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AFRICAN AMERICAN ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS: BLACK INTELLECTUAL PERSPECTIVES 1850-1965

A Dissertation Presented

by

VANESSA FABIEN

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

SEPTEMBER 2014

W.E.B. DU BOIS DEPARTMENT OF AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES

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AFRICAN AMERICAN ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS: BLACK INTELLECTUAL PERSPECTIVES 1850-1965

A Dissertation Presented

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VANESSA FABIEN

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DEDICATION

To the ancestors who opened the doors for me and continue to inspire me daily.

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As I write these acknowledgments on the eve of the 50th Anniversary of the Mississippi Freedom Summer, I am reminded of the heart, fortitude, strength, and collective struggle that went into organizing a voter registration campaign in 1964 in the heart of the deep South. I thank **God** for carrying me through this journey. I completed it on Your time and with Your love, patience, and guidance. In completing this process over these eight years, I am indebted to many individuals who contributed to the evolution of this dissertation through sharing their wisdom, strength, heart, knowledge, and moral fortitude with me.

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ABSTRACT

AFRICAN AMERICAN ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS: BLACK INTELLECTUAL PERSPECTIVES 1850-1965

SEPTEMBER 2014

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The historical scholarship in environmental history centers around the narratives of elite white men. Therefore, scholars such as William Cronon, Dorceta Taylor, Noël Sturgeon, and Carolyn Merchant are calling for research that uncovers the political and moral stances of people of color on nature, land ownership, and environmental pollution. This dissertation addresses this call by engaging William H. Sewell Jr.'s cross-disciplinary approach between history and the social sciences to introduce a nuanced historical analysis that interrogates the channels via which African Americans' environmental ethic sculpted the development of North American environmental history and activism. This dissertation contends that African Americans interjected a social justice component to environmental activism. Through analyzing government documents, military records, archival documents, oral histories conducted in several states, literary works, diaries, newspapers, Court opinions, religious doctrine, archaeological research, and speeches, this study examines how the natural environment fashioned African Americans' direct forms of activism against institutionalized slavery, a failed

Reconstruction, collapsed economy during the Great Depression, and forced ghettoized living conditions in urban spaces spurred by racial restrictive covenants during the 20th century. These forms of activism include but are not limited to the Negro Spirituals, marronage, institutional educational centers like Tuskegee and Hampton Normal Institute, Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU), New Negro Harlem Renaissance Movement, civil litigation, and the Black Arts Movement. This work will usher a new discourse in environmental history and bring African Americans into the transnational environmental dialogue.

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INTRODUCTION AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

AN AFRICAN AMERICAN ENVIRONMENTAL RHETORIC 1840-1950, LAND REFORM, ACTIVISM, AND CULTURAL PRODUCTION

> On hearing my speech, some of you may have thought of it as a joke and others may have experienced an historical disquisition on the history of this valley—but my speech is neither of these. On the contrary it is a bit of philosophy, a little inquiry into the meaning of life in this valley, brought to my mind because of the condition of the Housatonic River…. The thing that has happened in this valley has happened in hundreds of others. The town, the whole valley has turned its back upon the river. They have sought to get away from it. They have neglected it. They have used it as a sewer, a drain, a place for throwing their waste and their offal. Mills, homes and farms have poured their dirt and refuse into it. Almost as if by miracle some beauty still remains…. And so I have ventured to call to the attention of the graduates of the Searles High School this bit of philosophy of living in this valley, that we should rescue the Housatonic and clean it as we have never thought to clean it before and restore its ancient beauty and make it the center of the town, of the valley, and perhaps who knows, of a new way of civilized life. (Du Bois, W.E.B. "The Housatonic River" delivered at Searles High School, Great Barrington, Massachusetts, July 21, 1930; University of Massachusetts, Amherst Special Collections in Du Bois Papers, 80:412)

> Dear Jean:
>
> Thanks for the money. I am fixing up my new home here…. I am up every morning at five o'clock chopping down weeds and planting flowers and things…. I go to bed happily tired and swear that I will write you a letter first thing in the morning. But the birds, which I feed and who have begun to collect here already in large numbers, wake me up clamoring for their breakfast, and I dash out and place stale bread, etc. and watch the many color and many behaviors of my feathered friends. Less then an hour ago, a male cardinal [...] on the porch no more than five feet from me and complained that there was no more food outside, so I hurried to put some out…Now, you perhaps question why I am putting so much into this place where I now live. I have a chance to buy it. In this little house I wrote *MULES AND MEN….* (Zora Neale Hurston Letter to Jean Waterbury Eau Gallie, "Her Garden, hocked typewriter," Oct. 25, 1951 ; University of Florida Special Collections in Zora Neale Hurston Papers. 2:29)

Historically, the environmental debate has highlighted the experiences of privileged white men who possessed the social, political and economic capital to advance their particular agendas in the environmental discourse.[1] As a result, the dominant historiography in American environmental history has marginalized the experiences of African Americans, Native Americans and other communities of color.[2] Despite the historiography on these communities, African Americans, Native Americans, Latina/os and other communities of color all embody a rich and dynamic environmental history that reflects their experiences and contributes to the overall development of United States history.[3] This dissertation provides a historical framework that introduces an analysis of the roles that African Americans played in the development of an American environmental consciousness. I contend that African Americans embody a resilient and dynamic environmental ethos that has shaped the formation of modern American environmentalism.

In this dissertation I build upon the revisionist political and cultural historical research and address the call of environmental historians for research that incorporates the narratives of people of color into the environmental discourse. It introduces the conversation on African American environmental intellectual history to the discourse on environmental and African American history. In the following chapters I privilege the experiences of African Americans and women. Rather than utilize a utilitarian or romanticized conception of human's interaction with land and nature, I filter my discussion through a continuum that demonstrates how people's views of nature and their relationship with the land changed due to various impending forces. I employ the word "nature" primarily to discuss African Americans' spiritual, conversion or transformative metaphysical experiences. When engaging in political, social and economic discussions I use the term "land." I connect the term directly to the tangible thoughts and cognitive processes that arise as people seek to interpret their life circumstances and ameliorate their quality of life in a given circumstance. Thus, I will not use the term "land" as a purely theoretical concept that is devoid of any real and grounded meaning. Furthermore, the term "environmental degradation" is an inordinate phenomenon in which humans who contain the political salience, economic and social capital artificially place a numeric value upon the land and use this value to justify any destructive means against the land and its inhabitants. Such actions produce a pre-determined profit that only benefits the individuals who are unilaterally-involved in the decision-making process. There are three major issues which I address in this dissertation. I engage issues on environmental ethics, land ownership, and labor issues related to the environment. Each subject could easily become a major research project within its own right. My objective, however, is to open up a field of discourse in African American environmental history.

Although this study is not exhaustive, the purpose of this dissertation is to present historicized chapters that function as interpretive analysis essays that examine the environmental thoughts and agricultural practices of African Americans from 1850 to the present and to bring their contributions into the national and transnational discourse on environmental history. African Americans' perceptions of land, nature, and the environment are wide-ranging, dynamic and transform over time and space.[4] Thus I do not contend that African Americans hold a monolithic and static viewpoint on this issue. Through examining the folk culture, agricultural methods, and the overall cosmological framework of Africans, African Americans and Americans, along with the convergence between an African cosmological framework and a Western Judeo-Christian ethic, I trace the key moments in the progression and nuances of African American environmental thought from the pre-Columbian era to the present. In part I re-articulate the works of pioneering scholars such as W.E.B. Du Bois, T. Thomas Fortune, Carter G. Woodson and Zora Neale Hurston to show how they articulated prominent environmental standpoints. Additionally, I examine how African Americans connected a social justice component to their environmental ethics.

W.E.B. Du Bois avidly advocated for environmental stewardship and his stance coincided with the growing ideals of republican moralism and American antimodernism that emerged during the nineteenth century when German sociologist and political economist Max Weber critiqued the rise of capitalism and industrialism for cultivating a society that sought to dominate nature and misuse its resources at the expense of the physical, emotional, and spiritual well-being of its constituents.[5] In a 1930 keynote speech to the graduating class of Searles High School entitled: “Housatonic River,” Du Bois venerated the Housatonic River’s intrinsic beauty and lamented how the mills defiled the landscape.[6] He championed this graduating class at his alma mater to clean the river and reclaim it as part of their cultural legacy. The sociologist argued that the human defilement and structural modification of the Housatonic lead to its demise and ultimately depraved the quality of life for those who lived in the valley. Through paralleling the Housatonic with the Charles, Potomac, and Rhine Rivers, Du Bois presented the direct connection between the rise and fall of civilizations according to their treatment and respect for these natural resources.[7] By using the river’s fate as the backdrop of his nascent into manhood, Du Bois illustrated the river’s capacity to evoke a strong existential and metaphysical response among those who were in its presence. Furthermore he contended: “Certainly it is the physical center, perhaps it is the spiritual center, perhaps the very freeing of spirit which will come from our attempt to do the [?] not including our greatest source of beauty and completeness, and degrading with filth and refuse.”[8] Thus he revealed the unique value of an intimate connection with nature. Such a connection is marked by an organic assemblage of respect for nature’s power, the intellectual exercise of the mind, social responsibility, and the call for political activism. Throughout several of his archived writings I examined, Du Bois celebrated the beauty of nature and respected the equitably powerful yet less aesthetically pleasing aspects of the natural environment.[9]

Like Du Bois, Zora Neale Hurston, “literary anthropologist” and “Genius of the South” (termed by fellow American author Alice Walker) also examined the relationship between nature and human beings through using the natural environment as a medium to discuss the oscillations of power that occur along the lines of race, gender, and class.[10] By presenting the lived experiences of African Americans through the prism of ethnographic studies that firmly stamped their narratives against a transnational discourse, Hurston made the folklore of African Americans palatable to a national and international audience while she maintained its integrity and authenticity.[11] In her classics *Mules and Men* and *Their Eyes Were Watching God* Hurston exhibited a strong sense of respect for nature and canvassed the complexities of the black experience through the juxtaposing the differing elements of the human experience to the seasonal forces of the natural environment.[12]

Certainly the revolutionary spirit and widespread strong human-environment relationship that she experienced as an initiate into voodoo rituals in Haiti and discussed in *Tell My Horse: Voodoo and Life in Haiti and Jamaica* resounded in how Hurston personifies natural phenomena in her work.[13] For instance, in *Their Eyes Were Watching God* she traces Janie Crawford’s progression to self-actualization through the ravaging waters of a hurricane and failed personal relationships.[14] In a personal letter to a friend Zora Neale Hurston spoke lovingly about her new home and the joy she engendered from getting to know the different personalities of the birds she fed daily.[15] She proclaimed her sense of pride and achievement from the possibility of owning land and cultivating it.[16]

The previously cited letter and her subsequent letters to Jean Park Waterbury reveal Hurston's personal affection towards nature and her excitement when she received a compost pile for her garden.[17] Further exploration of Hurston's body of work and personal sentiments speak to her love of nature and her call for structural modification in the amelioration of the black experience in America.

Although Hurston and Du Bois broached the issue of environmental and human exploitation from differing academic training, Du Bois in sociology and Hurston in anthropology, their ideologies environmental ethics evolved alongside their intellectual and political stances. Additionally, their works complimented one another in that the sociologist's meta-discussions of environmental degradation and its correlation to the decreased quality of life abstracts the personal accounts that the anthropologist provides in her anthropological studies.[18]

Du Bois' position on remediating the polluted Housatonic River in Great Barrington evolved over the course of three decades. In his 1930 speech, Du Bois offered a moral argument when he reasoned that students ought to clean the river because it stood at the helm of the town's civilization.[19] This philosophical interjection matured into an explicit and politically-charged stance before his 1963 demise. In a 1961 letter to the president of his alma mater, the thinker and social critic decried Searles High School officials' negligence in protecting this natural resource.[20] Du Bois maintained:

> Several years ago I spoke at one [of] your anniversaries held in Stockbridge. I emphasized then that the Housatonic River should not be used as a sewer. May I follow that thought further, and emphasize before the Searles graduate a further development of that theme. The Housatonic River is the natural Main Street of the Town of Great Barrington. It should be a clear and limpid stream, flowing gently through grass, trees and flowers; flanked by broad roadways and parks as the life stream of a town. In the midst of its passage, where now rises the monstrosity of a private school should be a lake and beach for public bathing. This would emphasize Great Barrington not as a centre for millionaires, not for money-mak[ers] but as [a] town of homes as it used to be; as a []

> place where men dreamed and sought the meaning of living and cared little about how much they could make or steal. Does this sound very silly to the pupils of the Searles today? I hope not….[21]

This personal note from Du Bois exemplifies how his political stances remain relevant in current conversations on race and the environment. In "Du Boisian Double Consciousness: The Unsustainable Argument" Ernest Allen historicizes this notion of the "double consciousness" and argues that it was not originally utilized to discuss African Americans' psychological trauma from being enslaved and that Du Bois in fact engaged the phrase to advance his agenda for a stronger black community. Accordingly, Du Bois used this terminology to garner financial support and arouse white benevolence for his Talented Tenth initiative.[22] Through appealing to the moral and ethical sensibilities of whites, Du Bois was able to bypass the dilemma of uplifting a black elite class without subjugating them to white scorn and despise during the Nineteenth century.[23] According to Du Bois' conceptualization of double-consciousness, African Americans must reconcile the vile and disparaging perceptions that the dominant society has constructed of them while they seek to formulate a strong, positive and humanizing perception of themselves.[24]

Given the historical and current phenomena, it becomes clear how Du Bois' theoretical framework on double-consciousness applies to the environment question as it is no longer the "Race Question" or the "Woman Question." We are now in a moment in which the "Environment Question" becomes integral to our historical analysis of Du Bois' notion of double-consciousness. How does environmental degradation and exploitation debase the quality of living for human beings? What perils are we introducing to future generations as a result of our current actions? How long will it take to repair our past destructive actions against nature? In particular, how does the black experience in the U.S. shape the American discourse around environmental degradation? Moreover, how does evaluating this experience engage the overall transnational discourse on environmental activism? The environment question complicates Du Bois' conception of double-consciousness because the black individual must now fight to understand how her or his access to basic rights to clean air, clean water, tenable, habitable land and a safe natural environment is historically related to her or his skin color.

Recent discourse in environmental history is transitioning towards a moral and political conversation that critically interrogates the myriad of ways that natural landscapes have shaped the lived experiences of human beings.[25] A cogent evaluation of environmental history in the United States should include an examination of the historical legacy of slavery. The experience of blacks in the U.S. is unique in that no other demographic in this nation faced the historical condition of bearing children into chattel slavery and living under a constitutional democracy that formally endorsed its enslavement.[26] In *African American Environmental Thought: Foundations* Kimberly Smith raises the question: "… Did slavery alienate blacks from the land, or were they able to forge a connection to the natural world despite (or even because of) the restrictions and cruelties they suffered?"[27] The question is problematic because it overlooks the reality that prior to slavery the enslaved were part of a cultural group that held decrees and social morays such as those found in African cosmology and that these ideologies contributed to their views on the natural environment. Moreover, this question is reductive in presupposing that the bondpersons' response to enslavement would be either becoming connected to the land or entirely removed from it. Rather, a more encompassing question interrogates the rich space of uncertainty where the enslaved sought to reconcile their African-centered religious and political worldviews with a Judeo-Christian ethic and capitalist society that treated the land as a soft commodity that was subject to spoilage.

Although not wholly representative of the political stances of all its citizens, a capitalist infrastructure thrives on a culture of economic, political and social oppression. At its core it is systematically tied to the degradation of the natural environment. In order to produce the greatest economic surplus, this infrastructure and mode of operation commodifies natural resources and relegates human beings into bonded laborers.[28] Animals, plants and other sentient beings have extrinsic value and their utilitarian value exists principally for human consumption/exploitation.

Locke argued that God gave man land for his survival and convenience and that only through his labor could a human add value to the land and own it.[29] This is clear when he stated: “The labour of his body, and the work of his hands, we may say, are properly his. Whatsoever then he removes out of the state that nature hath provided, and left it in, he hath mixed his labour with, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property.”[30] Locke contended that the end of government is to protect the estate of its constituents. In a sense of absurdity he believed it was logical and ethical to exclude Native Americans and enslaved Africans from the decision-making process in the legislative body because they did not have property and he deemed them “unfit to be citizens.” [31] Yet they were still bound by the terms of the law. This line of thinking permeated the institution of slavery and resulted in the irreversible destruction of natural resources and species. It ushered mass killings of Native Americans and the seizure of their land to produce goods that were sold on the international market.[32]

The genocide of Native Americans, the enslavement of Africans and the degradation of nature are concrete and direct manifestations of the inherent problems with Locke's arguments and assertions throughout *The Second Treatise.* The introduction and tacit agreement between society's members to replace bartering with money does not address the issue of spoilage and misused of nature's resources. Locke's argument encompasses a fundamental dilemma because he took a precious and nonrenewable resource with intrinsic value such as nature and determined that money would become the means to determine its value and that because humans deemed the purchase power of money as infinite that so too were natural resources. Using money as a measuring tool is not inherently problematic. The problem lies in superimposing this tool unto the subject and declaring that the object with extrinsic value is more valuable than the subject it measures. Such logic strips the subject of its value and sets up a precedent for people to view the resource with much less regard because one effectively removes the moral and ethical connection that humans have to that item. It logically follows that if nature, the source from which all life flows, exists as a commodity then everything and every being within it is also a commodity. This reasoning has been the driving force behind how Europeans and later Americans procured land and capital.

The exploitation of the land in the United States developed in tandem with the evolution of chattel slavery, the growth of capitalism and the construction of race and class. Given that the nation considered an enslaved black person as what Ira Berlin terms a "property-in person," slaves had only their labor as a tool of negotiation under slavery.[33] As chattel these individuals faced insurmountable adversities while trying to own any land or property of their own. Yet, elite slaveholders and landowners gained value from their land through trading the cotton, rice, tobacco and sugar they acquired from forcibly extracting labor out of indentured servants, Native Americans and enslaved African Americans.[34]

Lockean philosophy coupled with structured racism once again denied African Americans of fair opportunities to survive postbellum. This intimate connection between the degradation of the land and the exploitation of these communities of color throughout the 17th and 18th centuries continued into the 19th and 20th centuries where it developed into sharecropping. The end of the Civil War and the advent of the Reconstruction marked a time of political, social, and economic unrest among citizens throughout the United States.[35] The collapse of the institution of slavery and Southern currency birthed new forms of tensions between blacks and whites during the nadir from 1890-1029 as once wealthy slaveowners and landowners were now destitute and in direct competition with newly freedpersons for financial resources and land.[36] Although freedpeople were entitled to the land they cultivated, they were forced to sell their labor under sharecropping.

Although the federal government created the Freedmen's Bureau to protect the interests of the freedpersons, the government agency could not always remediate the disputes between sharecroppers and landowners. Although the bureau attempted to protect freedpersons from price gouging by setting prices that commissaries could charge tenants, landowners often disregarded these prices and actually sold the rations that the government intended for the sharecroppers.[37] What is more telling is that bureau officials actually colluded in exploiting black workers through investing into the sharecropping system.[38]

The leader of the protest tradition, T. Thomas Fortune vehemently opposed sharecropping and was a major proponent of black landownership because he understood that landownership was the key to creating a large and powerful base of black voters as well as a financially stable black middle class.[39] In T. Thomas Fortune's text *Black and White: Land, Labor and Politics in the South* (1884) he argued that in order for freedpersons to truly enjoy their freedom they must get the right to vote and fertile land that would enable them to support themselves.[40] Fortune contended that private initiatives towards owning land created destitution within the black masses.

Du Bois agreed with his mentor Fortune and remarked in the classic *Souls of Black Folk* (1903) that: "The Nation has not yet found peace from its sins; the freedpersons has not yet found in freedom his promised land. Whatever of good may have come in these years of change, the shadow of a deep disappointment rests upon the Negro people, .…"[41] More than a century later, Du Bois statement still holds true as the U.S. government has yet to acknowledge the racialized socioeconomic and political divide endowed by capitalism and slavery nor has it rectified its past of denying freedpersons with tenable land and viable opportunities to gain social, economic, and political traction during Reconstruction.[42] Historian Mary Frances Berry examines the nation's failure to redress the woeful acts of slavery by detailing the plight that washerwoman and leader of the National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief Bounty and Pension Association Callie House (1861-1928) experienced while she led the nation's first reparations movement to get pensions for former slaves during the early twentieth century.[43] In response to the association's quest to acquire financial compensation for their unpaid labor while enslaved, the U.S. Attorney General's Office demonized the organization and quelled its efforts when it charged the association with mail fraud and imprisoned its leader Callie House.[44] The government's incarceration of Callie House signified that the nation would not willing to address its mired history.

The legacy of slavery transitioned into the 20th with the used of both rural and urban spaces where communities of color reside as dumping grounds for major corporations.[45] Although the U.S. offered affordable mortgages to white middle-class Americans and made homeownership attainable for this group through the G.I. Bill (1944), the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) deemed neighborhoods with people of color as risky financial investments and thus sidelined these communities into inadequate, yet high-priced housing after World War II.[46] The advent of Jim Crow Segregation, redlining and zoning laws instituted discordant spaces that constrained people of color and poor whites to dense and polluted spaces while it permitted whites to live in the suburbs and have access to undisturbed natural spaces.[47]

The degradation of the land and denigration of certain groups has evolved into a new discourse that scholars now refer to as environmental (in)justice respectively. In addition to these public health concerns, this burgeoning conversation examines the social stratification that has precipitated out of the subjugation of particular societies and the exploitation of their natural resources. After decades of institutionally-supported segregation, these locations are subjected to economic blackmail and large-scale pollution.[48] Corporations have disproportionately targeted poor communities of color and used economic blackmail to situate noxious facilities in these neighborhoods. As a result, African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans and other communities of color have an unfair burden in environmental pollution.[49] Exposure to these perilous levels of pesticides and noxious wastes have yielded higher amounts of cancer, endocrine disruption and birth defects in these populations.[50] Founder of the Pesticide Education Center Marion Moses outlined the historical oppression of Native Americans, Japanese, Fillipinas/os and Mexicans who invariably developed "non-Hodgkin lymphoma, leukemia, multiple myeloma, testicular cancer, liver cancer, stomach cancer, pancreatic cancer, lung cancer, and primary brain cancer."[51]

In this industrialized society in which land and direct access to nature's main forms of subsistence is monopolized by a select few, this disparity in ownership of fertile soil creates an institutionally-supported form of oppression that subjugates vast populations.[52] People of color are forced upon lands that are untenable and surrounded by dangerous and noxious facilities which threaten the overall health of community members.[53] The results of our actions are not circumscribed to these communities but impact all since nature is not a respecter of persons. The issue is that these problems are manifestations of a larger infrastructural enervation that threatens the survival of human beings and other species. Lani Guinier and Gerald Torres' juxtaposition of the role of the canary in the mines with the issues of race in the U.S. speak to the specific public health issues that afflict communities of color and the overall well-being of our nation.[54] How will Americans reformulate the current discourse on the environment to include the stories that its leaders have undermined as it is no longer appropriate for blacks to enter this discussion merely as large statistics with disproportionate amounts of asthma, ovarian cancer or babies being born with birth defects.[55]

Environmental History Historiography

The overwhelming majority of works either circumscribed African Americans, Native Americans and other people of color to marginalized classifications of barbarism or scholars neglected these groups' roles entirely. Worster's seminal text *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas* provides the framework for environmental history with an analysis and critique of the 18th century ideological paradigms that Gilbert White and Carolus Linnaeus espoused in their respective Arcadian and imperialist views of nature.[56] Additionally, it examines how these views informed 20th century environmental rhetoric and politics. Among others, Worster praises the works of celebrated thinkers Aldo Leopold and transcendentalists Emerson and Thoreau. However, there is a glaring silence on the discussion of the institution of slavery and how it categorically shaped the views and values that man placed upon nature and man's relationship to nature. He engages gender at a perfunctory level at best.

