Hoeing out the New South:
The Material Culture of the Hoe and the Segregation of Progress
by

Ryan Palmer Kline

A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
Auburn University
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of
Master of History

Auburn, Alabama
May 2, 2020

Keywords: Race Relations in the New South, Southern Material Culture,
African American History, Whiteness , Cotton Culture

Copyright 2020 by Ryan Palmer Kline

Approved by

Elijah Gaddis, Chair, Assistant Professor of History
Melissa Estes Blair, Associate Professor of History
Jennifer Brooks, Associate Professor and Director of Graduate Studies of History

Abstract

In the New South, the hoe became a symbol, utilized by white southerners, that attempted to primitivize blackness and segregate progress before the solidification of the Jim Crow. The historical relationship curated between blackness and the hoe removed Blacks from white ideals of progress in the New South. The hoe became a representation of anti-modernity that conjured a pre-industrial landscape of the primitive South. This thesis explores the hoe in Uncle Remus tales, the Old Plantation Show, lynching rhetoric, and the cotton mill labor force. Narratives implemented primitivity through the hoe and hoeing, placing sharecroppers and rural Blacks in romanticized cotton fields. With the ubiquity of the hoe, many poor whites also used the farm tool, either as sharecroppers or small farmers, cultivating cash crop commodities. However, unlike Black sharecroppers, poor whites could leave the hoe behind and enter an increasingly white cotton mill world. The different uses of the hoe between races highlight white attempts to segregate material life in the New South. This material culture study showcases how southerners employed narratives about the hoe to bind primitivity and blackness in the New South.

Acknowledgments

I'd like to start by thanking my advisor and friend, Elijah Gaddis, who's detailed feedback, comical asides, and general wealth of knowledge founded this thesis. When I found myself frustrated in my research or inundated with an endless supply of newspaper clippings, Elijah always reaffirmed my own abilities and provided the necessary guidance to get to the finish product, regardless of the task. Elijah, I am grateful for your endless answers, numerous academic opportunities, and believing in my ideas enough to invest in this project. To Melissa Blair, I want to thank you for always having an answer to every outrageous question I brought to you and providing lists of book recommendations, while here at Auburn. I would also like to thank Jennifer Brooks for both serving as a southern historiographic encyclopedia and giving me honest, fair, and constructive feedback, which I believe has made and is making me a better writer.

Without the help of other graduate students here at Auburn University, this project would not be possible. I would like to thank Caroline Greer, Lauren Williams, Emily Gideon, Grace London, Kaitlen King, Victoria Skelton, and Shari Williams. Without all of your editing advice, academic conversations, comical reprieves in the office, and overall friendship during the last two years, I would not have had nearly as much fun while writing this thesis. Additionally, I would like to thank a couple of friends outside of Auburn, Alexis Zabor and Charlee Cobb, who I have laughed, cried, traveled, and facetimed with for the last two years. Your comradery has meant the world to me throughout the process, and I cannot imagine better friends to distract all the way from Alabama.

Finally, I would like to thank my family, who support my passions not matter how odd and fill my life with joy. To my grandparents, aunts, and siblings, thank you for always cheering me on and showing me my own potential from high school to university, no matter how far. To my

parents, I honestly would not be able to do this without you. In many ways, my interest in agriculture and labor comes from being raised by a farmer, whether gripping onto the back of Grandpa Wayne's tractor going up Morgan Road or picking rocks up out of a field, Dad the hard work required of agricultural laborers has never gone unnoticed. Last but not least, I need to thank my mother, Amy, who has been my rock for my entire life. Moving nearly twelve hours away was not easy, but your love and encouragement all the way from Ohio made each phone call exciting and encouraging. Mom, you always said study what you know. And though this project may not necessarily be about an Appalachian family, who moved to the Ohio River Valley. At the heart of this project rests your Grandpa Clark, a tenant farmer from southern Ohio, generations of the Kline farmers, and an effort to think big, which is at the heart of what you taught me.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Figure 1: "Hoeing Rice, South Carolina, U.S.A."[1]

"Hoeing Rice, South Carolina, U.S.A.," a stereograph card, captures a dozen sharecroppers wielding hoes, digging trenches and preparing a field for the cultivation of rice.[2] These African American workers are laboring in the seemingly endless terrain of the South Carolina low country.. Closest in the frame, two workers face each other mid-strike. As their blades travel toward the ground, the two men remain fixated on their work. Their relaxed posture and posed positions freeze the workers in an imagined past. The long-handled hoes evoke movement. Raised in preparation to strike the rice paddy, they are the active agents in this picture. Shrouded by sun hats, the men remain anonymous, concealing both their identity as Black men and their experience as sharecroppers.

[1] Hoeing Rice, South Carolina, U.S.A.," 1915, stereograph, published by the Keystone View Company, Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, Gift of Oprah Winfrey, The National Museum of African American History and Culture, Washington D.C.

[2] Stereograph photo cards are dual images that utilize a symmetrical layout to trick the eye, transporting the viewer into the image and creating a three-dimensional experience. A common comparison may be to a modern-day viewfinder.

Under closer examination, the depictions of the men and women in the field serve as a deeper reflection of growing efforts to control the status of social, economic, and political Black life in the New South by white southern elites. From the natural posture displayed by the laborers, the visual similarities in enslaved and free Black labor, and the absence of industrial machines and products, the image reinforces a white constructed future for the New South. It continues to prescribe Blackness as primitive.[3] The stereograph paints a world that elides slavery and free labor, where the unrealized gains of the post-emancipation South are expressed in the material condition of both the landscape and the workers. The image takes the simple farm hoe and creates both a provocative visual and cultural impact.

Holding the stereoscope, the observer consumed perceptions of rurality, blackness, and agriculture. Designed for mass consumption among American families, the collection of photographs focused on white depictions of postbellum Black life, many stereograph cards depicted lynchings and Black troops filling the streets following World War I.[4] Looking at the card, contemporary scholars find a carefully curated visual performance of idealized labor dynamics in the New South. This cultural and visual display demonstrates the utility of the hoe as a prop in an elaborate performance of Black primitivity that both removes Black progress from the New South and satiates white efforts to practice segregation. The portrait serves as a spectacle of experience, allowing for the consumption of Black rural life. And the hoe becomes a method to observe a white constructed future for blackness. The material continuity of the hoe also highlights the continued efforts to control Black life and labor in the New South, similar to spectacle performances of lynching. The stereoscope joined popularized Black characters in advertisements,

[3] "Hoeing Rice, South Carolina, U.S.A."

[4] Though little is known about either the owner of the stereoscope or even the stereograph card, the collection and the economic limitations of the invention suggest that the audience is upper to middle class whites. The rest of the collection focuses on events following World War One, focusing on black life.

minstrel shows, and literature with laboring men and women, using the hoe to reify antiquated portrayals of blackness. Through the lens of the stereoscope, "Hoeing Rice" removes any space for Black people in the industrial and progressive landscape of the New South.

The verso of the stereoscope image, “Hoeing Rice,” details the production of rice in South Carolina, in 1904. Through explaining the global impact of United States crop production, the card emphasizes the cultural importance of modernity and the lack thereof in the image. Across the top of the text block, the card reads, "[h]ere you have a view of rice cultivation the old way."[5] The first line suggests that the perception of traditionally black labor relies on an anti-modern perspective of hoe culture. By implying that hoeing captured the "old way," the text, in conjunction with the image, develops a relationship between cultural backwardness and blackness, as seen through the stereoscope. The text even suggests that the hoe is a counter to more modern methods of productions. By presenting this as the older option "instead of using a machine," the card presents the primitive nature of black life, labor, and culture associated with the hoe. As the card suggests, the hoe linked black farmers to antiquated farming techniques, which detracted from modernity.[6] This new era of southern life, dreamed of by Henry Grady in *The Atlanta Constitution*, revealed the imagined fate of Black labor and the hoe in southern fields.[7] Through performing an anti-modern portrayal of both the hoe and blackness, the stereoscope photograph creates a lens to view the implementation of social, cultural, and political backwardness in the New South. The image captures the debate over progress and primitivity, placing the hoe on "the first rung of the ladder."[8]

[5] “Hoeing Rice, South Carolina, U.S.A.”
[6] “Hoeing Rice, South Carolina, U.S.A.”
[7] For more on Henry Grady, see Harold E. Davis, *Henry Grady’s New South: Atlanta, a Brave and Beautiful City* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990).
[8] “The Parable of the Slave and the Hoe,” *The Progressive Farmer*, February 27, 1908.

In an era of modernity, industrialization, and southern prosperity, white cultural sources placed blackness outside of bustling cities into a constructed pre-industrial primitive rural landscape.[9] Rather than riding tractors or perhaps even thrashing rice, the photograph presents an enforced cultural primitivity that shaped interracial relations on the New South landscape. As Stephen Prince finds in *Stories of the South: Race and the Reconstruction of Southern Identity, 1865-1915,* "[p]rogress was the New South's status quo, growth its sole occupation, breathtaking expansion par for the course … Progress was more than a word for the New South. It was a state of being."[10] The New South's reliance on progress attempted to define the southern experience beyond Reconstruction and the violence of the Klan. However, progress and modernity also became methods of racial distinction allowing for whites to define themselves as beacons of prosperity, while casting blackness into the shadow of the New South. In *To 'Joy My Freedom,* Tera Hunter finds that "[w]ith each adoption of advanced technology or each articulation of platitudes of progress, Atlanta [and the entire South] also strengthened its commitment to keeping blacks subordinate."[11] These efforts to redefine and subjugate blackness moved beyond southern urban spaces into the plantation belt of the South. Though many have explored the asserted efforts at white control through violence, labor, and gender, few have considered the culminating cultural effect of the juxtaposition between blackness with the "status quo" of progress.[12]

These ideas of southern modernity forged at the end of Reconstruction and articulated throughout the Jim Crow South, not only whitened the face of progress but also laid the foundation for imagined black labor with the hoe. From agricultural journals, photographs, and performances

[9] Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction*, 15 Anniversary Ed. (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2007), 409.
[10] K. Stephen Prince, *Stories of the South: Race and the Reconstruction of Southern Identity, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 104.
[11] Tera W. Hunter, *To 'joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1997), 99.
[12] Prince, *Stories of the South,* 104.

on the world stage, white southern elites crafted and implemented ideas of blackness with the hoe, seeking to remove rural Blacks from ideas of progress. By examining the culture surrounding the hoe, in literature, performance, public discourse, and agricultural practice, the implement became a further way to control and constrict black labor in the white constructed progressive New South. In Karen Cox's *Dreaming of Dixie,* she pushes for historians to consider popular cultural sources as ripe for historical consideration, which develops a fruitful study of national reconciliation. Similarly, by reexamining common sources, the usage of the hoe reflects broader trends utilizing primitivity to both control and subjugate blackness.[13] Utilizing material cultural methodologies, and revisiting and expanding previous social histories, I argue that the curated usage of the hoe implemented in popular culture sought to control, primitivize, and subjugate Black life and labor in the New South. By giving credence to cultural sources and investigating the way the hoe is discussed and presented within them, I hope to advocate for a more in-depth examination of the extent of white supremacist societal constructions. With an examination of the hoe, the project not only grapples with the history of the region but also reveals how the hoe both tangibly and culturally shaped the South.

Though white southerners culturally attempted to remove narratives of African American progress and assert a racial connection to life and labor, Black southerners were vital to southern industry. As large numbers of black people migrated from the plantation belt into developing southern cities like Birmingham and Atlanta, growing factories and mills hired black labors to support industrial progress.[14] From lumber and steel mills to coal mines and the railroad industry,

[13] Karen L. Cox, *Dreaming of Dixie: How the South Was Created in American Popular Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 201, 6-7.

[14] For more on migrations to southern cities, see Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family, from Slavery to the Present* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2010). Hunter, *To 'joy My Freedom,*100; Daniel Letwin, *The Challenge of Interracial Unionism: Alabama Coal Miners, 1878-1921* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 27; Steven Hahn, *A Nation under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles*

black labor was essential to supporting the growth of the New South.[15] In the Birmingham district, in particular, "black and white miners often worked together," yet not normally in the same location. Labor distinctions below ground mirrored life above, where men doing similar jobs remained separated by race.[16] From laying railroad tracks connecting the region to producing the raw materials to form the Pittsburgh of the South, black industrial labor became the backbone of progress. As convict leasing exploited the overwhelmingly black imprisoned labor force and other free black laborers joined industrial spaces, white coworkers, managers, and industrial leaders struggled for control over black labor.[17] However, white southerners, in an effort to control the definition of black labor, utilized the hoe to cleave cultural perceptions of blackness from progress in the New South.

The duality of the hoe rests in its agricultural usage and role in the cultural and visual performance of white supremacy in the New South. As Bernard Herman, prominent material culturalist, suggests, southern material culture is both a construct and fabricated by an "amalgam of many deeply conflicted identities forged in a crucible of race and class and connected to a region and its diaspora." Objects "communicate meaning" and impose cultural understandings of race, labor, and life in the South.[18] As the field of material studies has diversified, southern material culture has expanded to consider an array of periods and connections between southern life, history, and culture. From examining individual farm records to tracing the cultural history of southern swine production, the growth in material studies of the South has changed entire

in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 467.

[15] For more on the realities of black labor, see Hunter, *To 'joy My Freedom;* Letwin, *The Challenge of Interracial Unionism*; Willian Powell Jones, *The Tribe of Black Ulysses: African American Lumber Workers in the Jim Crow South* (Champaign: The University of Illinois Press, 2005); Scott Reynolds Nelson *Steel Drivin' Man: John Henry, The Untold Story of An American Legend* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[16] Letwin, *The Challenge of Interracial Unionism,* 40.

[17] Nelson *Steel Drivin' Man,* 76-7.

[18] Bernard L Herman, "On Southern Things," *Southern Cultures* 23, no. 3 (2017), 8.

perceptions of the region.[19] Employing an object-driven approach, which focuses on the culture surrounding an object, the cultural construction of the hoe cultivated complex relationships with race in the South. By examining newspapers, narratives, and images, a distinct sense of everyday life provides the basis for the material culture of the hoe. Material culture provides a lens into how southerners mobilized narratives about modernity, the hoe, and blackness to segregate the New South from 1880 to 1910.[20] Either through the practice of everyday life or interactions with the material and narrative, the hoe became a device to reinforce Black primitivity and build the foundation for Jim Crow.

Extending cultural power to southern materials, the performance of social interactions and folklore allows the material to communicate broader symbolic cultural meaning in the New South. From scholarship surrounding performance and public memory, Susan Gray Davis's work on parading in Philadelphia emphasizes the role of material in implementing dominant cultural perspectives. Through displaying idealized versions of history and future in narrative and public performances, public actions like newspapers, entertainment, and speeches become deliberate displays of a constructed future.[21] The usage of the hoe served a similar purpose, communicating

[19] For more on southern material culture, see Richard Noble Westmacott, *African-American Gardens and Yards in the Rural South*, 1st ed (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992); S. Jonathan Bass, "'How 'bout a Hand for the Hog': The Enduring Nature of the Swine as a Cultural Symbol in the South," *Southern Cultures* 1, no. 3 (1995): 301–20; Ann Smart Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia* (Baltimore, Md.; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010); Cameron Saffel, "An Alternative Means of Field Research: Extending Material Culture Analysis to Farm Implements," *Agricultural History* 88, no. 4 (Fall 2014): 517–37; Lou Ferleger and John D. Metz, *Cultivating Success in the South: Farm Households in the Postbellum Era*, Cambridge Studies on the American South (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Forest Hazel, "'They Don't Dig for Coal Here Anymore': North Carolina's Coal Glen Mine," *Southern Cultures* 23, no. 3 (2017): 62–69; Herman, "On Southern Things" ; Shana Klein, "Those Golden Balls Down Yonder Tree: Oranges and the Politics of Reconstruction in Harriet Beecher Stowe's Florida," *Southern Cultures* 23, no. 3 (2017): 30–38.

[20] Though popular debate continues over the temporal foundations of the New South, I have defined the period from 1880 to 1910 focusing on the development of strategies to primitivize blackness in the South. For more on the debate of the chronology of the New South, see C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, Commemorative ed (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); and Paul Gaston, *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970).

[21] Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia*, first paperback printing (Berkeley, Calif: Univ. of California Press, 1988), 5.

a distinct narrative about the past and future of Black life in the New South. In *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life,* Erving Goffman argues that props present and carry meaning into each performance, including mundane everyday displays of identity and idealized modernity. These everyday performances, as Goffman suggests, require a crafted setting and prop list to enact a curated moment of cultural exchange.[22] In *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790,* Rhys Isaac's utilizes that perspective of scene-setting mapped by Goffman to highlight how the utilization of ethnographic and sociological methodologies reveal vital historic information. In *The Transformation of Virginia,* Isaac utilizes common colonial sources to reveal changing landscapes, cultural meanings, and social practices from enslaved people to gentlemen.[23] In my research, by investigating commonly studied cultural sources of the New South, the hoe functions as a prop in the performance of white modernity that relies on Black primitivity, channeling the culture of segregation through the hoe.

Historians have considered the performance of Jim Crow through deliberate actions to keep the white and Black people divided in a plethora of arenas. In *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940,* Grace Hale delves into the white preoccupation with racial difference, which she contends required constant articulation through performance. For Hale, whites derived Black inferiority not from scientific racism, but public consumption. Whether selling the Plantation South or emphasizing disparities between segregated waiting rooms, consumer culture became a public performance of white supremacy and Black inferiority.[24] As "[m]odernization and Jim Crow grew to maturity together in the New South," the performance of

[22] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Garden City, New York: Double Day Anchor Books, 1959), 24.
[23] For more on Isaac's methodology, see Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790,* 2nd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company,1988), 323-357.
[24] Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890 - 1940,* 1. ed (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1999), 284.

racial routines became vital to reaffirming the power of white southern elites.[25] Managing the process of reconciliation between northern and southern elites', cultural efforts to reassert control over black life and labor expanded across the nation, uniting whites on one enemy: African Americans. White southerners, who mobilized racial animosity as the basis of national reunion, also reached a consensus on the hoe, distinguishing the backward tool as an obstruction to progress in the New South.[26] The hoe used in agrarian life, exploitative labor practices, and idealized visions of enslavement became a tool that cultivated narratives of Black backwardness constructed by southern whites. Examining southern literature, plantation performances, lynching rhetoric, and the intentional division of the cotton labor force, the primitivity cultivated with hoe sought to control and subjugate blackness in the New South.

This thesis utilizes a thematic structure to explore the curation of the hoe amid the history of the New South, revealing the usage of the tool to control and primitivize blackness in a variety of discourses. The first section, A Long Row to Hoe, details how black intellectuals and sharecroppers perceived the material continuity of the hoe, from enslavement to the New South. While this section does not, in particular, engage with popular cultural sources, these Black perspectives reveal the depth of the relationship between Black labor, life, and the hoe, which made the tool a viable option for white southerners to the primitivize of blackness. The following section, Penmen of Primitivity, reexamines popular southern stories to not only highlight the appearance of the hoe but also investigate its cultural usage, which conjured images of a

[25] Hunter, *To 'joy My Freedom*, 98; For more on performing racial routines in the 1930-50s, see Stephen A. Berrey, *The Jim Crow Routine: Everyday Performances of Race, Civil Rights, and Segregation in Mississippi* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

[26] For more on the period of reconciliation, see Cox, *Dreaming of Dixie*, 2-3; Natalie J. Ring, *The Problem South: Region, Empire, and the New Liberal State, 1880-1930*, Politics and Culture in the Twentieth-Century South (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012); David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Mass. London: Harvard University Press, 2002). Both authors detail the process of reconciliation, which consolidated white perceptions of reunion in creating a black enemy to villainize and black men to reaffirm the union.

romanticized and idealized plantation south. This resurrection of the Old South became an intentional effort to highlight the proper place of blackness for white southerners: the plantation. This narrative usage materializes in section three, A Plantation Performance, which investigates the usage of the hoe at the Old Plantation Show at the Tennessee Centennial Exposition. These performances and advertisements, including the hoe, displayed the potential for black primitivity amid an alluring world of southern progress. The fourth section, "Battling a Foe of Their Own Creation, " explores how white southerners utilized reports of black male violence with the hoe to communicate labor, physical, and sexual unruliness, which became essential to creating the "black beast" archetype.[27] The final section, "Blacks for the Land, Whites for the Factories," explores the discourse surrounding agricultural and industrial cotton culture, where white southerners implemented ideas of black primitivity, hoping to build an imagined South where Black people belonged in cotton fields rather than in the industrializing southern cotton mill.[28]

Many historians map the discontinuity between the experiences of the antebellum and postbellum South, pointing to the creation of the romanticized plantation South and the emergence of segregation as significant shifts in southern life.[29] Moreover, while the presence of the hoe highlights a material continuity between the two eras, the usage of the hoe to primitivize blackness was a creation of the New South. By viewing the cultural construction of the hoe as an invention of the New South, this study highlights the cultural curation and usage of the object. The cultural performance of the hoe illustrates the extent of white supremacy, which not only inundated political, social, and economic life but also shaped the material world. White southerners

[27] Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th-Century American South*, first issued paperback (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 243.
[28] Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black/White Relations in the American South since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 440.
[29] For more on the continuity and discontinuity of the New South, see W. J Cash, *The Mind of the South*, (1941; repr., New York: Vintage Books, 1991); Woodward, *Origins of the New South,* and Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*.

mobilized the hoe to establish clear social roles for blackness in popular culture, seeking to place sharecroppers in the cotton fields rather than in the industrial world of progress in the New South. By forming clear expectations of social interactions and hierarchies, the hoe supported the subjugation of blackness by making white perceptions of racial distinction tactile. In this piece, I will argue that the usage of the hoe in southern discourse sought to enforce an imagined Black primitivity. Further, I suggest that the hoe became a vital prop for white southerners to primitivize blackness, imploring the tool in literature, performance, and public discourse to divide progress in the New South. From defining agricultural labor expectations to performing white supremacy, white southerners curated the usage of the hoe, juxtaposing progress and blackness, further segregating the progressive landscape of the New South.

