freedmen: race relations during presidential Reconstruction, 1865–1867.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1985. ISBN 0-8223-0628-x. • Discussion of black resistance to white-imposed economic and civil dependency immediately after Civil War. Also treats community building among blacks before advent of radical Reconstruction. [SHH]

42.821 Michael Les Benedict. *A compromise of principle: congressional Republicans and Reconstruction, 1863–1869.* New York: Norton, 1974. ISBN 0-393-05524-8. • Roll-call analysis of congressional policy making. Argues for predominant influence of moderate and conservative Republicans. [SHH]

42.822 Eugene H. Berwanger. *The West and Reconstruction.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981. ISBN 0-252-00868-5. • Focusing on racial thought, study shows westerners more easily supported equal rights for blacks in South than in West. Also shows that western political liberalism waned after 1867. [SHH]

42.823 Claude G. Bowers. *The tragic era: the revolution after Lincoln.* 1929 ed. New York: Blue Ribbon, 1940. • Influential early history of Reconstruction which took very critical view of radical Republicans. [SHH]

42.824 William R. Brock. *An American crisis: Congress and Reconstruction, 1865–1867.* 1963 ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1966. • Analysis of process by which radical republican program was fashioned and enacted in Congress. Highlights tangles created by Constitution and radical failure to dominate ideological and cultural ground. [SHH]

42.825 Fawn M. Brodie. *Thaddeus Stevens: scourge of the South.* 1959 ed. New York: Norton, 1966. • Biography of controversial Republican party congressional leader. Attempts to link public and personal life with psychological perspective. [SHH]

42.826 Dan T. Carter. *When the war was over: the failure of self-reconstruction in the South, 1865–1867.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985. ISBN 0-8071-1192-9. • Discussion of ideas and behavior of emerging southern white leadership during presidential Reconstruction. Challenges notion of monolithic or wholly reactionary elite. [SHH]

42.827 Richard N. Current. *Those terrible carpetbaggers.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. ISBN 0-19-504872-5.

• Focus on ten northerners who played prominent roles in southern Reconstruction. Challenges negative stereotype of carpetbaggers, sketching more complex and generally favorable picture. [SHH]

42.828 David Donald. *Charles Sumner and the rights of man.* New York: Knopf, 1970. • Biographical study of statesman and founder of Free Soil party during period of Civil War and Reconstruction. Looks at role in extending civil and political rights to blacks and in shaping American diplomacy. See author's work on earlier years of Sumner's life (42.31). [SHH]

42.829 W.E.B. Du Bois. *Black Reconstruction in America.* 1935 ed. New York: Atheneum, 1992. ISBN 0-689-70820-3. • Sweeping, pioneering study of Reconstruction as struggle for economic and political democracy. Combines class analysis with attention to direct role of African Americans. Challenges prevailing interpretations (see Dunning 42.830). [SHH]

42.830 William A. Dunning. *Reconstruction, political and economic, 1865–1877.* 1907 ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1968. • Early and extremely influential interpretation, sympathetic to defeated white southerners and to President Johnson. Highly critical of radical Republicans and order they tried to establish. [SHH]

42.831 Michael W. Fitzgerald. *The Union League movement in the deep South: politics and agricultural change during Reconstruction.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. ISBN 0-8071-1526-6. • Study of early political mobilization among freedpersons. Argues for central Union League role in transition from gang labor to sharecropping. [SHH]

42.832 Eric Foner. *Reconstruction: America's unfinished revolution, 1863–1877.* New York: Harper & Row, 1988. ISBN 0-06-015851-4 (cl), 0-06-091453-x (pbk). • Most recent and significant one-volume history of Reconstruction. Special emphasis on transition from slavery to freedom and on African American roles. [SHH]

42.833 Jacqueline Jones. *Soldiers of light and love: northern teachers and Georgia blacks, 1865–1873.* 1980 ed. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992. ISBN 0-8203-1442-0 (pbk). • Examination of promise and limits of neoabolitionism and liberal reform seen through experience of white northern teachers among Georgia freedpersons. [SHH]

42.834 William S. McFeely. *Yankee stepfather: General O. O. Howard and the freedmen.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968. • Study of northern antislavery reformer and Union general who became commissioner of Freedmen's Bureau. Revisionist account of promise and limits of federal policy toward freedpersons. [SHH]

42.835 Eric L. McKitrick. *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction.* 1960 ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. ISBN 0-19-505707-4 (pbk). • Important revisionist study casting Andrew Johnson and his policies in critical light. [SHH]