Carolyn Merchant's *Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution* discussed how the rise of global capitalism and an institutionalized form of science paralleled the devaluation of nature and localized knowledge.[57] The book centered its analysis of environmental destruction around issues of race, gender and the history of science. As the scientific profession became more professionalized, it destroyed long standing community knowledge because scientists created technological instruments that outcompeted the local knowledge within communities. Particularly it demonstrated how the scientific revolution devalued women's knowledge and shifted centers of epistemic production around a medium that precluded women from actively participating in this discourse.[58] The new form of science did not recognize women's local and indigenous knowledge of nature.

Rachel Carson's text *Silent Spring* ushered in the second wave of environmentalism by critiquing the technological advancements in science and the indiscriminate used of harmful chemicals upon the nation's food supply.[59] Carson warned the American public of the dangers of pesticides and insecticides on our agricultural products and the overall wildlife populations. Like her predecessors, Carson failed to take her research further and make the necessary relationship between her work and its impact on blacks and other people of color in the United States.

In this pivotal text *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*, historian William Cronon and other scholars re-evaluate the humanistic and idealistic perception of nature and contend that our ideological renderings of nature are "culturally constructed." [60] The overarching argument contends that humans must question our definitions of nature and how our interpretations of nature will influence the environmental movement of the 21 century. In "The Trouble with Wilderness" William Cronon argued against the romanticized notion that land and nature could only exist purely and picturesque if left untouched by humans. He asserted that humans could appreciate nature and cultivate nature's best assets through responsible daily activities. Donna Haraway's essay "Universal Donors in Vampire Culture: It's All in the Family: Biological Categories in the Twentieth Century United States" provided a good treatment of race through her contention that race is a socially and historically constructed paradigm that has developed into a scientific category to separate human beings into differing categories.[61] Giovanna De Chiro's essay "Nature As Community: The Convergence of Environment and Social

Justice" brought the issue of environmental justice and human rights to the forefront of the larger environmental history discourse when she shed light on the issue of the power dynamics that exist between the people who define the uses of nature and those who exist on the fringes of society and are left to occupy the most undesirable spaces.[62]

In her 2003 essay "Shades of Darkness: Race and Environmental History" Carolyn Merchant discusses the new and emerging efforts of environmental historians to explore and critique the intersections of gender, race and class and interrogate how these factors shaped peoples' interactions with their natural environments.[63] This article highlights the racism that key environmentalists demonstrated against Native Americans, Mexicans, African Americans and other people of color in their writings and actions. Merchant specifically questions the conclusions established by major figures such as John Muir and Aldo Leopold's that blacks were disconnected to nature and counters their arguments by citing the contributions of Zora Neale Hurston and W.E.B Du Bois.

Environmentalists presented degrading and caricatured representations of people of color. In his pioneering work *My First Summer in the Sierra* Muir documented an encounter with a Native American as such:

> Throwing down his burden, he gazed stolidly for a few minutes in silent Indian fashion…. A strangely dirty and irregular life these dark-eyed, dark-haired, half-happy savages lead in this clean wilderness,-starvation and abundance, deathlike calm, indolence, and admirable, indefatigable action succeeding each other in stormy rhythm like winter and summer.[64]

This statement further supports the previous discussions I bring forth in this introduction. This particular ideological background has pervaded the structure of the Sierra Club. This racism was not unique to the activists within environmentalism but was merely a subsector and reflection of the overall historical research on the African American experience. The dominant historical narrative has portrayed Africans and African

Americans as primitive and barbaric peoples who lacked a coherent sense of moral, political and intellectual aptitude. Such images are widespread and ever present in the letters and personal papers of European missionaries in addition to the United States Constitution.[65]

Current environmental discourse seeks to include the contributions of various cultures. Oxford Press's 2010 publication *Environmental History: As If Nature Existed* offers cutting edge transnational research on environmental history.[66] Scholars and leaders alike are now revising the environmental historiography to engage the intimate connections of race, gender and class. Merchant's anthology *Major Problems in American Environmental History* interrogated the historiography by examining primary sources that addressed issues surrounding slavery, Indian removal, gender subjugation and class stratification. Although Merchant's edited text *Major Problems in American Environmental History* interrogates the environmental historiography through engaging various primary sources that speak to multicultural issues, it calls for further extensive research on these matters. Nevertheless, Merchant's ecofeminist perspective is evident in how well she presents the views of women of color as they engage their natural environments.[67]

Dorceta Taylor's *The Environment and the People in American Cities, 1600s-1900s: Disorder, Inequality, and Social Change* responds to Merchant's call by offering a historical and sociological study of the environmental history and environmental activism in U.S. urban centers.[68] In recovering the past with an informed racial and gender analysis, she argues that: "To understand urban environmentalism one has to understand how cities grew and changed over time; class, gender, racial, and ethnic tensions; and the quest to impose order on the populace and the environment."[69] Through incorporating these demographics, the texts interrogates how elites controlled the land and created racially-segregated spaces that left communities of color vulnerable to disproportionate amounts of environmental pollution. Furthermore, it examines the political and social activism that informed these communities' responses against the environmental injustices.[70]

Environmental Justice Historiography

In the seminal 1987 study *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States*, the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice discovered that by comparison race was the most salient factor in where corporations chose to dispose of hazardous wastes.[71] Moreover, the study discovered that 60 percent of African Americans lived in areas with abandoned toxic waste sites and that three of the five largest toxic incinerators were located in either predominately African American or Latino communities.[72] Similar to executive director of the project Dr. Benjamin F. Chavis Jr., there would be other notable former civil rights activists who became committed to this new fight against environmental racism.

Robert Bullard published the first scholarly work on environmental racism. Bullard's *Dumping in Dixie* in 1990 (2003) was the first scholarly work to interrogate the unfair distribution of landfills and other hazardous sites in black communities when he discussed how the land values in certain neighborhoods coupled with the overall racial make-up of certain communities made them prime locations for corporations to dump because dumping on cheaper lands increased the economic profits of companies.[73] As the father of the environmental justice movement, Bullard introduced the racial component in the overall environmental discourse when he produced sound sociological research that showed hard evidence of how blacks and other people of color experienced environmental racism.

Five years after the *Toxic Wastes Report* and two years following Bullard's publication, a 1992 study by Lavelle and Coyle corroborated the evidence in these previous studies. In their study entitled "Unequal Protection: The Racial Divide in Environmental Law," it takes approximately 13.1 years to clean up sites in communities of color versus 9.5 years in white communities.[74] Furthermore, on average corporations are fined $55,318 for dumping hazardous chemicals in communities of color as opposed to $335,556 for committing the same offenses in poor white communities.[75] Consequently, corporations receive institutional support to break environmental laws in communities of color since the government renders more lenient penalties in these situations. The study determined that the EPA was 22% more likely to require corporations to treat sites in white neighborhoods in comparison to blacks.[76] Thus corporations know it is more expensive and must meet higher safety regulations to dump hazardous waste in poor white neighborhoods than in communities of color.

This data speaks to the reality that this environmental issue is not solely an economic/class issue but environmental degradation encompasses the inextricable linkage between race and class in this society. The overwhelming majority of freedpersons came out of slavery without land, access to the least desirable terrain at best and the burden to fight against unfair and dangerous land practices. These disparities are reflected in major part by the large amounts of cancer and health issues in African Americans and other communities of color. In his article "Environmental Racism" Karl Grossman detailed the unusually high volume of cancer and birth defects among constituents in a housing project in Altgeld Gardens, Chicago. This community was located near several large-scale hazardous waste facilities.[77] Mrs. Johnson, a resident of Atgeld Gardens recounted her experience from living in this area when she remarked:

> We're sitting in a center of a doughnut surrounded by a hazardous was incinerator that gives off PCBs, seven landfills that are constantly growing; they look like mountains. There are chemical plants, a paint factory, two steel mills which give off odors, and lagoons filled with all kinds of contaminants that exist. 30,000 tons of poison into the air each year. And there's a water reclamation district where they dry sludge out in the open. The smell is horrible, like bodies decomposing.[78]

This is indicative of the disproportionately high rates of cancer, low birth weights and birth defects in these populations.

Slavery and Antebellum Historiography

In his influential text *Negro in American Life* sociologist Jerome Dowd exclaimed: "Nowwhere in Africa have the Negroes evolved a civilization."[79] This image of Africans Americans grew and crystallized at the height of slavery during the late 18th century with Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1794. The prevailing notion that the institution of slavery was paternalistic and it civilized Africans thrived and became the overriding force behind maintaining the status quo. UB Phillips introduced the concept of benevolent paternalism in *American Negro Slavery: Survey of the Supply, Employment, and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Regime* (1908) when he argued that slavery benefitted slaves because it introduced Africans to civilization and that the African topography created communities that were barbaric.[80] Phillips contended: "The climate in fact not only discourages but prohibits mental effort of severe or sustained character, and the negroes have submitted to that prohibition as to many others, through countless generations, with excellent grace…. It can hardly be maintained that savage life is idyllic."[81]

Stanley Elkins produced *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (1959) in which he introduced the "sambo" thesis.[82] Elkins argued that slavery relegated slaves to a child-like psychology and impeded them from engaging in any form of cultural retention and retaliation against slavery. Despite his argument, Elkins' work inspired a new generation of scholarship on slavery. This field of inquiry examined the unique manner in which African retentions occurred within the peculiar institution. Although Eugene Genovese's *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (1976) countered Elkins' sambo thesis and it presented humanistic accounts of slaves, it still concluded that slaves were passive and did not organize major forms of collective resistance.[83] Moreover, Genovese argued that the slaves' minor forms of resistance failed to directly challenge slavery and that their actions were accommodationist. Such ideologies supported the belief that African culture was enervated and overhauled by a more dominant European cultural norm. In "The Conflict and Fusion of Cultures with Special Reference to the Negro" Robert E. Park exclaimed:

> My own impression is that the amount of African tradition which the Negro brought to the United States was very small. In fact, there every reason to believe, it seems to me, that the Negro, when he landed in the United States, left behind him almost everything but his dark complexion and his tropical temperament. It is very difficult to find in the South today anything that can be traced directly back to Africa.[84]

Aptheker's *American Negro Slave Revolts* provides evidence that slaves were not simply passive people who just accepted slavery without any exercising any agency. *American Negro Slave Revolts* provided contrasting evidence to historian Ulrich B.

Phillips. Aptheker countered the notion that 'slave revolts seldomly occurred in the United States and that the enslaved 'inherited ineptitude' and were 'by racial quality submissive.'[85] *American Negro Slave Revolts* shows the inherent incoherence that was a part of slavery. White people were thoroughly afraid, nervous and tense because they knew what they were doing was wrong and that Blacks would not passively accept enslavement. It revealed how intelligent slaves were and how well they communicated with each other through secret avenues. Moreover, they reformulated the worldviews presented to them and revolted against the institution of slavery.

Melville Herkovits' pioneering text *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941) debunks these prevailing myths and perceptions through documenting the specific and vast ways in which Africanisms survived slavery and transitioned into new syncretisms that ultimately shaped the cultures in the Caribbean, South America and the United States.[86] In *Flash of the Spirit* Robert Thompson builds upon Herksovits' work through studying the visual representations and philosophic underpinnings of major African nations and demonstrated how the essential meanings of these cultural artifacts successfully transferred throughout the Caribbean, Latin American and many places in North America.[87] Michael Gomez's *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (1998) offers a riveting historical and cultural analysis of how ethnically-based African societies developed into a race-based cultural identity while enslaved in the South prior to 1830.[88] He counters Herskotvits' argument by demonstrating that despite the fewer amounts of constant African influx into antebellum America there were still strong African retentions throughout North America and the South in particular. Unlike many of the preceding works, *Exchanging our Country Marks* presents a highly specific discussion on the role of Islam on the group efforts to utilize their cultures and manage the traumatic experiences of being enslaved in Africa, enduring the Middle Passage and the development of the institution of slavery.[89]

Berlin's writes *Many Thousands Gone* to discuss "how race is continually redefined, who does the defining, and why."[90] Moreover, this text demonstrates the process in which ethnically-defined peoples of Africa became Africanized and ultimately became African Americans. Berlin's text problematizes this process and shows that it was not linear and nor was it homogenous across time and space. Courlander's anthology *A Treasury of African Folklore: The Oral Literature, Traditions, Myths, Legends, Epics, Tales, Recollections, Wisdom, Sayings, And Humor of Africa* (1996) provides a collection of various poems, stories and other folklore from various African communities.[91] Although the stories provide a gateway into the cultural traditions of these peoples, Courlander could have checked the authenticity and the validity of the stories that he reprints in the text. Though cursory at times, the anthology does an adequate job of demonstrating the similarities and differences between the varying African nations.

In this dissertation I build upon the revisionist political and cultural historical research and address the call of environmental historians for research that incorporates the narratives of people of color into the environmental discourse. It introduces the conversation on African American environmental intellectual history to the discourse on environmental and African American history. In the following chapters I privilege the experiences of African Americans and women. Rather than utilize a utilitarian or romanticized conception of human's interaction with land and nature, I filter my discussion through a continuum that demonstrates how people's views of nature and their relationship with the land changed due to various impending forces. I utilize the word nature primarily to discuss African Americans' spiritual, conversion or transformative metaphysical experiences. When engaging in political, social and economic discussions I use the term "land." I connect the term directly to the tangible thoughts and cognitive processes that arise as people seek to interpret their life circumstances and ameliorate their quality of life in a given circumstance. Thus, I will not use the term "land" as a purely theoretical concept that is devoid of any real and grounded meaning. Furthermore, the term "environmental degradation" is an inordinate phenomenon in which humans who contain the political salience, economic and social capital artificially place a numeric value upon the land and use this value to justify any destructive means against the land and its inhabitants. Such actions produce a pre-determined profit that only benefits the individuals who are unilaterally-involved in the decision-making process.

There are three major issues which I address in this dissertation. I engage issues on environmental ethics, land ownership and labor issues related to the environment. Each subject could easily become a major research project within its own right. My objective, however, is to open up a field of discourse in African American environmental history and present preliminary research on cultural and environmental bifurcation. In the first chapter I examine the three main religious forms (indigenous, Islam and Christianity) in West Africa to see what West African nations thought of their natural environment prior to the Atlantic slave trade. I examine the religious philosophy, cultural folklore, and African agricultural practices to construct an insight into the unique ways various ethnic communities engaged their natural surroundings prior to the Middle

Passage. Through examining their folk culture, agricultural practices and the accounts of European merchants I construct a frame of reference from which I trace the growth and changes in environmental thought in my subsequent chapters. Classic slave narratives, *Black Rice, History of Agriculture in Southern United States to 1860, Soul by Soul, A Treasury of African Folklore: The Oral Literature, Traditions, Myths, Legends, Epics, Tales, Recollection, Wisdom, Sayings, and Humor of Africa* are among the sources I examine in this chapter.

The second chapter examines the “nadir” of African American history and interrogates the responses of blacks to increased white violence. I discuss how African Americans make a major push towards landownership immediately after emancipation. I examine conversion narratives, literature and folk cultural productions to give a detailed account of how blacks’ views of their natural environment shift during this era. It examines the growth of new forms of cultural medium within African American communities during the antebellum era. Additionally it discusses the boll weevil infestation and how it influences black migration within the South post-World War I. I discuss how African Americans make a major push towards landownership immediately after emancipation. *Negro Thought in America,* U.S. Congress and U.S. Senate reports comprise some of the sources in this chapter.

In chapter 3 I examine the failures of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s New Deal policies and particularly discuss how the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) forced black sharecroppers off the land. It investigates the failures of Reconstruction and the role of sharecropping in shaping new agricultural methods. Chapter 3 examines the Great Migration of blacks North and how this created the ideal political and economic environment for the creation of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU). I differentiate between sharecropping and the variations within tenant farming to show how the economic disparities between these groups impact their perspectives on land and nature. It links in with the major cultural manifestations from the New Negro Harlem Renaissance to see how nature influences these artists during this era. This chapter utilizes *All God's Dangers: The Life of Nate Shaw, God Struck Me Dead: Religious Conversion Experiences and Autobiographies of Negro Ex-Slaves, The New Red Negro: The Literary Left and African American Poetry, 1930-1946,* the WPA Narratives and the private records of farmers in part to gage this time period.

The fourth chapter presents the founding of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU) in Arkansas and discuss the ways in which black sharecroppers and poor white tenant farmers successfully organized into a labor union in 1934 in Tyronza, Arkansas to its continued efficacy in 1941 (The union would become the National Farm Labor Union and then the National Agricultural Worker's Union from 1944 to 1960)[92] to fight for higher wages for their work on the farms**.** I will give specific focus to black women's roles in the STFU. I look at organizations in churches, sewing clubs, book clubs and research the stories of Henrietta McGhee, Deacy Real and Marie Pierce. STFU founders H.L. Mitchell and Howard Kester present these and other black women in the union as passionate political activists. I counter this image in this chapter through researching and presenting the intellectual prowess of these women within this organization. Moreover it discusses the New Negro Harlem Renaissance and how it grows out of the combined collapse of sharecropping and a new form of cultural nationalism. I examine the STFU Papers in this chapter.

The fifth chapter interrogates how new urban spaces created different sets of environmental concerns for African Americans and how the Civil Rights, Blacks Arts and Black Power Movements addressed these issues. I will also give attention to the revolutionary leaders such as Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and Sonia Sanchez to demonstrate how the land question acted as a major driving force behind the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Arts Movement. The conclusion summarizes the dissertation, considers the environmental justice movement and places this discourse in a transnational and feminist context.

The conclusion of the dissertation provides an overarching discussion of the historical countenances of African Americans around the land question from the late antebellum era to the late 20th century. I examine the intimate relationships that coincided along lines of race, class and gender within the unique African American fight to own land and view it as a means of self-definition, sustenance and ultimately a marker of basic human rights. I bring the environmental debate up to date through discussing issues of environmental justice and environmental racism. I examine the unfair exposure to hazardous wastes and noxious facilities that African Americans, Latinos and other people of color experience Although this discussion principally focuses on the issues within the United States it discuss the global forms environmental racism and economic blackmail as well. Additionally it touches upon the negative impacts of hazardous waste facilities upon the overall health of the communities and particularly the reproductive health of women of color. This chapter utilizes the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice's *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States: A National Study of the Racial and*

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Communities with Hazardous Waste Sites among other sources.

CHAPTER 1

AFRICAN COSMOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK AS DEMONSTRATED THROUGH ORAL TRADITION AND AGRICULTURE: PRE-COLONIAL SLAVE TRADE TO THE 20TH CENTURY

"The Drum-History of the State of Mampon"

I: Kon, kon, kon, kon, / Kun, kun, kun, kun, / Spirit of Funtumia Akore, / Spirit of cedar tree, Akore, / Of cedar tree, Kodia, / Of Kodia, the cedar tree, / The divine drummer announces that / Had he gone elsewhere in sleep / He now has made himself to arise; / As the fowl crowed in the early dawn, / As the fowl rose up and crowed,/ Very early, very early, / We are addressing you, / And you will understand; / We are addressing you, / And you will understand.

II: Spirit of Earth, sorrow is yours, / Spirit of Earth, sorrow is yours,/ Earth with its dust, / Spirit of the Sky, / Who stretches to Kwawu, / Earth, if I am about to die/ It is on you that I depend. / Earth, while I am yet alive, / It is upon you that I put my trust. / Earth who receives my body, / The divine drummer announces that, / Had he gone elsewhere in sleep, / He has made himself to arise. / As the fowl crowed in the early dawn, / As the fowl rose up and and crowed, / Very early, very early, / We are addressing you, / And you will understand; / We are addressing you, / And you will understand.

VI: Kokokyinaka bird, / How do we give answer to thy greeting? / We salute thee "Anyado," / We salute thee as the drummer's child, / The drummer's child sleeps, / He awakes with the dawn, / Very early, very early, / We are addressing you, / And you will understand; / We are addressing you, / And you will understand (qtd. In Courlander A Treasury of African Folklore: The Oral Literature, Traditions, Myths, *Legends, Epics, Tales, Recollections, Wisdom, Sayings, And Humor of Africa*. New York: Crown, 1975, pp. 101-104).

In "The Drum-History of the State of Mampon," the speaker celebrates the drum's ability to unite the temporal sphere and the divine world while he invokes the spirit of the trees, the earth, the fowl, and the kokokyinaka bird. In this passage the speaker admits that he depends on the earth for his survival and fleshes out the spiritual connection between these four natural elements. He pays homage to the tree that provided the wood for the drum because it is through the drummer's sound that the speaker connects with the earth and the metaphysical world.[1] Although the spirits migrate from the drummer's hands and reverberate through the wood in the drums, it is the fowl and the kokokyinaka bird who act as direct physical messengers that fly amongst the worlds to communicate on behalf of these parties. This narrative celebrates the organic and symbiotic relationship between religion and nature in West African cosmology.

The millions of people that came out of West Africa during the Atlantic Slave trade bought their cultural values, agricultural knowledge, and their religious sentiments to the American frontier. These values shaped the American identity in a way that gave birth to uniquely American cultural markers, North American ecology, and an African American environmental ethic.[2] More concretely, these cultural ideas traversed geographical boundaries and surfaced in the American narrative through the rice production and material culture. This chapter examines West African centered cosmology in order to explore how it influences the development of an African American environmental ethic in subsequent chapters. It offers a sharper and grounded lens to investigate African Americans' perspectives on the environment by illuminating how these paradigms evolved over time, and geopolitical spaces.