A Long Row to Hoe: Tracing the Hoe through Black Life and Labor

In 1904, the same year the photograph "Hoeing Rice" was published, W.E.B. Du Bois wrote "The Negro Farmer." The essay grappled with the realities of inequality and the culture of Jim Crow, while mapping the achievements of black agriculturalists following emancipation. In this study of sharecroppers' conditions, Du Bois reexamined the black rural landscape to decode the impact of white supremacy and agency of black farmers across the South. In his study, one farm implement remained at the center of black rural life: the hoe. "Farm tools and implements on farms operated by negroes are," he stated, "few in number, old fashioned, and very simple. The indispensable implement is the hoe, supplemented by hand muscle."[30] The "old fashioned and very simple" nature of the hoe placed the antithesis of modernity in the hands of black people. The essay suggests both the importance of black labor in providing the "hand muscle" and the cultural place of blackness with the hoe.[31] Though this agrarian perspective may seem out of character, for Du Bois, the hoe's role in black agriculture emphasized the lack of progress in black life between slavery and sharecropping. When paired with the stereoscope image, "The Negro Farmer" captures both the white construction of blackness and the hoe's place in black culture.

Examining the countryside of the South, the hoe highlighted the material continuities of southern agriculture. The sociologist Carl Kelsey's 1903 dissertation, "The Negro Farmer," focused on his observations about the relationship between the hoe, enslavement, and the New South. Kelsey found the hoe rested at the heart of enslaved labor. The hoe's role in enslavement was to ensure agricultural propagation and white profitability, which he suggests still occurred following the Civil War. When exploring the relationship between blackness and the hoe, Kelsey

[30] W.E. Burghardt Du Bois, "The Negro Farmer," *Negroes in the United States*, Bureau of the Census, Bulletin 8 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 73.
[31] Du Bois,"The Negro Farmer," 73.

stated, “[h]oes, heavy and clumsy, were the common tools. Within a year I have seen grass being mowed with hoes preparatory to putting ground in cultivation. Even today the Negro has to be trained to use the light sharp hoe of the North.”[32] Kelsey's discovery suggests the importance of the hoe in black life. The idea that the hoe transitioned from the "clumsy tool" of enslavement to the "light sharp hoe" of the New South, suggested the material continuity between the two institutions.[33] The implication that the hoe only slightly progressed following enslavement emphasized its limited progress within cotton fields. This debate over land, life, and the legacy of labor ignited debate among African American scholars.

In *The Souls of Black Folks,* W.E.B. Du Bois addressed the continuity of labor for black southerners through the hoe. Finding freedom a misnomer for newly liberated enslaved people, DuBois called for the complete emancipation of blackness, a social, economic and cultural liberation. However, the coercion of black laborers back into the hands of the “old master,” illustrated how the hoe became a material through line between the forced servitude of enslavement and the indebtedness of sharecropping. When analyzing the hoe as representation of continued oppression, Du Bois stated:

> [T]he most piteous thing amid all this was the black freedman who threw down his hoe because the world called him free. What did such a mockery of freedom mean? Not a cent of money, not an inch of land, not a mouthful of victuals, -- not even ownership of the rags on his back. Free! … And after the first flush of freedom wore off, and his true helplessness dawned on the freedman, he came back and picked up the hoe, and old master still doled his bacon and meal.[34]

For Du Bois, the hoe presented the traitorous relationship between freedom, race and labor. Freedom, as DuBois stated, constituted leaving the plantation and further leaving agricultural labor

[32] Carl Kelsey, *The Negro Farmer* (Chicago: Jennings and Pye, 1903), 26.
[33] Kelsey, *The Negro Farmer,* 26.
[34] W.E. Burghardt Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, Dover Thrift Editions (New York: Dover, 1994), 89.

for equal opportunity. The economic and social oppression of slavery , through Du Bois's analysis, became tactile in the hoe.[35] However, while leaving the hoe behind represented true freedom, a return to the thralldom of the hoe presented the continued, sublimated, status of blackness into Reconstruction and the New South. With the progression from the antebellum to the postbellum South, the hoe became a malleable tool serving a multiplicity of roles in black life and in cultivating a culture of white supremacy.

Rather than belaboring the stagnation of agricultural labor or highlight the similarly oppressive regimes, Booker T. Washington utilized the hoe to illustrate the progress of black life in the New South, by highlighting the preindustrial origins of the region with the hoe. Washington one of the most influential black men at the turn of the century travelled the country bringing light to racial issues, debating the future of black life, and becoming a beacon of progress in the New South.[36] At a Women's New England Club, he described the state of black life in the South following enslavement. When discussing life after freedom, Washington states "without a foot of land, without a hoe, without a horse, and unused to self-guidance and habits of economy, … could you have expected him to have travelled very far in the direction of intelligence, wealth and independence? And yet he has made progress."[37] The usage of the absence of the hoe in this case highlighted the harsh realities of life for freedmen. Emphasizing the lack of governmental support, Washington crafted the destitute conditions of life for black people, while, despite the odds, making impressive social advancement.

[35] Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 89.
[36] For more on Booker T. Washington, see W. Fitzhugh Brundage, ed., *Booker T. Washington and Black Progress: Up from Slavery 100 Years Later* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003); Raymond Smock, *Booker T. Washington: Black Leadership in the Age of Jim Crow*, The Library of African-American Biography (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2009); Louis R Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Thomas Aiello, *The Battle for the Souls of Black Folk: W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, and the Debate That Shaped the Course of Civil Rights* (Santa Barbara, California: Praeger, 2016).
[37] Louis R. Harlan, ed., *The Booker T. Washington Papers* ,vol. 3, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 25.

In a 1903 Address at Madison Square Garden, Washington continued to utilize the hoe to illustrate the beginnings of Tuskegee institute to illustrate the progress of the institution. The growing grounds of the preeminent black agricultural research university epitomized Washington's efforts to keep black men and women in the rural districts of the black belt. For Washington the struggle and backwardness of hoeing cotton marked the incredible advancement made in a few short years. Demonstrating the advancement of black rural education, Washington found:

> [w]e began teaching agriculture with one hoe and a blind mule. The institution has gradually grown until it owns two thousand acres of land, over seven hundred of which are cultivated by the students. Not only are the students taught how to secure their living from the soil, but to love agricultural life to the extent that they will return to the country districts to reside and not yield to the temptation of going to a city and trying to live by their wits.[38]

As Washington used them, "the hoe and the blind mule" highlighted the primitivity of the young institution rendering an image of blackness closely associated with enslavement. [39] In Washington's speech the hoe highlighted the contrast between backwards beginnings and the progress achieved at the technical school, which was even included in the Tuskegee alma mater.[40] Though Booker T. Washington did not use the hoe to demonstrate the continuity of southern labor, he utilized the hoe to reaffirm the progress made by black southerners. Washington used the hoe to illustrate the immediate, destitute, and transformative realities of post emancipation life for black people in the plantation belt. The hoe for each scholar became an obstacle impeding progress, becoming a marker of the old way of doing things.

The prominence of the hoe in black life made it a viable tool for developing white perceptions of black cultural primitivity. A brief history of the hoe from enslavement to

[38] Louis R. Harlan, ed., *The Booker T. Washington Papers* ,vol. 7, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 114.
[39] Harlan, *The Booker T. Washington Papers* ,vol. 7, 114.
[40] Louis R. Harlan, ed., *The Booker T. Washington Papers* ,vol. 6, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 403.

Reconstruction in black and white cultural narratives highlights the viability of the farm tools cultural construction. Typically, disregarded by general European agriculturalists, the long and short-handled hoe was the preeminent agricultural tool in the Western rice producing regions of Africa. From the West Indies to Colonial North America, the hoe played an important role in the growing transatlantic triangular trade.[41] In *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas*, Judith Carney presents an interconnected web of intellectual exchange between enslaved women and men from West Africa and the Americas. The hoe, vital to the growing rice culture, shaped the coastal economy for centuries. From West Africa to the antebellum South, hoeing remained gendered work on many plantations, leaving women to hoe and men to plow. In *Closer to Freedom*, Stephanie Camp found that planters at times even referred to enslaved women, "as one of their farming tools and called 'hoes.'"[42]Weaponizing Stono's Rebellion, transforming the plantation economy, and establishing gendered labor roles, the hoe remained constant in both southern and Atlantic black culture and life throughout colonial and antebellum America.[43] Though the Civil War wrought international change, the hoe remained staple in southern black life.

[41] Judith A. Carney, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 2001),108-110.
[42]Stephanie M. H. Camp, *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South*, Gender and American Culture (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 64.
[43] Williamson, *The Crucible of Race,* 19; For more on the gendered labor of enslaved people, see Wilma A. Dunaway, Slavery in the American Mountain South, Studies in Modern Capitalism (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 55; Sergio Lussana, *My Brother Slaves: Friendship, Masculinity, and Resistance in the Antebellum South*, New Directions in Southern History (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2016), 26; Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South*, 1 paperback ed (New York, NY: Norton, 1987), 121;

Figure 2: "The Great Labor Question from a Southern Point of View" from the Library of Congress.[44]

On July 29th, 1865, the cover of Harper's Weekly reaffirmed debates over the continuity of the hoe and the antebellum labor routines. The drawing depicted a white family perched on the porch of an idyllic plantation landscape, where the fields are filled with black men and women hoeing, what appears to be cotton fields. Approaching the home is a lone black man swinging a hoe over his shoulder and dragging a pickaxe close behind, while being overseen by the master and mistress of the plantation. From the porch, the master calls to the black man demanding, "My boy - we've toiled and taken care of you long enough - now you've got to work!"[45] This illustration displayed the white southern hopes of continuity to exploit black labor with the hoe, as well as the

[44] "The Great Labor Question from a Southern Point of View," Drawing, *Harper's Weekly,* 29 July 1865, *The Library of Congress*, https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/96513208/.
[45] "The Great Labor Question from a Southern Point of View."

shades of difference that sharecropping and enslavement offered white elites, which illustrated continuity in black labor. Regardless of the endless changes in the black community following emancipation both politically and socially, white perceptions of black labor relied on the hoe to reconstruct the Postwar South. Only three months after the official end of the war, the expectation that black people would return to fields and plantations of their enslavers dominated discourse surrounding southern labor. Hoeing cotton became a pathway to ensure white economic dominance over black life following emancipation, implying cultural justifications throughout southern life.

The transformation of the hoe from clumsy to light also highlighted the transition from enslaved to free labor systems during Reconstruction, which was vital to the performance of segregation. Reconstruction posed several cultural, economic, and political disputes, including the place of hoe in southern agriculture. Even after freedom, the hoe continued to define black labor.[46] With the hoe in his hand, the black laborer exemplified the agrarian routines expected of blackness throughout Reconstruction and the New South. The rural projections of black life following the end of the war was not only expected of many southern blacks, but also needed by white plantation owners. The fear of fleeting black labor motivated violent crusades with attempts from local officials and terrorist groups like the Ku Klux Klan alike to limit black political and social mobility from terrorist groups and local officials. Trying to keep black men and women with hoes in their hands and profits of their labor in the hands of whites, whites attempts to use the hoe as a bulwark against the changing state of the south after the war. Though "The Great Labor Question" seemingly established continuity between slavery and freedom, the men and women in the fields

[46] For more on labor continuities during Reconstruction, see Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*, The New American Nation Series (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); Gavin Wright, *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy since the Civil War*, Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996).

of the Reconstruction South had a different idea of black life and labor in the post-emancipation South.

Moving beyond the porch in "The Great Labor Question from a Southern Point of View," the black workers that continued to labor in the field of the plantation had different plans for post emancipation life. In *A Nation Under Our Feet,* Steven Hahn illustrated the way rural southern black "politics and political struggles" rebuilt "a new political nation."[47] During Reconstruction, the struggle of coalition building between Republicans and freedman revealed the tenuous nature of white control over southern politics, labor, and social life.[48] In 1870, *The Herald* in rural Tennessee pointed to the growing issues over labor disputes, stating "[i]t is the experience of the whole South, and especially of Maury county that one of the greatest differences between slave and free labor, is in the matter of hoeing cotton."[49] This mounting southern anxiety of black men and women leaving the South is rooted in what Hahn calls "grassroots emigrationism." Black southerners asserted their freedom by seizing the opportunity to leave the South, heading North, West, and even across the Atlantic. This "negro exodus" from the South heightened white anxieties surrounding economic control, which brought hoeing to the forefront labor debates.[50] The freedom that black people manifested received cultural backlash, shifting hoeing, and the hoe to the center of labor debates in the post-emancipation South. From new techniques in hoeing to white methods of managing freedmen and women, the continuation of commodity agriculture pushed white southerners to require black people in the cotton, tobacco, and cornfields of the South.[51] The fear

[47] Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet,* 8-9.
[48] Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet,* 8.
[49] "None Available," *The Herald,* July 15, 1870.
[50] Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet,* 8, 317-330, and 329; For more on emigrationism, see Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* (New York: Norton, 1979).
[51] Tera W. Hunter, *Bound in Wedlock: Slave and Free Black Marriage in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2017), 17-18.

of black people leaving the fields of the South led white southerners to conjure a future without black where "everybody gets 'swamped' in weeds and grass."[52]

In the "swamped" South, newly freed families transitioned to sharecropping, which led them back to the hoe.[53] Following the failure of the promises of Reconstruction, sharecropping emerged as an ongoing compromise between freed people that remained in the South and planter elites. The system revealed the discontent of white planters, who, forced to negotiate with black sharecroppers, struggled to assert complete control over black labor. The black family structure established became instrumental in instituting the sharecropping system. The hoe played a vital role in creating a genealogical understanding of the labor in the New South, which mobilized black heteronormative family structures to subjugate blackness further.[54] As hoeing cotton was taught within families, black children began at young ages heading to cotton fields, contributing to the economic needs of the family. The economic reliance of black sharecroppers on white landowners varied across the South, based both on the diversity of monoculture and the different rural landscapes. The "agricultural ladder," as defined by Edward Ayers as the prosperity of agriculture, was not accessible for many black sharecroppers. Efforts to combat the social mobility of freedom, whites culturally put both blackness and the hoe on the "first rung of the ladder."[55] The aftermath of Reconstruction left black people under the continuous oppression of the hoe allowing for the cultural implementation of Old South labor, social, and economic dynamics under the New South labor system.

In the world of Ned Cobb, "a mule farmer in a tractor world," the hoe and the mule became companions in the cotton and cornfields of Southern Alabama. Though the mule was a necessary

[52] "None Available," *The Herald,* July 15, 1870.
[53] "None Available," *The Herald,* July 15, 1870.
[54] Hunter, *Bound in Wedlock,* 256.
[55] Ayers, *The Promise of the New South,* 195.

implement in the New South, Cobb describes the "genealogy" of the hoe, connecting his mother, himself, and his children around hoeing cotton. The hoe's role across three generations of his family suggests the deep roots of the hoe on the black rural landscape. For centuries, southern monoculture required heavy physical labor through hoeing cotton and crop rotation; the New South was no different. Detailing the arduous labor of his mother, Cobb stated, "She'd be in the field working like a man … Them boys would be plowin; if they caught up with the plowin all three of em -- my mother and her brothers -- would be usin' the hoe."[56] By describing his mother's experience with the hoe, Cobb captures both the harsh physical labor that sharecropping required and the role of the hoe in constructing the life of the sharecropper. Through charting the familial experience of hoeing, Ned Cobb highlights the significance that the hoe held in the sharecropper's life across three generations. The sharecropping labor system cemented blackness within rural spaces; however, culturally, white southerners debated if the hoe had any role in the New South.

The continuity of the hoe over nearly two hundred years of black culture presents a clear connection between the labor of the old South and New South. By transplanting antebellum labor systems into the New South, the hoe represents a lack of progression between the struggles of enslavement and the disparities of the sharecropping world. Both the image and the context provided by DuBois and Kelsey highlight the broader connections between the composition of the image and the narrative surrounding blackness. The stereoscope amplified the multiplicity of roles the hoe played in constructing white perceptions of black identity. The stereoscope captured the hoe's role as a foundational instrument in cultivating the New South. After consuming the image of the hoe, the viewer removes the card to expose the back. The text on the back of the card reveals the implications of the cultural and visual usage of the hoe in the South. From the antebellum era

[56] Nate Shaw and Theodore Rosengarten, All God's Dangers, the Life of Nate Shaw (New York: Knopf, 1974), xxiv,9; In All God's Dangers, Rosengarten used Nate Shaw is a pseudonym for Ned Cobb for the safety of the Cobb family.

to the New South, the lineage of the hoe represents a material continuity between the periods. The duality of the hoe demonstrates both the tool's agricultural importance and its usage primitivizing blackness.

Penmen of Primitivity:

Southern Narrative, the Hoe and the Creation of the Old South

The tattered facade of the Old South plantation remained an imposing physical and literary structure in the New South. Southern writers manifested a nostalgia for the antebellum South. and, as Paul Gaston notes in *The New South Creed*, they created "a national love feast for the Old South."[57] The cultural memory of the antebellum South removed black labor and hoeing from the progressive industrial urbanizing landscape of the New South. The social construction of blackness relied on the hoe to reinforce white perceptions of black primitivity. The rural primitivity associated with hoe constructed black backwardness to ensure white cultural superiority. Though some black people moved to cities like Birmingham and Atlanta, the countryside remained an essential part of black life in popular culture.[58] Southern whites relied on the hoe and the handwork of soil and crops to bind black people to the land, hoping to create bond between the landscape of the Old South and the fate of black people. Drafted throughout books, newspapers, and literature, stories of enslaved people, poor black sharecroppers and the hoe reflected the racial division of "progress." Returning black characters and stories back to the fictious plantation, southern storytellers built black primitivity through the usage of the hoe. Utilizing the hoe as a literary prop, authors conjured images of the antebellum black life in the New South, where black people remained on the plantation.

Crafting popular culture, southern white authors transformed the fabric and intellectual foundation of the New South. Southern literature after Reconstruction not only reunited the North and South but also established a mythologized version of antebellum southern life. For both black

[57] Gaston, *The New South Creed*, 170.
[58] For more on migrations to southern cities, see Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow;* Hunter, *To 'joy My Freedom*; Letwin, *The Challenge of Interracial Unionism*; Hahn, *A Nation under Our Feet*, 467.

and white people , this idealized past became known as the Old South.[59] Gaston utilizes southern authorship in the 1880s and 90s to better understand how the New South became less about the future of the region and more about constructing the past.[60] While facing the exponential growth of industry, authors like Joel Chandler Harris and Thomas Nelson Page created "the mythic image of the Old South."[61] In *Making Whiteness,* Grace Hale points to the creation of the idyllic plantation landscape through narrative, as the beginning of "modern southern whiteness."[62] The "syrup of romanticism" poured over the Old South constructed narratives of the pre-industrial region that grappled with the modern themes of race, agrarianism, and the economy.[63] Serving as a prop in stories of the Old South, Southern writers utilized the hoe to form primitive stereotypes of blackness in the New South. The hoe functioned as a material connector between the two periods of the South. Constructed through narrative and produced by the authors of the New South, the Old South became a reminder of the primitivity of blackness.

Crafting tales of "the social and geographical confrontations between the 'old' and the 'new' South," Joel Chandler Harris, reconstructed the rural realities of the Old South through the "plantation slave" Uncle Remus.[64] Born in 1848, in rural Georgia, Harris spent his youth surrounded by local enslaved and free black people, while the pleasures of antebellum rural life intrigued the young writer.[65] Rising through the southern press, in 1876 Joel Chandler Harris joined other beacons of the New South, like Henry Grady, at *The Atlanta Constitution,* which took

[59] Gaston, *The New South Creed* ,7; Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 211-3.
[60] Gaston, *The New South Creed*,7.
[61] Gaston, *The New South Creed*,167
[62] Hale, *Making Whiteness,* 54.
[63] Woodward, *Origins of the New South,* 158; Wayne Mixon, "The Ultimate Irrelevance of Race: Joel Chandler Harris and Uncle Remus in Their Time," *The Journal of Southern History* 56, no. 3 (1990): 457-80.
[64] Walter M. Brasch, *Brer Rabbit, Uncle Remus, and the "Cornfield Journalist": The Tale of Joel Chandler Harris*, (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2000), 291; Prince, *Stories of the South,* 139.
[65] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 227-8.

Uncle Remus to wider audiences across the South.[66] First appearing in the *Constitution* in 1877, Remus captured the manifestation of archetypes of the Old South becoming a mouth piece for blackness through fabricated folklore.[67] For the readers of Harris's folkloric tales, "*Uncle Remus* became an unvarnished unadulterated collection of African American folk tales."[68] Detailing a romantic version of the plantation system, Joel Chandler Harris built characters that displaced and described blackness, reinvigorating the primitivity of slavery through narrative. With books published across the country, Harris's Uncle Remus became an archetypal character that juxtaposed the "faithful slave" narrative with the lived experiences of the New South, placing modernity and primitivity in competition.[69] In *Stories of the South,* Stephen Prince described Remus as a, "mixture of folkloric preservation and literary creation," which makes him a unique amalgamation of the two souths. [70] The growing national and regional interest in Uncle Remus placed the fictional relic of slavery into the New South, casting white perceptions of primitivity on the state of blackness in the region.

Examining the contours of black culture through literature, Uncle Remus tales utilize the old plantation South to manifest contemporary issues. In *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom*, Lawrence Levine explores the dissonance between the intent of African American folklore and its cultural usage.[71] The folk tales, involving animals and fictious enslaved men and women, displayed various themes in black life, including stories of morality, wit, and, perhaps most importantly, inverting social roles. Trickster tales, popular in collections of Uncle Remus stories, became a " mechanism" for antebellum blacks to

[66] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 227; Prince, *Stories of the South,* 139.
[67] Gaston, *The New South Creed,* 167-185.
[68] Prince, *Stories of the South,*142.
[69] Prince, *Stories of the South,* 139; Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 284-91.
[70] Prince, *Stories of the South,* 140.
[71] Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

channel any "frustration among whites and enhance survival among themselves."[72] Commonly using Brer Rabbit as the meek adversary to the bigger and more dangerous opponent, "antebellum slaves manifested a central feature of their consciousness … featuring the victories of the weak over the strong." [73] Levine's understanding of trickster tales reveals the deeper cultural meaning that these stories held among both blacks and whites. The stories, recorded by Joel Chandler Harris, told by Uncle Remus, and created many generations of enslaved people, held multiple meanings to both readers and listeners. However, for larger audiences of northerners and southerners, Uncle Remus became "not quite fact" and "not quite fiction," allowing for his tale to blur the line between the past and the present.[74] Though Uncle Remus lived a majority of his life in the antebellum South, the fluid nature of the fictious character brought him into the New South.