42.836 David Montgomery. *Beyond equality: labor and the radical Republicans, 1862–1872; with a bibliographical afterword.* 1967 ed. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981. ISBN 0-252-00869-3 (pbk). • Pioneering reinterpretation of meaning and limits of Reconstruction. Shows how northern labor struggles provoked crisis for radicals over definition of freedom and equality. [SHH]

42.837 Donald G. Nieman. *To set the law in motion: the Freedmen's Bureau and the legal rights of blacks, 1865–1868.* Millwood, N.Y.: KTO, 1979. ISBN 0-527-67235-1. • Examination of bureau's efforts to provide freedpersons with legal protection and numerous reasons for failure to do so successfully. [SHH]

42.838 Otto H. Olsen. *Carpetbagger's crusade: the life of Albion Winegar Tourgee.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965. • Biography of Union officer who settled in North Carolina, helped organize Union League, defended black rights against Klan violence while serving as Superior Court judge, and wrote novel *A Fool's Errand.* [SHH]

42.839 Claude F. Oubre. *Forty acres and a mule: the Freedmen's Bureau and black landownership.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978. ISBN 0-8071-0298-9. • Study of federal policy regarding land confiscation and redistribution in South. Discusses role of Freedmen's Bureau in supervising and implementing policy. [SHH]

42.840 Michael Perman. *Reunion without compromise: the South and Reconstruction, 1865–1868.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973. ISBN 0-521-20044-x (cl), 0-521-09779-7 (pbk). • Political history of presidential Reconstruction. Argues Andrew Johnson's leniency encouraged southern defiance. [SHH]

42.841 Michael Perman. *The road to redemption: southern politics, 1869–1879.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984. ISBN 0-8078-1526-8. • Political history seeing internal divisions in both political parties as central to how southern Democrats redeemed states from political, Reconstruction control. [SHH]

42.842 Lawrence N. Powell. *New masters: northern planters during the Civil War and Reconstruction.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980. ISBN 0-300-02217-4. • Important account of northerners who bought or leased plantations in South. New perspective on limits of federal reforms on behalf of freedpersons. [SHH]

42.843 Howard N. Rabinowitz, ed. *Southern black leaders of the Reconstruction era.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982. ISBN 0-252-00929-0 (cl), 0-252-00972-x (pbk). • Collection of essays on national, state, and grassroots African American leaders. [SHH]

42.844 Terry L. Seip. *The South returns to Congress: men, economic measures, and intersectional relationships, 1868–1879.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983. ISBN 0-8071-1052-3. • Examination of careers of southern congressional representatives during Reconstruction. Points to stronger regional than partisan alignments on economic questions. [SHH]

42.845 Robert P. Sharkey. *Money, class, and party: an economic study of the Civil War and Reconstruction.* 1959 ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967. • Revisionist study of political economy of Reconstruction. Challenges idea of united business-republican front. Shows important divisions among Republicans over economic policy. [SHH]

42.846 Kenneth M. Stampp. *The era of Reconstruction, 1865–1877.* 1965 ed. New York: Vintage, 1967. • Important revisionist study challenging Dunning school (42.830) by placing Reconstruction reforms and radical Republicans in favorable light. Emphasizes gains in civil and political rights. [SHH]

42.847 Mark W. Summers. *Railroads, Reconstruction, and the gospel of prosperity: aid under the radical Republicans, 1865–1877.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984. ISBN 0-691-04695-6. • Study of failed effort to build both new South and republican majority in region through means of railroad aid. [SHH]

42.848 Allen W. Trelease. *White terror: the Ku Klux Klan conspiracy and southern Reconstruction.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1979. ISBN 0-313-21168-x. • Rich account of Klan's role as terrorist arm of Democratic party. Effort to reestablish white supremacy in face of republican mobilization of blacks and white unionists. [SHH]

42.849 Victor Ullman. *Martin R. Delany: the beginnings of black nationalism.* Boston: Beacon, 1971. ISBN 0-8070-5440-2. • Biog-

raphy of northern-born, African American leader and early advocate of emigration who also played important role during Civil War and Reconstruction. [SHH]

42.850 Okon E. Uya. *From slavery to public service: Robert Smalls, 1839–1915.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1971. • Biography of South Carolina slave who became important political leader during Reconstruction. [SHH]

42.851 C. Vann Woodward. *Reunion and reaction: the compromise of 1877 and the end of Reconstruction.* 1951 ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. ISBN 0-19-506423-2. • Classic account of contested presidential election of 1876 and resulting compromise that ended Reconstruction. Attempt to forge alliance between northern Republicans and whiggish southerners. [SHH]

Department of Interior
National Park Service

Effective Date: Date of Last Signature through August 31, 1996

Modification No. 00004 Cooperative Agreement No. 1443CA000194018

Cooperator: George Washington University
Office of Sponsored Research
2121 I Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

Project Title: Historical Interpretation and the National Park Service

Account No. 0002-SYZ Total: Not to exceed $32,600

This modification is subject to all provisions included in the Cooperative Agreement, dated September 30, 1994. All other terms and conditions remain the same.