Although not exhaustive, I construct a layered historical analysis of the African cosmological framework by exploring the land ethics and cultural networks of the Dahomey, Yoruba, Ashanti, Hausa, and the Wolof nations via their religious philosophies, folk culture, and the oral tradition. Moreover, I place these works in conversation with the historical scholarship of Peter Wood, Daniel Littlefield, Judith Carney, Edna Fields-Black and Ira Berlin. The cultural narratives of West African communities from Senegambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, the Bight of Benin and the Bight of Biafra provide the foundation for this chapter because these locations delivered approximately ninety percent of the slaves in the Atlantic slave trade.[3] Furthermore, these narratives and folklore speak to the rich oral tradition by providing insight into the intimate and public spheres of influence in these nations and corroborate the experiences that missionaries and anthropologists offered in their memoirs and field notes on the Dahomey, Ashanti, Hausa, and Mende peoples.

The two main religious frameworks that thrived in West Africa prior to the birth of the Atlantic slave trade in the 16th century were indigenous and Islam.[4] I do not posit that West African religious structures are homogenous and are comprised of one traceable line of thought. However, based upon previous research on African Cosmology and African American religion, I agree that: (1) African American religious philosophy is predicated upon a dynamic relationship between African Cosmology, Judeo-Christianity, and Islam; (2) The dissimilar characteristics within the African Sacred Cosmos diminished in the Americas; (3) Elements of the African Sacred Cosmos impacted how African Americans viewed their relationship to nature and the environment.[5]

African Cosmological Framework Defined

The African Cosmology is not a static idea but a dynamic and evolving worldview that responds to the changes in time, space, and need. This worldview allowed African nations to create a sense of order in an otherwise unpredictable universe through systematizing their social mores and giving their communities meaning within this larger system.[6] This ideology encompasses a complex metaphysical infrastructure in which time, space, and the “living” & “non-living” are integrated into one larger operating structure where existence occurs along a circular continuum.[7] Religious philosopher Mbiti contends that the African Sacred Cosmos is comprised of: (1) God; (2) Spirits; (3) Man; (4) Plants and animals and inanimate objects and that there is a force that exists throughout all of these categories. However, only God, the spirits, and gifted individuals have the ability to access this powerful force.[8]

In this system, all subjects are interconnected and impacted by the actions of others. Although there is a stratified list of beings/forces present, there is an inter-dependence within these forces.[9] Mbiti asserted this commonality in his definition of an African cosmology when he declared "To destroy or to remove one of these categories is to destroy the whole existence including the destruction of the Creator, which is impossible. One mode of existence presupposes all the others, and a balance must be maintained so that these modes neither drift too far apart or get too close to one another."[10] Thus every entity's action directly impacts the overall integrity of everything that is within this system. Natural phenomena repeat itself and people's spirits merely die in one medium only to become re-incarnated and embody another physical form. When someone dies, he or she enters into the realm of the ancestors and those living in the natural world ascribe certain powers and responsibilities upon their ancestors.[11]

Although certain West African societies view the *Umuntu* or Great God as being distant from humans, they do believe that the spirits have direct contact with humans and that people can influence their decisions.[12] Consequently, people seek to appease the ancestors, who comprise the pantheon of lessor gods in order to move them to intercede on behalf of present and future generations.[13] As a result, there is an en ever present interplay between generations, which ultimately collapses these three separate beings of existence into one interlocking mechanism. This idea becomes the driving force behind the elaborate ceremonies and the sacrifices of thanksgiving and appeasement that are present within the West African religious traditions.

As part of the Sacred Cosmos the birds, trees, bodies of water, and natural phenomena all become vehicles and instruments that permit humans to engage the universe in its entirety and establish their role in this larger structure.[14] These vehicles become conduits of God and carry valuable survival lessons for tribal members. Thus there is a constant striving for balance and harmony within these forces.[15] The operating principles regarding nature are that: (1) Nature cannot be owned nor sold (2) Land is owned communally although the chief and nobility exercise greater political influence (3) One should not take from nature more than is needed and last but not least one should allow the land and its occupants the opportunity to self-replenish before removing anything further from it. These groups exhibited their ideological beliefs through their agricultural practices and their folk lore.

Islam: Its History and Influence in West Africa

Pre-modern Islam was a key religious order that influenced West African traditions and social morays.[16] The birth of Islam occurred in 610 C.E. when the prophet Abu al-Qasim Muhammad ibn Abdullah received his first revelation in the cave Hira on Mount Jabal al-Nur outside of Mecca and continued to form over twenty years as the prophet retreated into the caves to pray and meditate in solitude.[17] Thirty-one years later, the religion spread into Egypt through trade and military conquest.[18] The North African Arabs and Berbers converted influential leaders along the slave and trade routes in the Sahara trade.[19] After The Prophet's death in 632 C.E., his successor Abu-Bakr declared jihad against the Sudanic people so that the Almoravids would control the trade routes in the desert.[20] By the 8th and 9th centuries Islam became a part of the Sudanic people's religious practices.[21] Gold, minerals, and slave trading drove the expansion of Islam into central and West Africa.[22] The Mande's Dyula people (also referred as Wangara) helped spread Islam across the West African nations of Mali, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Burkina Faso, and Guinea-Bissau during the late 15th century.[23]

Although Mali was a thriving center of commercial trade prior to Islamic reign, it did not garner international notoriety until it became a trading partner with the Arabs.[24] Islam in West Africa grew from the trade between these nations, the Berbers of North Africa, and Arabic traders. Although some kings converted out of personal conviction, others converted to Islam to gain favor with their Arabic trading partners.[25] Malian king Mansa Musa (ruled 1307-1332) bridged the relationship between Islam and the West African nation after he returned from the hajj. Under his directive Mali erected the Great Mosque and made it an imperative for Muslims in Mali to go on the hajj.[26] As the connector between the land and the Niger River, Timbuktu was a world-renowned center for Arabic writings and a hub for Islamic religious scholars who studied Sharia law (Islamic jurisprudence).[27]

Despite their connection to Islam, leaders of the Malian and Songhay empires retained important African customs by syncretizing important indigenous religious practices to the Islamic tradition.[28] For instance, griots remained a staple in the religious customs and practitioners covered their foreheads with ash and dust during special religious ceremonies.[29] Songhay leaders Sunni Ali, Askiya Muhammad I fought vehemently against the Berbers so that believers in the Songhay empire could practice their indigenous customs alongside Islamic practice.[30]

Islam and Nature

Islam resonated in parts of West Africa partially for its outlook on nature. The religion advances a well-defined stance on nature and sets forth critical directives on how Muslims are to interact with nature.[31] First and foremost, the Qur'an establishes that the earth and everything within it has intrinsic value and that despite human being's free will and position in the food chain, God holds people responsible to protect their natural resources.[32] Balance, resourcefulness, connection to nature, respect for nature, justice, and fairness are key concepts of the Qur'an. According to Islamic principles, one should enter trade agreements in all fairness and not cheat the other person. Surat Al-Shura 42:17 writes: "Allah is He Who revealed the Book with truth, and the Balance; and what will make thee know that perhaps the Hour is nigh."[33] Surat Al-Rahman supports this view when it prescribes: "And the heaven, He raised it high, and He set up the measure, And keep up the balance with equity, nor fall short in the measure.[34] Surat Al-Hijr 15:19 also speak to these principles and states: "And the earth - We have spread it and cast therein firmly set mountains and caused to grow therein [something] of every well-balanced thing."[35] Hence, no one organism is set above another and all the subjects should strive to remove the least amount of resources from the overall organism to maintain the overall integrity of the system.

The concept of balance also applies to water used. As nomads who lived in the deserts of Saudi Arabia and North Africa, Muslims in the Pre-modern era placed a high value on water and opposed anyone who wasted it.[36] As part of God's precious allowance, water is the foundation of life and the Qur'an demands followers to conserve water at all times. Humans should value water because "… He it is Who created man from water…"[37] Surah Al-Nahl states: "And Allah sends down water from above, and therewith gives life to the earth after its death. Surely there is a sign in this for a people who listen."[38] The water belongs to no one and must be shared equitably by all members within a given nation. For instance, Sahih Al-Hadith 3.838 (Al-Bukhari Hadith) established that "There are three persons whom Allah will neither talk to nor look at, nor purify from (the sins), and they will have a painful punishment. (They are): 1: A man possessed superfluous water on a way and he withheld it from the travelers,…."[39] These texts demonstrate that water remains a resource that is a testament to God's duly organization of the earth and all of its systems and that He is the sole arbitrator over how it is distributed. Throughout the Qur'an and the Hadiths, Islamic law regards those who are wasteful in contempt and particularly it does not forgive those who waste water.[40]

The prophet Muhammad was steadfast against wasting water and he spoke against wasting it during ablutions. Surat Al-An 'am 6:141 and Al-A 'raf 7:31 states: "Do not waste: verily He loves not the wasteful!"[41] Additionally, Surat Al-A 'raf 7:31 states: "O children of Adam! Look to your adornment at every place of worship, and water and drink, but be not wasteful. Lo! He loveth not the wasteful."[42] The hadith asks followers to preserve water during ablutions as well when it asserts:

> God's Messenger appeared while Sa 'ad was performing the ablutions. When he saw that Sa 'ad was using a lot of water, he intervened saying: "What is this? You are wasting water." Sa 'ad replied asking: "Can there be wastefulness while performing the ablutions? To which God's Messenger replied: "Yes even if you perform them on the bank of a rushing river.[43]

In these instances the Prophet Muhammad and the Qur'an honor the limited sources of water in the Saudi Arabian and North African terrains. During the steps of ablution the believer recited silent prayers before they entered the Mosque.[44] Hence water was a sacred element that connected the believer to Allah and it reminded her that this resource was a powerful life-giving force.

In addition to water, the Qur'an requires its followers to respect animal welfare. Animals are an integral part of the Qur'an because God reveals Himself to the earth and the heavens, inanimate objects, animals, angels, humans other than prophets, and to the prophets in the religious text.[45] Allah gives the animals and humans the resources they need to survive so that they can submit to Him. The Qur'an imbues animals with value and moral standing in that they live in *ummahs* (Islamic communities) like humans and are a sign of God's creation.[46] Several surats (chapters in Qur'an) are named after animals- for example, there are the Al-Baqarah (The Cow), Al-An'am (The Cattle), Al-Nahl (The Bee), Al-'Ankabut (The Spider), Al-Fil (The Elephant).[47] God revealed Himself to these beings and are part of God's divine plan for the universe. The animals submit to God by trusting His guidance and performing the tasks that He has entrusted them to carry out. Through submitting to Allah, the animals and nature keep human safe during trials and tribulation by functioning as intermediaries between God and people. In Al-Nahl (The Bee) it asserts:

> And surely there is a lesson for you in the cattle: We give you to drink of what is in their bellies-from betwixt the faeces and the blood-pure milk, agreeable to the drinkers…. And thy Lord revealed to the bee: Make hives in the mountains and in the trees and in what they build, Then eat of all the fruits an walk in the ways of thy Lord submissively. There comes forth from their bellies a beverage of many hues, in which there is healing for men. Therein is surely a sign for a people who reflect.[48]

Thus although God gives people the authority to eat animals and use them for transportation, shelter, clothing, and healing, people should always remember that these animals demonstrate God's love for believers. No one organism is set above another and all the subjects should strive to remove the least amount of resources from the overall organism in order to maintain the overall integrity of the system.[49] Nature and everything it encompasses stands at the center of the relationship between humans and Allah.

Religion and Folk Culture

The Ashanti's neighboring Dahomeans in Benin espoused strong religious and cultural beliefs that they projected through various environmental mediums. The Dahomean civilization rose to prominence in the early 17th century after King Allada and his army defeated Calmina and Abomey.[50] Although history presents the Dahomeans as mostly military warriors who fought constantly with the Yoruba as well as other neighbors, this nation established a strong pantheon system that permeated all facets of Dahomean life.[51] The Dahomean pantheon is an elaborate system of various gods and goddesses that reflect natural phenomena. The large-scale outbreaks of small pox were major elements in their stories and the Dahomeans deemed the stories as punishment for being out of harmony with the earth and the ancestors.[52] Their folk culture celebrate the rich relationships between the earth, humans, and these gods. For instance, Age' is in charge of the hunt. Dji is the god of the rainbow. Adjakpa and Ayaba are the god and goddess of the drinking water and food.[53] The gods Loko and his brother Medje are responsible for protecting the trees and their souls in the forests.[54] After Nana-Buluku, the highest god among the sky gods is Mawu' Lisa.[55] It is a dual male and female force that creates the Universe in the Dahomean creation stories.[56] The male and female energies within Mawu' and Lisa complement one another and together they offer a balanced and direct source of wisdom for the Dahomeans.[57]

Justice and fairness became a major operating principle amongst these communities. People are expected to treat one another with the respect and anyone who disobeys the community's laws is subjected to retribution from community members and other forces in the natural world.[58] This constant striving for balance with nature and the ancestors is sometimes examined through one’s ethical nature among human relationships. Among the Dahomey for instance, the Suvinange deity is responsible for drowning men in rivers who travel on boats after they have committed an injustice against their fellow community members, nature, or the ancestors.[59]

The various ethnic groups in Sierra Leone and Senegal principally believed that one high God existed along with several lessor gods and deities who were connected their ancestry with the land.[60] They believed that God was married to the earth and that the living was only one component of a larger metaphysical body of spirits who could control the elements in the natural world. These groups placed women, particularly older women, as the spiritual leaders of their communities and endowed them with the responsibility to maintain this tenuous relationship between the natural and the metaphysical world.[61] Specifically the Bambara people of the Mande espoused ideological principles that the earth and everything both living and non-living were directly connected. They believed that similar to humans, the earth contained a soul that could die and become re-born in another life form.[62] It was thus invaluable for the talisman to create special charms that could reset the delicate balance between feuding entities within the living and non-living mediums.[63]

The Qur’anic principles of balance and respect for nature are virtues that the Wolof, the Mende, and Hausa celebrated in their daily lives.[64] Balance was an important part of the underlying rules of the different ethnic groups. It was imperative in nature, human interaction with nature and with one another. The characteristics of fairness, balance, and respect for other creations are the major issues that the Mende address in their folklore. In a Mende Story entitled: “The Strong One” the protagonist Kassa Kera

Genanina is arrogant because he is the strongest man alive and he is confronted with his weakness when the feather of a large bird he kills renders him temporarily paralyzed.[65]

The story speaks to the intimate balance that must always be kept between man and nature. Kassa and the other figures Ira Ba Tarra and Congo Li Ba Jelema kill twenty antelopes in the forest and thus remove a sizable population from the food supply. The bird must now beg the two men for food.[66] When Kassa kills the bird with the arrow to show his prowess over the bird, in reality it demonstrates a major weakness. Kassa is selfish, arrogant, and dismisses the bird's need for food. Kassa disrespects the rule that he must get only what he needs and that he must not be over confident and undermine the needs of others. The universe seeks retribution on behalf of the bird through placing the feather on Kassa's shoulder. This action metaphorically speaks to the delicate balance that must exist between human beings and other creatures in nature.[67] The balance in gender is relevant when the woman passing by has the power to help Kassa get up when she blows the feather off of his shoulder.[68]

The Wolof epic "Lion of Manding" presents the story of Sunjata Kayta through which we see a strong Muslim influence and the Manding's (a Wolof people) respect for land, nature, and women. Like other African nations, the Wolof believed that the trees and animals contained spirits that could change a person's fate and the historical legacies of that particular nation.[69] In this story Sunjata is born and pre-ordained to become the king of Manding. He overcomes vast trials and tribulations from his own father and brothers in his journey to the throne. The "jinn" who is the medicinal healers and the chief herbalist lives in the gui tree and this gui tree bore fruit only when there would be a new king.[70] Throughout the story the trees and a bird plays an important role in Sunjata's odyssey. It is a tree that marks his presence to the vulture “Duga” who the jinn entrusted to go out into the bush to call Sunjata back into the village after he was in exile in the forest for seven years.[71] The jinns gave the Duga the responsibility of dropping the ring in the well which would determine without reservation that Sunjata was ordained king.

Towards the end of the story the bentenki was at the center of a power dual between the jinn and Sunjata.[72] The tree shifts between splitting itself into pieces and putting itself back together upon the commands of these two leaders. Sunjata prevails in the end when the tree ignores the jinn’s final command and remains in pieces. In addition to the plants, the humans are able to communicate directly with animals and use them as messengers to help the humans accomplish their goals.[73] While in the forest Sunjata speaks to the animals and asked them to provide his mother and anyone who helped her with firewood.[74]

The story of Solomon in the Qur’an offers similar and important parallels to this Wolof tale in that King Solomon must rely on his interpersonal relationship with the birds, animals, and jinns to fully exercise his authority as king. Surat Al-Naml 27:16-19, 20-22 speaks to this:

> And Solomon inherited David. He said, "O people, we have been taught the language of birds, and we have been given from all things. Indeed, this is evident bounty." And gathered for Solomon were his soldiers of the jinn and men and birds, and they were [marching] in rows. Until, when they came upon the valley of the ants, an ant said, "O ants, enter your dwellings that you not be crushed by Solomon and his soldiers while they perceive not."[75]
>
> And he took attendance of the birds and said, "Why do I not see the hoopoe - or is he among the absent? I will surely punish him with a severe punishment or slaughter him unless he brings me clear authorization. But the hoopoe stayed not long and said, "I have encompassed [in knowledge] that which you have not encompassed, and I have come to you from Sheba with certain news.” [76]

Similar to the story of Sunjata, there is a direct cohesive force that exists between the animals and humans as the members of these communities respect the animals and view these creatures as co-inhabitors of the earth and pivotal messengers across vast distances.

Similar to Sunjata, king Solomon values the opportunity to speak with the birds and he relies upon the hoopoe bird to deliver important news to him about the Queen of Sheba.[77]

Presence of Water in West African Folk Culture

The local geography and topographical structure influenced this major respect and revere for water. Certainly the value of water is high particularly within North Africa because it is among the world's driest regions.[78] This same perception and respect for water resonates in the folk stories of several of the West African nations that had a strong Islamic influence.[79] Water and rivers flowed at the center of Ashanti culture as well. They viewed water as a source of life, birth, and as an agent of cleansing. It was unacceptable for one to waste water. Water was crucial to the medicine man's training process.[80] Throughout the process the trainee bathed himself in certain plants to cleanse his body of certain spirits and prepare his body to become the host of another spirit.[81] The first water he used to create medicine was considered his god's wife.[82] This water was among the most sacred resources that he would use during his career. The Ashanti considered the waters in the streams as Holy and protected them through common regard and publically censuring anyone who defiled this resource. Water was particularly imperative to the Asante because of the widespread commonality of droughts that they experienced.[83] In several of the interviews that Greene conducted in Anloga, Ghana in 1978, Ghana she recovered the Anlo religious understanding that Mama Bate was a god who taught the leader Togbui Adeladza where to find drinking water and how to worship her. The oral tradition contends that he experienced this phenomenon while he was on a hunting excursion.[84] Her evidence from the oral tradition, the geographical parameters, and Rattray's observations suggests that precolonial Asante culture valued water and other natural resources and that the forests were primary places where one could have paranormal religious encounters. The women went to the rivers to cleanse themselves after their first menstrual cycle. Although Rattray relied on an informant for this specific phenomenon, he wrote that the women offered up the young woman's loin cloth, the sponge used to bathe her, and an egg to the river and retorted the following: 'Receive this loin cloth, and sponge, and eggs, and do not let this infant have come to puberty (only) to die'.[85] The purpose of this act was to inform the child's ghost mother that this child belonged in this world.[86] Thus from the onset that a woman could create life, this society assured that her womb would be directly connected with the water source that connected both life in the physical and metaphysical world. Although the women did not sever this tie, they did pray to the river spirits that this new young woman would have the opportunity to live a long life and reproduce. Through dipping her in the river three times this woman was now cleansed and her blood became part of the running water.[87] This close connection to the river further reassured the woman and the community that this river's powers were instrumental in this young woman's life and hopefully that of her future generations.

Their creation stories revolving around Sagbata the Otutu bird, Xevioso, and the gods Sogbo´ reflect the arid climate during the dry season in the geographical location now known as Benin.[88] The droughts in these places factored into their perception and idealization of water. Winterbottom recalled that the Eyeo nation among the Dahomey held one if its rivers to sacred status and prevented people from defiling this body of water.[89] He was stunned that this nation believed that a person could die if they even so much as looked at the river.[90] Although there are two major competing versions of the creation story advanced by the Sagbata´ priests and the Xevioso priests, they both hinge around a drought.[91] Both myths contended that the people experienced a drought that that lasted for years and caused famine among the population. Despite the internal fighting between the gods and goddesses, both myths held that the bird Otutu would be the substantial entity that could relay important information between the sky gods, earth gods, and the people. Hevioso (thunder god) and Sagbata (earth god) needed to rectify their lost friendship so that the rain would fall.[92] Without his help and his plea to the sky gods, the drought would have continued. Consequently, the people associate the Wututu bird and her song with imminent rainfall. The Dahomeans hold this bird in sacred acclaim and prohibit anyone from killing the bird.[93] The Dahomey associated rain, particularly heavy rain with new life and vitality. This is demonstrated in their stories "The People Who Descended from the Sky" and the "Origin of the People of the Agblo Quarter" in which the first pair of humans to enter the earth were preceded by heavy rain and the first humans emerged out of the bush following very heavy rain.[94]

The Symbiotic Relationship Between Humans and Animals

The Ashanti believed that humans were capable of transforming into a variety of animals.[95] Although Rattray speaks of this in the physical sense, often the people merely embodied the characteristics of animals and mimicked them through their actions. So they would be extremely respectful of animals for fear that creatures could be humans, but in a different form. Moreover, this phenomenon Rattray described attest to the Ashanti's belief that entities within the metaphysical universe are capable of communicating with humans in the natural world through various mediums such as animals and natural forces.