With the rising popularity of a romanticized Old South, Joel Chandler Harris' Uncle Remus utilized slave narratives and oral tradition to craft a mythologized stereotype of blackness. Written throughout the 1880s and 1890s, the narrative, a firm production of the New South, erased the horrors of sharecropping and growing racial animosity through the jovial South described by Remus.[75] Chandler never examines at the reality of life in the South, instead he constructed region that remains embedded in the past on the old plantation. From the lips of the characterized black man, stories from slavery became a performance of primitivity, removing the ideals of the progress from the New South. The narrative spun exaggerated tales of blackness that placed Uncle Remus and the cast of characters in various predicaments. From hoecakes to powerful black hoe-men, the narrative placed the hoe back among the songs and stories of slavery.[76] Through convoluted

[72] Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*, 101.
[73] Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*, 83.
[74] Prince, *Stories of the South*, 143.
[75]For More on historicizing Uncle Remus, see Cox, *Dreaming of Dixie*, 34; Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 51-60; and Prince, *Stories of the South*, 138-145.
[76] Joel Chandler Harris, *Nights with Uncle Remus: Myths and Legends of the Old Plantation*, 11th ed, New York, NY: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1889, 7, 109, 412.

perception of enslavement, and freedom, Harris constructed Uncle Remus as an example of progress and modern blackness in the New South: buried within history. The hoe served as a literary device to subjugate and neutralize ideas of blackness in the New South. By conjuring images of the antebellum black life in the New South, black people remained on the plantation, working with the hoe and cultivating cultural primitivity.

Rebuilt through narrative, the old South rose again with the cultural construction of the hoe. In *Nights with Uncle Remus: Myths and Legends of the Old Plantation*, Harris described the life and lore of the southern plantation. Stories beyond the trickster tales of the "brer" patch, a centerpiece of Harris's stories, illustrated importance of the hoe. Stories even related Uncle Remus' power and importance in the black community to his ability to hoe cotton on the plantation. Harris stated that Remus , "had been the captain of the corn pile, the stoutest at log rolling, the swiftest with the hoe, the neatest with the plough, and the plantation hands still looked upon him as their leader."[77] Remus's ability with the hoe not only gave him authority among other black laborers but also distanced him from the modern landscape, leaving blackness in the rural pre-industrial South. By using the hoe as a narrative device, the author established labor conditions that were not unfamiliar with whites, making Uncle Remus palatable among southerners. Uncle Remus not only primitivized blackness but also suggested that the proper place for black people remained on the old plantation with a hoe in their hand. These cultural characters soon became synonymous with primitivizing blackness and using the hoe to establish a relationship between the old and New South. Returning Uncle Remus back to the plantation, illustrated white southern efforts to use the hoe and old plantation in literature to subjugate blackness in the New South.

[77] Harris, *Nights with Uncle Remus,* 412.

Throughout the 1880s and rise in popularity of authors like Harris and George Washington Cable, stories from the old plantation filtered throughout periodicals, such as *Harper's Weekly* and *The Century Magazine.*[78] Utilizing the cultural construction of the hoe, authors displayed black primitivity in the New South through their reconstruction of the past. As tales of the Old South flourished, authors constructed the setting for the reader, which became crucial creating the plot between a kind and faithful slave and benevolent master. In some cases, white authors utilized the hoe to recreate the idyllic of landscape of the old South, primitivizing blackness. In 1889, "Ben and Judas," written by Maurice Thompson, appeared in *The Century Magazine.* The story intertwined the antebellum plantation world with the trials of postbellum racial animosity, depicting a planter and enslaved person connected from life to death in middle Georgia. The story attempts to highlight how the lives of the "master and slave" shaped each other, which Thompson distinguished as a "social history," more fact than fiction. Differing from Uncle Remus, who remained a fictitious recreations of the Old South, Thompson proclaimed that , "[m]y story is mere history, for which I am responsible only as the chronicler."[79] The lives of these two men, forced into an "invisible and inscrutable" hierarchy, returned to the hoe to place blackness back in time in a tale about slavery.[80] Through the story of Ben and Judas, southern whites crafted depictions of labor through the usage of the hoe on a fictious southern plantation to enforce black primitivity in the New South .

Born during the same "stormy night,", Ben and Judas lived their entire lives so closely together. Thompson suggested that the two boys were so intertwined that "Judas looked like the

[78] For more on George Cable, see Barbara C. Ewell, Pamela Glenn Menke, and Andrea Humphrey, eds., *Southern Local Color: Stories of Region, Race, and Gender* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002); George Washington Cable et al., *The New Orleans of George Washington Cable: The 1887 Census Office Report* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008).
[79] Maurice Thompson, "Ben and Judas," *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 38 (1889): 893-902.
[80] Thompson, "Ben and Judas," 893.

black shadow of Ben."[81] Through Thompson's poetic writing, he careful built two protagonists so conjoined that they shared their lives together. However, the distinguishing factor between the two men was decided at birth: one became a slave and the other a master. In the tale, Ben became the benevolent, kind, and fraternal enslaver, masquerading romantic ideas of slavery and plantation life built in the New South. Judas followed suit, becoming the stereotypical "faithful slave" emphasized through loyalty, kindness, and unchallenged inferiority. The intermingling of the two tropes established a relationship between white southerners' hopes for primitive blackness and the clarity of white supremacy. Following a pattern Harris's Uncle Remus, Thompson's Ben and Judas became beacons of the Old South. The characters represented the constructed and exaggerated antebellum realties of the plantation. These romantic ideas of enslavement and mastery, crafted and syndicated throughout the New South, illustrated how narrative placed blackness back into rural, preindustrial past. The plantation dynamics recreated in the tale of Ben and Judas elucidated the primitivity surroundings of the antebellum landscape, which was exaggerated through the use of the hoe.

When developing the hierarchical relationship between Ben and Judas, Thompson utilized a fence, the hoe and a watermelon patch to place of blackness among the relics of antebellum life. From on top the fence rail, Ben, the master, looked down upon is small melon patch. From his view, the aged Judas preformed the arduous work of hoeing out weeds. The act of hoeing the watermelon patch served as a reminder of the proper place of black labor well into the New South. The author suggests that the proper place for blackness and whiteness are captured in the story, keeping the white man above the black man laboring in the field. Hoeing not only physically kept the enslaved man beneath whiteness but also illustrated a material continuity between black

[81] Thompson, "Ben and Judas," 893.

southerners. Thompson stated, “[i]t was one of Ben’s greatest luxuries to sit on the top rail of the worm-fence which inclosed [sic] the melon-patch… and superintend the hoeing thereof.”[82] In control over the hoeing of his crop, Ben illustrated the labor dynamics that supported southern agriculture both during slavery and following emancipation. The luxury of observing labor versus the realities of having to use the hoe presented the relationship between the labor of black people and the observations of whites in the New South. By crafting the black character as fit for the hoe, the author illustrated the classic dynamic between enslavers and the enslaved. Judas, forced by his enslaver to remain physically, social and culturally beneath him demonstrated white perceptions of black inferiority. Toiling with the hoe in the melon patch, Judas reflected how white authors mobilized the Old South to confine blackness to the mythologized pastures of the preindustrial past. In “Ben and Judas,” Thompson not only utilized the hoe but also conjured the Old South to impose black inferiority through narrative.

With the popularity of black tropes similar to Uncle Remus and Ben and Judas, the hoe emphasized the continuity of pre-industrial labor in popular southern culture.[83] In 1900, "Good Old Sam Pitts" appeared in papers across the South. Created by Bill Arp, the fictitious southern stereotype was popularized in newspapers across the country (region?) From *The Atlanta Constitution* to *The Tennessean,* Arp covered current events and relayed folkloric descriptions of blackness throughout the New South. On September 30, 1900, Arp published a fictitious eulogy for the death of the 'loyal negro' Sam Pitts. Through continued acts of familial devotion, similar to Uncle Remus, as well as laboring with the hoe until his final breath, Sam Pitts functioned as an idealized version of blackness. By playing upon a white-constructed stereotype of black identity that suggested a black aversion to modernity, he represented a palatable version of blackness to

[82] Thompson, “Ben and Judas,” 897.
[83] Hale, *Making Whiteness,* 55-6.

the largely white audience. A relic of slavery, "Good Old Sam Pitts" functioned as a manifestation of the Old South, projecting the primitivity of the pre-industrial landscape on to the black character.[84] Having hoed for as long as the author can remember, his service to white masters and bosses became both his role in life and an important portion of his cultural identity. Bill Arp captured the transition from enslaved to free labor suggesting, through Sam Pitts, that not only did blackness reside in the old South, but also, as Sam Pitts stated, black people had "too much freedom anyhow."[85]

Critiquing the transition of black life from enslavement and Reconstruction to the New South, Bill Arp utilized Pitts' narrative to dispel any suggestion of black progress from popular southern culture. Through the voice of the once master turned boss, the reader is paraded through southern history.[86] Through Sam Pitts, Bill Arp articulated white fear in the New South, including the fragility of white dominance and the growth of the black population. Chastising free labor and claiming ease of life in the Old South, Arp used Pitts to argue that the everyday plight of black people, such as convict leasing and financial disparities, never existed under slavery. In Arp's narrative, Pitts often pontificated about the fate of black people following freedom, saying it got "wusser and wusser."[87] This analysis not only blamed freedom for black problems but also suggested that slavery and the labor patterns of the antebellum South provided a safe haven for blackness in the modernizing New South. In addition to Arp's discussion of race in the New South, he suggested the honor of Sam Pitts relied on his continued labor with the hoe, bonding the perception of hoe with blackness. Building the man with the hoe, the New South utilized characterized expressions of race to primitivize blackness and segregate modernity.

[84] "Good Old Sam Pitts." *The Atlanta Constitution*, September 30, 1900.
[85] "Good Old Sam Pitts."
[86] "Good Old Sam Pitts."
[87] "Good Old Sam Pitts."

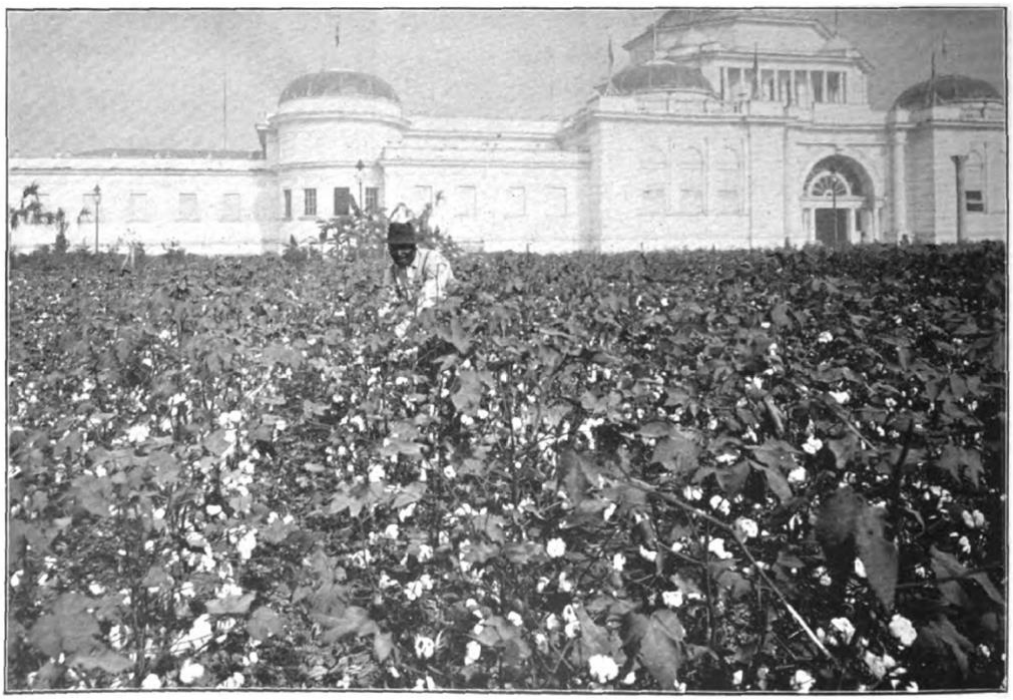
Sam Pitts' life began and ended with a hoe in his hand. When constructing the character of "Old Uncle Sam," the hoe resurrects a primitive archetype of enslavement, who conveyed the troubles for black people in the New South. Relatively expressive and blunt about the state of black life following emancipation, Arp describes Pitts as a man who "would lean on his hoe or his ax and 'spress his feelins'' It did him good."[88] By leaning on the hoe, Arp not only communicated Pitts' social status among whites as "the man with the hoe," but also placed him among the antiquities of the old South. Arp also emphasizes the role of the hoe in subjugating Pitts, making him a vestige of enslavement and death in/of the old South to be mourned.[89] Throughout the narrative, Pitts becomes a remnant of slavery, capturing the primitivity, enduring white authority, and embodying the labor conditions that whites required of blacks in the New South. In recalling his death, Arp captures the entanglement that culturally connected the hoe with blackness. Arp states that Pitts, "...fell down paralyzed with his hoe in his hand. He was 'the man with the hoe' to the very last."[90] By recording the last few moments of Sam Pitts' life, Arp captured the convergence of the primitivity of the antebellum South and the black experience, highlighting the hoe's role in segregating modernity. The transition from enslaved labor to free labor did not camouflage Pitts' plight as a black man culturally isolated in the primitivity of the antebellum era, amid the growing rhetoric of progress. The story of "Good Old Sam Pitts" functions as a guide to white perceptions of the hoe and blackness in the New South, building a nuanced understanding of black primitivity and the exclusivity of modernity. Through constructing the hoe around the antebellum South, "Good Old Sam Pitts" mobilized backwardness to exclude blackness from displays of modernity in the New South.

[88]"Good Old Sam Pitts."
[89]"Good Old Sam Pitts."
[90]"Good Old Sam Pitts."

Stories of the New South romanticized the old plantation and stereotyped fictitious black characters, mobilized the usage of hoe to place blackness back in the Old South. Southern authors, like Harris and Thompson, became architect of the Old South, infusing fact and fiction to create a mythological landscape. These Penmen of the New South displayed white ideas of blackness that had power across the United States. Uncle Remus, Ben and Judas, and Good Old Sam Pitts each character became a model for blackness, removing the progress that fed the New South. By returning blackness to the plantation, the tales allowed readers to get lost in the lives of characters not distinguishing reality from fiction. Caricatures of blackness, bound to white perceptions of race, remained between the pages of narrative about the Old South, joining them was the hoe. The hoe a served as a manifestation arduous labor and primitivity. The hoe illustrated cultural, social, and racial backwardness, distinguishing the progress of the New South form the blackness of Old South. The usage of the hoe became synonymous in southern popular, illustrating white efforts to primitivize blackness. As words filled the page and audiences consumed the popular stories, white southerners attempts to subjugate blackness leapt from the page to the stage, continuing to utilize the hoe conjure the Old South.

A Plantation Performance:

Tennessee Centennial Exposition, The Old Plantation Show, and "Hoeing Pickaninnies"



COTTON PATCH AND COTTON PICKERS.

Figure 3: "Cotton Patch and Cotton Pickers": The photograph captures a black man picking cotton in front of the massive Agriculture Building at the 1897 Tennessee Centennial Exposition.[91]

On June 12, 1897, President William McKinley visited the Tennessee Centennial Exposition in Nashville, Tennessee.[92] Fanfare cascaded throughout the fairgrounds. For show producers, fair executives, and the many thousands of fellow visitors, the President's visit was a bombastic affair.[93] Following parades and performances from the President's home state of Ohio, he was led through the leading attractions, including the Fine Arts, Negro, Women's, and

[91] Herman Justi, *Official History of the Tennessee Centennial Exposition* (Nashville: Brandon, 1898), 368.
[92] In an important note, Presidents commonly attended the Old Plantation show. Grover Cleveland in 1895 was a major supporter of the Atlanta Old Plantation considering it was one of his only stops on the midway. Although this does make McKinley visit less rare, the fanfare surrounding the show, agricultural building, and fair are unique. For more on, see "The Cabinet on the Grounds," *The Atlanta Constitution*, October 24, 1895.
[93] "President's Farewell," *The Tennessean*, June 13, 1897.

Agriculture Buildings.[94] As McKinley approached the massive Agriculture building -- 525 feet long and 200 feet wide and the second largest on the fairgrounds-- he was met by the cast of the Old Plantation Show.[95] The Old Plantation show was a popular amusement on the midway of multiple world's fairs, which sought to recreate "times before the [Civil] war."[96] On this day, Fred Milligan, manager of the Old Plantation amusement, organized ten or twelve black performers to give a "brief minstrel performance" that was reportedly "under most natural and therefore advantageous circumstances."[97] Along the wide road approaching the Agricultural Building, the troupe of performers sang a "negro plantation song that was the hit of the day."[98] Accompanied by the Secretary of Agriculture, the President stopped and enjoyed the "excellent" performance of primitivity, juxtaposed with the displays of New South progress and ingenuity.[99]

During the performance, the "grotesquely attired" performers and landscape played a clear role in reinforcing the place of blackness in the New South on the world's stage.[100] Though the black performers appeared to be innocuously placed in front of the Agricultural building, the official history of the exposition and local newspapers present a much more insidious picture of the Presidential performance. The road facing the building bisected two large fields, one growing cotton and the other tobacco. Juxtaposed between two cash crops reliant on black labor, the black performers of the Old Plantation Show became part of an elaborate performance of the romanticized Old South in the "progressive" New South. As world's fair historian Nathan Cardon states these, expositions "became spaces in which the New South could be viscerally experienced."

94 Justi, *Tennessee Centennial Exposition,* 246-248.
95 Justi, *Tennessee Centennial Exposition,* 251-252; and "President's Farewell," *The Tennessean,* June 13, 1897.
96 "The Old Plantation," *The Tennessean,* April 28, 1897.
97 "President's Farewell," *The Tennessean,* June 13, 1897.
98 Justi, *Tennessee Centennial Exposition,* 251-252; "President's Farewell," *The Tennessean,* June 13, 1897.
99 "President's Farewell."
100 "President's Farewell."

[101] The juxtaposition between the modern fairgrounds and the subjugation of blackness continued to segregate visions of modernity. This performance for President McKinley was no different, tangibly placing blackness outside of modernity and back on the "old Virginny plantation" with a literal hoe in their hands. [102]

TOBACCO FIELD NEAR AGRICULTURE BUILDING.

Figure 4:"Tobacco Field Near Agriculture Building" : Sandwiched in front of Agriculture Building, were a massive cotton field and tobacco field, photographed here. Black men and women tended to the cash crops throughout the exposition, though the entire fair sought to highlight the modern South. The photo also illustrates the continuity of labor in the New South with a black man tending to the tobacco, while a white man looks on.[103]

The Tennessee Centennial Exposition was not the first southern exposition that highlighted modernity or embraced industrial expansion, segregation or placed blackness firmly with the hoe in Old South. The 1884 World's International and Cotton Centennial Exposition in New Orleans, Louisiana, which celebrated the future of cotton in the South and the world, was the first

[101] Nathan Cardon, *A Dream of the Future: Race, Empire, and Modernity at the Atlanta and Nashville World's Fairs* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018), 20.
[102] "The Old Plantation."
[103] Justi, *Tennessee Centennial Exposition*, 379.

international southern exhibition. Though not as renowned or celebrated as the 1895 Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, the fair in New Orleans also focused on commodity agriculture and international trade. Rooted in the booming cotton industry, the fair exhibited the South to the rest of the country, if not the world, as leading regional and national progress. When thinking about how southerners cultural used world's fairs, Robert Rydell states:

> These [southern] fairs also represented attempts to catapult the poverty-ridden South into the forefront of national and international economic growth and were meant to demonstrate to the rest of the country that the leaders of the New South were capable of guiding their own section and the nation at large toward further progress.[104]

Showcasing mechanical advancement, imperial expansion, and industrial progress, southern world's fairs illuminated the promise of a growing nation among the background of Jim Crow segregation. Rather than progress and segregation being diametrically opposed, southern fairs presented segregation as the modern answer to national issues of race and immigration. [105] The world's fair became a space in the New South to materialize the performance of black primitivity beyond the page.

The opening of the 1884 World's International and Cotton Centennial Exposition received national press coverage, including *The Boston Globe* that covered the ruckus opening of "La Exposicion." From pictures and drawings to literature, including poems and songs, The Cotton Centennial Exposition was the centerpiece to a global celebration of cotton.[106] In a poem recited

[104] Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 73.

[105] For More about World's Fairs, see Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*; Robert W. Rydell, John E. Findling, and Kimberly D. Pelle, *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000); For more on Southern World's Fairs see: Chapter Three: "The New Orleans, Atlanta and Nashville expositions: New Markets, "New Negroes" and a New South" of Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*; Theda Perdue, *Race and the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition of 1895* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010). Bruce G. Harvey, *World's Fairs in a Southern Accent: Atlanta, Nashville, and Charleston, 1895-1902*, First edition (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2014); Cardon, *A Dream of the Future: Race, Empire, and Modernity at the Atlanta and Nashville World's Fairs*; Rydell, *All the World's a Fair,* 75-76.

[106] "La Exposicion, " *Boston Globe*, December 17, 1884.

at the opening day of the exposition , Mrs. Mary Ashley Townsend, known as Xarriffa, discussed the exciting attractions, vibrant atmosphere, and the importance of cotton. After guiding listeners through the oddities of the midway and the spectacle of the exotics, she found herself in a familiar scene, the Old Plantation. Townsend wrote, "Now from the old plantation -- To the music of the clicking hoes, they [Black people] are chanting, of the planting of the merry cotton-picking rows."[107] In this sound bite, the hoe plays a prominent role in recreating this preindustrial southern soundscape, while also highlighting the contemporary fate of the hoe in southern life. Through her poem, Mrs. Townsend brought the listeners back to the cotton fields of the Old South placing black people back in time, while also firmly placing whiteness in the New South. Discussing the excitement of the exposition, the author emphasizes the appropriate place for black life and hoe: on the plantation.