The scope of work for the above referenced project under subject Cooperative Agreement is as follows:

Introduction

The National Park Service manages many nationally significant historical sites and cultural resources throughout the country, and provides interpretive and educational information to millions of people who visit these locations each year. It is the responsibility of the Service to assure that this information is of the highest quality and accuracy possible, and is presented in a fashion that conveys a lasting educational content and enhances the quality of the visitor experience. To that end, the National park Service and The George Washington University will conduct a research project titled "HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION AND THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE". This Amendment describes the work to be carried out under that project.

Objectives

The research outlined in this Amendment will bring together scholars and specialists with expertise in such disciplines as American studies, historical research, anthropology, literature, material culture and communications for the purpose of collecting, evaluating and presenting data designed to enrich the historical content of educational and interpretive themes at selected National Park Service sites. This work will be carried out by professors and graduate students from the American Studies Department of the Columbian School of Arts and Sciences, The George Washington University. It will serve as a pilot study to develop and demonstrate the application of interdisciplinary research in addressing issues related to the interpretation of nationally significant historical sites. This project will provide important benefits to the interpretive and the educational programs of the Service, and to the public who visit the national parks. this project also will be of substantive benefit to the teaching, research and educational programs of The George Washington University by providing a basis for

improving curriculum and other materials utilized in the training and the teaching activities of both the Service and the University.

Major Tasks

1. Evaluate, on-site, educational and interpretive exhibits, films, publications, public media and bookstores that provide information about four NPS historical sites: Hampton National Historical Site; George Washington Birthplace; Booker T. Washington Birthplace; and Arlington House.

2. Produce an annotated bibliography for each site, reflecting the most recent scholarship on historical subjects appropriate for individual parks and historic sites.

3. Produce an historiographic essay for each site which identifies changes in interpretive scholarship which may affect NPS interpretive and educational presentations.

4. Identify and examine methods and materials for updating NPS historical exhibits, cultural resources and public presentations.

5. Using data developed through this research project, prepare and deliver demonstration public lectures at selected historic sites, and/or provide lists of scholars who could serve as expert speakers at such sites, as requested by park Superintendents.

Organization of the Research

The work outlined above will be conducted by Dr. Teresa Anne Murphy of The George Washington University, who will organize and direct the research activities, and who will be assisted by other faculty and by graduate students whom she will recruit and supervise, and by experts who may be utilized to consult on or otherwise support the research project. The period of research and writing covered in this Amendment will be from ~~May 1, 1995,~~ to August 31, 1996. Interim milestones to be accomplished include the following:

Date of Last Signature

1. Prepare and submit a study work plan to the NPS within 30 days of final project approval and signature.

2. Complete the development of a questionnaire to be used in collecting information at the four sites, within two months of study initiation.

3. Initiate visits for collecting information and data at the four sites within four months of study initiation. Begin on-site interviews and site assessments, and initiate production of annotated bibliographies and historiographic essays.

4. Complete the evaluation of current public offerings and the historical content of interpretive/educational programs at the four sites within ten months of study initiation. Begin development of new initiatives designed to improve methods, materials and practices associated with historical exhibits, cultural resources and interpretive programs.

5. Complete brief draft report at the end of 14 months of study, outlining preliminary findings and including the approach for final data analysis and reporting, and submit to the NPS for two-week review and approval.

6. Complete final report at the end of 16 months of study, and submit ten copies to the NPS, along with WordPerfect discs.

Payment Schedule

Upon approval of the work plan and any supporting material, please pay the sum of $27,600.00 (twenty seven thousand six hundred dollars). Upon receipt and approval of the final report, please remit the final payment of $5,000.00 (five thousand dollars), for a total payment for this Amendment of $32,600 (thirty two thousand, six hundred dollars).

THE OFFICE OF SPONSORED RESEARCH ON BEHALF OF THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY	NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
Name: Helen	Name: J Bridge
Title: Helen Spencer Director, OSR	Title: Contracting Officer
Date: 5/31/95	Date: 6-27-95