The Dahomey respected animals because they attributed certain animals to specific gods and these animals had special powers that protected the people from the powers of the gods.[96] Hunters carefully carried out hunting practices that protected the animal's spirit before it died. Failure to properly offer a sacrifice to the fallen animal could result in the hunter's untimely death.[97] Dahomey folk lore holds the chameleon in high regard because it descended from the sky with the first man and woman to inhabit the earth. As such, it serves as a protector from harm because it preceded these humans throughout their journey and used its skin to reflect everything that occurred behind these two people's backs.[98]

The bird Wututu among the Dahomey was responsible to communicate between the sky and the earth. Sagbata commissioned Wututu to fly into the sky and inform Sogbo (Thunder god) that he would sacrifice all of the riches of the earth if Sogbo would deliver them from three years without any rain.[99] Following this mission, the people entrusted Wututu to call unto Hevioso when there is no rain and there is a possible threat of brush fire.[100] This is a powerful role because the gods in the sky will listen to his call. Once again, the bird's purview and ability to traverse large amounts of time and space connects sectors that would otherwise go unconnected. In the short narrative "Sogbo Becomes Master of the Universe," Sagbata commands the people to never harm Wututu and if such an unfortunate event occurs accidentally, the group must celebrate the bird's life and service to the people.[101]

Trees and Forest Cover in Sierra Leone and Their Varied Meanings According to Function in the Communities

Trees and forests abounded in Sierra Leone well into the eighteenth century as well as the Gold Coast in Ghana.[102] British surgeon and abolitionist Thomas

Winterbottom's personal accounts of this region when he travelled there in 1792 speak to the vastness and beauty of the forests in Sierrra Leone when he remarked:

> In sailing up these rivers, the eye is charmed with a landscape perpetually varying, which would afford full scope to the genius and pencil of a Claude. The vast diversity of trees, unknown in Europe, which overhang the banks the immensity of their growth; the vivid hues of their luxuriant foliage; the somber shade which they afford in despite of a dazzling and vertical sun; and the awful stillness which prevails in places so distant from the busy haunt of men; and which is interrupted only by the melancholy cooing of the dove….[103]

Fellow British explorer Mary Kingsley echoed Winterbottom's sentiments on Sierra Leone's forest cover during her 19th century travels in West Africa:

> There is the band of eternity for as far as eye can see. There is the band of yellow sand on which your little factory is built. This band is walled to landwards by a wall of dark forest, mounted against the sky to seaward by a wall of white surf; beyond that there is the horizon-bounded ocean. Neither the forest-wall nor surf-wall changes enough to give any lively variety; they just run up and down a gamut of the same set of variations. In the light of brightest noon the forest-wall stands dark against the dull blue sky, in the depth of the darkest night you can see it stand darker still, against the stars; on moonlight nights and on tornado nights, when you see the forest- wall by the lightning light, it looks as if it had been done over with a coat of tar.[104]

The Sierra Leone territory was densely covered with isolated trees and chains of forests. As a result of this shielding from outside influence, the Mande people retained many of their cultural elements.

The vast spaces of forest cover and animals held various meanings to different nations and individuals. Large trees represented spiritual and ancestral grounds for some while loggers in the lumber industry exploited these resources.[105] The Dahomey, Yoruba, Ashanti, Hausa, and Wolof organized themselves along divisions of socioeconomic status and more notably according to direct sources of lineage. In nations with centralized governments, the chieftain of each respective nation administered the political laws, prescribed the social norms, and collected the land taxes from his subjects.[106] The communities that bordered the Ivory Coast organized along ethnic lines rather than nationalist principles. Each ethnic group identified its familial origin to a piece of land that they claimed belonged to their most distant ancestors.[107] Essentially anyone who did not descend from the same ancestor did not belong to the same group. Notably, they differentiated between the individuals who were related to the chiefs from those born into enslaved families. Within particular villages, each tree signified land ownership, and ancestral roots for each person or family unit. Kingsley noted: "Upon the sacred patch of earth a hut is built, wherein the family fetish is usually kept, and you will [notice] that this patch of earth is always shaded by a tree. You may roughly be able to tell the age of a village by observing the age of its tree, for I am told the tree is always planted, and certainly I have seen the tree being planted, for a new town."[108]

Accordingly, these trees were important pillars of lineage to the community and individuals respected the life and spirits that lived in these elements.[57] Kingsley discussed a concept of a "bush soul" in which the belief was that every person had one specific animal in the vast forest who shared the same soul with that specific person.[109] This spiritual connection transcended into the physical space in that if someone killed a person, that victim's "bush soul" would also die- the animal would either die from natural causes or from a hunter's trap. Conversely, if an animal whose "bush soul" belonged to an individual passed away from any cause, the people believed that this individual would die as well.[110] This belief had practical ramifications because if anyone caused harm to someone's "bush soul" and a medicine doctor or any respected spiritual advisor could prove this, that hunter would be held liable for the losses the family incurred and would have to pay retributions to the victim's family.[111]

The bushes and the forests operated as mediums for people to directly engage in metaphysical exchange with their ancestors. The spirits that occupied these spaces could communicate with the living at any moment. Kingsley recalled: “And again more of it is conversation with spirit guardians and familiar spirits, and also with those of their dead relatives and friends, and I have often seen a man, sitting at a bush fire or in a village palaver house, turn round and say, “You remember that, mother?” to the ghost that to him was there.”[112] This experience where the child in the living world was able to connect with the mother in the after- life occurred in this arena for several reasons: (1) These quiet and open spaces facilitated individuals who wanted to be alone with their thoughts, (2) It was an extension of the after-life and, (3) It represented a natural cycle of growth, development, and death.

The forest, however, was an ecosystem of trees that did not necessarily represent any specific ties to families and held different meaning in certain instances. The forest offered healing and safety during the training of the medicine men.[113] In this context it was both a sacred and a learning space. Conversely, the forest represented a place of danger because it was where people killed others and offered them up as sacrifices to the gods.[114] These dark spaces prevented the moon light from penetrating the grounds and so it was unwise for someone to get lost in this terrain at night. Therefore, individuals did not enter these spaces alone and if they did so, it is because they encompassed the expertise on how to navigate the dense cover. For commercial loggers, the huge supply of wood in the forests functioned as the major building blocks of the extensive timber industry in the Gold Coast during the seventeenth century.[115] Mahogany wood was the prized possession of the 15th-17th centuries and the wood traders from Sierra Leone profited greatly from exporting it to build canoes, cabinets, and slave ships.[116] Consequently, the British and the French to set up posts along the coastlines to export it to Europe.[117]

The trees were monumental markers of social, political, and religious activity in these regions. They were emblems of political sovereignty among nations and acted as natural border dividers amongst different groups.[118] The Portuguese named the various trees as "palaver trees" because these subjects operated at the helm of these nations' administrative and religious ceremonies.[119] According to Islamic tradition in Sierra Leone from the 15th century onward, the tree and the rivers were major elements in coronation ceremonies. Oral tradition cites that officials crowned the king under a tamarind tree and completed the ceremony by offering a sacrifice in the river.[120] These nations buried their religious leaders and griots in the forests to prevent any disruptions from daily human activities and in part kept the forests in high spiritual regard.[121]

The trees and the forests were central figures in Ashanti culture as well because they believed that every tree contained a unique spirit that could harm any individual who defiled it. It was imperative that the community constantly appease these spirits and maintain the balance between spiritual disruption and the usage of natural resources to ensure survival.[122] Thus before any drum maker or artisan would cut down a tree for wood, he would pray to the tree and ask that spirit to keep him and his family safe and bless them with long life. In return, he would offer an egg and a fowl as an acceptable sacrifice to the tree. The drum, stool, or any tool that he produced would contain the same spirits of the source and so he would pray over that material objects as well to pacify the spirits.[123]

According to the Ashanti, God or Nyame is comprised of spirit, force, or power."[124] Medicine men were principally responsible for maintaining these important balances. They were central figures in Ashanti culture because these root doctors functioned as direct intercessories and conduits between the ancestors and those living in the natural world.[125] Their ability to communicate across mediums gave these leaders power and influence that ranged from political, economic, and social platforms.[126] The Ashanti looked to these leaders to explain natural phenomenon through a metaphysical lens.[127] When referring to the medicine men Rattray noted that:

> Wonderful folk they are; botanists, knowing every tree and plant and fern by name, and the spiritual properties of each zoologists intimately acquainted with the haunts and habits of animals, birds, and insects. These forests, with their sights and sounds, are books which they can read with unerring skill; taciturn and suspicious of the would-be European hunter, they love the solitude of nature, whose voices they claim to hear and understand.[128]

These men submitted themselves to rigorous training that is tantamount to a graduate degree.[129] These priests left their families and went into isolation in the forests where they resided there for approximately three years. In this time the student studied the various properties of every tree and plant. They learned to communicate with nature and harness its healing powers and "confine" its strong destructive forces.[130] Becoming one with nature and using the respective plants in the forests to create various herbs and medicines were the principle identifiers of a trained medicine man.

Similar to the Mende and the Ashanti, the Dahomey viewed trees as sacred and political spaces. The Dahomeans relied on the forests and the trees to practice their major religious observances.[131] The trees offered the major spaces where the people would witness the initiation ceremonies for the new initiates into the religious cults.[132] One of Herskovits' informants retorted: "If you knew the names and the stories of all the leaves of the forest, you would know everything there is to be known in Dahomean religion."[133] These religious influences also played a role in their hunting practices. Although hunters preferred to pick their leading hunting-chiefs near the gbetisa trees, they also used the baobab, fig, and other tree species- the tree they used for this purpose was sacred to the hunting process and the ritual before major hunts was paramount to the hunters' survival and success in the forests.[134]

Agricultural Practices And Land Ethic

The religious doctrine informed how these nations carried out their agricultural processes, conceptualized and utilized their natural resources. [135] The sacred nature of these forests influenced how farmers among the Mende, Ashanti, Dahomey, and Yoruba nations manipulated the land in their agricultural practices. They specifically believed that their farming practices disrupted the natural equilibrium of the universe. For instance, although many of the Mande farmers in Sierra Leone were Muslim, they offered either a sheep, fowl, goat or fish to the land and the ancestors before they began to clear the land and prepare it for their harvests.[136] Winterbottom noted that Bullom and Timmanee nations offered these particular forms as sacrifice unto the land to appease the gods prior to cultivating any lands.[137] The Sufis in Senegal retained their cultural belief that they must offer sacrifices to the trees in the forests before they cut down any tree because they believed that these processes could disrupt harmful spirits that and potentially harm the communities.[138] Among the Beng people of the Ivory Coast, the women were responsible to burn the land in preparation for the planting season. These women were careful to circumscribe the burning to specific areas because failure to do so could result in burning sacred land and provoking the wrath of the spirits in the forest "bush spirits."[139]

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the Asante (later Ashanti) of Ghana believed that certain natural spaces harbored supernatural powers and therefore considered them sacred. Social and political customs did not allow people to defile these lands by cultivating them or building/developing on them. The high priests consulted with these gods/oracles in these spaces in times of war, famine, droughts, and other forms of distress.[140] The Anlo gave land away to the "outsiders" under the premise that they would house their gods on these lands.[141] In effect, although the lands were under the jurisdiction of these "outsiders," they essentially had no rights to develop them because they were protected under sacred rule.[142] This measure became a major tool to control land ownership and land development because the nations could punish anyone who defiled these lands.

Like their neighbors, the Dahomeans viewed nature, the past, the present, and the future as connected through the land and the trees in the forests. The spiritual dimension of cultivation was prominent in their agricultural practices.[143] Farmers accessed their land for both soil fertility and spiritual favor with the gods.[144] Given the economic and social value of these natural spaces, these farmers did not defile the land and strip it of its nutrients because it was integral to their survival and success. Farmers were careful not to deplete the soil of its nutrients and therefore planted different types of crops that reintroduced critical nutrients into the soil that previous plants removed. They determined how long each tract of land should remain fallow according to the taste of the clay/dirt in the field.[145] Herskovits noted that the "cult" that worships Sagbata´ is most visible among the farmers because they have to please the earth gods to get healthy crop production.[146] In fact, if the land proved fruitful and productive, the farmer designated this area as sacred and called upon the priest to carry out the official sacrificial rituals that would prevent anyone from defiling the area by cutting down any bush or tree that lied within that specific area.[147]

The Physical Geography of West African Nations: Its Contributions to Rice Production and other Agricultural Methods

Although there were central divergences such as religious and political differences between Dahomey, Yoruba, Ashanti, Hausa, and Wolof nations, the principle similarities in how these groups related to their geographical locations outweighed these differences. West Africa's physical geography shaped the lived experiences and settlement patterns of the nations throughout. The expansive territory contained rich and diverse ecosystems that ranged from the dry/arid ecosystems in the northern Sahel region, to the savannahs and grasslands in the center to the lush tropical rainforests in the southern region. The rivers provided the bedrock for civilizations to grow and thrive as nations lived, farmed, fished, travelled, and traded, along the river banks.[148]

The major centers of trade and export ran parallel to the rivers in the Gold Coast.[149] Despite its small passageways, the rich iron deposits along the Sierra Leone River's shorelines attracted traders and investors while its surrounding low-lying and swampy areas drew fishermen who lived off of the river.[150] The massive Niger River, which empties into the delta in Nigeria, attracted a denser population along its banks.[151] Its rough rapids and rip currents proved too overwhelming for European slave traders and it became a natural barrier between the exterior and interior African locales. This in combination to the rich mineral deposits of gold and diamond in the West Coast, concentrated the European influence to the coastal areas prior to European colonization of the African continent.[152]

The environmental conditions within mangroves and swamps fostered innovative forms of agricultural production amongst pre-colonial Senegambians. Mangroves swamps occur along coastlines where this biome must survive drastic changes in salinity, temperature, water levels, and lower levels of dissolved oxygen. The sea waters along mangroves generally have lower levels of dissolved oxygen that make it difficult for plants and other organisms to carry out the photosynthetic process.[153] As a result, mangroves evolved unique aerial roots systems that contain pnuematophores that grow above the water or mud and obtain oxygen from the air and the surrounding roots systems of other trees.[154] These aerated root systems allow mangrove systems to successfully out-compete other plants that are not adapted to these harsh conditions. The kinds of mangroves that grow along a specific region are dependent on the soil quality. The Niger Delta's large swamp land created an environment in which the water had a higher level of salinity. The Gambian nation north of the Sierra Leone River is surrounded by swamplands and mangroves.[155] During a fishing trip in Corisco Island Kinglsey recalled: "We paddled away, far up a mangrove creek, and the went up against the black mud-bank, with its great network of grey-white roots surmounted by the closely-interlaced black-green foliage. Absolute salience reigned, as it can only reign in African in a mangrove swamp. The water-laden air wrapped round us like a warm, wet blanket.... The stink of the mud, strong enough to break a window, ..."[156]

In addition to their scientific properties, these mangroves were important ecological systems that created potentially optimal spaces for settlement while under attack from warring neighbors and European slave traders. They acted as a physical barrier for the occupants who lived near these areas.[157] The large and vast interwoven root systems functioned as natural barriers against coastal erosion and allowed inhabitants to see people on the waters before those on the waters could see them. Since mangroves are not present in European nations these biomes gave West African natives an advantage over their European counterparts who were not exposed to these communities in their native lands.[158] The uniqueness of mangrove systems encouraged communities to reside along these spaces. The red mangroves especially provided the people with access to both the sea waters and fresh river water systems. Hence they had access to trade routes, the marine life in the seas, and the fresh water for both irrigation and potable supply. The ecological systems also supported communities in building their homes because these woods were already suited for tough weather conditions and did not deteriorate like the other softer woods.[159]

Mangrove swamps became principle factors that arguably drove a major sector of the Atlantic Slave trade. Carney questions whether the European slave ships could have completed the trip across the Atlantic without the agricultural surpluses of the African nations along the coast.[160] Historical evidence suggests that the West African cultures fueled the Atlantic Slave trade through trade in both human cargo and surplus agricultural products that West African nations sold to European slave traders before they embarked upon the Middle Passage. They sold rice, salt, and cereals to their European counterparts.[161] Recent historical research addresses the misconception that West Africans were insignificant in the agricultural technologies present in colonial America and that they were unskilled workers.

Rice was a major staple in the Sierra Leone and Senegambia landscapes. These nations demarcated the changes in time with respect to the rice's planting and harvest season since these were directly linked to the rainy and dry seasons.[162] Rice production in the Upper Guinea Coast, Senegal and Liberia (rice coast) was the product of centuries of indigenous knowledge systems that survived within generations and provided the necessary fodder to create complex agricultural techniques that would withstand the unpredictable rain patterns in West Africa and the higher levels of toxicity within African soils.[163] The Senegambians in particular developed an extensive form of rice production that accounted for the environmental conditions unique to the Rice coast. Particularly along the West African coast, these mangrove systems are complex organizational systems with at least six identified "community types" and gradients along a sixty-nine mile stretch between Nigeria and Cameroun.[164] It was imperative that farmers account for these exact differences because failure to do so could mean the difference between surviving and perishing and therefore modified the natural landscapes and controlled the amount of water available to the plants through flood irrigation.[165] Rainwater and upland terrain predominated in Guinea, Sierra Leon and Liberia. Farmers in Senegal relied heavily on marine water.[166] Among other factors, their mangrove systems and flood-proof systems adjusted for the higher levels of soil salinity, unpredictable rainfall, and the peaks and valleys of the local terrain.[167] For instance, the Gambian estuary's water levels change as much as 1000 percent between the rainy and dry season.[168] Farmers devised dykes and ridges that isolated the rice paddies to protect the rice seeds from the excess salts in the mangroves. These mechanisms concentrated the rainwater in one locale while it precluded the salty marine water from reaching the crops.[169] It was commonplace for the farmers to create these dykes through modifying the circumference and incline of the wood gates to control the desired irrigation levels. [170] Overall West Africans developed eleven distinct techniques for irrigation from marine estuaries, ground and rainwater.[171]

Although traditionally the men cleared the land, women played principle roles in planting, transplanting, harvesting, milling, and preparing the rice in societies where rice production was supplanted by another major crop. [172] In some societies the men cleared the land whereas women cleared it in certain instances.[173] After clearance the women would plant the seeds often and employed the heel and toe method.[174] They picked specific seeds to suit the particular availability of water, the alkalinity of the water, the soil, and its porosity.[175] After sowing it, the women drained the fields for the submersion method to allow the seeds to germinate. It was essential that they protect the seeds from birds and other predators.[176] This required the women and the children to sit/stand in the fields during the day with small stone-shooting hand canons to ward off the birds. Although this appears a rudimentary and laborious process, it provided an environmentally conscious means to protect the crops without using dangerous pesticides that have deleterious effects on the human nervous system. Additionally, it preserved the chemical structural integrity of the seeds which was imperative for both future production and the overall health of the communities that consumed this rice.

After the women harvested the rice, they prepared it for consumption. The women utilized the mortar and pestle method to separate the rice from the grain before they cooked it.[177] This was a laborious process that was solely women’s responsibilities in rice-growing nations. The women perfected this form and taught their daughters how to mill the rice before cooking. The pestle could weigh between 7-10 lbs. and accounts suggest that it could take a woman between 10 and 19 minutes to mill 2.2 lbs. of rice.[178] These were principally female-driven processes that once again created gendered spaces where the women would impart culturally-specific knowledge to their offspring and create networks to negotiate any necessary demands from their male counterparts. Among the Hausa tales one asserts: "She [the maiden] did not grumble, she put it in the mortar and poundence, and when she has finished pounding, the rice filled the mortar. She dry pounded the rice and finished, and pounded it from a height to let the wind blow away the chaff (sheke)."[179] The importance of women's roles in rice production prevailed through the oral tradition.

The women strengthened their informal networks and indigenous knowledge systems while they worked in the rice fields. During these moments, the women passed on important cultural information to the future generations since these moments furnished open spaces that facilitated important conversation.[180] In these female-dominated spaces the women would have discussed politics, economics, and more gender-specific issues that were characteristic of their nations. Winterbottom noted that the women and the girls often sung while they pounded the rice to keep time and remain in unison.[181] These strengthened female relationships resonated in the nation's economies since women were merchants on the local and international markets.[182] The women were indispensable to rice production because they developed skilled milling methods that protected the rice from shattering during the milling process.[183]

After the harvest season the farmers used the land for cattle pasture. They fertilized the soil and replenished it with cow dung and burnt compost, which meant that every biodegradable matter went back into the soil and nourished it with rich minerals.[184] Composting was essential because it allowed the farmers to use the land continuously without having to leave it fallow for a period of time.[185] Allowing organic matter to decompose and provide nutrients to the soil was a traditional form of agriculture that integrated minimal waste and effective forms of fertilization. Their composting attest to the belief that everything is cyclical and that which comes out of the earth returns back into the earth in a different state where the cycle continues. It served a practical used, was environmentally conscious, and reflected West African philosophy of resourcefulness.

Conclusion

A Hausa proverb states: “Five things to make a man cautious: a horse, a woman, night, a river, the forest.”[186] West African geographical spaces shaped the religious perceptions of West African nations in highly critical manners. The massive forested areas of the Sierra Leone to areas plagued by droughts in Benin and Ghana, these national spaces operated as mediums where people could exercise political sovereignty, religious and spiritual rituals.[187] The trees played various roles among West African nations. For traders, the vast forest cover offered them economic stability because they sold the wood to European colonizers.[188] For the kings and political leaders, the land and forest area represented a commodified space wherein they could levy taxes against their constituents who in turn traded their agricultural surplus on the international market to raise the necessary funds to pay off their taxes to the kings.[189] To the lay person, these spaces represented opportunities for spiritual commune with ancestors who transitioned and spaces where they may be harmed if they were not careful. On the opposite side of the spectrum lay the religious leaders who viewed these lands as their labs for chemistry experiences, labs to create spiritual and physical concoctions that garnered much respect and powers of influence for them amongst their communities and the European traders.[190]

The fields were fertile spaces in which farmers produced rice for communal used and for global export.[191] The women drove production of rice with their long-standing indigenous knowledge of how to identify different seeds and plant them according to the varying levels of soil quality. Their mortar and pestle method of rice extraction was par by none before the mechanization of grain removal.[192] As agricultural producers in coastal areas with mangroves and high levels of salinity, slave traders capitalized on these women's knowledge and they became major factors in South Carolina's rice production. Both men and women among the Dahomey, Wolof, Hausa, Ashanti, Yoruba and other West African nations took special care to respect and appease the gods and ancestral spirits that occupied the trees, the waters and within animals.[193] Often the people believed that these spirits were tutelary forces that protected the people and could harm them simultaneously. He created the universe with care, order, and purpose. Surat Sad 38:27 writes: "And We created not the heaven and the earth and what is between them in vain. That is the opinion of those who disbelieve. So woe to those who disbelieve on account of the Fire!"[194] Thus Allah created everything in perfect order, wants everything to submit to Him and entrusted Humans to serve as the stewards of nature.

Pre-Modern Islam comprised a major sector of the various ethnic communities throughout West Africa. The religious sentiments appealed to the leaders in part because they could connect with the major principles set forth by Islam. Islamic principles reverberated with the communities in the Senegal and Sierra Leone among the Wolof and Hausa nations.[195] These religious principles marked their oral tradition and their interactions with the land and nature. The religious philosophies deemed everything in the universe as connected and consequently a farmer could not expect her or his crops to thrive without first appealing to the gods or ancestors.[196] Their environmental ethic was intimately tied to their religious doctrine. Irrespective of religious variation**,** it became imperative to these nations that they protect these sacred spaces. The balance of nature, human's interactions with nature outcompeted the irresponsible used of natural resources.[197] The oral tradition speaks to this concern for nature and the ethnographical research and missionary works of Herskovits, Rattray, Kingsley, and Winterbottom support the teaching in this rich folk tradition.