At many worlds' fairs, rather than an antebellum mansion far on a distant hill the Old Plantation was recreated with slave quarters along the midway. Following the success of the Paris Exposition in 1889, world's fairs integrated amusements into the plans for future fairs, hoping to increase profits and visitors. At the World Columbian Exposition, fair officials cloistered away a mile-long strip of amusements, deliberately distanced from displays of industrial, agricultural, and national pride on the rest of the fairgrounds.[108] This commercial strip of amusement became the midway, centralizing the fair international appeal.[109] From the midway in Atlanta, to the Vanity Fair in Nashville, and The Pike in Saint Louis, each group of fair executives tried to capture the success of the World Columbian Exposition. The midway became the consumer center of the fairgrounds full of concession, different amusements, and snapshots of ethic life across the globe,

[107] "La Exposicion."
[108] David Nasaw, *Going Out: The Rise and Fall of Public Amusements* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1993),68.
[109] Nasaw, *Going Out,* 67.

bringing an individual flavor to each fair. From the "dancers" of Cairo and the sounds of Celtic tunes from Irish pubs to reenactments of the Galveston Flood and underwater adventures, the midway boomed, people filled the streets and fairs continued to succeed.[110] The midway became places where "[c]ulture and commerce joined together, with the support of the state, to proclaim the arrival of the new and better future where distinctions between work and play, day and night, education and amusement, fantasy and reality, beauty and excess, propriety and immodesty were delightfully blurred."[111] The entertainment that lined the midway, curated through the language and appeal of commerce, became educational and amusement spaces for millions of visitors.[112]

Bringing people from across the country, the fairs welcomed middle, upper, working class, and immigrant families to the urban host cities, inadvertently bringing spectators into an educational space.[113] From the villages of Europe and Asia to Native American communities, and the popular Dahomey Village, each presented a future of racial progress, where "only the lighter skinned could be civilized."[114] Engaging with these spaces, costumers and visitors alike learned about the racial subjugation at the turn of the century, through traversing the midway and entering the fairgrounds. Amid displays of imperial nations, primitive sideshows and cutting-edge technology, sat a stage for white people to perform idealized race relations in the South: the Old Plantation Show. Becoming popular as a vaudeville act in the early 1890s, the Old Plantation traveled across the country using black performers and song and dance to recreate the antebellum

[110] For more on the individual nature southern midways at World's Fairs, see Justi, *Tennessee Centennial Exposition;* Walter Gerald Cooper, *The Cotton States and International Exposition and South, Illustrated Including the Official History of the Exposition*, (Atlanta: Illustrator, 1896); *On the Pike, the First Complete Booklet of the Pike and Amusement Features of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition*, (New York: The Morrison, 1904).
[111] Nasaw, *Going Out*, 79.
[112] Nasaw, *Going Out*, 75-78.
[113] Nasaw, *Going Out*, 75-78.
[114] Nasaw, *Going Out*, 75.

South.[115] At the World's Fair, the Old Plantation Show's status as an amusement was solidified on the midway, where cake walks, plantation songs, and cotton patches served as a caricature of African American identity in the New South. Hidden within foreign exhibits and public amusements, the Old Plantation Show served as an educational exhibit teaching the observers about progress and primitivity on the worlds stage. Successive world's fairs embraced the directed racism on the world's fairgrounds, by performing "'black' inferiority", on the midway.[116]

In 1892, rumors of a new attraction at the forthcoming Columbian Exposition filled papers across the nation, the exhibit suggested was an "old time scene" that would portray "[s]lavery as it existed fifty years ago."[117] Organized to be an innovative approach to exhibition, the old time scene sought to educate and entertain guests by resurrecting the antebellum South "not on canvas, but in living reality."[118] Though the official map of the Columbian Exposition did not include a plantation show, the idea permeated throughout other expositions and fairs in the early twentieth century. Atlanta became the first World's fair to have an "Old Plantation" style show that presented an idealized version of life on the "Ole Virginny" plantation.[119] Typically confined to the ends of the midway, the Old Plantation had a group of "slave" cabins that advertised a show with a "perfect representations of the simple of customs and faith of the old fashioned darkies of the [S]outh."[120] Advertisements ran for minstrel songs, cake walk, and an all-black cast, promising a primitive black landscape that southerners and northerners associated with slavery. Perhaps most strikingly, these renditions of plantation life also included a small farm and cotton plot surrounding the recreated slave cabins. The Old Plantation served as a setting for the subjugation of blackness and

[115] Joshua E. Polster, *Stages of Engagement: U.S. Theatre and Performance from 1898-1949* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015), 64.
[116] Nasaw, *Going Out,* 78.
[117] "An Old Time Scene," *The Atlanta Constitution,* December 27, 1892.
[118] "An Old Time Scene."
[119] "The Old Plantation," *The Tennessean,* April 28, 1897.
[120] "The Cabinet on the Grounds," *The Atlanta Constitution,* October 24, 1895.

became instrumental in educating the public on the inferiority of blackness. The hoe became a central visual prop in the elaborate production of primitivity.

By recreating the plantation of the Old South in the New South, Old Plantation Shows displayed both a southern longing for a "time befo da wah" and a reliance on black backwardness to create a culture of segregation.[121] Historian Robert Rydell also suggests that The Old Plantation, while being a mythologized version of Old South, was a symbol for the extreme lag in black progress, in a sense, "confer[ring] colonial status on the inhabitants."[122] The imperial presentation of the Old Plantation show highlights the racial and cultural separation on the Worlds fairground. However, Grace Hale, in *Making Whiteness,* suggests that the Atlanta Exposition's plantation show portrayed black people as objects in the performances. The commodification of blackness rejected both the potential for free labor and the separate-but-equal progress of the New South.[123] In *A Dream of the Future,* Nathan Cardon utilizes the juxtaposition between the Negro building and Old Plantation show to highlight the dual foundation of blackness at world's fairs. Cardon finds that "the racial harmony of the Negro Building was to convince northerners that southern whites had a humane answer to the 'Negro Problem,' the Old Plantation Show eased northerners' mind that the proper place for blacks was the South."[124] He also suggests that black performers became willing parts of Old Plantation Shows, capitalizing on "racist undercurrents" rather than simply being primitivized by the performance. [125] With the examination of the hoe, The Old Plantation Show was a much more deliberate landscape that not only demonstrated a premodern and commodified version of blackness but also cultivated a cultural understanding of black

[121] Cardon, *A Dream of the Future,* 2-3.
[122] Rydell, *All the World's a Fair,* 88.
[123] Hale, *Making Whiteness,* 150.
[124] Nathan Cardon, "The South's 'New Negroes' and African American Visions of Progress at the Atlanta and Nashville International Expositions, 1895-1897", *The Journal of Southern History,* Vol. 80 No. 2, 311.
[125] Cardon, *A Dream of the Future,* 58.

primitivity. Through examining the landscape of World's Fairs and the Old Plantation show, the hoe played an important role in primitivizing blackness by conjuring imagery of the Old South.

The contestation of racial landscape at Southern World's Fairs led to a battle for control over the curation of blackness on the fairgrounds. Started at the Cotton International Exposition in 1895, Negro Buildings provided space for black people to create a new version of modernity that challenged racial prejudice, while also demonstrating the success of Jim Crow. The building filled with industrial illustrations, home goods, and higher education displays illustrated black opportunities and possibilities for industrial labor in the New South. [126] However, the black potential of progress did not go unchallenged on the fairgrounds. In particular, the Old Plantation and other exhibits of African's, seen as "black and savagely nude," presented a counter to the potential for progress witnessed by southern fairgoers.[127] The Old Plantation utilized the Old South as a "piece of nostalgia" to create a white consumer space placing rural black people in the New South away from progress. "[T]he Old Plantation suggested that," Cardon finds, "contemporary rural African Americans were outside of modernity"[128] The Negro Building and the Old Plantation Show highlighted the contestation over the definition of blackness in the New South.[129] However, the entertainment of the midway and the novelty of the Old Plantation Show, led to the popularity of the attraction. The wide press coverage of the events allow for a peek inside the walls of the Old Plantation Amusement. This particular performance of primitivity instituted white definitions of blackness with entertainment performed through the hoe.

[126] Cardon, "The South's 'New Negroes,'" 291.
[127] Some world's fairs had African or Dahomey villages, they typically were placed in close proximity to the Old Plantation along the Midway. Nathan Cardon suggests that a major difference between African villages and the Old Plantation was a foreign and national example of primitivity or a lack of modernity. For More on Dahomey villages, see "Her Gates Ajar," *Atlanta Constitution,* September 18, 1895.
[128] Cardon, "The South's 'New Negroes,'" 311.
[129] Cardon, "The South's 'New Negroes,'" 311.

In particular, the 1897 Tennessee Centennial Exposition Old Plantation Show became a popular space to commodify blackness.[130] Similar to other southern plantation shows *The Tennessean* was filled with grandiose and grotesque promises of antebellum plantation life. Advertisements for the Tennessee Centennial and International Exposition, in addition to the international gleam of other World's fairs, promised a unique antebellum experience on the Vanity Fair, or midway of exposition. In a national advertisement for the amusement on the midway, *The Inter Ocean* described The Old Plantation as, "the most popular attraction on the Vanity Fair," highlighting that the cast of "[g]enuine plantation darkies are seen in all the glory of antebellum days."[131] The Centennial celebration, which centered on progress, innovation, and the future of commodity agriculture also emphasized the increasingly popular plantation show. With cake walks performed daily, the aged bodies of formerly enslaved people objectified, and watermelon eating contests readily attended, the exhibit brought the ideas of the Old South directly on to the progressive landscape of the World's Fair.[132] With these performances of primitivity, the hoe became an important part the of bodies on display, putting to work the vile stereotypes crafted by white southerners. The black men and women hoeing cotton on the fairgrounds served as a physical reminder of the preindustrial South without machinery or emancipation. The black bodies manifested primitivity among a white imagined modernity. These voyeuristic performances highlighted the vigorous cultural consumption of blackness, in part to satiate the desire for a return in social order to "a time be for de war."[133]

[130] Hale, *Making Whiteness,* 150.
[131] "Seen at Vanity Fair," *The Inter Ocean,* October 10,1897.
[132] "The Old Plantation", April 16, 1897; "Cake Walk at 'Old Plantation,'" *The Tennessean,* August 15, 1897; "None Available," *The Nashville American,* September 3. 1897.
[133] "The Old Plantation," April 16, 1897.

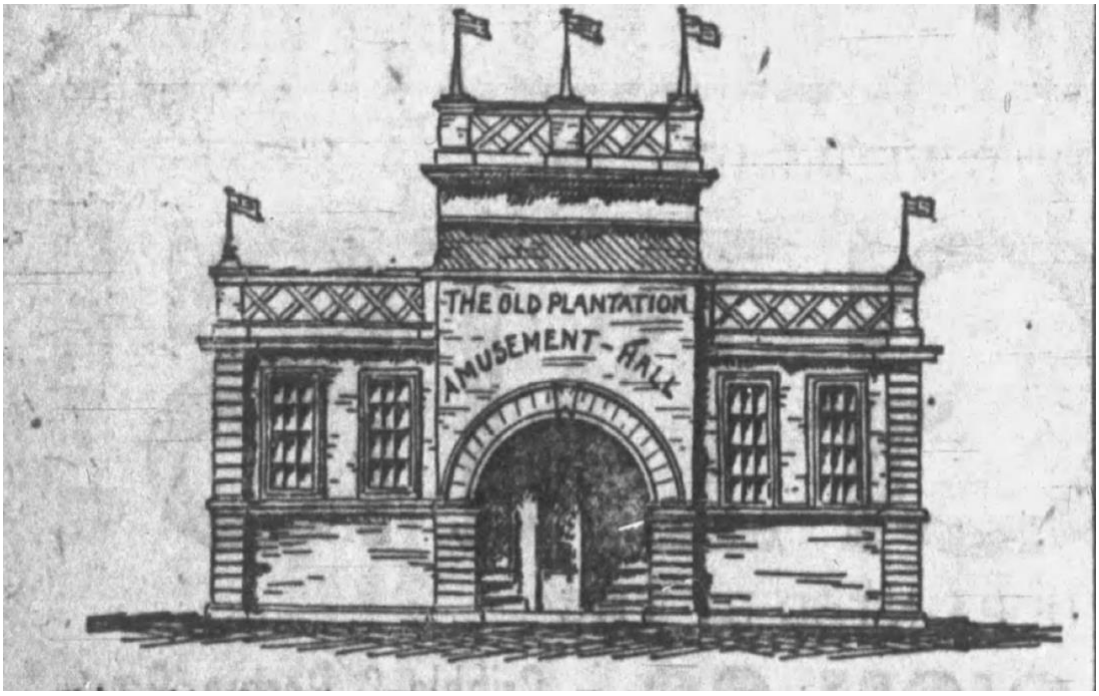


Figure 5: "The Old Plantation Amusement Hall" : On May 1st, 1897 The Nashville Banner declared "The Vanity Fair Is a Gay Place." The paper had illustrations of the face of each attraction including the Old Plantation Amusement Hall, shown above.[134]

The hoe was vital in producing black primitivity on the Old Plantation. In addition to racialize tropes of blackness, the spectacle of hoeing cotton became consumable for a national audience. *The Tennessean* highlighted unique facets of the Tennessee Exposition, in particular stating, "[t]here will be pickaninny darkies there learning to hoe" along with other staples in "negro life."[135] By selling a version of blackness that focused on hoeing, the show suggested that black people, regardless of periodization, remained in the preindustrial South. The spectacle, I suggest, was not only in the consumption of primitivity but also in the curation of a singular white modernity. Creating a voyeuristic perception of blackness that sought to highlight the limited progression of black southerners, hoe suggested the continuity between the conditions of slavery and the New South. The hoe in resurrected the Old South, along with the black actors and the white

[134] "The Vanity Fair Is a Gay Place," *Nashville Banner,* May 1, 1897.
[135] "The Old Plantation," April 16, 1897.

jubilee surrounding depictions of primitive versions blackness. In conjunction with the production of the antebellum South, the hoe helped to place "primitivism in the midway."[136] Within the exchanges of the show, the hoe emphasized the lack of industrial work ethic and intellect needed to succeed in the modern New South. The recreation of "idyllic" antebellum plantation not only highlighted the hoe's central role in Southern labor but also the continued reliance on black labor as the foundation of American progress.

The Centennial Exposition was neither the first nor the last fair with an Old Plantation Show. In fact, the popularity of the Old Plantation Show in 1897 led the producers to move the entire show to Omaha for the Trans-Mississippian Exposition in 1898.[137] From Omaha, Nebraska, and Davenport, Iowa, to Buffalo, New York, and Charleston South Carolina, Old Plantation Shows migrated across the country from World's fairs to state fairs, circulating a sterilized version of the Old South. With new producers and actors, the shows replicated the success of the attraction at the world's fairs and sought to create an "authentic southerness" through performance.[138] With cake walks, plantation songs, and hoeing and picking cotton, the plantation shows pushed primitivity in the midst of displays of the modern South and America.[139] In addition to the Old Plantation Show, popularized black characters, such as Aunt Jemima and Uncle Ben, also made appearances on the plantation.[140] Similar to Uncle Remus and Sam Pitts, these characters crafted a primitive antebellum answer to the definition of progress in the New South. The characters served the same role as a theatrical prop in the elaborate performance of the New South, suggesting the primitive place of blackness amid depictions of modernity. With each debut of The Old Plantation

136 Cardon, *A Dream of the Future,* 55-7.
137 Nasaw, *Going Out,* 77.
138 Prince, *Stories of the South, 192.*
139"Cake Walk at the 'Old Plantation,'" *The Tennessean,* August,15 1897.
140 "Go to the Old Plantation," *The Buffalo Times,* June 23, 1901.

Amusement, the stage omitted black progress since emancipation and confined white ideas of blackness with the hoe in an elaborate performance of slavery. In stark contrast with ideas of modernity cultivated and transmitted at the World's Fair, the Old Plantation provided distinguished the future and the past. For nearly three consecutive World's Fairs in Omaha, Buffalo and St. Louis, the Old Plantation Show established white perceptions of black primitivity on the world stage.[141]

American World's fairs, following the Centennial Exposition, received similar fanfare. With growing cultural interest, imperial expansion after the end of Spanish American War, and increasing interest in modernity, the 1901 Pan-American Exposition opened in Buffalo, New York with rave reviews. With rising social and political tension across the nation, President McKinley's appearance was moment to discuss American and international progress on the world's stage.[142] On September 5th, 1901, McKinley was led on to the fairground with a police escort and marched down through the fairgrounds toward the Esplanade, a massive to bandstand area that held 250,000 people. Approaching the podium, one of the largest crowds recorded greeted the president, who had prepared a speech highlighting the congruence of progress and power.[143] Attempting to capture the tension between progress, expansion and American life, McKinley's speech grappled with the country's movement into the twentieth century. In his opening address, McKinley stated, "[e]xpositions are the timekeepers of progress. They record the world's achievements." [144] On the

[141] For more on the Tran- Mississippi, Pan-American, and Louisiana Expositions, see Michael Hawkins, *Semi-Civilized: The Moro Village at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition*, NIU Southeast Asian Series (Ithaca, New York: Northern Illinois University Press, an imprint of Cornell University Press, 2020); Wendy Jean Katz, ed., *The Trans-Mississippi and International Expositions of 1898-1899: Art, Anthropology, and Popular Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018); Nancy J. Parezo and Don Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).
[142] "President McKinley Favors Reciprocity," *New York Times*, September 6, 1901.
[143] "President McKinley Favors Reciprocity," and *Guide to the Pan-American Exposition Buffalo, New York,* (The Eagle Library, New York, 1901), 8-9.
[144] "President McKinley Favors Reciprocity;" Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 4.

world's fairgrounds, space became a cultural epicenter of attitudes towards, industry, race, imperialism, class, and agriculture. While explicitly outlining the ideals of progress, the fairgrounds presented a definite line between projections of the past and displays of the future. Amid the landscape of progress and presidential fanfare, one of President McKinley's final appearances marked the exaggeration of modernity on the world's stage.[145]

Located just hundreds of feet from the podium, adjacent on the midway, nestled between the Trip to the Moon, Aerio Cycle and The Soft Drink Buildings and across from the African Village, the Old Plantation show became a star of the midway.[146] On the midway, a crash course in imperialism, sat an imagined South that utilized the same primitive stereotypes to reaffirm white understandings of blackness. If the fair served, like McKinley found, as a "timekeeper" of the nation's progress, The Old Plantation Show served as the modern representation of southern black life. Utilizing the world's fair as an education space, the Tennessee Centennial Exposition's Old Plantation show used the hoe to craft black inferiority. The juxtaposition between McKinley's words of progress and the performance of primitivity, resembled the clash of race, modernity, and culture at the turn of the century. Depicting men and women either hoeing cotton or part of an elaborate cake walk music number, blackness returned to the romanticized Old South. The Old Plantation Show utilized the hoe in this performance of primitivity to highlight the place of blackness back among the relics of slavery. Capturing the dissonance between foundations of the New South and depictions of blackness in the Old Plantation Show, the exhibition presented a consumable version of blackness that both remained on the old plantation hoeing cotton and crafted black inferiority.

[145] The day after his speech, President McKinley was shot in the chest and abdomen at the Temple of Music at the Pan American Exposition, by anarchist Leon Czolgosz.
[146] *Guide to the Pan-American Exposition Buffalo, New York,* 8-9.

"Battling a Foe of Their Own Creation:" [147]

Bloodied Hoes, Battered Brains, and the Building the Beast

On Friday July 17th, 1891, the constable of West Point, Mississippi, returned from a reported incident on Fred Beall's plantation just west of the city. As the officer rode back into town, "a lot of combatants" paraded close behind. Shackled by plow line, or harnesses used to drive field horses, the black sharecroppers were marched from the rural Beall plantation into the modernizing New South city. Ensnared in available equipment, the black men and women, bruised and bloodied with cuts across their bodies, filed into the county seat. The black participants, pushed in front of the courthouse, entered a booming regional hub of plantation capital, including a railroad and a growing cotton mill.[148] These marks, visible to local spectators and reporters, demonstrated the pain inflicted not by a brutal master or violent boss, but rather by each other. Published in newspapers across the country, their bodies displayed the aftermath of the violent battle "fought with hoes." The use of the hoe in the battle emphasized the unruly and dangerous characterizations of blackness crafted by white southerners. These acts of violence, among black farmers, became part of an elaborate spectacle of primitivity. The focus on the brutality of the affair not only reinforced black primitivity but also rendered black sharecroppers as agents of violence in the New South.[149]

147 Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*, 243.
148 *Volume 1 of Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi: Embracing an Authentic and Comprehensive Account of the Chief Events in the History of the State and a Record of the Lives of Many of the Most Worthy and Illustrious Families and Individuals*, (Chicago; The Good Publishing Company,1891), 364-367; For more on the progression of cotton towns in the New South, see David R. Goldfield, *Cotton Fields and Skyscrapers: Southern City and Region, 1607-1980* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982); Thomas W. Hanchett, *Sorting out the New South City: Race, Class, and Urban Development in Charlotte, 1875-1975* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).
149 The entire story is covered throughout numerous accounts; however, the closest account provides the most detail, see "West Point: Bloody Riot Between Negroes," *The Times Picayune*, July 19, 1891.

The Beall Plantation riot served as a violent example of uncontrollable blackness in the New South. Illustrating the construction of black primitivity, the usage of the hoe assisted in supporting the mythos of the "black beast, which terrorized whites throughout the New South. Black violence with the hoe aided in the construction of brutal archetypes that emphasized the mounting lack of white control. By syndicating stories of black on black violence as well as sexualizing, stereotyping, and brutalizing black men, white people used acts of violence with the hoe to emphasize the danger of unruly black southerners. Broadcasting violence with the hoe, white southerners formed "the black beast rapist" myth, which relied on backwardness and primal behavior. Through acts of violence including murder, assault, and rape, the usage of the hoe primitivized blackness by reinforcing brutal stereotypes and bolstering fiendish propensities for crime.[150] The implementation of primitivity constructed and communicated with the hoe in literature and Old Plantation shows became tangible in violence enacted with the hoe. White ideals of black violence and impulsive behavior were bound to a larger performance of primitivity.

Violence became a tried and true means of reasserting control, enforcing tropes of black danger, and illustrating the primitive nature of blackness in the New South. In *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self Making in Nineteenth Century*, Saidiya Hartman maps the continuity of slavery, terror and the foundations of white supremacist discourse through narrative in the nineteenth century. The physical coercion of the whip, as Hartman found, transitioned to the economic control of debt peonage and sharecropping. Both institutions became deeply connected to the hoe both culturally and economically.[151] The continuity of violence in the life and labor of black people following emancipation constructed white perceptions of blackness. For Hartman,

[150] Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 201-9
[151] Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth* Century America, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, 140-2.

"[t]he tragic continuities in antebellum and postbellum" illustrated the cultural curation blackness from the antebellum period to the Gilded Age.[152] Hartman argues that "the whip was not … abandoned; rather it was … internalized," making actions and verbiage forms of violence against black southerners.[153] The self-control required of laborers presented conflicting ideas of freedom for newly emancipated black freedman, one of liberty and the other of labor coercion that questioned whether the "laborer toiling in the field" was "slave or free" in the postbellum South.[154] Through popular media and literature, white southerners fashioned ideas of blackness and labor. "The intransigence of racism and the antipathy and abjection naturalized in *Plessy v. Ferguson*," Hartman argues, "recast blackness in terms that refigured relations of mastery and servitude"[155] Subverting established practices of master and slave, long after emancipation, not only challenged white authority, but became part of the intense power dynamic surrounding the hoe.

Using the press, white southerners-built narratives that highlighted mounting turmoil within southern labor distinctions. Distinct from violence that erupted on the Beall plantation, fictitious stories trickled throughout newspapers building an imagined battle for the control over black labor and emphasizing a black unruliness igniting across the South. The uncontrollable nature of blackness became a topic of debate, commonly emphasizing a transgression of white authority and black unruliness. Popular narratives captured how black resistance to white authority was not only a new threat but also an important part of rural race relations. In 1887, *The Montgomery Advertiser* ran "Cuffee Can't Work." Using the Cuffee, a common term for enslaved people, the author created an idyllic southern countryside were a black man, resting beneath a tree,

[152] Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection,* 7.
[153] Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection,* 140.
[154] Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection,* 141.
[155] Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection,* 7.

faced the chastising gaze of the white farmer.[156] The farmer offers a labor contract to the black man; however, the white farmer is disgusted when Cuffee states that no, "'spectable culered genemun [was] hoein cotturn."[157] Even in this brief interaction, the story illustrated both the acknowledgement of decreasing white control over black labor, and degrees of black agency.[158] The refusal to hoe cotton demonstrated not only the white racial assumption of laziness but also illustrated a growing defiance, which fed white fear in the New South.

This threat of black resistance to white authority over labor continued deep into the twentieth century. However, white southerners practiced both regaining control and creating unruliness. "Cuffee" clearly articulated white problems with transitional labor in the New South. With numerous counterparts across the South, who were either unnamed or simply identified by their blackness, "Cuffee" served as cultural reference point to build upon in the New South. "Cuffee Can't Work" captures the layering of racial stereotypes used throughout slavery to promote a lack of work ethic and limited control, expressed through the act of hoeing cotton.[159] The hoe represented the transition between the directed violence of the antebellum to the labor coercion of the post, noting the evolution of violence to define laborer in the New South. Reconceptualizing modern forms of attack to control black life, the hoe became a material to join cultural perceptions of black labor with a lack of control, which white culturalist sought to violently reaffirm. This "battle fought with hoes" served as a manifestation of the intersection of uncontrollable labor and violence, making the hoe more than just an accessible tool, rather connecting the two eras of violence by exhibiting the unruliness of black people in the New South.

[156] For more on the usage of Cuffee, see Hartman, *Scenes of Subjugation;* "Cuffee Can't Work, *"The Montgomery Advertiser*, June 30, 1887.
[157] "Cuffee Can't Work."
[158] "Cuffee Can't Work"; "A Bad Nigger," *The Ozark Banner*, May 2, 1895; "Put in His Time," *The Intelligencer*, March 30, 1904.
[159] For an example of a Cuffee type of story please, see "Put in His Time"; "Cuffee Can't Work."

The fictitious unruliness demonstrated by Cuffee, manifested in violent acts between black southerners as well as white bosses and black workers. The actions of Cuffee, the Beall plantation, and other acts of violence with the hoe, contributed to the cultural use of the tool, seeking to primitive blackness in the New South. The hoe formed ideas of danger and uncontrollable black men in cotton fields across the South. And though the Beall riot was not explicitly bound to labor, the battle between workers served as a reminder the slipping reality of white authority. Agricultural labor, ubiquitous, available, and dominated by black workers, became a space for a clash between white bosses and black laborers, highlighting the importance of reinstating white authority. Sadiyia Hartman found, "violence remained a significant device in cultivating labor discipline. Undeniably, inequality was the basis of the forms of economic and social relations that developed in the aftermath of emancipation."[160] Stories of black laborers violently retaliating white bosses, black convicts turning the hoe on prison guards, and fictitious narrative about hoe duels between black people highlighted the unruly behavior deemed as brutal and corrupt.[161] Black violence with the hoe, like the Beall Plantation riot, presented a moment of black retaliation to the oppression of racial difference in the New South. However, it also created fodder to mythologize the violent and tenuous relationship between whites, black people, and the hoe.

Following the Beall Plantation Riot, the southern press utilized the uncontrollable nature of the plantation battle to illustrate the actions of dangerous black sharecroppers. Each cut from the blade of the hoe served as a violent reminder of the edification of racial distinction amid the progress of the New South. The hoe was not only a quick and accessible means of retaliation for black croppers but also a tool for white southerners to establish cultural superiority. On that night,

[160] Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection,* 129.
[161] For more the diversity of black retaliation with the hoe on this, see "A Bad Batch," *Chicago Tribune,* December 12, 1880; "Brained With a Hoe," *The Atlanta Constitution,* August 13, 1889; "Struck With a Hoe," *The Maxton Union,* July 14, 1891; and "Perilous Situation," *Chattanooga Daily Times,* October 25, 1889.

the sharecroppers on the Beall plantation allegedly engaged in a "bloody warfare," where men, women, and children equipped with hoes, violently swung at each other. [162] Fifteen to twenty black people proceeded to "cut each other to pieces with the hoe," which reportedly began between two "young bucks" over a young girl.[163] By centering the battle on a black woman, the alleged crime not only became about those left with their "brains oozing out … of [their] head[s]" but also about the sexual nature of blackness.[164] Black violence and sex both frightened southern whites, but the hoe bolstered the stereotypes to primitivize blackness. The embattled bodies of the black men, women and children bound together and marched through rural Mississippi reflected the severity of the "savage affray among negroes."[165] Illustrating the danger of this accessible and mobile tool, the usage of the hoe prescribed incivility, unruliness, and danger upon rural black southerners.

In the aftermath of the violent dispute, two people died, one woman "with her brains oozing out of a frightful hole in the back of her head made by a hoe," and another man in a similar condition. The bloodied hoes remained on the Beall Plantation, but the attack with hoes demonstrated white ideals of primitive blackness. While some reported that the riot only lasted fifteen minutes, the carnage and impact demonstrated postbellum efforts to primitivize black lives. Each and every one of those involved in the struggle left battered and bruised, and the battle on Beall Plantation rectified white memories of control over black labor, social and political lives. [166] Because the coverage of the violence on the Beall plantation focused on the weaponization of the hoe, the usage of the hoe in the violent dispute emphasized a lack of white control in an increasingly segregated and regulated New South. The intellectual connection between the rhetoric

[162] "Bloody Warfare: Mississippi Negroes Carve Each Other With Hoes," *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, July 19, 1891.
[163] "Fought With Hoes: Riot Among the Negroes Near West, Point," *Tuscaloosa Weekly Times*, July 22, 1891; "All About A Negress: Hoes Used With Deadly Effect In a Free Fight Over a Colored Girl," *The Inter Ocean*, July 19, 1891.
[164] "West Point: Bloody Riot Between Negroes," *The Times Picayune*, July 19, 1891.
[165] "Savage Affair Among Negroes," *The Los Angeles Times*, July 19, 1891.
[166] "Fought With Hoes," *The Daily Enquirer*, July 23, 1891

of violence and the cultural usage of the hoe highlights the material implementation of white supremacist ideas that used the farm tool to primitivize and subjugate blackness.

The press became an important syndicate of black violence and crime in the New South. Filtering stories of crime, violence, and fear, the papers mythologized white southern fears and constructed dangerous characterizations of black people.[167] In southern newspapers, violence with the hoe illustrated the danger of blackness both highlighting a breech in social order. In *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* , Lawrence Levine illustrated the creation and appropriation of black folklore. As Levine found, the the bad man took many forms through southern history, first appearing in folktales and songs, This archetype rivaled other postbellum black stereotypes, like Uncle Remus and John Henry. However, rather than being benevolent, this bad man character became a violent threat to both black and white southerners. From Joe Hardy and Stagolee to Railroad Bill and Aaron Harris, tales of great black outlaws who both challenged white authority and confronted "society's restrictions" became heroes for black southerners.[168] Utilizing these powerful black characters, white southerners illustrated the "vehement passions" of black men, spinning tales of danger and unruliness through violence with the hoe. In white stories, the bad man in acts of rage killed family members, gambled, fought over women, and challenged men both white and black.[169] Ayers argued that black folklore manifested from the southern "imagination" into "its reality," which happened on the grounds of the Beall Plantation on the night July 17th, 1891.[170]

[167] Ayers, *The Promise of the New South*, 155; Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*, 232.
[168] Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*, 420.
[169] Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*, 410-15.
[170] Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*, 232-3, and Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*, 407-8.

As reports of a "riot among negroes" on a plantation in rural Mississippi, spread throughout the nation, the white fear of a true black bad man manifested before readers. [171] The violence on the plantation made actual black men the "bad man" of folkloric proportion. Erupting over the fate of a woman, the white press sought to cast the Beall sharecroppers as "bad" harming each other with hoes, and becoming manifestations of folkloric fear. The white southerner's usage of the hoe and violence on the Beall Plantation illustrated a lack of control by manifesting the stereotype of dangerous black folkloric characters. With rumors of wounds, battered brains, and violent black men and women filtering into the popular press, that night on the Beall Plantation lived in infamy, along with the "bad man." While crafting black men as the folkloric dangerous "bad man," the riot also captured the growing fear of racial tumult in the New South, which not only placed the hoe at the center of black on black violence but also patterned violence as justifying the reclamation of social, political, and economic control. The Beall plantation riot was not a unique display in the New South.

Crafting narratives surrounding blackness, white southerners' usage of the hoe not only highlighted the uncontrollable nature of black southerners but also demonstrated the mounting racial fears. The usage of these instances of violence with hoe utilized social and labor dynamics to craft the image of the black beast, a threatening stereotype associated with lynching rhetoric. By investigating violence with the hoe, the use of the tool played an important role in understanding the fear of white southerners that manifested with the rise of lynching rhetoric. Displaying the primitivity and violence associated with the tool, the beast resurrected white fears of innate and primal desires that threatened white hegemony. These heedless crimes with the hoe became fodder for white southerners and the press, connecting the riot on the Beall Plantation and

[171] "They Fought With Hoes," *The Atlanta Constitution,* July 19, 1891.

the bad man as a broader network of violence in the New South.[172] After all, in the aftermath of the riot many newspapers suggested that more men and women could die as a result of the plantation battle. the closest paper, *The Times Picayune,* speculated two possible outcomes for the black men and women involved in the Beall Plantation riot. Thinking about the fate of these "savage" black people, *The Times* hypothesized "they [sharecroppers] will either stretch the hemp or spend a few years in the pen."[173] Forecasting the use of lynching to control unruly sharecroppers in the rural Mississippi, the paper connected violence with the hoe to pathways of white justice in the South.

Over a year after the coverage of the Beall Plantation riot percolated through the press, the small town of Shiloh, North Carolina, ignited over the murder of a young white woman, the alleged brutality of a black man and the use of a hoe. In rural Camden county, the death of Mrs. Margaret Sanderlin was plastered across tidewater Virginia and North Carolina.[174] A black man named Joe Barco was broken out of his county jail cell by an enraged mob and taken to the county courthouse lawn. After Barco's bloody clothes surfaced and a broken and bloodied hoe was found near Mrs. Sanderlin's body, the community and the local press decided there was "no doubt that he was the murderer."[175] Between the hours of nine and eleven o'clock at night on Saturday, October 1st, a mob, estimated between two and five hundred men and women from the surrounding counties formed around the Camden County courthouse. While the massive crowd appeared in the center of town, local whites believed "an ordinary hanging … was too good for him," and proceeded to

[172] Ayers, *The Promise of the New South,* 153.
[173] "West Point: Bloody Riot Between Negroes," *The Times Picayune,* July 19, 1891.
[174] It is important to note that "For Rape and Murder," *Ashville Citizen,* October 5, 1892; "He Got His Dues," *News and Observer,* October 4, 1892; "A Mob's Cruelty," *The Rushville Republican,* October 7, 1892; and, "Justice for a Fiend," *The Twin City Daily,* named her husband as Frank Sanderlin, however, based "None Available," *The Wilmington Messenger,* October 7, 1892, his name was Mark. For more on the validity of the name see, Certificate of Marriage, Mark R. Sanderlin and Margaret F. Torseky, 14 November 1889, Camden County, North Carolina.
[175] "Elizabeth City N.C.," *The Norfolk Virginian,* October 4, 1892.

repeatedly hang and torture his body. Though accounts differ on the extent of white brutality, local papers from Norfolk detailed the gruesome mutilation, castration, and torture wrought by the white mob, both during and following his lynching. The alleged consensus was so pronounced that *The Norfolk Weekly Landmark,* a prominent local newspaper, went as far as to say, "[i]f there is a single person who says that lynching in this instance was not justifiable, this writer has not heard of one."[176]

A notably modern affair, lynching was a common fate among black people who challenged the color line in the New South.[177] Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, extralegal violence reached its peak. "[S]pectacle lynching," transformed, "into a peculiarly modern ritual" that not only showcased black primitivity but also supported white southern control over blackness.[178] With public executions, hangings and shootings filling the southern press, mobs bypassed courts and became heroes in syndicated the news stories.[179] Black bodies became public property to be adjudicated by southern whites who used the brutality and lack of control, articulated through violence with the hoe, to justify the gruesome acts of lynching. Black violence with the hoe illustrated the white southerners construction of "a foe of their own creation." Though the history of lynching has been traversed by numerous historians, examining methodology, occurrence rates, relationships with modernity, and racial mythology, the hoe provides a new lens into the topic. I suggest that with ideals formed around violence and the hoe, including the unruliness and the mythological bad man are highlighted in the lynching of Joe Barco. The crime utilized the uncontrollable nature of blackness, like the Beall plantation riot, to bolster the "black beast rapist" myth. The lynching of Joe Barco highlights the dangerous nature of blackness through his usage

176 "Lynched!," *The Norfolk Weekly Landmark,* October 5, 1892.
177 Hale, *Making Whiteness,* 202.
178 Hale, *Making Whiteness,* 202.
179 Ayers, *The Promise of the New South,* 155-6.

of the hoe emphasizing a bestial sexualized understanding of black masculinity constructing white mythology.

Nestled between the borderlands of Great Dismal Swamp and the port town of Elizabeth City, Shiloh, North Carolina, sat just off North Carolina Highway 343 interwoven in a predominantly rural economy.[180] The surrounding community of Camden and Shiloh was a mosaic of farmers and farmhands scatter throughout the community. In 1880, the population of Camden county remained desperate with 18 to 29 people per square mile, with an estimated 35 to 60 percent black population, creating a fairly common rural economy in the South that relied on black labor for white capital.[181] Throughout the peak decade of violent tumult, the highest rates of lynching remained in the rural South.[182] In *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880-1930,* W. Fitzhugh Brundage explores the gruesome variations of violence between the Deep and Upper South. Brundage uncovers the effect of agriculture, and the color line had on instances of lynching in plantation districts of both regions. "[L]ynch mobs seemed to have flourished within the boundaries of the plantation South," Brundage states, "where sharecropping, monoculture agriculture, and a stark line separating white landowners and black tenants existed."[183] Attributing the traditional rural labor dynamics and violent protests with the dynamics of the plantation belt, mob violence became "part of the very rhythm of life."[184] Within these natural "rhythms" of rural

[180]"Camden County Courthouse", *National Register of Historic Places - Nomination and Inventory*. North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, November 1971, Retrieved 2014-08-01.
[181] 1880 United States Census; Census: Volume 1. Statistics of the Population of the United States, North Carolina, National Archives and Records Administration microfilm T9, n.d.
[182] For more on lynching patterns in South, see Ayers, *The Promise of the New South;* W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880-1930,* Blacks in the New World (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993); and Stewart Emory Tolnay and E. M. Beck, *A Festival of Violence: An Analysis of Southern Lynchings, 1882-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995).
[183] Brundage, *Lynching in the New South* ,159.
[184] Brundage, *Lynching in the New South,* 159.

life, agriculture and violence became companions of power utilizing economic and social control to exert control over local black people, including Joe Barco.

And on the afternoon of September 30th, white efforts to mobilize social, economic and political power began with the murder of Margaret Sanderlin. In the wee hours of the morning, Mrs. Maggie Sanderlin left her ailing brother in the house as she headed to her garden behind her home near Shiloh, North Carolina. Mrs. Margaret Sanderlin allegedly was met by Joe Barco as she leaned down to collect peas from her garden. Though the press covered the lynching of Barco in great detail, the clarity dissolved with the confused events in the pea patch. Allegations of assault, rape, and eventually murder, filled the local papers yet few agree on the actual crimes that occurred. The public conviction of Barco began as a detailed attack of Margaret Sanderlin's womanhood, which reportedly was on display in the garden.[185] Following the reported rape, Joe Barco, equipped with a hoe, proceeded to leave "three terrible gashes" on the back of Mrs. Sanderlin's head."[186] All that remained at the scene of the crime was a broken hoe with "blood marks upon it."[187] The assault, according to the press, devolved into a brutal struggle for life in rural North Carolina. The severity of Joe Barco's alleged attack of Margaret Sanderlin cultivated the role of the hoe in crafting the "black beast rapist" archetype through violence in Camden county.

With the lynching of Joe Barco, political and social upheaval rapidly changed the face of the New South. As radical racism became a mainstream, white southerners perpetuated ideas black unruliness to assert control over blackness. Radical politicians, like Senator Ben Tillman and

[185] For a larger discourse the white fear of black attack on womanhood, see Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, *Revolt against Chivalry: Jessie Daniel Ames and the Women's Campaign against Lynching* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), xx, 149-157*;* Williamson, *The Crucible of Race*, 300-310*;* Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*, 238-246.
[186] "Lynched!" *Norfolk Weekly Landmark*, October 5, 1892.
[187] "Lynched!" *Norfolk Weekly Landmark*, October 5, 1892.

Rebecca Latimer Felton, mythologized black identity. Violence, agriculture, and labor became common place in speeches about race highlighting the growing fears of black social regression.[188] Joel Williamson found that "[t]he core of the Radical mentality was the concept that Negroes, freed from the restraining influences of slavery, were rapidly 'retrogressing' toward their natural state of bestiality."[189] This retrogression became key to supporting the beast archetype founded in primitivity and manifested in violence with the hoe. Senator Ben Tillman once stated on the floor of the United State Congress, "[s]o the Poor African has become a fiend, a wild beast, seeking whom he may devour,... lurking around to see if some helpless white women can be murdered and brutalized."[190] The elaborate construction of "black beast" archetype utilized violence and narratives discussing the hoe to reflect the impulsive, brutal, and violent nature of black people, limiting black progress in the New South. In the 1880s and 90s and solution to the "Negro Problem," became learning the routines of white supremacy, and because of the mythologized black beast, white southerners believed that black people, "could only learn by force."[191]

The "black beast rapist," wrapped in the perceived vulnerability of white women and the mythology of uncontrollable black sexuality, became the white perception of blackness across the rural South. The white fear of growing black power, led to a crusade to protect southern white womanhood connecting racism with a growing understanding of sexism. In her groundbreaking

[188] For More on Ben Tillman, see Francis Butler Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman, South Carolinian*, Southern Classics Series (Columbia, S.C: University of South Carolina Press, 2002); Stephen David Kantrowitz, *Ben Tillman & the Reconstruction of White Supremacy*, The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); For more on Rebecca Latimer Felton, see Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920*, Gender & American Culture (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); LeeAnn Whites, *Gender Matters: Civil War, Reconstruction, and the Making of the New South* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); and Crystal Nicole Feimster, *Southern Horrors: Women and the Politics of Rape and Lynching* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 2009); Williamson, *The Crucible of Race*, 134-135.
[189] Williamson, *The Crucible of Race*, 111.
[190] Williamson, *The Crucible of Race*, 135.
[191] Williamson, *The Crucible of Race*, 183.

work *Revolt Against Chivalry,* Jacquelyn Dowd Hall argues that the "racism that drove white men to lynch black men cannot be understood apart from sexism."[192] The New South illustrated the discord between the white understandings of blackness. Hall argues that ideas of black people transitioned from an " inferior child" and polite caricature such as Uncle Remus in "to [an] aggressive and dangerous animal" erected by the carnal fears of white men.[193] White conceptions of the black man as an animal and a threat to white women supported the creation of a larger rapist myth that infiltrated the psyche of southerners.

Examining black stereotypes throughout American history, George Fredrickson's *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914,* displays the deep roots of the white construction of blackness.[194] The depth of racial construction in the New South, for Fredrickson, was the rise of "Southern Negrophobia," among white men and women.[195] As Fredrickson found, the growing "Southern negrophobia" illustrated the fabrication of white ideas of blackness, displaying them as unruly and dangerous. In *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation,* Williamson argues that white men created the racist myth of the "black beast rapist" to counteract the assumed lack of sexual, political, and social power white southern men held. The "mythical being" crafted in the white imagination, served white southerners as a brutal and ugly reminder of white civility.[196] Further explored in Glenda Gilmore's *Gender and Jim Crow,* the root of white intellectual efforts for white supremacy relied on sexual fears to "attempt to defame black men."[197] Though the "beast" archetype has been explored throughout the interracial dynamics of the New South, the hoe

[192] Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry*, xx.
[193] Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry*, 133; Williamson, *The Crucible of Race* , 304-305.
[194] George Marsh Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817 – 1914* (New York Harper & Row, 1971).
[195] Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind,* 256.
[196] Williamson, *The Crucible of Race,* 306-310.
[197] Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow,* 88-90.

provides insight into how material aided in crafting the danger and uncontrollable nature of blackness utilized in racist mythology.

In the case of Joe Barco, the southern press utilized the hoe to highlight brutish and fiendish behavior in an assault against the "frail" natured white woman.[198] When describing Joe Barco, his alleged use of the hoe, and rumored other crimes, the local press emphasized the depravity of the attack. From descriptions of massive size and dangerous propensity for violence to postmortem accusations of additional assaults, Joe Barco became the beast that white men across the South feared. In comparison, the press described Mrs. Sanderlin as "small frail lady" that was both well connected and younger than first believed. Utilizing the age and size of the victim the newspaper created a meek victim at the hands of the heavily manufactured beast of the white imagination. [199] Though his unruly violence was certainly a topic of vehement debate, the rape of Mrs. Sanderlin became a sticking point to justify the brutal and savage lynching of Joe Barco. Rape became "folk pornography," not only serving as crude and brutal cultural currency to justify extra-legal violence but also creating mythology that primitivized blackness in the New South.[200] The press crafted a brutal image of Barco as a hoe wielding murderer, who in all accounts committed the dastardly deed with little to no motive, relying on an uncontrollable lust to explain the motivation for the attack.[201] Cultivated in news reports of violence and fictitious narratives with the hoe, the construction of the brute relied on stereotypes of uncontrollable blackness.