In many West African groups these cultures appropriate animals into tricksters and utilize these creatures as cultural and political commentators.[198] These groups empower these animals with human characteristics and use these trickers' perspectives to teach wisdoms and valuable lessons. The Ashanti use Anansi the spider, the Yoruba uses Ijapa the tortoise.[199] The Yoruba, Wolof, Ashanti, Hausa, and Dahomey contain animal trickster tales that they use to teach the members important lessons. Additionally, members could appeal to the trickster deities to intercede on their behalf with the higher gods and prevent evil spirits from entering their domain.[200] These tales survived the Middle Passage and became the foundation of the African American tales. These tales which are widely known as Bri'ar Rabbit tales embody many significant characteristics as their predecessors.[201] These stories humanize animals by imbuing them with characteristics/feelings such as happiness, sadness, envy and the ability to communicate with human beings. These tales give moral teachings and provide grounding for what is deemed as normative cultural experiences. They reveal the strength and the longevity of the oral tradition amongst African nations.[202]

CHAPTER 2

FORCES OF NATURE AS INSTRUMENTS OF SPRITUAL RENEWAL AND INSURRECTION: HUMANISTIC RESISTANCE OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE LATE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY

In the American classic *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) Du Bois noted “Here we have bought our three gifts and mingled them with yours: a gift of story and song-soft, stirring melody in an ill-harmonized and unmelodious land; the gift of sweat and brawn to beat back the wilderness, conquer the soil, and lay the foundations of this vast economic empire two hundred years earlier than your weak hands could have done it; the third, a gift of the Spirit.”[1]Although Du Bois asserted this argument thirty-eight years after the Civil War, it speaks to the historical legacy of slavery and the resulting forms of resistance that the enslaved uplifted in the midst of the Peculiar Institution. The Negro Spirituals that emerged as the slaves grappled with the existential dilemmas concerning the existence of God, moral order, and the posthumous journey of one’s soul became a uniquely American art form.[2] As the enslaved engaged in the heart-felt moments of transfiguration, these slave songs congealed the harsh disconnects inherent in the coupled degradation of the land and the systematic mutilation of the human body and spirit.

Slave owners and planters exploited the trees, woods, swamp lands, and animals to exert control over the enslaved via lynchings, forced rice production, and slave captures.[3] Rather than wilt under these hampering conditions, I argue that the enslaved re-appropriated these locales and environmental subjects into direct forms of resistance by: planting their own subsistence gardens, using nature as inspiration for their cultural production, and using the trees and woods to create medicines and plan insurrections. In this chapter I examine how bondpersons redefined and re-appropriated the natural resources that slave masters used to enslave them and turned these resources into direct forms of resistance to express the full spectrum of their humanity during the antebellum period. Certainly this examination is not meant to suggest that enslaved Americans of African descent exhibited complete self-agency and successfully transcended the physical boundaries of slavery. Nor does it suggest that the enslaved overcame the traumatic and barbaric nature of chattel slavery. It does, however, suggest that the bondpersons' resilience and used of nature empowered them to create a divide between their deepest sense of self and the outside world. Through engaging the cultural production, historical narratives of African Americans from the 19th century with court records, ethnographic and ethno historical research, historical archaeological research, government records, and missionary accounts, I discuss how bondpersons infused a Judeo-Christian ethic into their conceptualizations of land, nature, and the environment. Moreover, I consider how this dynamic theoretical framework grew and changed according to the demands of the Civil War.

Bondpersons in the United States operated within an institutional paradigm that valued obtaining land and capital at all costs. In the *Second Treatise of Government* (1689) John Locke made the central argument that government is designed to protect the private property and financial assets of its constituents and that people leave the state of nature and enter into a civil society or commonwealth for the expressed interest of protecting their private estates.[4] He contended that God granted humans with an infinite resource of land and that it was our charge to "subdue the earth" and cultivate it. Accordingly, a nation becomes civilized only when its constituents cultivate the land and add value to it-such added labor produced the greatest good for the most people.[5]

Furthermore, Locke argued that the introduction of money allows humans to use nature's resources without the issue of spoilage.[6]

Although Locke produced the classic to publicly denounce James II's ascendancy to the British throne, it also provided a major ideological and philosophical underpinning in the development of the United States Constitution and the political ideals of the nation's legislative body.[7] *The Second Treatise* established the political theory on land used and ultimately became the driving force behind "chattel" slavery and the large scale degradation of the land.[8] Locke's *three* sections (4 paragraphs) on slavery in relation to his *twenty-seven* sections on property attest to his partiality to institutionalized slavery and its role in the acquisition of land and the growth of capitalism. Locke's term "lawful conqueror" does not apply to African nations during the Atlantic Slave trade because these various nation groups were fighting one another and not European slave traders.[9] Furthermore, Europeans capitalized upon this internal dissention by subsidizing and prolonging these civil wars to obtain more slaves for the Atlantic slave trade. Although Locke provided detailed and strong support for collective resistance against tyranny in the chapter "Of the Dissolution of Government," his only prescribed matter of recourse for the enslaved was: "…for, whenever he finds the hardship of his slavery outweigh the value of his life, it is in his power, by resisting the will of his master, to draw on his himself the death that he desires."[10] Locke's belief that slaves were merely property and were unfit to be a part of civil society was integral to the *Dred Scott* v. *Sandford* (1857) decision (7-2).[11] Chief Justice Roger B. Taney wrote in the Court opinion that the framers of the U.S. Constitution held that:

> They [blacks] had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit. He was bought and sold, and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic, whenever a profit could be made by it. This opinion was at that time fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race. It was regarded as an axiom in morals as well as in politics, which no one thought of disputing, or supposed to be open to dispute;… [12]

This idea also pervaded the ideological and political standpoint of Thomas Jefferson who as a prominent author of the United States' Declaration of Independence, consultant on the Constitution (via his correspondence), one of the nation's founding fathers, and leader of Virginia (the largest of the thirteen original colonies), laid the framework for the doctrine that permeates the nation's political landscape.[13] Owning land and controlling its development became the dominant and most acute means in measuring an individual's success and the overall health of a nation's economy. In line with Locke's philosophy, Jefferson believed that it was a civil government's responsibility to protect the private property and enterprise of its citizens.[14] By adhering to these economic principles, European nations and the United States experienced large surges in their economies during the 19th century.[15]

Similar to Locke, the logical fallacies in Jefferson's convictions and actions evolved out of his larger goal to gain capital and establish the U.S. as a strong force on the international market.[16] Despite being morally opposed to slavery and decrying the moral depravity that coexisted with the Peculiar Institution, Jefferson regarded African Americans as part of an inferior race and owned 200 slaves at the time of his death.[17] Considering that he reproduced prodigiously with Sally Hemmings and believed that the treatment of slaves brought about moral depravity to this nation, why was there such a discrepancy between his words and his actions? This inconsistency is perhaps explained by Jefferson’s notion that a slave woman’s productivity was largely tied to her ability to bear children into slavery.[18] This deep connection between the industry and slavery became clearer when Jefferson retorted “I consider a [slave] woman who brings [gives birth to] a child every two years as more profitable than the best man on the farm. What she produces is an addition to the capital, while his labors disappear in mere consumption.”[19] Additionally, he made subsequent claims that like slavery, one inherited land through birth.[20] These views further linked slavery and economic expansion.[21]

Slave owners, slave traders, and others who profited directly from chattel slavery instituted what Charles Mills deemed the “racial contract.”[22] According to Mills, white supremacists drafted this social contract to justify slavery and provide its signatories with the consent to treat enslaved persons as objects who were devoid of souls and emotional sensibilities.[23] A critical mind and revolutionary spirit was detrimental to the peculiar institution since those who profited from the system relied upon fashioning a person who was physically rugged and bereft of any desire to fight for their inalienable rights.[24] This structure sought to strip enslaved people of their historical past and moral efficacy through removing bondpersons’ ability to become self-actualized and positively self-identify with her or his raison d’etre.[25]

As a result, signatories could divide and conquer and thwart any efforts by the oppressed to engage in any form of collective struggle based on identity politics.[26] More importantly, it sought to create an idealized notion that the enslaved person deserved this treatment and therefore he or she should willingly participate in this dehumanizing meta-structure. If completely successful, the enslaved in this meta-structure would: 1) completely forget their African cosmological, philosophical, and cultural frameworks; 2) lose their sense of identity and willingly participate in this system without offering any forms of resistance. Furthermore, this pact safeguarded its signatories from experiencing the ramifications of their actions while European colonists treated the land, forests, bodies of water, and animals in the "New World" as commodified entities during the latter part of the late eighteenth to the mid nineteenth century.[27] The transcendentalist, abolitionist, and environmentalist Henry David Thoreau spoke against these practices in *Civil Disobedience* (1849) when he noted:

> Ancient poetry and mythology suggest, at least, that husbandry was once a sacred art; but it is pursued with irreverent haste and heedlessness by us, our object to being to have large crops merely. We have no festival, nor procession, nor ceremony, not excepting cattle- shows and so-called Thanksgivings, by which the farmer expresses a sense of the sacredness of his calling…. By avarice and selfishness, and a groveling habit, from which none of us is free, of regarding the soil as property, or the means of acquiring property chiefly the landscapes deformed, husbandry is degraded with us, and the farmer leads the meanest of lives. He knows Nature but as a robber.[28]

The black body became the engine that drove the international slave trade and the global capital society from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century as the increase in cotton production spread slavery out West as planters searched for new lands to cultivate.[29] The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 and a codified institutionally-sanctioned form of slavery drastically increased the mass production of cotton from 35 million pounds in 1800 to 2,275 million pounds in 1860.[30] Guided by a laissez-faire form of economic enterprise, venture capitalists converted these natural resources into raw materials and exploited human labor to maximize their profits. The limitations from indentured servitude and Native American enslavement meant that African Americans bore the undue burden of these economic ventures and provided the necessary labor to fuel this new global capitalism as the labor production of African American slaves increased at an average of 28.7 percent between 1790 and 1860.[31] In *Observations on the*

Slavery of the Africans and Their Descendants, and on the Use of the Procure of Their Labor (1814) the famed liberal Quaker preacher Elias Hicks contended:

> We have planted slavery in the rank soil of sordid avarice: and the product has been misery in the extreme. We have ascertained by a cruelty, the least portion of nourishment requisite to enable man to linger a few years in misery; the greatest quantity of labor, which, in such a situation, the extremes of punishment can extort; and the utmost degree of pain, labor and hunger united, that the human frame can endure.[32]

The sadistic working conditions coupled with the indiscriminate stripping of nutrients from the soil fashioned a system that degraded the land and dehumanized the black body as the enslaved cleared land, produced barrels of cotton, hundreds of thousands of pounds of rice and tobacco among other crops.[33]

Consequently, the enslaved looked towards religious and spiritual avenues to rebuild their identities and sense of self-worth.[34] The African American religious institution was intimately tied to the fight for freedom and development of an African American environmental ethic during the 19th century. As the influx of new slaves subsided after the U.S. Congress abolished slavery in 1808 and the enslaved became more Westernized, they syncretized specific Judeo-Christian principles that corresponded to their West African cosmological framework and spoke to their conditions of bondage.[35] The notion of born again Christian principles resonated among bondpersons in the Protestant Reformation Movement during Second Great Awakening (1799-1830) because it correlated with their belief that existence is circular and that there is a continuous relationship between the ancestors and those living in the temporal world. The idea that within the physical self lies the ‘little man’ man who symbolizes the inner spiritual being is a West African concept.[36] One of the major components of the conversion narratives of African Americans is that they claimed to experience death in both a physical and spiritual form. Death in the previous form was necessary for this person to be reborn in the new life and gain hope that there existed a higher order that was acting upon her or his life.[37] They recalled that while dead they were unaware of their surroundings and that they travelled to another spiritual realm. Within this sphere they experienced either God or one of His angels who spoke to them directly.

Although the natural environment was at the crux of their indigence, the enslaved also viewed nature as a space that signified freedom, humanity, safety, equality, and God's love. At least one quarter of the former slaves in *God Struck Me Dead* made a direct correlation between their religious conversion experiences and the natural forces that spurred these transformations.[38] The conversion experience represented a personal religious experience that freed the slaves from feelings of helplessness. These individuals became strengthened and empowered by these encounters because God spoke to them directly and they connected this manifestation of God's presence by the images of pristine and clear natural surroundings. The water, trees, and other life forms communicated with them and reminded these individuals that they should prepare for the after-life by making the necessary atonement for their sins and other encroachments against their fellow human-kind.[39] One of the interviewees born during the Civil War captured the connection between salvation, freedom, and nature when this person recalled one day while drawing water at the well, a loud voice rang upon them and they experienced physical death and subsequently transcended to heaven where they met God. The freedperson stated:

> When I entered I saw God sitting on a throne and an angel stooped and dipped up a gold cup of water from a clear little stream that was running under the throne and gave me the cup to drink. Everything I heard was, "Holy,

> holy, holy!” Even when I started to drink the water it cried out, “Holy!” All at once I saw a lot of angels standing before God and they all bowed and turned to me and cried, “Welcome, welcome into the house of God where there is no more sin or sorrow.[40]

The physical and tangential manifestations of God’s presence laid in the magnitude and inexplicable landscape that they could see and those they imagined in their futures. The majestic green pastures, clean spring waters, a plethora of plants, trees and animals signified heaven and all of its wonder. One person recounted in their conversion experience that “We journeyed on and came to a beautiful green pasture with beautiful green grass. Every spring seemed even. There was a beautiful willow tree and every limb seemed even. We came finally to heaven….”[41] Every living thing in nature was a beautiful reminder of how special the enslaved were in God’s larger plans for them. According to an interviewee who recounted their conversion experience:

> One day while in the field plowing I heard a voice.” … I looked up and saw that I was in a new world. There were plants and animals and all, even the water, where I stooped down to drink, began to cry out, “I am blessed but you are damned! I am blessed but you are damned!” With this, I began to pray and a voice on the inside began to cry, “Mercy! Mercy! Mercy.[42]

Another individual remarked: “Jesus himself baptized me….” “He showed me a vineyard with shrubs and plants of all kinds and sizes.”[43] Thus in these moments the enslaved juxtaposed the degraded land that binded them to the pristine and endless space where God resided.

Nature and the Negro Spirituals

Their connection of God, nature, and justice in bondpersons’ and freedpersons’ conversion experiences also appeared in their musical expression. Notably music was a powerful medium through which they exhibited this religious and cultural fusion in that like their West African predecessors who used music to communicate to the ancestors, the gods and goddesses, and celebrate major life events, the enslaved sung songs at all occasions to celebrate life, mark death, keep time in the fields, and signify important agricultural festivals.[44] The Negro Spirituals are among the most recognized forms of African American expression during the antebellum era and into the late 19th century and although Du Bois' Victorian and New England ideals influenced his perception of Southern culture, he venerated the place of the Negro Spirituals or as he termed the "Sorrow songs" in American culture when he deemed them as the Negroe's gift to the world.[45] More importantly, Du Bois referenced the importance of nature in the imagination and embodiment of African Americans. In his chapter "Of the Sorrow Songs" Du Bois noted:

> Like all primitive folk, the slave stood near to Nature's heart. Life was a '"rough and rolling sea"' like the brown Atlantic of the Sea Islands; the '"Wilderness"' was the home of God, and the '"lonesome valley"' led to the way of life '"Winter'll soon be over,"' was the picture of life and death to a tropical imagination. The sudden wild thunder-storms of the South awed and impressed the Negroes,…. [46]

The spirituals embodied the sense of melancholy within the enslaved population and gave them hope that this present space was only temporal and that God would reward them for their trials and tribulation. They envisioned heaven as a space where God's love and justice existed in a beautiful, clean and scenic natural environment of overflowing "milk and honey."[47] This permanent universal area would make no concessions for a color divide and every child of God would be treated equally and with dignity, respect, and humanity. The enslaved related their experiences to the other major figures in the Bible who endured suffering but remained faithful and reaped the fruits of their labor after they traversed their respective difficult plains.[48] In a spiritual about Daniel in the lion's den, the speaker cleaves to the Biblical instances in which God delivered Daniel, Jonah, and the Hebrew children and uses these examples as hope that on Judgment day God would deliver the enslaved from bondage.[49] More notably, the speaker identifies the natural conditions which will mark this day as the following: “ 2. De moon run down in a purple stream/ De sun forbear to shine, / An’ every star disappear/ King Jesus shall be mine. / 3. De win’ blows was’ an’ de win’ blows wes’/ It blows like de Judg[e]ment day, / An’ ev’ry po’ soul dat never did pray / ‘ll be glad to pray dat day.[50] The slaves were able to fuse this Christian rhetoric of love, justice, and fairness for all of God’s children with their determination to create an imagined space wherein they could control their destinies and become the ultimate victors over their European counterparts.

As revealed in the Negro spirituals, nature allowed the slaves to feel connected to a higher power and experience the range of emotions that occurs amongst human beings. In “Nobody Knows the Trouble I’ve Had,” the narrator relates his situation to the berries on a tree. He remarks: “One morning I was walking down, / I saw some berries hanging down, / I pick de berry and I suck de juice, / Just as sweet as the honey in de comb. / Sometimes I’m up, sometimes I’m down / Sometimes I’m almost on de groun.”[51] This spiritual attests to the notion that the enslaved was constantly pondering his condition and working towards redefining himself aside from his utter despair and that being in nature enabled him to apply the various natural phenomena to his own experience. In “Blow Your Trumpet Gabriel” the slaves envisioned heaven as having “De talles’ tree in Paradise, De Christian call de tree of life.”[52]

The fusion of a Christian rhetoric and respect for nature precipitated out of the sensibility that God and His forces speaks directly to humans through the natural phenomenon within the universe such as thunder, water, the wind, the mountains, rocks, fire, the birds, and other sentient beings. In the spiritual “Hammerin’ Judgment” it exhorts: “Don’t you hear God talking, hammering / He’s talking to Moses, hammering /

He’s talking through thunder, hammering / God tol’ Moses, hammering / Go down in Egyp’ hammering/ Go tell ol’ Pharoah, hammering / To loose his people, …”[53] The role of water as a cleansing and life-giving force surfaced in the enslaveds’ conception of the River Jordan. The River Jordan symbolized an important medium through which the slaves believed they must travel to get to heaven and be before God. For the down trodden, the river signified life and death simultaneously. This worldly body would die as one symbolically crossed that river. In that moment his soul would go to heaven where the new land and God would welcome him.[54]

The wilderness and the valleys were the intermediary elements between suffering here on earth and the joy in heaven. They were a conduit for the slaves as bondpersons embarked upon the journey to the Promised Land. The eschatological framework that time on this earth was only temporal and would be followed by a more just and permanent space in heaven resonated amongst the slaves. The enslaved viewed this world as a “wilderness of woe” in which this was a place of uncertainty and was the key to their suffering and tribulation.[55] In a spiritual on sheep and their shepherd the narrator retorts: “ 4. I am living on borrowed land, *(Thrice)*, Oh, come and go with me. 5. My home ain’t here nohow, *(Thrice),* Oh, come and go with me. 6. This land is a troublesome land, *(Thrice),* Oh, come and go with me. I got a home in heaven somewhere, *(Thrice),* Oh, come and go with me.[56] The bondpersons viewed themselves as the slaves living in the land of the Pharaoh and imagined that like the Israelites, God would hear their plea and respond by giving them a land that He set aside specifically for them.[57] Conversely, the wilderness was a space for the enslaved to go and commune with God on an intimate level and it represented freedom from the bondage of sin. In the spiritual “Go in the

Wilderness" it declares: "If you want to find Jesus, go in the wilderness, (*Thrice)*, Mournin' brudder, go in de wilderness, I wait upon de Lord,"[58] In these natural spaces the enslaved believed that they were able to communicate directly with God and plead Him for the atonement of their sins.

The Role of Land in Antebellum Slave Culture and the Relevance of Trees and the Woods in the 19th century

In addition to their artistic production, enslaved communities used the land, trees, and other environmental spaces to engage in direct forms of economic and political resistance. Landownership among black women produced new economic opportunities for female bondpersons and their labor was central to the family's survival.[59] To diminish their overhead expenses, customarily masters granted bondpersons their own garden plots that slaves subsequently cultivated to supplement the meager rations from masters.[60] Black women necessarily divided their time between the masters' fields and their own provisional gardens because any neglect of their personal gardens could lead to starvation and nutritional deficiencies.[61] Through planting crops such as sweet potatoes, watermelon, egg plant, collards and peanuts, the enslaved supplemented the important nutrients that were missing in their rations.[62] Their labor and ownership of small pieces of land contributed to the family economy and afforded women more control in their personal relationships. Similar to their West African predecessors black women were the principal traders in the local markets and kept the familial and local economies strong.[63] Black women's labor inside and outside of the household enabled families to acquire land.[64] They were imperative to the family's accumulation of property because they hired their time and often lead the family's economy since husbands and wives did not necessarily live in the same households.[65] The women who owned land brokered contractual negotiations directly with white people and their male counterparts on real estate matters.[66] These women purposefully kept the titles to their properties while married so that they could protect their assets because it was common for their husbands and their husbands' masters to use these properties to settle their own financial debts.[67]

The autonomy these women garnered from working these lands supported major cultural networks and preserved vital social customs within slave culture as enslaved women worked alongside children in the gardens.[68] Although young and small in stature, these laborers provided the meaningful land cultivation for the adults who could not secure sufficient personal time for their personal gardens. The slave community passed its cultural rituals to the younger generation while working in these personal gardens. Consequently children learned at an early age how to live off the land and protect these assets from unsustainable used.[69] Slaves took in children and other slaves into their quarters to work as extra hands on their gardens.[70] These lands and their value increased over time and parents bequeathed these properties to their progeny.[71] So although slaves worked for their masters, they continued a powerful internal tradition in which they owned land and profited from its production during the early nineteenth century.[72] Thus as the children grew, they continued these traditions to help the family survive.