Subsequent, crimes that used the hoe followed a similar pattern, which emphasized unruly blackness as part of constructing the mythologized beast of the New South. In December of 1880, Ada Kennedy was brutally murdered and decapitated by a hoe in her backyard in Clarendon, South

198 "Lynched!," *Norfolk Weekly Landmark*, October 5, 1892.
199 "Lynched!."
200 Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry*, 150.
201 Ayers, *The Promise of the New South*, 158.

Carolina.[202] Allegedly, two black men, Joe Barnes and Vance Brandt, and one black woman, Julia Brandt, came onto Mrs. Kennedy's property equipped with hoes from the backyard and struck her repeatedly, until she was lifeless on her lawn. Described as an "intelligent and refined and highly respected by all who knew her," Mrs. Kennedy reflected the virtue of white womanhood, like many lynching cases evoked in the New South. From the pedestal, white womanhood was under attack by the myth of the black beast.[203] *The Charlotte Chronicler* stated that "at the time of the murder was enceinte with twins," and her vulnerable condition amplified the depravity of crime. [204] The killers became monstrous not only for killing the pregnant white woman but also the brutal method of the crime, beheading the victim. Extending the bestial behavior, one paper alleged that after the hitting Mrs. Kennedy, she pled for her life, and one of the men replied, "'I'se been waiting to kill you for a long time'"[205] The killers became calculated and vengeful, attacking an innocent white women and embodying the dangerous black beast that terrorized the minds of white southerners. Though there were no accusation of rape, as in the lynching of Joe Barco, the violent aftermath proved the danger of black beast and justified for white southerners, "the trio … dangling in the air."[206]

From the Beall Plantation to the alleged crimes of Joe Barco, the hoe assisted in cultivating ideas of primitivity, violence, and danger that supported white southerners growing fear of racial tumult. The creation of "a foe" utilized materials, the press, and narrative to support the construction of the black beast, the white man's unruly enemy. [207] When building the beast, the

[202] "Vengeance Swift and Sure," *The Intelligencer*, December 16, 1880.
[203] "Vengeance Swift and Sure"; For more on the studies of white southern womanhood, see Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930*, 25th Anniversary Edition (Charlottesville, Virginia: The University Press, 1995); Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow* ; LeeAnn Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1890* (University of Georgia Press, 2000).
[204] "The Murderers of a Woman," *The Charlotte Observer*, December 12, 1880.
[205] "Vengeance Swift and Sure."
[206] "Vengeance Swift and Sure."
[207] Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*, 243.

hoe became a viable tool to illustrate both a break from traditional labor roles and a challenge to white authority in the New South. The hoe, a primitive and retrogressive tool in the progressive New South, both reflected the devolution of blackness and focused the depravity of violence, curated by white radical racists. Though white stereotypes were not solely constructed through violence with the hoe, the violence distinguished the uncontrollable nature of blackness. Displays of the unruliness of postbellum black people formed both the “bad man” to the” beast,” founded in folkloric exaggeration, who materialized for white southerners threatening the South. Implementing the primitivity bound with the hoe, the violence depicted between black sharecroppers on the Beall Plantation and used in the murder of Margaret Sanderlin assisted in mythologizing blackness.

"Blacks for the Land, Whites for the Factories"[208]**:**

Black Tools, White Progress, and Hoeing out a Biracial Cotton Mill World

On January 14th, 1882, Thomas Nast's "The Queen of Industry, Or, The New South," filled the cover of *Harper's Weekly,*a popular nineteenth century periodical.[209] The drawing highlighted the transformation of southern economic and industrial prosperity before and after the Civil War. Distinguishing the reign of two southern monarchs, King Cotton and the Queen of Industry, Nast displayed the explicit material, economic, and cultural progression of the South. Immediately after secession, King Cotton perched upon the throne of southern agriculture is inundated with bales of cotton. Underneath his foot, relaxing on the hefty bales, lies enslaved labor, which King Cotton crushes under his weight. The two drawings, divided by the smoke of industry from the factories of the urbanizing New South city, illustrate a distinctive break from the rule of King Cotton. In this new South, Columbia, who regally wears her crown adorned with cotton blossoms, stands ready at the loom where she earns her title as the Queen of Industry. However, just beyond the confines of the factory, stands the backbone of cotton production: black labor. As illustrated in the cartoon, the transition was considered minute for the black southerners. Nast's image not only excluded blackness from the privileges of industry but also highlighted southern whites' place within cotton mills. The queen of industry guarded the gate of the modernizing South, opening

[208] Williamson, *The Crucible of Race*, 440.

[209] For more on Thomas Nast, see Albert Bigelow Paine, *Th. Nast, His Period and His Pictures* (Princeton: Pyne Press, 1974); Prettyman, Gib. "Harper's "Weekly" and the Spectacle of Industrialization." American Periodicals 11 (2001): 24-48. Accessed February 29, 2020; Fiona Deans Halloran, *Thomas Nast: The Father of Modern Political Cartoons* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012); Fore more on the History of Political Cartoons see, Stephen Hess and Sandy Northrop, *Drawn & Quartered: The History of American Political Cartoons* (Montgomery, Ala: Elliott & Clark Pub, 1996); Donald Dewey, *The Art of Ill Will: The Story of American Political Cartoons* (New York: New York University Press, 2007); Victor S. Navasky, *The Art of Controversy: Political Cartoons and Their Enduring Power* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013).

doors for whiteness and removing blackness from the purview of her reign over progress, leaving black people "for the land" as whites entered "the factories." [210]

Figure 6: "The Queen of Industry, Or, The New South" demonstrated both the past and future of the southern socio-economic and cultural life.[211]

[210] Williamson, *The Crucible of Race*, 440; Thomas Nast, Artist, "The Queen of Industry, or the New South," Photograph, *Harper's Weekly,* January 14, 1882, *Library of Congress.*
[211] Nast, "The Queen of Industry, or the New South."

Nast's "The Queen of Industry" captures the stark cultural and economic transformation of the New South. First, the illustration demonstrates the complex nature of progress in the South. In this carefully curated version of the New South, whites subtly disrupted the continuity of the progressive narrative. The print materializes the growing role that race played in forming an industrial working-class, demarcating those who could and could not join white southerners visions of progress.[212] Constructing a wall between the future of the South and the black labor that supported it, the caricature of the era illustrates the hopes for a segregated industrial future and the formation of a biracial workforce. With race as the foundation of the New South, the industrial growth of the southern white working-class coincided with the reaffirmation of southern race, class, and gender hierarchies.[213] The wall, constructed by southern elites and New South boosters, became a line dividing the progress of the New South, hoping to remove black men and women who picked, hoed, and baled cotton from the cotton mill floor. The security of the cotton mill permitted poor white farmers and other industrious white laborers into the future of the South. Through two distinct narratives, the illustration captures the transition of southern cotton culture from the reign of King Cotton to the coronation of the Queen of Industry, and these two monarchs agreed on one thing, the continuity of black labor. [214]

By placing black tenant farmers and croppers outside of the doors of 'industry,' the caricature overtly displays the continuity of the black condition, intended to support rather than play an active role in the future of the South. As W.E.B. DuBois noted, the hoe became a material

[212] Michelle Brattain, *The Politics of Whiteness: Race, Workers, and Culture in the Modern South*, Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2001), 6.
[213] For more on the support of southern hierarchies, see Allen Tullos, *Habits of Industry: White Culture and the Transformation of the Carolina Piedmont*, The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World* (New York; London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1989); Glenda Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow;* and Stephen A. Berrey, *The Jim Crow Routine.*
[214] For more on the visual culture of the Queen of Industry, see Prince, *Stories of the South*, 127-8.

representation of labor between slavery, emancipation, and sharecropping, demonstrating the continuity of white supremacy. In *The Souls of Black Folks,* Du Bois found that " after the first flush of freedom wore off, and his true helplessness dawned on the freedman, he came back and picked up the hoe, and old master still doled his bacon and meal," suggesting both the continuity of labor and the fate of black life trapped under the illusion of free labor.[215] Both black and, in some regions of the south, poor white sharecroppers originally hoped for a free labor negotiation. However, they soon faced the permanency of their economic position. Sharecropping defined agricultural opportunities in the New South, separating the landless poor from wealthy planters and middle-class landowners. Profiting off hiring cheap, exploitable, and in many cases, newly freed labor, planters trapped generations of sharecroppers in the coercive crop lien system.[216] Commonly sent to hoe, pick, and till cotton fields, overwhelmingly black sharecroppers filled the fields, where free labor guised by choice, shaped the southern agriculture. Removing these actors from the industrial vision of the era further emphasized an implied lack of black material, social, and cultural progress.

Though "The Queen of Industry," displayed the continuity of black labor in the agricultural fields of the New South, both imagined and lived experiences were notably different for black southerners. With the appeal of growing southern cities in the 1880s, some rural black southerners left the plantation for industrial hubs, like Birmingham and Atlanta. From coal mines to steel mills, through cotton mills and railroads, black people filled a variety of roles in southern industry. One author found that "[t]he Negro in Birmingham fills the industrial position which elsewhere in great

[215] Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 89.
[216] For more on southern sharecropping, see Rosengarten, *All God's Dangers, the Life of Nate Shaw*; Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877--1913*, 206-208 ; Fite, *Cotton Fields No More*; Hall, *Like a Family*, 6-8 ; Ayers, 195-202; Edward Cary Royce, *The Origins of Southern Sharecropping: Labor and Social Change* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993).

manufacturing towns is filled by a low class of whites."[217] Though in reality black southerners entered industrial spaces, in some industries, the nature of their work differed greatly from poor whites in the South.[218] Black laborers moved cotton bales, mined for iron ore, and remained excluded from machining roles in coal mines, leading to unskilled labor in the growing industrial South to be described as "nigger work."[219] While this distinction removed blacks from an roles of industrial power , black unskilled laborers did not lose agency, enacting change through migration, the Knights of Labor and other unions, and sheer number of workers.[220] With jobs that required, brutal amounts of physical labor, extreme health risks, and danger, at times, black workers painfully and importantly shaped southern industrial progress. However, as seen in Nast's "The Queen of Industry or the New South", photographs, journals, and other cultural sources crafted by elite southerners managed depictions of black people in industrial spaces. In the cartoon, cotton fields became an imagined future for black southerners, which sought to both primitivize blackness and remove black people from white visions of industrial progress.

Within the progress of the industrial South, King Cotton and the Queen of Industry not only held cultural, economic, and social power but also became material actors that shaped industrial trends and the trajectory of the region. Through popular culture, cotton transcended a

[217] John W. DuBose, ed., *The Mineral Wealth of Alabama and Birmingham* (Birmingham, 1886), 109; from Robert J. Norrell, "Caste in Steel: Jim Crow Careers in Birmingham, Alabama," *The Journal of American History* 73, no. 3 (1986): 671.

[218] It is important to note that in the Birmingham district black miners and white miners performed similar tasks within the mine. Black miners even at time comprised a majority of the labor force, which allowed them to challenge the "white monopoly over skilled labor;" however, when leaving the mines the color line solidified, for more, see Letwin, *The Challenge of Interracial Unionism* ; and Robert H. Woodrum, "*Everybody Was Black down There":Race and Industrial Change in the Alabama Coalfields*, Politics and Culture in the Twentieth-Century South (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2007).

[219] For More on black labor, see Henry M. McKiven, *Iron and Steel: Class, Race, and Community in Birmingham, Alabama, 1875-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 41-53; Woodrum, "*Everybody Was Black down There,"*11-23; Hall, *Like a Family*, 66; Bryant Simon , *A Fabric of Defeat: The Politics of South Carolina Millhands, 1910-1948* (United States: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 23; Quote, McKiven, *Iron and Steele,* 41.

[220] Letwin, *The Challenge of Interracial Unionism*, 55-88; Woodrum, "*Everybody Was Black down There*," 12, 20.

purely material status and became an imagined actor that contributed to ideas of industrial and agricultural prosperity. With characters like King Cotton and The Queen of Industry, the usage of cotton exemplified the economic transition, the evolution of labor, and helped to manage perceptions of progress in the New South. The power endowed to cotton transformed southern culture, emphasizing the all-consuming nature of the plantation belt staple. Cotton became more than just the past, present, and future of southern life, rather the material aided in segregation, agricultural development, urbanization, and industrial growth.[221] Agricultural journals, southern newspapers, and national periodicals, each created and taught the power of the commodity in the region, through drawings, photographs, tales of grandeur, and detailed accounts of cottons growing influence. The social and economic power associated with cotton transformed the boll's fibers into southern cultural tender. In one illustration, Nast not only captured the stark transition between the Old and New South but also demonstrated the role of cotton as a material actor in the industrializing the South. The queen of industry, undergoing her coronation, notably marks the changing habits of industry, readied at the loom and white as snow, her place in the factory illustrated elite hopes for the New South.

The whirring of the cotton mill and the thudding of the hoe served as the percussion of the New South. The humming of the looms and the rhythmic beating of the hoes against the clods of soil in the cotton fields became two distinct noises of industry, forming new relationships with cotton. The two notes worked in harmony, creating an economy that relied on modernizing agriculture and industry to refute any ideals of backwardness in the region.[222] However, while battling national perceptions of lagging industrial progress, the clangs of the hoe created discord between the aspirations of cotton mill owners and the required labor of those creating the cotton

[221] Fite, *Cotton Fields No More*, 47; Goldfield, *Cotton Fields and Skyscrapers*, 90-92.
[222] Ring, *The Problem South,* 136.

mill world. This dissonance formed two lived experiences of cotton culture. While one served as a beacon of industrial progress, the other became as a primitive a reminder of the South's agrarian roots. Divided both by arduous amounts of labor and the stage of cotton production, the sounds clarified the social, economic, and labor status of the two industrial actors. As cotton and textile mill scholar, Michelle Brattain, noted in *The Politics of Whiteness, "*whiteness in the South became something that largely determined the ability to become part of the industrial working class."[223] By excluding blackness from these new conceptions of prosperity, the usage of the hoe continued to communicate racial and labor distinctions in the South. Those hoeing cotton plants and unloading bales form the gin and those producing cotton commodities, divided along the color line, both supported the queen of industry .

While distinguishing these two classes of workers, fear of political dissent blistered across the South, including tension between both the populist agrarian revolt and Bourbon plantation elite and up-country whites. Following the emancipation of African Americans and the end of Reconstruction, the 1880s and 90s were a turbulent period coined by a rise of political discord, racial violence, and industrialization in the South. Trapped between agrarian routines and efforts at urbanization, the farmers alliance and rural protest resisted planters power in the New South, through interracial coalition building. From the piedmont of North Carolina to the Upcountry Georgia, throughout Alabama and into tidal water Virginia, populism flourished in the South. With the growing coercion of the sharecropping system, the indebtedness of tenant farmers pushed political action to change the economic realities for black and white southerners. Populism became a moment for both alternative version of modernity and interracial solidarity between newly freed people and poor whites. Some scholars argue, the coalitions became a farm labor movement in the

[223] Brattain, *The Politics of Whiteness*,6.

South, fighting for control over interracial labor. [224] Though the alliance between agrarian white and black farmers faded, blacks continued to mobilize ideas of economic integrity to continue the pursuit of civil rights.[225] At the same time, planter elites and upcountry southerners struggled over labor and disputed the political and social vision of the South. Following the Bourbon elites and transitions to radical racial politician, race became an all-consuming political issue introducing powerful racist politician, such as, Rebecca Latimer Felton, Cole Bease and Benjamin Tillman. Amid the turbulent, political and social changes of the South, industry and agriculture also changes. Mobilized through the cultural usage of the hoe in New South, southern elites, newspapers, and agricultural journals divide labor for the land and the factories along the line of race.

Displaying blackness in the cotton field, southern whites created a unique history with a hoe portrayed black people as inclined for arduous labor. However, the image also systematically crafted industrial spaces to remain noticeably white, even though black people remained active in coal mines, timber camps, and steel factories.[226] This type of prejudice became part of a larger debate over space for blackness in the New South and built parameters of inclusivity assuring clear roles for black and poor white workers. Distinguishing industrial labor from the farm work, the white southerners sought to catapult white people into the cotton mill and to primitivize the life and labor of the black sharecroppers, Utilizing the hoe and the act of hoeing to form ideas of

[224] For more on Populism and in the South, see C. Vann Woodward, *Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel*, New York: Macmillan, 1938; Gerald H. Gaither, *Blacks and the Populist Movement: Ballots and Bigotry in the New South*, Rev. ed (Tuscaloosa, Ala: University of Alabama Press, 2005); Steven Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890*, Updated ed (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Hild, *Greenbackers, Knights of Labor, and Populists: Farmer-Labor Insurgency in the Late-Nineteenth-Century South* ; Charles Postel, *The Populist Vision* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2009), and Omar H Ali, *In the Lion's Mouth: Black Populism in the New South, 1886-1900.* (Jackson: Univ Pr Of Mississippi, 2012).
[225] For more on the continuity of black populist fervor, see Gaither, *Blacks and the Populist Movement: Ballots and Bigotry in the New South*; and Ali, *In the Lion's Mouth: Black Populism in the New South, 1886-1900.*
[226] Brattain, *The Politics of Whiteness*,6.

progress, the segregation of cotton mill labor force illustrated implementation of ideas of black primitivity within southern labor. Black sharecroppers, illustrated as fit for hoeing cotton, soon became indecent for public work, while southern democrats urged poor whites to leave the hoe behind and enter the booming public sector. The cultural usage of the hoe demonstrated the ability to divide culture in the New South. Subsequently, as looming and industrialization became white and hoeing cotton became black, southerners formed progress in the New South. The hoe became a black tool that marred the progress of whites, and fit in perfectly into the "graceful" hands of black hoers.[227] With the cotton crown on a new head, planters and poor whites were united, by whiteness. Within the factory, whites stood ready at the loom to produce this imagined southern progress. Forming the foundation biracial society, white supremacists utilized dialogues surrounding the hoe to keep black laborers in rural areas hoeing cotton and welcome whites into the cotton mill.

Keeping blackness in the cotton fields of the New South required the construction of a bond between black life, labor, and the hoe. In the *North Carolina Herald,* the debate over the fate of the "negro" became about "[w]hat he (the black man) is fit for and what he is not." Rather than solely debating the fitness of black people for political life or fear of interracialism-- a narrative which entered public discourse with the growing Populist movement--the fate of black labor had been decided. Illustrating a firm stance on black labor, *The Herald* stated, "[t]he place for the negro is as laborer for the white man, who can carry him over the seasons of the year when there is nothing coming in."[228] By portraying black men as machines of white prosperity the paper placed black labor back under the control of whites similar to enslavement.[229] This division of labor

[227] "None Available." *Yorkville Enquirer,* June 2, 1905.
[228] "The Negro: What He is Fit For and What He is Not." *North Carolina Herald,* January 14, 1886.
[229]DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folks;* William E. Burghardt Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America: 1860 - 1880* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1998).

continued as separate but equal dominated racial issues in the South. In "The South and the Negro: II. The Confusion of Tongues," a study of racial tensions in the New South, a former enslaver named 'Mistah George' stated, "' I believe the negro is my brother, but an inferior brother; I love him, but when he calls I tell him to go round to the back door. I love him in the kitchen and the co'nfield.'" [230] As whites continued to clearly place blackness in the cotton and corn fields of the New South, *The Abbeville Press and Banner* went as far as to state,"[t]here is nothing that will equal a hoe in the hands of a negro to hoe cotton."[231]

Justifying the permanent position of black hoe hands, predestined by white cultural elites to labor with the primitive hoe, whites relegated blackness to the cotton fields and transformed hoeing cotton into a traditional black artform. In York, South Carolina, the *Yorkville Enquirer* covered a plethora of community events detailing everyday life for rural southerners, from local court cases to political debates. The "Local Affairs" column pondered over the future of agriculture, forecasted cotton futures and detailed growing opinions on the state of black labor, cotton production and the hoe in both the community and the region.[232] On June 2, 1905, below the debates over fire control and a rainy weather forecast, a local man named John Latta lamented about the "passing of the old time hoe hand." This death was not directed at one hoe hand, but in regard to the labor that they provided to the New South. Latta stated, "'[y]ou don't see them very often now -- negroes who can hoe cotton like the old timers.'" The title "old timers" suggested that the skills were learned, practiced, and violently enforced during slavery. For Latta and, as he suggested other farmers, the loss this prized producer would disrupt the entire fabric of the southern

[230] Ernest H. Abbott. "The South and the Negro: II. The Confusion of Tongues." *The Outlook* (New York) 28 May 1904, 226.
[231] "In Greenwood's Gates," *The Abbeville Press and Banner,* April 29, 1896.
[232] "None Available." *Yorkville Enquirer,* June 2, 1905.

economy. However, rather than simply noting racist ideas of blackness, Latta highlighted transformation from the generational labor of enslavement into the "fine art" of the New South. [233]

The loss of the "old time hoer" highlighted the white creation of a unique, required, and specifically black skill. Hoeing cotton went from a necessary task for any cotton farmer to a black art form fit for black people across the South. From fictitious black characters laboring in cotton fields to suggesting that the hoeing was a traditional black art, the cotton South transformed the tasks required of cheap labor into black skills. Latta contends that, "'[t]here would be more or less violence maybe in the application of the term 'graceful' to cotton hoeing; but I have seen hands whose work was suggestive of that very term.'" The grace of hoeing cotton, for Latta, rested in the "'brisk confident lick" of an expert hoer, who "cleaned" the weeds left from their labor. The incessant and unusual fascination with the "confident licks" of the hoeman demonstrate the spectacle that black labor possessed for the white observer. Not only was there something unique to old time hoers who skillfully hoed cotton but also an innate value in the generational labor learned under the conditions of slavery. And when discussing the death of this art, the *Enquirer* stated, "'[n]ow, less attention is paid to the matter, and hoeing as a fine art seems to have had its day.'"[234] The interview with Latta, not only asserted the role black hands hoeing cotton, but also constructed hoeing as a pseudo folk art. It was not just in name a "fine art", hoeing became a black created, curated and produced style. By making race a contributing factor to skilled and unskilled labor, southern white elites emphasized the bond between the hoe and black labor, hoping to remove black people from ideas of industrial change.

[233] "None Available,", June 2, 1905.
[234] "None Available," June 2, 1905.

Beyond the artisanal qualities of hoeing cotton, the mythology surrounding the hoe also aided in binding blackness with the invention of the hoe. In 1888, "How Came the Hoe There?" filtered throughout southern newspapers animating how the hoe came into existence on farms across the South. Hypothesizing the origins of the hoe, *The Southern Herald* used stories of wood harvested off dismantled ships on coastal Florida to first explain the sudden advent of the tool. However, a more compelling theory illuminated the role that enslaved people played in forming the plantation hoe. "Traditions says," the *Herald* stated, "that in early days negroes were wont to fold up that tender limbs of the sapling oak and pass them through the eye of their hoes." This method allowed the tree to wedge itself through the eye of the metal hoe hevel and placed black intuition at the center of the hoe's development. However, another version found the " heedless negro left his handless hoe under the huge oak," allowing a seed to grow through the eye, leaving nature to allegedly "do the work for the lazy slave." This narrative highlighted the crafted relationship between the hoe and blackness in the postbellum South. The article not only displayed the important role that enslaved people played in creating the agricultural implement, but also subtly suggested the extension of this relationship into the 1880s. Hoeing cotton not only became a fine art but also inextricably bound with black life and labor through the origin story of the hoe. Tying black labor with the hoe, white southerners illustrated a vision of the proper place of blackness in the New South. Becoming part of a lost art form and long history that bound hard labor and skill, white culture suggested that black people remained on the land. Mythologizing the origin of the hoe, the story demonstrated the lengths that whites took to create folklore binding black people with spaces designated for agriculture.[235]

[235]"How Came the Hoe There?" *The Southern Herald,* November 10, 1888.

With black people culturally placed back on the land laboring with the hoe, and the fear of continued populist unity between sharecroppers motivated a distinctive break between blacks and poor whites. As southern progressive Democrats regained power, agriculture journals and newspapers sought to keep whites away from the hoe in an effort to progress agriculture and the white race. Leaving the hoe behind, meant that poor whites and farmers could enter the New South through either modernizing agriculture or entering growing industrial centers.[236] In particular agricultural journals and newspapers chagrined at the overuse of the hoe and the lack of necessitous labor that hoeing required of honorable white farmers. In "Don't Depend on the Hoe," *The Progressive Farmer* sought to discourage a reliance on the hoe and highlight the profitability of leaving the hoe behind. *The Progressive Farmer* stated, "[t]he hoe is too costly an implement to be depended upon, for it takes a man, and you will never need a hoe in the field."[237] The journals hoped that soon the hoe would become an outdated instrument required in only rare cases for farmers of a certain status and no longer needed to support southern agriculture. The tool, coined as "a hard master," demanded the overexertion of labor, while urbanization, and industrialization offered new opportunities. Comparing the hoe to a master illustrated not only the distinctive relationship that the tool had with labor but also distinguished the hoe's relationship with the primitive preindustrial antebellum era. However, unlike black workers, who were suited for this primitive labor, the press found white farmers unfit for hoeing cotton and that by accepting industrial or agricultural progress, whites could better support the New South.[238]

Hoping to suggest the obsolete nature of the hoe, *The Progressive Farmer* cautioned southerner farmers that the hoe would lead to meaningless and undignified lives in the New South.

[236] Braittian, *The Politics of Whiteness*, 6
[237] W.F. Massey, "Don't Depend on the Hoe." *The Baldwin Times,* March 9, 1911.
[238] "The Hoe a Hard Master," *The Progressive Farmer,* January 28, 1911.

The newspaper called for white farmers to "dignify the farm." *The Progressive Farmer* chastised farmers for only aspiring to hoe cotton and remain in a remedial level of agriculture. Dramatically, the paper stated, "[i]f life is simply and only matter of hoeing cotton, eating fat meat and soggy bread, and of going to bed, then let's commit harikari at once and end the matter. It were better."[239] *The Progressive Farmer,* a beacon of southern agriculture and rural life, begged farmers who thought farming was about over laboring and toiling in the soil to kill themselves rather than retard southern agriculture with the hoe. After all, "[t]he man who does not lift his life above the clods and out of the furrows does not care how he lives," suggesting that those white farmers who hoed out cotton fields and prepared rice patties for cultivation remained abstinent to southern agricultural progress.[240] The hoe had a lack of dignity on farms in the New South. Those white farmers who failed to meet the demand of progress, faced the backwardness associated with "the problem South" in national discourse.[241] However, by dignifying the farm and leaving the hoe behind, whites could meet the "status quo of progress."[242]

The dignity of the farm became associated with the respect and perpetuity of southern agriculture and encouraged white farmers to stop hoeing to keep generational farms and wealth in southern agriculture. Hoeing cotton became a scapegoat for southern sons of farmers, flocking to rising urban centers.[243] In "The Slavery of the Hoe", Rowland Black proclaimed, "[t]he hoe has driven more boys from the farm and made 'counter jumpers' out of promising young men, than any other one cause. In many cases it is an implement of torture."[244] This "torture" that pushed young men from the farm also threated to open land for black sharecroppers to acquire land.

[239] ""Dignify the Farm." *The Progressive Farmer,* August 4, 1903.
[240] "Dignify the Farm."
[241] Ring, *The Problem South,* 136-7.
[242] Prince, *Stories of the South,* 104.
[243] Goldfield, *Cotton Fields and Skyscrapers*; Hanchett, *Sorting out the New South City*, 53.
[244] Rowland Black, "The Slavery of the Hoe," *Yorkville Enquirer*, September 27, 1893.

Keeping boys and young men invested in owning and operating southern plantations importantly kept black people from owning farmland. By suggesting that the hoe was not the proper tool to develop the soil of the New South, whites illustrated the reliance of southern farmers on black sharecroppers. This divisions of labor remained present in "Dignify the Farm," which called for farmers not to, " give up this beautiful country to the negro cropper," and reminded farmers plantation-based agriculture was the key to keeping black people on the land and not owing it. Leaving behind the hoe and keeping families in the rural South, for white southerners, illustrated what a "great" and white "future the South would have."[245]

However, even with the opportunity to leave the hoe behind for advancement in agriculture, some feared the damage of the hoe had been done. These fears of cultural backwardness manifested with racial degradation, suggesting that the hoe had transformed men. Stories of biblical proportions crafted images of men enslaved by the hoe stuck in primitive agricultural routines, not because of racial qualification, but ignorance. In 1908, *The Progressive Farmer* chronicled " The Parable of the Slave of the Hoe." A story of an ignorant farmer or "Or the Man who Kept His Foot on the First Rung of the Ladder", and the spirit of progress, who travelled the South depicting a future without the hoe. The origin story of the slave of the hoe clearly constructs a man tarnished by unnecessary labor and marked physically as a person trapped in the past. While building the slave of the hoe, *The Progressive Farmer* stated:

> The slave of the hoe was born of a noble race, but from his ancestors inherited a bad habit. This made him go into the burning sun day after day and do dirty work that was unnecessary, work that could be replaced by something less irksome. He mortified the flesh of his own body and that of his children with the needless wielding of hoes. [246]

[245] "Dignify the Farm."
[246] "The Parable of the Slave and the Hoe," *The Progressive Farmer*, February 27, 1908.

The agricultural journal illustrated the visual effect of this traitorous affair, leaving a man of a "noble race" to "mortify" not only his flesh but also those of future generations left to hoe cotton fields. This transformation provided a pseudo-racial distinction of the hoer not only making them physically distinguishable but also suggesting that self-imposed, ignorance created the "slave of the hoe." This type racial rhetoric was common when discussing the role of poor whites in the South. In *The Problem South,* Natalie Ring found that a fear of the "degenerate white race moving backward toward a state of barbarism rather than forward toward a state of civilization," forced southern elites to distinguish racial separation. I suggest that the hoe became a material manifestation of this fear, which "muted distinctions between black and white and challenged the fiction embodied in whites' efforts to keep the races separated socially."[247] Afterall the regression of poor whites into "barbarism" could be redeemed by leaving the hoe behind, yet the same could not be said about the assumed primitivity of black agricultural labor. However, importantly, the race of the slave of the hoe was no less white just marred by labor associated with black men in the New South.

After constructing the central character, the story continued on an epic journey across the South to show the slave others who, "had broken away from the thraldom of the hoe." The spirit promised to show the "slave of the hoe," how "'[i]n this land of sunshine and cotton horses and mules can do work that will let the hoe and hoer rest with profit.'"[248] However, the value of the hoe in the progression of agricultural tools is not discounted, the *Progressive Farmer* stated, "[the hoe] help[ed] change man from a savage to a civilized being; it has done great good for the race; but man has progressed since then and now should drive work beasts to draw tools that accomplish

[247] Ring, *The Problem South,* 136-7.
[248] "The Parable of the Slave and the Hoe."

more."[249] The hoe not only served as a civilizing tool but also withheld progress of those who continued to use it. The transition from "savage to a civilized being" followed the discourse surrounding poor whites, who in the eyes of the planter class after some conditioning joined the white race.[250] The kindly spirit, served as prototype of the savior, who came down to lift the slave of the hoe beyond his toil. By showing him the error in his labor, the spirit highlighted the possibility for mechanized agriculture in the future of the South and the accessibility of progress for white southerners. Though the hoe had progressed southern life, this moment of progress for southern farmers moved toward mechanization.

Following the recognition of ignorance by the slave of the hoe, the story prompted the reader to "[s]tick to the hoe as a heritage from the past, one that is to be used to-day, but one that should be used less than formerly." The fable clearly highlighted the plight of the hoe and placed hoe men and women beneath farmers and networks of industry, distinguishing their race and ignorance as contributing factors to using the hoe. The hoe was simply not up to par with the progress in the New South "its gait is too slow for a constant traveling companion in the great race of life." Because the slave of the hoe was "born of a noble race," he was able to surpass the hoe and move into a more modern agricultural and industrial life. The story ended with a visit to the future, where they met the man formerly named the slave of the hoe now, "perched on a riding cultivator, and his most serious problem was to get his cotton picked."[251] Arguing for the white farmer to leave the hoe behind and enter both the future of agriculture and the industrial South, southerners assured that for white farmers the hoe would become obsolete. However, because of the price of modernizing the farm, leaving the hoe behind did not keep many poor whites in

[249] "The Parable of the Slave and the Hoe."
[250] "The Parable of the Slave and the Hoe."
[251] "The Parable of the Slave and the Hoe."

southern agriculture. And the lure of cities like Charlotte, Hattiesburg, Birmingham, and Durham, provided a space for poor southern farmers to easily enter the New South.[252]

Efforts to corral poor whites into the urbanizing New South, differed greatly from labor relations between poor whites and plantation elites in the antebellum South. Prior to the Civil War, poor white and enslaved black southerners had formed a contentious relationship.[253] Poor whites commonly disenfranchised and in direct competition with enslaved laborers struggled under the planter-based economy of the Old South. Located along the peripheries of plantations and pushed into the foothills of the Appalachian mountains, poor whites scraped by competing with enslaved workers for jobs as laborers, mechanics, craftsmen, and even millhands.[254] From 1816 to 1838, a majority of mills were powered by enslaved labor across the South. Scattered across the antebellum South, cotton mills lined rivers. Each mill created small regional urban centers like Columbia, South Carolina, Macon, Georgia, and Prattville, Alabama, devoted to the collection, manufacturing, and production of cotton. In the antebellum south, black laborers hoed, picked and spun cotton for white upper-class profit.[255] As the Civil War progressed across the South and the slave society uprooted the fabric of southern social, economic and political life, poor whites benefited from the emergence of a free labor society. After all, one scholar noted "it was the poor white man who was freed by the war, not the Negroes."[256] "Following the emancipation of African

[252] For more on the urbanizing New South, see Goldfield, *Cotton Fields and Skyscrapers;* Hanchett, *Sorting out the New South City;* and William Sturkey, *Hattiesburg: An American City in Black and White*, Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2019.

[253]For more on Antebellum Poor Whites, see Charles C. Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South: Tenants and Laborers in Central North Carolina and Northeast Mississippi*, (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 1996); Jeff Forret, *Race Relations at the Margins: Slaves and Poor Whites in the Antebellum Southern Countryside* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010); and Keri Leigh Merritt, *Masterless Men: Poor Whites and Slavery in the Antebellum South*, Cambridge Study on the American South (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press), 2017.

[254] Merritt, *Masterless Men*, 88-89.

[255] Norris W. Preyer "The Historian, the Slave, and the Ante-Bellum Textile Industry," *The Journal of Negro History*, 46.2 (1961), 69-71, 73.

[256] Merritt, *Masterless Men*, 37; from Waters McIntosh, *American Slave*, Vol. 2(AR), Part 5, 20.

Americans," Keri Leigh Merritt found, "poor whites were finally brought into the system of white privilege albeit at the bottom."[257] Still requiring cheap labor, southern Democrats sought to take poor whites, many former subsistence farmers, and put them to work in factories cheap and reliable labor.

Following the turbulence of Reconstruction, white southern elites brought poor whites into the industrial fold. As southerner elites sought to place black sharecroppers back on the plantation with a hoe in hand, the industrializing and urbanizing region created a field to factory pipeline for poor white southerners. Traveling into the upcountry, labor agents went to small subsistence farms seeking families subjected to economic pressures of the massive agricultural transformation. Hoping to bring poor whites to cotton mills across the South, agents sought to increase working classes through familial connections to support the booming industry.[258] Poor white men and women, who worked long hours under difficult conditions with little pay, undoubtably shaped the cotton industry to a limited extent. However, the imagined workers not only constructed but guided the cotton mill world. Making whites' architects of progress at the loom and black people field laborers, the symbolism of industrial work carried more weight than the reality of physical labor. Benefitting from white supremacy, poor whites not only had the opportunity to join the industrial working class but also gain the political, economic, labor and material advantages of whiteness.[259] Transitioning from farm to factory, poor whites had an opportunity to leave the hoe behind and move beyond sharecropping and tenant farming into bustling textile factories and cotton mills.[260]

As new railways and roads bisected the South, urban economic centers boomed, cities like Charlotte, North Carolina, inundated with the wealth of the expanding cotton industry, formed

[257] Merritt, *Masterless Men*, 337.
[258] Hall, *Like a Family*, 36.
[259] Brattain, *The Politics of Whiteness*, 5-6.
[260] Hall, *Like a Family*, 14-15.

cotton mill communities.[261] As these new white workers flocked to the city, the urban South underwent a massive transition that edified the separation of black and white spaces. Though in industrializing cities across the New South, like Atlanta and Birmingham, black men and women worked in industrial spaces, many southern white elites sought to clear spaces for poor and industrial whites. The line on the dusty cotton mill floor, drawn by southern elites and supported by white industrial managers, and profiteers sought to racialize the production and manufacturing of cotton. Following the transformation of the southern city, "cotton mill-villages were reserved for whites only."[262] C. Vann Woodward stated in *Origins of the New South* , that "[t]he cotton mill millennium had been proclaimed as the salvation of, 'the necessitous masses of poor whites.'"[263] This postbellum industrial transition folded poor whites in as actors of progress and patrons of industry, making the owners, managers, and millhand as white as cotton fibers. And in turn, race "also shaped millhands ideas about class, tempered adversarial relationships between workers and managers, and informed workers choices in regard to politics and unions." [264] With the growing influence of race on the working-class and the construction of the imagined South, white southern elites asserted efforts to place whites in the factories and blacks on the land.

Across the region, cotton mills erupted as spaces that fostered economic growth and cornered the market for white southerners, making sure spaces clearly separated poor white and black labor. The modernizing South utilized the homogeneity of cotton mill villages to highlight the white future of the New South. With increased cotton manufacturing and established social status, the usage of poor whites as laborers in the cotton industry illustrated how the opportunity to advance beyond the hoe, shaped southern industrial progress. Though black southerners worked

[261]Hanchett, *Sorting out the New South City*, 53.
[262]Woodward, *Origins of the New South,* 222; Hanchett, *Sorting out the New South City,* 88.
[263] Woodward, *Origins of the New South,* 222.
[264] Brattain, *The Politics of Whiteness,* 19.

as laborers in card rooms and janitorial staff within cotton mills, the higher wages and more technical work was reserved for white workers. In *The Politics of Whiteness,* Michelle Brattain utilizes Rome, Georgia, to examine the formation of a white industrial working class. In particular, Brattain found that "[t]he creation of wage work," raised the standard of living in the rural South and "whites had nearly exclusive access to it." Accessing the advantages of the working industrial class, "whites relied on race to serve as their entrée to politics, jobs, and later, union jobs." [265] In Dalton, Georgia, not only did race divide the labor force but also highlighted the political "Anglo-Saxon" unity of whiteness.[266] The modernizing South utilized the homogeneity of cotton mill villages to highlight the constructed white future of the New South. With increased cotton manufacturing and establishing the social status, the usage of poor whites as laborers in the cotton industry illustrated how the opportunity to advance beyond the hoe, shaped southern industrial progress. Joel Williamson, in *The Crucible of Race,* found that the southern elites hoped the "[w]hites would seize the textile jobs as their own, "and "eliminate the Negro," in the hopes that poor whites could leave the cotton field and "thrust the South to the forefront of national life."[267]

With an influx of new industrial labor, many poor white southern men and women left the farm for the first time to enter public work. The segregation of "production jobs" kept black workers from the profit and privileges of upper level managers and millhands, and in many cases any role that placed them in close proximity of white women and children.[268] The family labor system became an accessible way to cheap labor produced by women and children at the turn of the century, which sought to make mill work like a family.[269] The cultural sexualization of black

[265] Brattain, *The Politics of Whiteness,* 5-6.
[266] Flamming, *Creating the Modern South,* 74-5.
[267] Williamson, *The Crucible of Race,* 432.
[268] Hall, *Like a Family*, 44; 66.
[269] Hall, *Like a Family*, xxiii.

men bred fear of the black brute, which followed black men and separated ideas of suitable labor.[270] Many instances of informal segregation left any opportunity for black work in the mill as grunt laborers, while positions at the loom were afforded less physical labor. However, manning the loom and spindles was no easy task, many poor whites worked for low wages and risked personal health and safety to join the growing working class. While public work allowed for whites to access new labor networks, public work kept blackness out of higher paying and manufacturing positions. And as owners attempted to create competition by hiring black laborers, poor white workers manifested labor rights to remain in control of their new working-class status.

In August 1897, white women in the folding room and the entire Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill illustrated the extent that workers went to keep "skilled" jobs reserved for whites. That summer, just outside of Atlanta, mill managers hired twenty black women to meet the rising demand, after unsuccessfully locating any white women to ease the load.[271] After forming exclusionary unions across the city of Atlanta, whites attempted to keep "African Americans in subservient, circumscribed positions." However, simultaneously, textile owners considered allowing some black workers to take production jobs to increase production and stabilize the work force.[272] Many strikers, skeptical of the extent of the additional black workers in the mill, believed that the owner would higher one black person a day and eventually fill every production job with a black person.[273] On August 4th, the white women of the bag department, discovered that new

[270] Hall, *Revolt against Chivalry*, 150.
[271] Hunter, *To' Joy My Freedom,* 114.
[272] Cliff Kuhn, *Contesting the New South Order: The 1914-1915 Strike at Atlanta's Fulton Mills* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 26.
[273] For more on the Fulton Mill Strike, see Hunter, *To 'joy My Freedom,* 114; Kuhn, *Contesting the New South Order;* and Gary M. Fink, *The Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills Strike of 1914-1915: Espionage, Labor Conflict, and New South Industrial Relations*, Cornell Studies in Industrial and Labor Relations, no. 28 (Ithaca, N.Y: ILR Press, 1993).

black women ready to join them on the floor and refused to enter the factory. Collecting around back in the mill town, the women corralled and discussed planning a larger response to the newly hired women, leading to nearly two hundred women leaving the factory. The next day, nearly "twelve hundred men, women, and children," left the factory floor to fight for higher wages, better conditions, and more importantly, the preservation of white jobs at the mill.[274]

Figure 7: In " The Color Line in Georgia Yesterday," cartoon illustrates the aftermath of the 1897 Fulton strike and the expulsion of black female workers.[275]

Strikers joined forces, ready to fight for control over their labor, holding massive protests with public gatherings throughout the city.[276] Speeches commonly focused on the fear of competition from cheap black laborers. One paper even declared that the addition of black female workers was "a deliberate attempt to eliminate white wage-slaves from this avocation, and

[274] Hunter, *To 'joy My Freedom*, 114-120.
[275] " The Color Line in Georgia Yesterday," *Atlanta Constitution*, 10 *August 1897.*
[276] Hunter, *To 'joy My Freedom*, 115.

substitute black wage-slaves because they will work cheaper."[277] However, while fighting for the value of poor white southerners labor, the protesters also illustrated growing interracial hostilities. At local rallies, crowds hollered and chanted for action against any attempts at, what they saw as racial and social equality.[278] At a meeting of strikers, one woman screamed across the crowd, "[w]e want all them niggers out of there, and that's what we are going to have … [w]e want the nigger boss to git out of there." [279] The fear of black workers entering industrial spaces was not only recognized by poor white southerners but also vehemently resisted through direct action. Finally, after two days, the strikers and mill owners reached an agreement, all black women in production positions were to be fired and a guarantee that the strikers would not to be punished.[280] The actions of the 1897 Fulton Mill Strike illustrates the efforts to form a biracial cotton mill world. From the people on the ground, efforts to keep black people out of positions associated with both whites and progress, became vital to affirming white control. Following the agreement, workers returned to the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill factory working in completely segregated production positions, leaving only black janitors, scrub men and women, and yard hands in the mill.[281]

As elite southerners laid the foundation for an exclusively white working-class, black workers were not suddenly expelled from the cotton mill world. Black workers still played an important role in providing the grunt labor for cotton mills. Like in the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill, black workers remained in menial and physically demanding positions. In *Like a Family: The Making of the Southern Cotton Mill World,* Jacquelyn Dowd Hall describes the positions that black men and women filled in cotton mills. One millhand, remembers the picking room, a space

[277] Kuhn, *Contesting the New South Order,* 27; *The Atlanta Constitution,* August 6, 1897.
[278] Kuhn, *Contesting the New South Order* ,27 ; and, Hunter, *To 'joy My Freedom,* 115.
[279] Hunter, *To 'joy My Freedom,* 116; and *The Atlanta Constitution,* August 5, 1897.
[280] Kuhn, *Contesting the New South Order,* 28.
[281] Hunter, *To 'joy My Freedom,* 115.

for carding, cleaning, and organizing the cotton, was nothing but black men. The labor required of the black men failed to compare to the men and women weaving the cotton fibers in other parts of the factory. T.B. Fitzgerald, a manager from Danville, Virginia, noted that the company only hired black workers in the mill as, "sweepers, scourers, truck drivers, and in the dye house and picker rooms."[282] Black men continued to bear the brunt of cotton production prior to manufacturing in the New South, which whites curated with the relationship between black labor and hoeing cotton. However, if black men were not hoeing cotton, any physical labor beneath weavers and out of production jobs to support the "Queen of Industry" became acceptable to southern elites. "'And after all," *The State,* a South Carolina paper proclaimed, "the negroes would be happier and healthier and more useful on the plantations." [283] The division of labor, founded in the use of the hoe and hoeing cotton, became a way to create both white industrial progress and reinforce a biracial cotton mill workforce, dividing tasks throughout the New South.