Equally, the enslaved used the trees and plants along their properties to survive. The plant-life stood as contrasting markers of human suffering, cultural expression, and direct forms of resistance for the enslaved during the antebellum era. Juxtaposed to the sobering images of lifeless and mutilated bodies hanging from the branches of trees are the uplifting stories of bondpeople who molded the leaves from trees and plants into powerful tools of human survival and cultural solvency.[73] The power dynamics of the racial caste system permeated the doctor-patient relationships between bondpersons and physicians.[74] For example, during their visits in the antebellum era, doctors may not have consulted with the enslaved who was the actual patient, but instead tailored their consultations and treatments according to the demands of the slaveowner rather than the bondperson.[75] Moreover, the scientific and empirical approach of traditional western medicine undermined the more holistic approach of West African forms of healing. In line with their African-centered forms of reference, bondpeople often viewed the connection of the body and the spirit as intimately connected and consequently employed medicines that reflected this ideological paradigm.[76]

Bondpeople negotiated these power dynamics and assaults on their cultural institutions through using root medicines. While veiled from the dominant society, the enslaved used the plants, trees, and God's instruction to create natural medicines that countered Western medicine.[77] Similar to their predecessors, Bondpeople highlighted the oral tradition when they passed the knowledge of the healing properties of certain plants inter-generationally.[78] Natural cures were especially imperative to the slaves' survival because they could not afford doctors and often masters called in doctors only in the most dire circumstances.[79] One of the interviewees in *God Struck Me Dead* mentioned:

> Later the misery came back and I asked God to heal me. The spirit directed me to get some peach-tree leaves and beat them up and put them about my limbs. I did this and in a day or two that smelling left me and I haven't been bothered since. More than this, I don't remember even paying out but $3.00 for doctors bills in my life either for myself, my children or my grandchildren. Dr. Jesus tells me what to do.[80]

In many circles, the enslaved respected root doctors and held them in high regard within the community. The conjurers became important segments of slave society in the 19th century because the enslaved valued their ability to connect the dimensions of the natural world with sacred spaces. Slaves consulted conjurors for assistance in all facets of their lives.[81] Male and female slaves consulted with root doctors to get herbal concoctions for material gain or to poison enemies, favor from masters and mistresses as well as favor in the eyes of potential love interests.[82] The slave community especially valued female root doctors who could produce medicines that tended to the specific needs of female bondpeople because these healers used the leaves and barks from the trees to make remedies for menstrual cramps, fevers, headaches, and to induce miscarriages.[83]

In addition to the more serious matters of life, bondpeople found solace and joy in nature by using natural elements to engage in forms of expression that were otherwise unavailable to them. Many slaves successfully turned their meager clothes rations into the bright and colorful Sunday best outfits that they wore to white churches by dyeing their clothes with the different roots, tree bark, and plant leaves.[84] In an interview for the WPA narratives, one woman proudly shared how she dyes clothes: "I'll tell you how to dye. A little beech bark dyes slate color, set with copperas. Hickory bark and bay leaves dye yellow, set with chamber lye; bamboo dyes turkey red, set color with copperas. Pine straw dyes purple, set color with chamber lye…."[85] Thus in these instances, the trees stood as emblems of conversational pieces that allowed slave women to express their individuality and sense of style. In a similar fashion, Harriet Tubman recalled with joy how she loved apples during her childhood and that she wanted to plant apple trees to create that same sense of happiness for future generations. Tubman recalled with joy that: "…. I liked apples when I was young, and I said, Some day I'll plant apples myself for other young folks to eat, and I guess I done it."[86] An ex-slave also recounted how they shared their joy with an elm tree during their conversion experience in the short autobiography "Slave Who Joined the Yanks":

> I began to pray for myself. Again the voice said to me, "Go tell the world what great things the Lord has done for you." I rose from the floor, shouting, a voice on the inside cried, "Mercy! Lord have mercy! It was about daybreak and the two deacons that had stayed with me, took me out of the church and left me. I ran to an elm tree near by and tried to put my arms around it. Never had I felt such a love before. It just looked like I loved everything and everybody. I went to work that day shouting and happy.[87]

In that moment, the tree was a part of the overall experience of love and this person viewed this tree as an extension of God's love. These instances exemplify the direct connection that a sector of the enslaved felt with their natural environments. Furthermore they speak to the bondpeople's belief that God's power could be harnessed in these natural mediums.

The collection of trees in the woods held similar meanings for the slave community during the nineteenth century. The woods became the places where slaves could go to experience individual and communal spiritual fulfillment.[88] These spaces were ideal for the enslaved to experience these personal religious and spiritual encounters because these natural elements were quiet and relatively free from human interference. In the Negro spiritual "Go in the Wilderness" it declares: "If you want to find Jesus, go in the wilderness, (*Thrice)*, Mournin' brudder, go in de wilderness, I wait upon de Lord."[89] These spaces became the vehicles that drove the enslaved's ability to engage in personal existential moments of freedom and harbored the "invisible institution."[90] The presence of these vast and large unfettered ecosystems facilitated such deep personal religious and spiritual experiences because the quietness and tranquility allowed the individual to hear her or his deepest inner voice and feel connected to something bigger than herself or himself. According to one former slave:

> When I first felt the power of God, I was in the woods. I had been feeling heavy and wanted to be converted. I went into the woods and said, " Lord, have mercy on me, I have been a sinner all my days." I got up and went home. The next morning, Sunday, I was boxing with R__ who had come over with three or four others to sway a few with me….On the fourth night before going to church, I went into the woods and prayed again, saying "Lord, I have neither father nor mother, have mercy on me.[91]

Another former slave remarked: "The old folks used to slip out in the fields and thickets to have prayer meetings and my mother always took me along for fear something would happen to me if left behind. They would all get around a kettle on their hands and knees and sing and pray and shout and cry."[92] During these moments, these people could expel their sense of sadness without fear of judgment. The support of others in these open lands was familiar to the enslaved since the majority of the slave population came out of terrain that was similar in their homelands.[93]

The enslaved exercised other forms of direct resistance while in the woods and swamplands.[94] Swamplands, mountains, and forested geographical landscapes provided havens of protection for people who escaped to these areas. Union armies relied upon the enslaveds' familiarity with the physical terrain of uninhabited spaces to win major battles against the Confederates.[95] In a diary entry abolitionist and soldier Thomas Wentworth Higginson wrote about how the leader of the 1st South Carolina Volunteers recalled on March 26, 1861 that Thomas Earle of the 25th Regiment credited a slave for helping the unit pass through a marshy swamp to win a major battle in the War.[96] Higginson noted: "It seems that the whole success of the affair was owing to a slave who told them the only landing-place on the island which was undefended.[97] In the same vein, Harriet Tubman used her geographical knowledge to circumvent the parameters of slavery. In addition to going back South eight times to help other slaves escape, she was an important spy for the Union Army in the Civil War and the Union Army relied upon her knowledge of the physical landscape to defeat the Confederates in the Combahee River Raid in 1863.[98]

The woods also facilitated slave revolts. Several of Nat Turner's visions that instructed him to engage in a collective physical resistance against slavery in 1831 have a direct tie to the woods and other forces of nature. After Turner removed himself from others " it [the Spirit] appeared to me, and reminded me of the things it had already shown me, and that it would then reveal to me the knowledge of the elements, the revolution of the planets, the operation of tides, and changes of the seasons."[99] When he ran away to the woods for thirty days, Turner recalled that he had a vision from God that ordered him to return to the plantation where he would complete God's Will.[55] Shortly before the 1831 insurrection Turner recollected that:

> … while laboring in the field, I discovered the drops of blood on the corn as though it were dew from heaven-and I communicated it to many, both white and black, in the neighborhood- and I then found on the leaves in the woods hieroglyphic characters, and numbers, with the forms of men in different attitudes, portrayed in blood, and representing the figures I had seen in the heavens. And now the Holy Ghost had revealed itself to me, and made plain the miracles it had shown me- For as the blood of Christ had shed on this earth, and had ascended to heaven for the salvation of sinners, and was now returning to earth again in the form of dew- and as the leaves on the trees bore the impression of the figures I had seen in the heavens, it was plain to me that the Saviour was about to lay down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and the great day of judgment was hand.[100]

Turner perceived these visions as direct signs from God that He entrusted Nat to embark on this dangerous endeavor and sever the shackles of slavery. In her narrative *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl Written by Herself*, Harriet Jacobs described how whites formed patrol units out of fear of another slave insurrection after Nat Turner's revolt.[101] She discussed how customarily the women hid in the woods and swamps to protect themselves from the wanton and random attacks by these patrolmen.[102] The story of Jack, a slave who lived in the woods after he escaped and attempted to make it to the Union lines reflects the stories of other bondpersons when he recalled:

> He secretly took leave of his family, and ran away, first hiding in the rice-swamps during the day, and creeping along at night, until he reached the woods. Here he hid in the bushes until dark, and then crawled down to the banks of the creeks and marshes to elude the dogs, which were out in hot pursuit. At one time he stood in the water up to his chin all day, the hounds were so near. At another time he was “bogged,” and sunk so deep in the black mud, he despaired of ever getting out. Finally, he made a basket boat, woven of the reeds cut in the swamps, and calked with bits of cotton picked up in the fields, and smeared with the pitch from the pine trees nearby.[103]

Since a number of European colonists ascribed to Locke’s view of nature and thus rendered certain areas as unprofitable terrain, capitalists ignored these spaces and the possibilities that existed within these realms. This logical outlook in this case proved economically, politically, and socially profitable spaces for fugitive slaves, Native Americans, and other exiled communities during the 17th-19th centuries who turned to these spaces for refuge.[104]

Bondpersons who could runaway and engage in more long-term militant forms of resistance formed maroon societies in these environments. Maroon societies ranging from ten to more than one hundred members became thriving locales for fugitives and operated as regions of dominant counter-cultural spheres of influence as runaway slaves threatened the existence of surrounding slave plantations and created independent communities in the swamps, mountains, and woods.[105] Maroons contained an intimate knowledge of the local terrain and would use this for subsistence, shelter, and a hiding place in times of warfare and combat. They passed this knowledge to each successive generation to ensure continued freedom against slavery.[106] In these spaces the inhabitants instituted varying forms of political, social, and economic paradigms that both paralleled the dominant culture and intersected with it through trade.[107] The societies ranged from permanent communities that operated deep within the interior of the swamps to those that were semi-permanent and functioned on the perimeters of the swamps.

The permanent settlements had little contact with the outside world and were almost entirely self-sufficient in comparison to their semi-autonomous counterparts who relied on stealing from the local plantations and establishing trading relationships with non-exilic members.[108] As secret societies they were at the heart of major slave insurrections and became the bane of existence for slaveholders and other capitalists particularly during the mid-nineteenth centuries.[109] The marshes and the swamps became the water ways for the slaves to escape to their freedom from South Carolina to Florida since the physical landscape in South Carolina supported the growth of maroon communities.[110] The state's large Cypress and Tupelo trees along with its major rivers such as the Savannah, Santee, Edisto, and Ashley made it possible for people to access fresh water sources while they remained hidden from plain view.[111] The members controlled the immediate parameters by creating pathways with fallen trees that precluded more than one person from entering and exiting the compound at one time.[112] Moreover, maroons trained their members in guerilla warfare and how to survey the land by climbing up the Cypress and other surrounding trees.[113] The Savannah River Maroons successfully governed their commune from 1782-1787 along the South Carolina and Georgia coast and may have potentially existed in that space since 1765.[114]

The survival of enslaved persons depended upon their determination to redefine the spaces that defined their bondage into new spaces that created opportunities for resistance and cultural production. Bondpersons initiated new measures to combat the dehumanization of slavery. Their material conditions required the enslaved to modify the land at a rate that was both inhumane and unsustainable. This reality informed the development of a new sense of self. Beyond protest literature, killing the work animals, working slowly, feigning illness, poisoning their masters and other means of sabotaging the working conditions, slaves exhibited other major forms of resistance.[115] Those in vassalage entered the woods, forests, fields, rivers, and other natural surroundings to engage in personal forms of meditation, collectively organize into maroon societies and gain confidence that a beautiful world existed beyond this space. The trees which slave masters used as whipping posts also served as the building blocks of the bondpeople's most potent medications.[116] These trees became the important markers along escape routes and they offered bondpersons momentary escape from their harsh realities. Forests that slaves cleared and where many lost their lives were also the spaces that supported truancy and maroon societies. These areas served as the epicenter of slave worship and arguably became the pioneering spaces for the cultivation of the institution of the Black Church.[117] The mangroves and bodies of water where slaves toiled and drowned during escape attempts were the places that preserved some of the rich archaeological evidence of African American culture during the 17th-19th centuries. These experiences allowed the enslaved to exhibit some control over their social and material conditions.[118]

The swamps that proved deadly to Europeans fostered cultural retentions amongst the slave population since their sickle cell trait allowed bondpersons greater independence from masters. These swamps facilitated cultural retentions through rice production.[119] The natural surroundings sparked a sense of connection to God and became important factors in the slave's conversion experience and the Negro Spirituals.[120] The land which enslaved them was the very land that held the key to their survival when it came to private gardens. It was this land, the trees, bodies of water, and animals that inspired the Negro Spirituals- a musical and religious expression surrounded by the beauty of nature, folklore, and literary productions within the African Americans culture.

The hollows of the forests and thickets became the sacred spaces where blacks engaged in their worship services after the black codes made it illegal for two or more enslaved persons to gather without the presence of a white person.[121] In these spaces they communed with God and ultimately laid the bedrock for the Underground Railroad and other passages along clandestine escape routes. These unfettered spaces operated as both places of refuge and the cabinet room for leaders and their informants. The vast open fields represented spaces wherein which people could commune with God and experience supernatural phenomena because they would not be interrupted and could be at one with their thoughts while in these plots of land.

The woods held the stories of the successful and failed attempts that bondpeople made throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when they escaped from their plantations. [122] These trees, leaves, and other natural crops held important messages that lead to the nation’s largest slavery insurrections. The height and breadth of the trees shielded slaves from sight during the daytime when they rested while they simultaneously provided the bedrock for these soldiers to travel tens of miles during the night time.[123]

The elements of nature become influenced within the Christian tradition and were major markers in the spirituals later in the 19th century.[124] These references demonstrate the development of an African American environmental ethic during the antebellum era and its syncretization with Judeo-Christian principles.[125] The natural landscape became the unifying force that connected the slave master with the enslaved and it embodied their respective relationships with the land and the natural landscapes. In these stories the slave masters worked the enslaved indefatigably but these individuals became restored from their intimate moments in nature. Nature became the conduit for the enslaved who communicated with their ancestors and for those who believed that God used nature to remain close to His creations.[126]

CHAPTER 3

THIS IS THE LAND WHERE MY FOREFATHERS AND FOREMOTHERS LIVED: FREEDPERSONS' QUEST TO CLAIM LAND AND THE FAILURES THEREOF, 1859-1915

Mr. Shanks replied as follows: "Mr. Speaker, …. The gentleman from New York tells us that this bureau has cost us $20,000,000. Sir, for what was this bureau established? It was to take care of five million people who had been robbed from their cradles to the hour when the American people set them free. Those five million people were turned out into the world homeless, with nothing to live upon but that which they could gather from charity or what they could earn by such labor as they could perform with their hands tied by the ignorance that had been imparted upon them and their ancestors for more than two centuries and half.

But, sir, taking the statement of the gentleman from New York as true, though I believe the amount to be too large, what does it show? That these people have been taken from slavery into freedom, have been put upon their feet and are today, living, acting citizens of the Republic; and this has been accomplished at a cost of four dollars for each individual. According to the gentleman's own showing it has cost but four dollars each to protect these people from the time they were freed to this hour; and now, after these people have been robbed all their lives, objection is made here to paying the paltry pittance of $5,000 to take care of their deaf and dumb and blind in this district. This is a specimen of the patriotism which we find exhibited in an American Congress in a time like this…. General Howard and the Freedmen's Bureau, Remarks of the Hon. George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, Hon. W. Townsend, of Pennsylvania, Hon. John A. Peters, of Maine, Hon. J.P.C. Shanks, of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, February 23, 1871 (Washington, DC.: Government Printing Office, 1871), pp. 8.

As brothers, fathers, and sons fought one another in the trenches and the battlefields throughout the South during the Civil War, politicians, thinkers, and activists waged in contemptuous battles of their own on how the nation was going to integrate freedpersons into the market labor economy, political discourse, and social fabric after the Civil War.[1] These tensions surfaced during this February 23, 1871 House of Representatives meeting where the representatives from Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maine, Indiana, and New York argued over whether to provide the Freedmen's Bureau with an additional $5,000 to fund a Freedmen's Hospital and Asylum in Washington, D.C.[2] The Hon. Fernando Wood of New York and Hon. Mr. McNeely of Illinois largely disapproved of the freedpersons, the mission of the Freedmen's Bureau, reparations, and accused the Bureau's Chief Commissioner General Howard of misappropriating public funds from the Treasury to purchase the land for Howard University.[3] Although the House investigated the validity of these claims by reviewing the Treasury Department's records for that purchase, and eight of the ten members of the committee found the allegations baseless, the opponents of the Bureau reasoned that the agency was bankrupting the federal government and that the freedpersons were lazy and merely looking for government entitlements.[4] The Hon. J.P. C. Shanks of Indiana responded to Hon. Wood's contention and argued that even *if* the government spent $20,000,000 on freedpersons (which it did not) it meant that they would have paid each freedperson *$4.00* each for their lifetime of unpaid labor.[5]

This question of how the nation would turn 4 million freedpersons who previously lived in bondage and were the progeny of generations of slaves into self-sustaining members of the country plagued the collective consciousness of the democratic republic.[6] At the heart of this fight was the notion of reparations and fair and equitable land redistribution. Although *both* black and white leaders alike openly advocated that the federal government make reparations for slavery and give the freedpersons land, the overwhelming majority of freedpersons came out of slavery destitute and without property.[7] Despite the government's efforts to aid freedpersons in accessing financial and medical resources via the Freedmen's Bureau, the racialized system that oppressed blacks invariably challenged the organization's efforts and practically circumscribed its efforts at improving the conditions of freedpersons.[8]

Considering the circumstances, freedpersons operated in the vein of spirit and thrift, industry, and self-help, (primarily even with Gen. O. Howard founding Howard University on March 2, 1867) and established and funded their own educational institutions and benevolent societies to redress their poverty.[9] Institutions such as Tuskeegee Institute, Howard University, and Hampton Normal Institute established agricultural and technical programs that taught black farmers and sharecroppers more sustainable farming practices that were both financially conservative and improved the land.[10] At the forefront of these scientific contributions was George Washington Carver who as a scientist, conservationist, and an adherent of Judeo-Christian values, viewed nature as God's creation and sought to protect it for nature's sake and also ameliorated the abominable conditions of freedpersons.[11] In this chapter I examine the discourse on land redistribution and the Freedmen Bureau's role in helping freedpersons negotiate the post-slavery society in South. I present a conversation on the material conditions of sharecroppers and examine how black women's labor both inside and outside of the home increased the overall health and integrity of the family unit. Moreover, I overlay this discussion with the mission of Tuskegee Institute to discuss how African Americans' perspectives on nature and the environment centered around the notion that landownership was a prerequisite for American citizenship.[12]

The dispute over land redistribution proved a formidable issue for political leaders in the post-Civil War nation as proponents of equitable land redistribution went head-to-head with benefactors of commercial and land monopolies.[13] The schism between the conservative and radical Republicans widened during the 19th century as Congressional leaders staunchly argued their respective ideological and political standpoints on issues such as the redistribution of land and the voting rights of African Americans.[14] The conservative sector within the party campaigned for states' rights, property rights, laissez-faire economic policies, and profoundly denounced the constitutionality of acts such as the Confiscation and Homestead Acts of 1862.[15] Conversely, the radical Republicans advocated for equitable land redistribution and proclaimed that this was a prerequisite to secure the full voting rights of freedpersons. Mr. Cavanaugh, a representative from Minnesota decried Congress in 1859 when it precluded African Americans from getting portions of the 1,000,000,000 acres of available public land. Cavanaugh remarked: “But, sir, I see Southern gentlemen come up as they did to-day, and refuse by their votes to aid my constituents- refuse to place the actual tiller of the soil, the honest, industrious labor beyond the grasp and avarice of the speculator, I tell you, sir, I falter- I hesitate!”[16] Fellow Congressman Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner expressed similar sentiments in an 1865 letter to Englishman John Bright when he wrote:

> Can emancipation be carried out without using the lands of the slave-masters? We must see that the freedmen are established on the soil, and that they may become proprietors. From the beginning I have regarded confiscation only as ancillary to emancipation. The great plantations, which have been so many nurseries of the rebellion, must be broken up, and the freedmen must have the pieces.[17]

Elite American lawyer and abolitionist Wendell Phillips also factored in this conversation when he contended that giving the ballot to freedpersons without providing them with land effectively abrogated the freedpersons’ political power because although government leaders could institute new laws that would silence their political voice, legislators would face formidable challenges from denying freedpersons of their rights as landholders.[18] In a speech that Phillips delivered in December 1863, he maintained that:

> This nation has robbed four million of men and their ancestors for seventy years…. This nation owes to the negro not merely freedom; it owes him land, and it owes him education also. It is a debt which will disgrace us before the peoples of the world if we do not pay it. It is the first longing of the negro. His instincts are better than our laws. He knows what land means. [19]

Perhaps the most radical of the Republicans was Chairperson of the House Ways and Means Committee Thaddeus Stevens (1792-1863) who resolutely supported land redistribution among freedpersons. He declared, "If the South is even to be made a safe republic let her lands be cultivated by the toil of the owners of the free labor of intelligent citizens."[20] According to the plan that Stevens proposed during a speech at the September 6, 1865 Pennsylvania Republican Convention, the government would confiscate 394 million acres of land from 70,000 of the largest landholders, redistribute 40 million acres amongst the freedpersons, and auction the other small farmlands.[21] Accordingly, federal officials would allocate the money from the auctions to pay off the war debt and the pensions of veterans.[22]

Other influential leaders spoke in favor of African Americans' political, social and economic claims to the land during the nineteenth century.[23] The leader of the protest tradition T. Thomas Fortune concluded that in order to develop a politically sovereign class of African Americans it was imperative that freedpersons own land en mass. The leader championed Dr. Crummell's prediction that black landholdings in the Southern states would increase from 400,000 acres to 5,600,000 acres post emancipation and was most invested in increasing the private land ownership among the people "who till the soil."[24] According to Fortune, landownership meant that families could control their food source, labor, the right to bequeath land to their progeny, and more notably exercise their rights as first class citizens in the American democracy.[25] Fortune noted:

> Land is, in its very nature, the common property of the people. Like air and water, it is one of the natural elements which inhere in man as a common right, and without which life could in no wise be sustained. A man must have air, or he will suffocate; he must have water, or he will perish of thirst; he must have access to the soil, for upon it grow those things which nature intended for the sustenation of the physical man, and without which he cannot live. Deprive me of pure fresh air, and I die; deprive me of pure fresh water, and I die; deprive me of free opportunity to earn my

> bread by the sweat of my brow, by sowing in the sowing time and reaping in the reaping time, and I die….[26]

In addition to becoming self-sustaining members of the American society, he argued further that blacks could make the land productive and increase the wealth in the nation through the taxes that freedpersons would pay on their lands.[27]

The Push For Landownership Among Freedpersons Post-Reconstruction

The insatiable appetite of commercial planters who invested in cotton, tobacco, and other cash crops along with their push into new lands laid the framework for the indiscriminate and stratified used of land. During the 19th century the large scale investment in the monoculture of cotton production severely stripped the soil of the moisture and nutrients that were necessary for long term agricultural sustainability and a healthy ecosystem.[28] The invention of Eli Whitney's cotton gin drove the production of cotton in the South by 250% from 800,000 million pounds in 1840 to 2 billion pounds in 1860.[29] Planters engaged in this form of production with the objectives of producing the greatest profits and exhausting the soil before moving westward to apply the same model of production on unchartered territory.[30] These agricultural practices meant that black farmers often owned the least fertile tracts of land since they either received or could only afford the refused land that planters deteriorated from overproducing commercial crops. As a result, black farmers had to spend much of their time improving the land and re-establishing the nutrients in the soil and since they did not have the expensive commercial fertilizers, these farmers produced smaller crops in terms of both weight and volume.[31] Moreover, their land could not produce large-scale crops to sell on the world market.[32]

Like Fortune, Booker T. Washington agreed that the entryway for African Americans into the political sphere of first class citizenship resided in landownership. Freedpersons needed to own land outright and cultivate it through sustainable measures. Rather than purchase sizeable plots of land that left families indebted and committed to hundreds of acres of land, Washington urged freedpersons to purchase smaller plots that they could reasonably till. Alternatively, household leaders could use the extra money to improve their families' overall quality of living by spending more time inside the home and strengthening the family unit.[33]

Booker T. Washington urged blacks not to leave the land: "Stay on the plantations. There is room there and a chance to work. Too often young men and women who leave the farms to crowd into the cities find it very difficult to get work there. The idleness which results is almost sure to cause poverty and disease, if not immorality and crime."[34] Washington wanted to increase the economic stability among black farmers and channeled this desire in an address to the Negro Farmer's Conference Washington where he maintained that a family's economic stability resided in women and children producing the milk, vegetables, and livestock while the husband farms to sustain the family. With this arrangement the political leader foresaw that subsistence farming would free sharecropping families from the predatory "advances" of questionable landlords.[35] Similar to how slaves cultivated private gardens, freedpersons viewed their privately-owned lands as opportunities to exercise political sovereignty, personal forms of accomplishments, and economic stability.[36] Former slaves obtained land through various routes: Many freedpersons received land from their slaveowners who bequeathed land to their slaves in their wills while some saved up money through tenant farming and others pooled their money and purchased land collectively.[37] For example, black women formed their own auxiliary organizations at Tuskegee's Negro Workers' Conference to buy land.[38] Regardless of how they obtained their land, black landholders were in better economic positions to uplift their communities than their peers who were landless since black farmers held 70 percent of the monies that circulated within the black communities.[39] This disparity revealed the stark difference in income that existed between landholders and sharecroppers.[40]

Landownership among African Americans in the postbellum era strengthened the health and regeneration of these communities. Some landowners appreciated the natural elements of their land and viewed it as a direct testament of their freedom. The few black landowners who attained land expressed this sense of pride such as black landowners Lucille and Charley White who recalled:

> Lucille and me always worked hard, both of us. We hadn't ever minded work. But looked like when we got some land that belonged to us it just set us on fire. We didn't seems to get half as tired, or if we did we didn't notice it. One day when we was cleaning up a field Lucille said, 'You know, Charley, even the rocks look pretty.'[41]

Farming and landownership proved a very lucrative and promising endeavor for black freed persons; for instance the data in Georgia in 1880 revealed that 65 percent of black wealth occurred in the form of farm real estate, farm livestock and farm real estate, farm livestock and farm equipment.[42] The percentage of black farm owners in the United States increased from 21.7 percent in 1890 to 25.2 percent in 1900 and managed a net of $229,907,702 of farms in 1899.[43] Du Bois' 1901 study of 1899 data for black farmers with real estate revealed the disproportionate income and distribution of wealth among black farmers as the results revealed that 11 percent of black farmers owned 48 percent of the value of farmers while 19 percent of urban black farmers owned 60 percent of the value of property holding.[44] According to the Property values from the Comptroller-General of the State of Georgia Report in 1910, the growth of the assessed value of black property holdings per capita between 1880-1910 was 332.38 percent in contrast to the 144.98 percent growth among whites at this time.[45] Despite this impressive increase in wealth among black property holders in Georgia at this period, the ratio of the value of white property holdings to that of blacks decreased from 36 in 1880 to 16 in 1910 meaning that even with blacks decreasing this financial gap in 1910, whites held 225 percent more value in their properties.[46] Property in Georgia's urban areas also proved a huge asset for blacks in 1910 as this real estate market comprised 27 percent of property holdings for this demographic.[47] These statistics reveal that real estate and farm lands were key assets that built wealth among black and white farmers.

Sharecropping and Conditions of Debt Peonage

Despite these numbers, the grim reality is that a majority of freedpersons remained property-less and forcibly worked as sharecroppers in a plantation economy that operated as a salve for the nation as the South sought to rebuild its financial infrastructure. Given that the federal government failed to redistribute land fairly, the nation invested capital in building industries out West, the Southern economy collapsed, and there were scarce sources of money that circulated to invigorate credit extensions, the plantation economy remained at the center of the South's economic structure.[48] The collapse of the Southern economy, coupled with a decentralized banking system made it difficult for landowners, entrepreneurs, and freedpersons to secure capital to exchange for goods and services.[49] The income per capita in the South lagged behind that in the North by 50 percent in 1880 and at its highest in 1920, the income per capita in the South was 60 percent of that in the North.[50] These circumstances meant that all parties involved had to find alternative means of exchanging goods and services and such market forces gave birth to a new land-lease system within the postbellum South wherein which landholders entered into contractual agreements for crop production with newly freed persons and poor whites.[51]

Although sharecropping evolved over decades and reached a more mature form in the early twentieth century when the U.S. Census Bureau distinguished between share tenants and sharecroppers in the 1920 census, there still existed three general types of contracts that occurred between laborers and landholders.[52] The three tiers of contracts occurred between landholders and wage laborers, sharecroppers, and tenant farmers.[53] Wage laborers worked for a set earning of approximately $120-$180 a growing season while tenant farmers supplied their own work animals and furnishings and paid landholders a percentage of their crop earnings after harvest.[54] Sharecroppers operated at the bottom tier of this economic relationship since their only asset was their labor.[55]

The specific contracts were as unique and multifaceted as the individuals and/or groups who entered into these agreements. The agreements could stipulate specific used of work animals, the harvest date for the crops, rations, advances, and the fixed-payment rates.[56] In agreements between landholders and tenant farmers, the landholders supervised tenant farmers much less than in those with sharecroppers because landholders assumed less risks in these contracts since tenant farmers paid a fixed amount for renting the land.[57] Considering that sharecroppers did not have any land or capital, they could only sell their labor on the market and consequently in contracts between sharecroppers and landholders, the land holder furnished the land, the work animals, the fertilizer, crops, fuel for machines, food, clothing, and housing up front.[58] The sharecropper would then pay the balance on this debt after selling her or his harvested crops on the market. Generally, the proportion of crops that sharecroppers gave the landholders was inversely related to the furnishings the landholder advanced to the sharecroppers and their families.[59] A family who only sold its labor could give up as much as two-thirds of its crops/harvest earnings to the landholder while another family that furnished its own work animals and tools could expect to repay the landholder with approximately one-third of its earnings.[60]

Given that the only way that this plantation economy could maximize its profits was through securing a large and reliable labor force at a price significantly lower than wage labor, landlords mitigated their risks through instituting various forms of economic blackmail and debt peonage that kept freed persons in debt and immobile.[61] Supported by Democratic state legislatures in the South during the 1860s, landlords placed liens on the crops of sharecroppers that precluded them from leaving the land.[62] Other landlords advanced sharecroppers with furnishings and credit at prices that these laborers could not repay at the end of the growing season. For example, in North Carolina in 1926 sharecroppers received cash advances from landholders at an average interest rate of 21 percent and credit advances at an exorbitant interest rate of 53 percent.[63] In their 1866 official report on South Carolina to Secretary of War, Hon. E.M. Stanton, Generals Steedman and Fullerton noted similar instances where landlords exploited sharecroppers:

> On Wadmalan and Edisto islands, many who are cultivating lands for themselves would be compelled to abandon their crops were it not for the provisions furnished by the planters…. We found, on inquiry, that some of the freedmen raised good crops, and could easily have reimbursed the Government for the supplies provided for them, but most of them were swindled out of all they

> made by a gang of white sharpers who, pretending to be their friends, gained per mission to come upon the islands and set up stores, provided with sweetmeats, cheap jewelry, and worthless articles of dress, with which they plundered these poor creatures of their hard earnings. The same class of persons who thus defrauded the freedmen last year have made extensive preparations to secure this season's crop by the same means. We found a number of their stores on Edisto and Wadmalan islands, and will mention one case where one of them is connected with plantation as an example.[64]

Landowners paid their tenants $1.00 per acre tended prior to the Depression and cut this amount by half in 1932.[65] Unfortunately for freedpersons, landholders often defrauded sharecroppers at the end of the season and there are cases in which landlords forced tenants to leave the plantation either because they could not or just refused to honor their part of the contracts.[66]

In Seagrave's work *The Southern Agricultural Worker: 1850-1870* argues that the economic relationship between the landowners and the freedmen post-Civil War was more profitable for sharecroppers on grounds that the Freedmen's Bureau protected the economic interests of blacks.[67] This assertion is problematic on a number of levels because despite the Freedmen Bureau's efforts to rectify this incongruous balance of power through educating freedpersons on contracts and how to negotiate the terms of their contracts with landowners, the vast majority of freedpersons were not formally educated and were ignorant of their rights in contractual agreements.[68] Although the Freedman's Bureau set prices on how much the commissaries could charge tenants, landowners exploited their employers at will and the historical evidence suggests otherwise. There are cases in which Bureau officials mismanaged rations and financial resources meant for the freedmen.[69] Moreover, many of the top-ranking military officials in the Bureau invested their money into the plantation economy in hopes of returning profits from free labor.[70] For instance, Steedmen and Fullerton conceded that such situations like that in North Carolina created deep-seeded anger between the planters, freedmen and Bureau officials in their 1866 fact-finding report to the Secretary of War:

> Colonel Whittlesey, or any other officer of less rank and influence in the Bureau, who is engaged in working plantations rented for cash or on shares, becomes interested in securing a low rate of wages and in making the most stringent labor regulations, to the great detriment of the freedmen. They thereby give the sanction of the Government to the establishment of wages far below what the labor is really worth. Officers of the Quartermaster's and Commissary Departments who are thus engaged are subjected to the temptation of appropriating to their own use Quartermaster's stores and rations to supply and pay their own laborers. Complaints have been made to me by the planters that these Agents of the Bureau use the power of their positions to obtain and control the best labor in the State. There is no doubt that some of the ill-feeling manifested toward the Bureau on the part of the planters is attributable to this fact.[71]

These social, political, and economic pressures of sharecropping proved devastating for families who forcibly relied upon a drastically smaller work force to till acres of land and produce enough yield to make a profit at the end of each growing season. Under typical conditions of sharecropping, the entire family unit became tied to the soil and relied upon the earth’s production to survive. Thus children’s labor became even more important to the family’s livelihood.[72] In his narrative *All God’s Dangers*, sharecropper Nate Shaw recounted the woeful moments he experienced after his mother passed away when he was young. Although Shaw’s mother nurtured him as a young child and made sure that he did not go hungry, Shaw’s father did not exhibit that same compassion after her demise.[73] Shaw’s small yet battered body showed the early wear and tear that tenant farming could cause upon one’s mind and body. Nate expressed:

> My daddy put me to plowin the first time at nine years old, right after my mother died. I remember the first plowin he put me to doin. She died in August and he put me to plowin in October, helping him plow up sweet potatoes…..In October that year the weather was warm and the gnats was awful bad. And doggone it, the gnats looked like they would eat me up and I was just nine years old. So I would fight the gnats and my daddy got mad with me for that and he come to me and he picked me up by the arm and he held me up and he wore out a switch nearly on me,…. That was the first whippin he ever give me bout plowin. I just wasn’t big enough for the job, that the truth.
>
> And that country where we was livin was rough and rocky. And he- my poor old daddy is dead and gone but I don’t tell no lies on him-he put me to plowin a regular shift at twelve, thirteen years old. And I had to plow barefooted on that roucky country; anything liable to skin up my feet.[74]

Although Shaw was only nine years old, his father expected him to complete the workload of an adult male because he was simply concerned with the end product that his son could produce and negated Nate's overall mental and physical health. Shaw's hurt and despair was underwritten by a system that viewed him as a brute source of labor. The ardor of plowing and the corporal punishment contributed to Shaw's perception of the land and its impact on his life. Although Shaw mentions that "… it wasn't entirely my fault that I didn't get a education…" he did recall that his father refused to let him go to Tuskegee after a school official pleaded with Shaw's father because he believed that Nate was gifted and that he saw "something in him."[75]

According to his experiences in Beaufort, the growing season and the landholders controlled the schools' calendars and effectively the right of young black children to acquire an education in the South.[76] Shaw attested to the overwhelming plight that African American children born into this land-lease system faced when he remarked, "As a whole, it children got book learnin enough they'd jump off of this country; they don't want to plow, don't want no part of no sort of field work."[77] Shaw's experience revealed the view of many African Americans who did not see the land as an opportunity for upward social mobility and economic stability during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[78] Others shared in his sentiment that the land was a direct source of endless toil and that it offered an untenable means of survival for many sharecroppers.[79]

The Freedmen's Bureau and Increased Social Stratification

The heated discourse on how to encompass freed blacks into the nation's social, political, and economic fabric gained traction from the writings of English philosopher Jeremy Bentham who contended that in order to fully control a particular group, it was necessary to create a circle in which one centralized force could view and dictate every facet of that group's being.[80] Political leaders and thinkers who formed the Freedmen's Bureau engaged Betham's ideologies as they drafted the governmental agency. On one end was Robert Dale Owen who believed in fully integrating freedpersons and equipping them with the tools to build a strong class of black yeomen.[81] On the contrary, Edward Pierce believed that the government should grant large tracts of land to the gentry and that these plantations should have overseers to control the laborers.[82]

With these competing interests at the forefront, Congress created the Bureau of the Refugees, Freedman, and Abandoned Lands, which is commonly referred to as the Freedmen's Bureau on March 3, 1865 (14 Stat. 173 on July 16, 1866 and 15 Stat. 83 on July 6, 1868 renewed the agency's funding).[83] As a branch within the War Department (13 Stat. 507) and with General Oliver Otis Howard as the Commissioner of the Bureau, its initiative was to help the freedpersons become self-sustaining, by facilitating contractual negotiations and settling disputes between landowners and tenants, providing rations for the freedpersons, helping them attain an education, providing this group with medical attention, and more importantly helping the freedpersons acquire land that was seized during the Civil War.[84] During its nearly seven years in operation, the Bureau faced paramount challenges from both within and outside of the organization as it fought charges of corruption and misappropriation of funds.[85]

Liberal activists charged Bureau officials with giving out posts to unqualified individuals who severely compromised the agency's objectives.[86] Such misgivings emerged in General Fullerton's administration in Louisiana in 1866. General Fullerton's twenty day administration in Louisiana proved calamitous for freedpersons who turned to him for help. Fullerton openly supported the initiatives of the secessionists in Louisiana by socializing with them in public.[87] He overturned his predecessor Mr. Conway's efforts to secure land for the freedpersons and returned the farms that freedpersons operated and as a result shut down the funding for the 200 schools that freedpersons operated with their own financial resources.[88] In a June 13, 1866 letter to the New York Tribune, a Citizen of New Orleans complained that during General Fullerton's twenty day administration in New Orleans that he returned approximately $200,000,000 worth of abandoned and confiscated property that the government was going to use back to its previous owners.[89] This act is certainly problematic given that in his May 8, 1866 fact-finding report to the Hon. E.M. Stanton, Secretary of War, General Fullerton *conceded* that: "… The necessity for issuing rations to this class of persons results from their accumulation in large numbers in certain places where the land is unproductive…" strongly suggesting that in order for the freedpersons to be self-sufficient they needed fertile land.[90] Gen. Fullerton lobbied Louisiana State law to return orphaned children "to their old masters to live in slavery till they were 21 years of age."[91] Furthermore, he legislated a command to "… arrest all unemployed freedmen, …" which resulted in the Louisiana police incarcerating over 30,000 freedpersons and eventually returning them to bonded labor.[92] Since Fullerton abolished the Freedmen's Courts with the blessing of Washington, D.C., freedpersons had no real avenues to express their grievances against their landlords and Bureau officials. In a June 10, 1866 letter addressed to the Hon. Thomas D. Eliot, the Chairman on the Special Committee on the Freedmen's Bureau the writer berated the actions of leaders within the Bureau:

> Men like the Rev. Mr. Fitz, the Rev. Thomas W. Conway, and Mr. Isaac G. Hubbs—the latter sent out of a Department, by a special military order, for officially robbing the teachers of the colored

> schools, and for speculating upon the necessities of the Freedmen—are of the classes of men to whom Gen. Howard appears to have given hearing and credence. It was the interest of these classes of men to impose upon the Chief Commissioner.
>
> … They inundated his Bureau and himself with private letters and communications, and they encompassed it in personal appeal. In addition, they molded official papers for special effect. There are instances wherein reports have been made by agents to the Chief Commissioner at Washington, which reports were fabricated; manufactured from altered official papers; made up without data, and after having been interjected with the needful number of pious phrases were forwarded as official reports. Gen. Howard was immediately and accurately informed of the fraud. Facts, dates and figures were furnished him. Not only did he reject the truth and accept the falsehood, but he interposed his personal influence to sustain the culprits, and to retain them in place, thereby losing many thousands of dollars to the Government, and in the end, subverting a paramount interest of the freedmen.[93]

Despite these transgressions, there were officials who earnestly worked to redress the abuses against the freedpersons. On the contrary were officials such as Swayne who served in Alabama and fought to protect the interests of freedpersons. He requested that Congress set aside abandoned lands for the freedpersons and he lobbied Alabama legislatures to reverse its vagrancy laws that forced orphaned children to work for free.[94] After several unsuccessful efforts, Alabama did overturn the law when it passed the Military Reconstruction Bill for the District of Alabama (14 Stat. 429) on March 1867.[95] Swayne’s work also helped parents find their children who were orphaned after the War and sought to protect children by petitioning Congress in 1867 to fund new institutions and develop programs for orphaned children.[96]

Economic Studies on the Efficiency of Sharecropping and its Undergirding Hegemonic Principles

There are a number of studies conducted by economists on the efficiency and productivity of sharecropping.[97] On the far left there is Adam Smith’s argument in his 1776 publication of *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* that full productivity could not be maximized under sharecropping because landowners did not fairly compensate sharecroppers for their labor. Smith contended that sharecroppers viewed the land as a short term asset that they could abandon after harvesting their crops because they did not own it and landowners did not fully compensate them for their labor.[98] Alfred Marshall supports Smith's contention and argued that sharecropping breeds a Pareto-inefficient distribution of labor.[99] David Jaynes' 1986 study also produced evidence suggesting that sharecropping produced an inefficient labor force because workers had to wait too long to receive financial compensation since it came at the end of the growing season. Moreover, given the uncertainty of weather and other unpredictable forces such as fluctuating market prices, sharecroppers did not truly know how much money they would make at the end of the growing season.[100] Central to this discourse lies Brinkley's 1997 study which determined that the difference in productivity between sharecroppers and landowners was negligible and "close to zero." [101] On the far right on this spectrum, economist Joseph Reid used "A Market Equilibrium Model without Uncertainty" in his 1976 study in which he examined yields between black renters and black sharecroppers on small farms in 1880 to show that the yields were comparable and that supervising sharecroppers and providing them with commercial fertilizers increased their productivity.[102] Based on these findings and the presupposition that both tenants and landlords entered into contractual agreements only if both parties would maximize their profits, Reid contended that sharecropping was Paretoefficient.[103] Garrett Jr. and Xu's 2003 study of 792 counties in 11 Southern states also revealed statistically significant results that support the claim that sharecropping produced greater output than the land of farm owners and some tenants.[104]

What these studies fail to take into account in their assessments of contractual agreements between sharecroppers and land owners, is that they do not treat the hegemonic principles that undergird the contractual agreements. In exploring the hegemonic forces that enveloped the relationship between the workers and the owners of production, one can better examine the political, cultural, and economic institutions of the South and how they fostered the oppressive conditions that forced freedpersons into these compromising contracts with landholders.[105] Despite abolishing institutionalized chattel slavery, the idioms and practices that undergirded slavery remained in tact and continued to pervade the nation's political, economic, and social institutions.[106] Reid's theoretical assessment that sharecroppers are more likely than wage laborers or farm owners to make improvements to the land (in order to increase their profits) is superseded by the freedperson's ultimate goal to own land and have control over their labor.[107] Although Xu and Garrett suggest that sharecropping developed organically and that both freedpersons and landholders alike gravitated equally towards this arrangement, the evidence suggests otherwise.[108] For instance, in Garett Jr. and Xu's equation for displaced production, they use county data to examine the relationship between labor input for owners, sharecroppers, and tenants according to capital, land, and the elasticity of output.[109] While accounting for women and children in their calculations, they do not disaggregate the data in a manner that would reveal the output elasticity according to race and gender.[110] They make the assumption that landlords engaged in fair contractual practices although the historical poverty of black sharecroppers speaks otherwise.[111] Reid's market equilibrium model without uncertainty also falters by presupposing that all individuals enter these contracts on their own accord.[112]

In a plantation economy the landlords must rely upon nonmarket forces to control their supply of workers because it is much less profitable for landholders to use wage laborers since they assume more of the risks in these types of contracts.[113] As Mandle argues, given that landlords must rely upon nonmarket forces such as coercion to control their labor force, it means that these contracts are not purely freely labor contracts based on economic principles.[114] In Jay R. Mandle's pivotal study *The Roots of Black Poverty: The Southern Plantation Economy After the Civil War* he attempts to include these unquantifiable factors-though no less critical-into his examination of contractual agreements between landlords and freedpersons.[115] Also in Gerald D. Jaynes' *Branches Without Roots: Genesis of the Black Working Class in the American South, 1862-1882* the economist provides a methodical study of Reconstruction through examining how competing Northern and Southern interests invariably shaped how freedpersons came out of Reconstruction.[116] Jaynes critiques the government for removing freedwomen's labor from the market economy, not redistributing land to freedpersons, and supporting the vagrancy laws of state legislations that kept freedpersons indebted to landowners.[117]

Institutional Responses: The Agricultural Contributions of Tuskegee and the Development of Institutionally-Supported African American Environmental Thought

Leaders understood the perils that sharecroppers faced and instituted new policies to rectify these problems. As institutions, Howard University, Hampton Normal Institute, and Tuskegee Institute nurtured and cultivated the heterogeneous standpoints and transformative interpretations of blacks on the natural environment post-Reconstruction. Sociologist Kelly Miller from Howard affirmed that practical and agricultural education was instrumental to equip Southern freedpeople for success in rural areas while the board of trustees at Tuskegee connected the school's mission of thrift and industry with responsible landholding practices- their ultimate mission was to stop the financial and emotional hemorrhaging among the new class of freedpersons.[118] Tuskegee's mission coupled sustainable agriculture, personal achievement and an appreciation for nature. Emmett J. Scott, Booker T. Washington's executive secretary remarked that:

> Education is meant to make us appreciate the things that are beautiful in nature. A person is never educated until he is able to go into the swamps and woods and see something that is beautiful in the trees and shrubs there- is able to see something beautiful in the grass and flowers that surround him- is, in short, able to see something beautiful, elevating, and inspiring in everything that God has created. Not only should education enable us to see beauty in these objects which God has put about us, but it is meant to influence us to bring beautiful objects about us….[119]