Making "[b]lacks for the land, whites for the factories," was not an overnight process, much like segregated spaces in the growing cities in the New South.[284] The process was cultivated by southern elites through cultural sources creating content that suggested the proper racial and labor order of the region following emancipation and reconstruction. In particular, the cultural usage of the hoe by southern elite implemented primitive stereotypes cultivated through narrative and media, forming the material foundation of a biracial labor force. Keeping blackness in the cotton fields of the South laid the groundwork for whites leaving the hoe behind for modern agriculture. By highlighting how the hoe became associated with backwardness, southern culturalists proclaimed that the hoe not only limited progress but also tarnished whiteness. This effort to

[282]Hall, *Like a Family,* 66.
[283] *The State*, April 24, and 30, 1896.
[284] Williamson, *The Crucible of Race,* 440.

modernize agriculture led to many farmers pushed to cotton mills, which highlighted how stereotypes fabricated with the hoe were implemented to form distinct black and white working spaces in the New South. However, by associating the labor black people with primitivity, whites crafted a clear vision of progress in the New South. Though the hoe played a vital role in dividing the race of both industry and production, black men and women using it remained trapped under the thumb of prosperity, while white people carried the crown of progress throughout the New South.

Conclusion:

Blackness in the Face of Modernity

Through deliberate cultural construction, the hoe communicated Black primitivity in popular discourse surrounding agriculture, industry, and life in the New South. Examining literature, exhibitions, lynching rhetoric, and efforts to segregate the cotton labor force, white southerners not only curated ideas of primitivity surrounding blackness but also implemented them. Inundating popular culture, media, and agricultural discourses, white southern elites in control of depictions of blackness, orchestrated the usage of the hoe to impose aspects of primitivity onto southern black people. By displaying black people as intended for the plantation, remnants of the Old South, and unruly and dangerous, each function of the hoe highlighted the development of efforts to secure white social and cultural control in the New South. In an era of reaffirming racial, political, and gender hierarchies,' white southerners armed with the hoe attempted to plant blackness firmly beneath the ideas of progress and whiteness. These asserted efforts to construct the cultural meaning of the hoe, through images and narratives of hoe, both provide a deeper examination of material culture in southern history and highlight the lengths to subjugate blackness in the New South.

As industry boomed, politics progressed, and social roles developed, the blackness of the white southern imagination remained bound to the cotton fields of the New South. Through public discourse and the press, the construction of the hoe helped to cultivate white cultural ideas of black inferiority. The discord between labor, visual cultural, and the prosperity of the era distinguished two lines of progress; one black and one white. However, this division, cleaved with the hoe, created dissonance between white southern dreams and the reality of black labor in the New South. Though black people commonly labored in industrial spaces and formed the backbone of southern

progress, white southerners sought to relegate blackness to cotton fields, by circumstance, cultural performance, and economic reality. Enforcing social roles, stereotypes, and the idealized cultural place of blackness, southerners not only mobilized the primitivity of the Old South to form depictions of blackness but also successfully segregated the culture of modernity in all white visions of the New South. As white elites in the New South directly subjugated and divided blackness from strengthening legislation to establishing social practices, the material world also became a method of segregation. Examining this crafted black separation from modernity, the usage of the hoe illustrates a distinct transition between the antebellum and postbellum South.

Historians have long debated the continuity and discontinuity between the Old and New South. C Vann Woodward, the pioneering southern historian, saw the Civil War as a distinct break in the region's history.[285] In *Origin of the New South,* Woodward argues that following the fall of the Bourbon political elite and after the Populist revolt in the 1890s, the South introduced vehemently racist politicians who utilized the rhetoric of lynching and Jim Crow to established racial segregation as commonplace. Woodward's following book, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, emphasized the stark break in Southern race relations. For Woodward, the shift toward racial separation following the Populist revolution, marked a distinct break between antebellum and postbellum life. Woodward contends that racial separation was an invention of the New South, arguing that the "closer physical proximity and greater intimacy of contact" of the antebellum South could not have laid the foundation for segregation.[286] Other historians have argued the creation of the Old South, economic transition, the growth of cities, and efforts to redefine southern

[285] For more on arguments for the continuity of southern history, see Cash, *The Mind of the South*; and Woodward, *Origins of the New South.*
[286] Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 13-14.

life, illustrated a distinct shift in southern history following the Civil War.[287] More recent generations of historians have added complexity to the monolithic vision of the New South. By including black people, rural southerners and women into the larger historiography of the New South, Edward Ayers, In *The Promise of the New South*, utilized the words of everyday southerners to illustrate a break from the Old South.[288] Ayers utilizes the growth of the railroad industry to illustrate the changing social, economic, and political structure of the region. By physically, culturally and politically dividing the New South, the railroad induced great change that led to mass migration, industrialization, and urbanization. Through discrimination acts like Plessy v. Ferguson, southern material culture eventually laid the tracks for the racial segregation of Jim Crow[289] When analyzed in their broader cultural context, objects serve as a viable guide to understand the changes shaping the New South.

Southern material culture "forged in a crucible of race and class" can both illustrate and represent distinct changes in race relations, class tensions, and the extent of white supremacy. [290] By investigating the material South, the objects become built around ideas of race and southern identity, communicating distinctively regional stories. The hoe is not different. Building upon the mythology of the Old South, performing plantation routines, promoting black violent stereotypes, and attempting to segregate the cotton mill labor force, the hoe became a cultural construction of the New South. Each idea reinforced the other, making the tool an agent of white supremacy, displaying black inferiority and further subjugating blackness through its cultural usage. The construction of hoe served white southerners who sought to segregate primitivity and progress,

[287] For more on approaches to the historic changes in the New South, see Wright, *Old South, New South;* Gaston, *The New South Creed;* Hatcher, *Sorting Out the New South City*; and Don Harrison Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Mobile, 1860-1910*, The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).
[288] Ayers, *The Promise of the New South.*
[289] Ayers, *The Promise of the New South.*
[290] Herman, "On Southern Things," 8.

and industry and agriculture. Though the hoe remained physically present in agriculture throughout southern history, the curation of the hoe in the New South utilized ideas of the era to conjure backwardness and subjugate blackness. By exploring the discursive, material history and culture reveals histories of South previously overlooked, including the formation and implementation of racial distinction in the New South.

The ability to craft primitivity and subjugate blackness into something material, visual, and rhetorical illustrates the all-consuming nature of white supremacy on which the racial segregation of the Jim Crow era thrived. The curation of the hoe also highlights the importance of southern material culture in performing and communicating meaning in the New South, revealing the intricate and shifting definitions of race. Evoking notions of primitivity, unruliness, an aversion to modernity, and lack of industrial ethic, the hoe became a tool in the New South to define and implement racial distinction and primitivity. The hoe, which had brought the region so far, was no longer a suitable tool to develop and meet the "status quo" of progress in the New South.[291] Though black laborers functioned as the backbone of many southern industries, white elite's use of primitivity sought to cleave perceptions blackness from notions of progress. Rather than functioning as the driver of the progress, the hoe served as an obstacle to the transformation of cultural, political and economic life in the South. In an effort to reaffirm racial boundaries from the 1880s to the 1910s, white southern elites deliberately curated the hoe, through narrative, performance, and rhetoric to impose racial primitivity and supplement racial stereotypes in the New South.

[291] "The Parable of the Slave of the Hoe,"; Prince, *Stories of the South*,104.

Bibliography

Published Primary Sources

Abbott, Ernest H. "The South and the Negro: II. The Confusion of Tongues." *The Outlook* (New York) 28 May 1904.

Certificate of Marriage. Mark R. Sanderlin and Margaret F. Torseky, 14 November 1889. Camden County, North Carolina.

"Camden County Courthouse." National Register of Historic Places - Nomination and Inventory. North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, November 1971. Retrieved 2014-08-01.

1880 United States Census; Census: Volume 1. Statistics of the Population of the United States, North Carolina, National Archives and Records Administration microfilm T9, n.d.

Cooper, Walter Gerald. *The Cotton States and International Exposition and South, Illustrated Including the Official History of the Exposition*. Atlanta: Illustrator, 1896.

Du Bois, William E. Burghardt. *Black Reconstruction in America: 1860 - 1880*. New York, NY: The Free Press, 1998.

———.*The Souls of Black Folk*. Dover Thrift Editions. New York: Dover, 1994.

———. "The Negro Farmer." *Negroes in the United States*. Bureau of the Census. Bulletin 8. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904.

DuBose, John W. *The Mineral Wealth of Alabama and Birmingham*. Birmingham, 1886.

Guide to the Pan-American Exposition Buffalo, New York. The Eagle Library, New York, 1901.

Harlan, Louis R. ed. *The Booker T. Washington Papers.* vol. 1-14. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972.

Harris, Joel Chandler. *Nights with Uncle Remus: Myths and Legends of the Old Plantation*. 11th ed. New York, NY: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1889.

Justi, Herman. *Official History of the Tennessee Centennial Exposition*. Nashville: Brandon, 1898.

Kelsey, Carl. *The Negro Farmer.* Chicago: Jennings and Pye, 1903.

On the Pike, the First Complete Booklet of the Pike and Amusement Features of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. New York: The Morrison, 1904.

Thompson, Maurice. "Ben and Judas." *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 38 (1889): 893-902.

Volume 1 of Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi: Embracing an Authentic and Comprehensive Account of the Chief Events in the History of the State and a Record of the Lives of Many of the Most Worthy and Illustrious Families and Individuals. Chicago; The Good Publishing Company,1891.

Newspapers and Periodicals:

Ashville Citizen
Boston Globe
Chattanooga Daily Times
Chicago Tribune
Daily Arkansas Gazette
Harpers Weekly: A Journal of Civilization
News and Observer
New York Times
Norfolk Weekly Landmark
North Carolina Herald
Tuscaloosa Weekly Times
Warren Times Mirror
Yorkville Enquirer
The Abbeville Press and Banner
The Atlanta Constitution
The Baldwin Times
The Buffalo Times
The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine
The Charlotte Observer
The Daily Enquirer
The Herald
The Intelligencer
The Inter Ocean
The Los Angeles Times
The Maxton Union
The Montgomery Advertiser
The Nashville American
The Norfolk Virginian
The Ozark Banner
The Progressive Farmer
The Rushville Republican
The Southern Herald
The State
The Tennessean
The Times Picayune
The Twin City Daily
The Wilmington Messenger

Images:

"Hoeing Rice, South Carolina, U.S.A." Stereograph. *Keystone View Company*, 1904. Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, Gift of Oprah Winfrey. The National Museum of African American History and Culture. Washington D.C.

"The Great Labor Question from a Southern Point of View." Drawing. *Harper's Weekly,* 29 July 1865. *The Library of Congress*.

Nast, Thomas. Artist. "The Queen of Industry, or the New South." Photograph. *Harper's Weekly*, January 14, 1882. *Library of Congress.*

"The Color Line in Georgia Yesterday." Cartoon. *Atlanta Constitution*, 10 August 1897.

Secondary Sources

Aiello, Thomas. *The Battle for the Souls of Black Folk: W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, and the Debate That Shaped the Course of Civil Rights*. Santa Barbara, California: Praeger, 2016.

Ali, Omar H. *In the Lion's Mouth: Black Populism in the New South, 1886-1900.* Jackson: Univ Of Mississippi, 2012.

Ayers, Edward L. *The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction*. 15. anniversary ed. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2007.

———. *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th-Century American South*. First issued paperback. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Bass, S. Jonathan. "'How 'bout a Hand for the Hog': The Enduring Nature of the Swine as a Cultural Symbol in the South." *Southern Cultures* 1, no. 3 (1995): 301–20.

Berrey, Stephen A. *The Jim Crow Routine: Everyday Performances of Race, Civil Rights, and Segregation in Mississippi*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015.

Blight, David W. *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. Cambridge, Mass. London: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Bolton, Charles C. *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South: Tenants and Laborers in Central North Carolina and Northeast Mississippi*. 2. print. Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 1996.

Brasch. Walter M. *Brer Rabbit, Uncle Remus, and the "Cornfield Journalist": The Tale of Joel Chandler Harris*. Macon: Mercer University Press, 2000.

Brattain, Michelle. *The Politics of Whiteness: Race, Workers, and Culture in the Modern South*. Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Brundage, W. Fitzhugh, ed. *Booker T. Washington and Black Progress: Up from Slavery 100 Years Later*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003.

Brundage, W. Fitzhugh. *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880-1930*. Blacks in the New World. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

Cable, George Washington, Lawrence N Powell, United States, and Census Office. *The New Orleans of George Washington Cable: The 1887 Census Office Report*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008.

Cardon, Nathan. *A Dream of the Future: Race, Empire, and Modernity at the Atlanta and Nashville World's Fairs*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018.

———. "The South's 'New Negroes' and African American Visions of Progress at the Atlanta and Nashville International Expositions, 1895-1897."*The Journal of Southern History.* Vol. 80 No. 2, 287-326.

Carney, Judith A. *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas*. 2. print. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 2001.

Cash, W. J. The Mind of the South. 1941; repr.. New York: Vintage Books, 1991.

Cox, Karen L. *Dreaming of Dixie: How the South Was Created in American Popular Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.

Davis, Harold E. *Henry Grady's New South: Atlanta, a Brave and Beautiful City*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990.

Davis, Susan G. *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia*. First paperback printing. Berkeley, Calif: Univ. of California Press, 1988.

Dewey, Donald. *The Art of Ill Will: The Story of American Political Cartoons*. New York: New York University Press, 2007.

Doyle, Don Harrison. *New Men, New Cities, New South: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Mobile, 1860-1910*. The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.

Ewell, Barbara C., Pamela Glenn Menke, and Andrea Humphrey, eds. *Southern Local Color: Stories of Region, Race, and Gender*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002.

Ferleger, Lou, and John D. Metz. *Cultivating Success in the South: Farm Households in the Postbellum Era*. Cambridge Studies on the American South. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Feimster, Crystal Nicole. *Southern Horrors: Women and the Politics of Rape and Lynching*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 2009.

Fink, Gary M. *The Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills Strike of 1914-1915: Espionage, Labor Conflict, and New South Industrial Relations*. Cornell Studies in Industrial and Labor Relations, no. 28. Ithaca, N.Y: ILR Press, 1993.

Fite, Gilbert Courtland. *Cotton Fields No More: Southern Agriculture, 1865-1980*. New Perspectives on the South. Lexington, Ky: University Press of Kentucky, 1984.

Flamming, Douglas. *Creating the Modern South: Millhands and Managers in Dalton, Georgia, 1884-1984*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*. 1st ed. The New American Nation Series. New York: Harper & Row, 1988.

Forret, Jeff. *Race Relations at the Margins: Slaves and Poor Whites in the Antebellum Southern Countryside*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010.

Fredrickson, George Marsh. *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817 - 1914*. New York: Harper & Row, 1971.

Gaither, Gerald H. *Blacks and the Populist Movement: Ballots and Bigotry in the New South*. Rev. ed. Tuscaloosa, Ala: University of Alabama Press, 2005.

Gaston, Paul. *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970.

Gilmore, Glenda Elizabeth. *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920*. Gender & American Culture. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Garden City, New York: Double Day Anchor Books, 1959.

Goldfield, David R. *Cotton Fields and Skyscrapers: Southern City and Region, 1607-1980*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982.

Hahn, Steven. *A Nation under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration*. Cambridge, Massachusetts London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005.

———. *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890*. Updated ed. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Hale, Grace Elizabeth. *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890 - 1940*. 1. ed. New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1999.

Hall, Jacquelyn Dowd. *Revolt against Chivalry: Jessie Daniel Ames and the Women's Campaign against Lynching*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

———. *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World*. New York; London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1989.

Halloran, Fiona Deans. *Thomas Nast: The Father of Modern Political Cartoons*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

Hanchett, Thomas W. *Sorting out the New South City: Race, Class, and Urban Development in Charlotte, 1875-1975*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Harlan, Louis R. *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901*. London; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Hartman, Saidiya V. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press,1997.

Harvey, Bruce G. *World's Fairs in a Southern Accent: Atlanta, Nashville, and Charleston, 1895-1902*. First edition. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2014.

Hawkins, Michael. *Semi-Civilized: The Moro Village at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition*. NIU Southeast Asian Series. Ithaca, New York: Northern Illinois University Press, an imprint of Cornell University Press, 2020.

Hazel, Forest. "'They Don't Dig for Coal Here Anymore': North Carolina's Coal Glen Mine." *Southern Cultures* 23, no. 3 (2017): 62–69.

Herman, Bernard L. "On Southern Things." *Southern Cultures* 23. no. 3 (2017).

Hess, Stephen, and Sandy Northrop. *Drawn & Quartered: The History of American Political Cartoons*. Montgomery, Ala: Elliott & Clark Pub, 1996.

Hild, Matthew. *Greenbackers, Knights of Labor, and Populists: Farmer-Labor Insurgency in the Late-Nineteenth-Century South*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2007.

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

———. *To 'joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1997.

Isaac, Rhys. *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790*. 2nd ed. New York, NY: W.W Northon & Company, 1988.

Jones, Jacqueline. *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family, from Slavery to the Present*. New York, NY: Basic Books, 2010.

Jones, Willian Powell. *The Tribe of Black Ulysses: African American Lumber Workers in the Jim Crow South*. Champaign: The University of Illinois Press, 2005.

Kantrowitz, Stephen David. *Ben Tillman & the Reconstruction of White Supremacy*. The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Katz, Wendy Jean, ed. *The Trans-Mississippi and International Expositions of 1898-1899: Art, Anthropology, and Popular Culture at the Fin de Siècle*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018.

Klein, Shana. "Those Golden Balls Down Yonder Tree: Oranges and the Politics of Reconstruction in Harriet Beecher Stowe's Florida." *Southern Cultures* 23, no. 3 (2017): 30–38.

Kuhn, Cliff. *Contesting the New South Order: The 1914-1915 Strike at Atlanta's Fulton Mills*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

Levine, Lawrence W. *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Lussana, Sergio. *My Brother Slaves: Friendship, Masculinity, and Resistance in the Antebellum South*. New Directions in Southern History. Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2016.

Martin, Ann Smart. *Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia*. Baltimore, Md.; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010.

McKiven, Henry M. *Iron and Steel: Class, Race, and Community in Birmingham, Alabama, 1875-1920*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Merritt, Keri Leigh. *Masterless Men: Poor Whites and Slavery in the Antebellum South*. Cambridge Study on the American South. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Mixon, Wayne. "The Ultimate Irrelevance of Race: Joel Chandler Harris and Uncle Remus in Their Time." *The Journal of Southern History* 56, no. 3 (1990): 457-80.

Navasky, Victor S. *The Art of Controversy: Political Cartoons and Their Enduring Power*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013.

Nasaw, David. *Going Out: The Rise and Fall of Public Amusements*. New York, NY: Basic Books, 1993.

Nelson, Scott Reynolds. *Steel Drivin' Man: John Henry, the Untold Story of an American Legend*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Norrell, Robert J. "Caste in Steel: Jim Crow Careers in Birmingham, Alabama." *The Journal of American History* v. 73. no. 3, 1986.

Painter, Nell Irvin. *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction*. New York: Norton, 1979.

Paine, Albert Bigelow. *Th. Nast, His Period and His Pictures*. Princeton: Pyne Press, 1974.

Parezo, Nancy J., and Don Fowler. *Anthropology Goes to the Fair The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.

Polster, Joshua E. *Stages of Engagement: U.S. Theatre and Performance from 1898-1949*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2015.

Postel, Charles. *The Populist Vision*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2009.

Perdue, Theda. *Race and the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition of 1895*. Georgia Southern University Jack N. and Addie D. Averitt Lecture Series, no. 16. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010.

Preyer, Norris W. "The Historian, the Slave, and the Ante-Bellum Textile Industry." *The Journal of Negro History*. 46.2 (1961).

Prince, K. Stephen. *Stories of the South: Race and the Reconstruction of Southern Identity, 1865-1915*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014.

Ring, Natalie J. *The Problem South: Region, Empire, and the New Liberal State, 1880-1930*. Politics and Culture in the Twentieth-Century South. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012.

Royce, Edward Cary. *The Origins of Southern Sharecropping*. Labor and Social Change. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993.

Rydell, Robert W. *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.

Rydell, Robert W., John E. Findling, and Kimberly D. Pelle. *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000.

Saffel, Cameron. "An Alternative Means of Field Research: Extending Material Culture Analysis to Farm Implements." *Agricultural History* 88, no. 4 (Fall 2014): 517–37.

Scott, Anne Firor. *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930*. 25th Anniversary Edition. Charlottesville, Virginia: The University Press, 1995.

Shaw, Nate, and Theodore Rosengarten. *All God's Dangers, the Life of Nate Shaw*. New York: Knopf, 1974.

Simkins, Francis Butler. *Pitchfork Ben Tillman, South Carolinian*. Southern Classics Series. Columbia, S.C: University of South Carolina Press, 2002.

Simon, Bryant. *A Fabric of Defeat: The Politics of South Carolina Millhands, 1910-1948*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Smock, Raymond. *Booker T. Washington: Black Leadership in the Age of Jim Crow*. The Library of African-American Biography. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2009.

Sturkey, William. *Hattiesburg: An American City in Black and White*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2019.

Tolnay, Stewart Emory, and E. M. Beck. *A Festival of Violence: An Analysis of Southern Lynchings, 1882-1930*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995.

Tullos, Allen. *Habits of Industry: White Culture and the Transformation of the Carolina Piedmont*. The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.

Westmacott, Richard Noble. *African-American Gardens and Yards in the Rural South*. 1st ed. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992.

White, Deborah Gray. *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South*. 1. paperback ed. New York, NY: Norton, 1987.

Whites, LeeAnn. *Gender Matters: Civil War, Reconstruction, and the Making of the New South*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Whites, LeeAnn. *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1890*. University of Georgia Press, 2000.

Williamson, Joel. *The Crucible of Race: Black/White Relations in the American South since Emancipation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Robert H. Woodrum, "*Everybody Was Black down There": Race and Industrial Change in the Alabama Coalfields*. Politics and Culture in the Twentieth-Century South. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2007.

Woodward, C. Vann. *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*. A History of the South, v. 9. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971.

———. *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. Commemorative ed. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Wright, Gavin. *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy since the Civil War*. Louisiana pbk. ed. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996.