The institution wanted to prove to freedpersons that it was possible to embody a sense of pride and joy from being associated with the land and nature and that students could make pioneering advancements within their respective communities and the nation overall. Trustees successfully negotiated the varying opinions held by freedpersons regarding the natural landscape. Although there were plenty of communities that viewed land as a gateway to success, there were also individuals who still connected the experiences of slavery to the land. Washington argued to the mass population that it was still more financially sound to remain on the land and labor as farmers and landowners than it was to move to urban cities. Former Tuskegee student Lovejoy recalled:

> When I entered Tuskegee I was filled with loathing for all forms of manual labor. I had been a slave to toil all my life and had resolved that, if it were possible for a colored man to make a living by doing something besides farming, splitting rails, or picking and hoeing cotton, I would be one of that number. I was compelled at the school, however, like the others, to work at some industry.[120]

As a result of their experiences as Tuskegee, several of the school's graduates eventually opened their own local institutions that held Farmers' conferences and taught the black farmers how to model their farms into profitable and modern organizations that could help both the owners and their respective communities.[121]

On the national scope, the school worked with the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) and made significant agricultural contributions to the lives of poor black farmers in Alabama.[122] The boll-weevil infestation grew drastically from 1892 to the early twentieth century and destroyed cotton crops from Texas to as far East as Georgia-it caused as much as 90 percent in crop losses in some states and caused plummeting cotton production throughout the South.[123] Though unsuccessful, the USDA financed crop demonstration stations at Tuskegee to try and beat the worm's infestation throughout the South.[124] George Washington Carver and Tuskegee worked closely with black farmers to helped them overcome the bug by teaching them to plant nitrogen-fixing plants that were not as vulnerable to the bug and would both replace the lost nutrients in the soil and feed families.[125] Tuskegee's contributions to the U.S. agricultural development during the nation's bout with the boll weevil infestation categorically helped the hemorrhaging economy from the collapse of cotton on the world market.[126]

Albeit that Carver did not make any significant scientific contributions, he did articulate a sophisticated and agriculturally sound used of natural resources that ameliorated the condition of the poor black farmer.[127] The scientist was deeply invested in uplifting black farmers and helping them become more self-sufficient. Carver made this clear in a letter to the Finance Committee at Tuskegee when he remarked: "You doubtless know that I came here solely for the benefit of my people, no other motive in view…."[128] During the Farmers' Conferences Carver consulted privately with black farmers on their crops and helped these agrarians understand specifically what was ailing their crop yields.[129] As head of the institution's agricultural department, Carver travelled regularly throughout the South to assess the needs of the poorest farmers in rural areas and designed a course in 1904 entitled: “A Short Course in Agriculture” to educate black farmers on innovative agricultural methods and on the used of manure and other organic matter to fertilize their plants rather than purchase expensive chemical fertilizers- this contribution was especially important given that in 1899 black farmers spent $5,614,844 of their total $8,789,792 on fertilizers alone.[130]

Finding new ways to fertilize their crops was important to poor sharecroppers who relied upon their landlords to furnish them with enough fertilizer to raise a profitable yield. Nate Shaw recalled:

> Mr. Curtis and Mr. Ames both, they’d show me my land I had to work and furnish me-far as fertilize to work that crop, they’d furnish me what *they* wanted to; didn’t leave it up to me. That’s what hurt- they’d furnish me the amount of fertilize [sic] they wanted regardless to what I wanted. I quickly seed, startin off with Mr. Curtis in 1907, it weren’t goin to be enough. First year I worked for him and the last year too he didn’t allow me to use over twenty-two hundred pounds of guano-it come in two-hundred-pound sacks and corn. It was enough to start with but not enough to do any more. Really, I oughta been usin twice that amount. Told him, too, but he said, “Well, at the present time and system, Nate, you can’t risk too much.
>
> I knowed I oughta use more fertilize [sic] to make a better crop-if you puts nothing in you gets nothing, all the way through. It’s nonsense what they gived me- Mr. Curtis and Mr. Ames, too- but I was a poor colored man, young man too, and I had to go by their orders.[131]

Shaw’s experience echoed the experiences of other sharecroppers and poor black farmers throughout the South. School officials exemplified their mission through decreeing responsible agricultural methods and renewing a sense of cultural pride among freedpersons. The Tuskegee Institute fostered an environment in which innovative agricultural methods out-competed the status quo of unsustainable commercial agricultural production. To make farming a viable enterprise for this population, leaders needed to implement innovative initiatives to meet their needs. Through introducing composting, Carver used Tuskegee’s organic waste products to produce rich fertilizer from products that were available to the average poor farmer.[72] Former student John Robinson of Tuskegee recalled:

> I had not been at the Tuskegee Institute long, however, before I was led to know that "agriculture" is the very highest of all industrial callings. I had never known that agriculture had so many subdivisions, that soils could be analyzed and treated, that rotation of crops enriched the soil, that a certain crop planted season after season on the same soil made it poor, because it was ridding it of some life-giving chemical. To me soils simply "wore out." But through lectures and practical experiments my agricultural horizon began to expand, and a sense of beauty of the industry grew upon me.[132]

Carver's research in soil and fertilizer analysis incited large-scale changes in agricultural production and he credited the USDA for their soil research.[133] Tuskegee trained its students to produce polyculture farms and diversify the crops they planted and Carver demonstrated the benefits of cultivating nitrogen-fixing crops when he successfully raised between 50-75 percent more cotton on that same land without any fertilizer.[134] Furthermore, his experiments with sweet potatoes grown in proper soil conditions yielded 540 percent more sweet potatoes than what the contemporary farmers produced at that time.[135]

Black farmers relied on these sustainable agricultural methods that Tuskegee and Carver prescribed and created healthier farming communities as a result. School officials disavowed their pupils of the notion that a farmer should till his entire lot and leave no part of it fallow. Through introducing more targeted and isolated forms of spatial cultivation, farmers could work smaller plots of their lands and grow crops with higher levels of nutrition while they simultaneously kept major parts of the soil fallow, moisturized and nutrient-rich.[74] Furthermore, the institution encouraged farmers to consume the fruits and other vegetation from the forests and trees.[69] Such prescriptions were especially important in replenishing the nutrient deficient diet that was endemic among sharecroppers.[136]

Moreover, these shifts in agriculture improved the quality of life for the entire family. Through working smaller patches of land the women could devote more of their time to raising food crops that would increase the nutrition in their family's diets and the children had more time to attend school. In this sense these prescriptions fulfilled parts of Washington's objectives that owning land and engaging in sustainable development became profitable for the family and it supported a stronger family structure by affording the family with more time to devote to dishwashing, laundry and cooking.[137]

George Washington Carver: An Environmentalist of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century

George Washington Carver's contributions to an African American environmental ethic extended beyond his professional commitments. In addition to his professional accomplishments the scientist embodied the deep-seeded belief held by his predecessors that nature was a direct reflection and manifestation of a larger and more powerful being.[138] Despite the conspicuous difference in their racial politics, the genesis of George Washington Carver's environmental ethic mirrored that of the naturalist and founder of the Sierra Club John Muir. Carver and Muir's childhood experiences in nature shaped their relationship to the natural environment and God. John Muir recalled during his youth that his walks through the gardens, fields and along the sea revealed God's most beautiful beings. Muir noted that: "My earliest recollections of the country were gained on short walks with my grandfather when I was perhaps not over three years old. On one of these walks grandfather took me to Lord Lauderdale's gardens, where I saw figs by the

All Father."[139] Although history recounts these men's experiences in divergent forms, this same connection of nature and a strong Christian ethic was ever-present in the Carver's thoughts and actions.[140]

Carver believed that the construction and function of nature were all a part of God's work and people should respect the environment as such. In his most profound scientific endeavors Carver called on God for divine guidance and he trusted that God would reveal Himself through these natural beings.[141] For instance, the scientist expressed the process of crystallizing a mineral as a fervent reminder "… of His omnipotence, majesty and power through a little specimen…."[142] In his letter to Seattle minister Rev. Kunzman, Carver wrote: "My life time study of nature in it's [sic] many phazes [sic] leads me to believe more strongly than ever in the Biblical account of man's creation as found in Gen. 1:27 "And God created man in his own image, in the image of God created He him; male and female created he them."[143] While at Tuskegee, Carver went on nature walks where he would commune personally with God and examine the plants and trees. These walks and hikes provided the plants, rocks, and other specimen which he studied in his experiment station at Tuskegee.[144] he viewed these walks as opportunities to attain mental clarity and Carver remarked that:

> Alone there with the things I love most, I gather my specimens and study the lessons Nature is so eager to teach us all. Nothing is more beautiful than the loveliness of the woods before sunrise. At no other time have I so sharp an understanding of what God means to do with me as in these hours of dawn. When other folks are asleep, I hear God best and learn His plan. [145]

From his childhood Carver exhibited a strong attachment to nature and exemplified this when he took his neighbors' dyeing plants deep into the woods where he assessed their nutritional deficiencies and nurtured them back to life.[146] In a 1931 letter to

Isabelle Coleman, Carver recounted his conversion experience as a young child. Carver's conversion experience resembled several of the testimonies documented in *God Struck Me Dead* and in stark resemblance to the other narratives, Carver remembered that his most pre-eminent experience with God occurred while he was alone in a natural setting. He wrote: "I was just a mere boy when converted, hardly ten years old. There isn't much of a story to it. God just came into my heart one afternoon while I was alone in the "loft" of our big barn while I was shelling corn to carry to the mill to be ground into meal."[147] This conversion experience inspired Carver's attachment to animals at an early age.

Like Muir who became woeful after he witnessed the pain that a pair of robin-redbreasts experienced after soldiers stole their chicks, Carver too would become imprinted by his personal account with a bird while he was young.[148] Carver no longer hunted sentient beings for sport after he beheaded a bird with a rock and cried inconsolably after he saw the bird's lifeless body nestled in between its blood and the ground.[149] Such a close sentiment towards animals became imperative to the scientist's survival while he worked for the Steeley's, a well-to-do white couple in Kansas.[150] The overwhelming sense of loneliness from losing his mother and being without family drove Carver's desire to form a bond and personal relationship with the Steeley's two horses. Carver regularly fed the horses sugar and communicated his deepest feelings of hurt and despair with these stallions and his chagrin and melancholy grew once deeper when the Steeleys sold Carver's two companions.[151]

These personal prescriptions became a part of Carver's attitude toward his work as a scientist at Tuskegee.[152] He viewed his experiment station as "God's little workshop" and the botanist began every day at his lab with a word of prayer.[153] Although the media over inflated Carver's scientific accomplishments, his greatest contributions is that he connected nature, natural science, and God when he taught agriculture to poor rural farmers.[154] Despite Carver's success, the de facto segregation in the Jim Crow South mitigated his humanity and accomplishments by denying him the right to enter public facilities and private enterprises.[155] However, Carver channeled these potentially crippling encounters into revolutionary reform when he mentored the future co-founder of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU).[156]

Carver's solutions towards improving the land and assisting sharecroppers and black farmers live off of the land during the late 19th and early 20th century was Tuskegee's institutional response to the federal government's failure to successfully support freedpersons in their journeys towards self-sustenance. The initiative to control the labor of freedpersons in the market economy drove officials' responses surrounding equitable land distribution to freedpersons and reparations for their unpaid labor. Despite the Freedmen Bureau's aid to freedpersons, their work was limited by the racist ideals of some of its ranking officials who recreated the very devastating circumstances for freedpersons that Gen. Howard and the Bureau appointed to them to mitigate and ultimately the failed Reconstruction set the path for further environmental degradation and the racial oppression of African Americans.[157]

CHAPTER 4

THE FAILURE OF THE NEW DEAL AND THE AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT (AAA): A NEW DAY FOR SELF-HELP AND A NEW IDENTITY, 1915-1945

Sympathy

I know what the caged bird feels, alas!
When the sun is bright on the upland slopes;
When the wind stirs soft through the springing grass,
And the river flows like a stream of glass;
When the first bird sings and the first bud opens,
And the faint perfume from its chalice steals-
I know what the caged bird feels!

I know why the caged bird beats his wing
Till its blood is red on the cruel bars;
For he must fly back to his perch and cling
When he fain would be on the bough a-swing;
And a pain still throbs in the old, old scars
And they pulse again with a keener sting-
I know why he beats his wing!

I know why the caged bird sings, ah me,
When his wing is bruised and his bosom sore,-
When he beats his bars and he would be free,
It is not a carol of joy or glee,
But a plea, that upward to Heaven he flings-
I know why the caged bird sings!

Paul Laurence Dunbar, “Sympathy” in *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature,* 2nd ed., eds. Henry Louis and Nellie Y. McKay (Norton: New York, 2004), pp. 922.

Although Dunbar’s epic poem “Sympathy” predated the Harlem Renaissance by two decades, it foreshadowed the response that African Americans exhibited as they sought to establish their rightful place as full citizens against a racial caste system that circumscribed them to second class citizenship during the early twentieth century. In “Sympathy” the caged bird is bereft of the joys of freedom: it cannot feel the water from the streams upon its feathers, it cannot fly onto the colorful stems of bright flowers, and it cannot nestle itself within the branches of trees that bear the untold stories of generations of species. After unsuccessful attempts at physically escaping these walls, the bird then turns inward to mend it wounds. Although confined in a space where its value lies in the joy and utilitarian principles of its owner, the oppressed being finds a way to temporally escape this parallel. It sings using its breath to let the world know that its story matters. What sounds like a pleasant and inviting tune to the owner, is in reality a stark manifestation of resistance and the oppressed's call to justice.[1]

During the early twentieth century African Americans made a political and cultural charge against elite whites who used sharecropping to keep blacks and poor whites impoverished and deny them of their basic human rights. As African Americans made a call for political, social, and economic justice, they galvanized their efforts against environmental exploitation through organizations such as The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU) which siloed the anger and discontent of black and poor white sharecroppers into direct forms of resistance against the collective environmental degradation and human abuse.[2] The cultural component of this political activism which arose out of the millions of African Americans who migrated North and into urban areas furnished the fodder for artistic production such as that found in *Their Eyes Were Watching God* where nature operates as the reconciling force between the competing interests of capitalism, gender roles, and racial segregation.[3]

The devious actions of federal government's institutions such as the Freedmen's Bureau and state-sponsored initiatives such as the Black Codes and other laws that disenfranchised African Americans undergirded the nation's failed attempt at successfully transitioning freedpersons out of slavery and into respected members of American society during Reconstruction.[4] Lynchings, terrorism, public beatings, and other forms of violence against African Americans dominated the American landscape during the nadir of the black experience from 1890-1920 as angry whites of the South fashioned new forms of oppression that maintained white supremacy after the Civil War.[5] As *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) ushered in de jure segregation and institutionally supported de facto segregation in the Jim Crow South, the social, economic, and political climate in the region impeded the efforts of African Americans who worked towards upward mobility.[6]

The racial economy of the sharecropping-lien system in the South replaced institutionalized slavery. Southern Tenancy thrived from three main sets of laborers. Cash tenants functioned at the top of the ladder where they owned their own crops, the animals, fertilizer, feed and merely paid the landholders a specified amount of rent at the end of each growing season; these tenants kept their profits. The second tier consisted of share-tenants who owned most of the crops, feed, animals and fertilizers.[7] However, the landholders could extend credit to these tenants if these groups could not furnish the entire machinery necessary to make it through the season. Sharecroppers occupied the lowest rung of this ladder since they owned nothing. Landlords advanced sharecroppers the seed, feed, animals, tools, fertilizer, housing, and food.[8] The sharecropper was then responsible to sell his product to the landlord at the end of each season. Customarily, landlords paid sharecroppers by extending credit to the workers that they could use only in their commissaries; the landlord dictated what he would pay for the sharecropper's crops.[9] Landlords often inflated the prices of the items in their commissaries, which placed sharecroppers in deeper forms of abject poverty.[10]

Sharecropping subjected blacks (and poor whites) to the land and the volatility of the market price of crops.[11] Tenants and sharecroppers alike grew cotton as far up to their door steps and devoted limited acres of land to grow food crops. Yet the inability to control the price of their crops left sharecroppers with compromised diets and in debt peonage. Families could no longer cultivate their own gardens and therefore were not self-reliant in their subsistence.[12] Sharecropping placed blacks in dually oppressive circumstances given that the eleven plus working hours yielded pauperized conditions and nutritionally deficient diets among this population.[13] This insidious infrastructure exploited sharecroppers by keeping these families in revolving debt,[14] and although black sharecroppers comprised eighty-eight percent of the workers in agricultural fields and supported the overall economy, they could not support their families through farming.[15]

In addition to stripping sharecroppers of living wages, the system ravaged the natural environment. While concentrating on producing the greatest financial gains from cotton production, landlords and tenants neglected the conditions of the soil.[16] This large scale production siphoned key nutrients out of the soil, removed the top soil and set up ideal conditions that triggered the future dust bowls in Oklahoma, Texas and parts of Kansas during the 1930s.[17] Once the land became over tilled and the infestation of the boll weevil bug occurred, soil quality could no longer support crop development. The bug developed out of Texas in 1892 before it traversed five states and cost $238 million in lost cotton sales.[18] By living inside of the cotton during three of its four states of life, the boll weevil bug successfully shielded itself from the harmful effects of commercial insecticides such as calcium arsenate.[19] Toomer's poem "November Cotton Flower" speaks to the deleterious effects of cotton on the environment when the narrator exclaims:

> Boll-weevil's coming, and the winter's cold, / Made cotton stalks look rusty, seasons old, / And cotton, scarce as any southern snow, / Was vanishing; the branch, so pinched and slow, / Failed in its function as the autumn rake; / Drought fighting soil had caused the soil to take / All water from the streams; dead birds were found / In wells a hundred feet below the ground- Such was the season when the flower bloomed….[20]

In this poem the narrator discusses how the boll weevil destroyed the cotton flower and the ecosystems of other organisms. The soil from the cotton fields leached water from the streams which caused droughts in the nearby streams. The birds who relied on these streams as a water source consequently died in large numbers since their water source was severely compromised.

The boll weevil in combination with the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) in 1933 further diminished the wages of sharecroppers. To combat the declining U.S. influence on the world market and the overproduction of cotton, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt instituted the AAA.[21] This legislative act catapulted sharecroppers and tenant farmers into further economic peril because the act paid landholders to keep cotton off the market.[22] Unfortunately for sharecroppers and tenant farmers, the landlords pocketed the federal funds.[23] These disenfranchised individuals consequently sought recourse from socialist organizations such as the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU).[24] Union member Deacy Real recalled: “My husband got a small check, and the landlord just took it. My husband couldn't read or write.”[25] The Reals' situation was a common experience for countless other sharecroppers. These dire conditions set up the parameters for blacks and whites to organize along racial lines and for women to operate at the center of this fight for justice and fair working conditions.[26]

What initially set out to create further tensions between blacks and whites initiated a strong collaborative effort between these groups as they fought against the parasitic opportunism of landholders who pocketed the money and used day laborers instead.[27] Therefore in 1934, eleven white men and seven black men congregated in Tyronza, Arkansas to organize the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU) and represent the economic interests of sharecroppers.[28] The STFU's preamble stated: "We must affiliate with any and all other Farmer and Labor unions whose aims are in accord with our own and must proclaim and build the solidarity of all the workers regardless of trade, race or nationality."[29] Additionally, union leaders grounded the organization's philosophies on the notion that the natural environment connected all human beings and that every individual had the right to survive off of the land. In the STFU constitution it states:

> We seek by orderly procedure to establish a co-operative society. Since the earth is the common heritage of all, we maintain that the use and occupancy of the land should be the sole title. We stand ready at all times to defend the rights of our fellow workers and at the same time promise to fulfill to the limit of our ability all labor contracts and pledges…. [30]

At its core the STFU was committed to a human rights issue that was inseparably connected to the environment.

In *Mean Things Happening in This Land: The Life and Times of H.L. Mitchell, Co-founder of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU)* and *Revolt Among the Sharecroppers* its white leaders Howard Kester and H.L. Mitchell analyzed both the public and private spheres in which black and white sharecroppers of diverse religious backgrounds retaliated against their employers' unfair labor practices.[31] The organization was comprised of a biracial conglomerate along with a mixture of activists from various socioeconomic backgrounds. For example, Isaac McNatt, a member of the history club at Hampton Institute sent Howard Kester a letter to request information about the union because the club wanted to organize sharecroppers in their area.[32] His letter of inquiry stood in sharp contrast to the sharecroppers who signed their names with an "X."

Given the demographics of the organization, the church functioned as an important medium of exchange for the organization. Churches were central to the union's early success because they provided the grounds for meetings, fundraising, and membership building-the majority of its chartered organizations met in churches or on church premises.[33] Meetings often started with a prayer, a religious song, and ended in the same fashion. Prominent STFU leader Claude Williams preached the parallels of Jewish Prophets and early Christians to unify members who had different religious beliefs.[34]

Alongside the religious and racial diversity, black women's activism forwarded the union's mission and contributed to its success. Women were particularly vulnerable to the unfair conditions of sharecropping.[35] Black women's labor as caretakers, wives, and employees made their roles indispensable to the survival of the black family unit post-Reconstruction-their unpaid labor and creativity allowed the family to survive under tough economic times.[36] Robin Kelley's text *Hammer and* Hoe brilliantly pieced together the archival and personal records of Black women's organizations to demonstrate their role in keeping the black family solvent despite their circumstances under pauperism. Often landowners reduced wages because they expected families to cultivate their own subsistence gardens.[37] Overwhelmingly, the burden of garden cultivation fell to the women in black families.[38] They woke up earlier than everyone to prepare breakfast for the family and their husbands before they went out into the fields. Moreover, these women worked alongside their male counterparts in the fields although landowners paid black women half the wages. To decrease the likelihood of being lynched, black men relied on their wives to handle economic disputes with landowners.[39]

Although the union formally recognized women's labor in its constitution, its charter did not officially acknowledge women. The statute defined membership as:

> Membership: Men of good reputation, 18 years of age or over, without discrimination as to race, color, religious or political beliefs, who are either sharecroppers, tenants or small farm owners whose lands are worked by themselves or by members of their immediate families, as well as laborers, ministers and teachers, shall be eligible for membership.[40]

Irrespective of this legal shortcoming, black women served in the STFU on several indispensable fronts. In addition to helping their husbands with their fight, black women created their own political organizations and sub sects within these larger bodies.[41] The Blue Woman's chapter in Wabbasecka, Arkansas had an all-black membership and these women sold supper meals to remain solvent and pay their chapter dues.[42] These leaders often conducted political meetings under the auspices of Bible Study and sewing club meetings and they did not keep minutes in the ordinary way so as not to call adverse attention to their meetings.[43] During their gatherings these working class women planned activist strategies that were relevant to their experiences. Henrietta McGhee successfully organized a strike on the plantation where she labored. The union paid for her release and Ms. McGhee subsequently became one of its national spokespersons. McGhee's performances at fundraising events were instrumental in raising money for the STFU.[44] Carrie Dilworth who was an active member of the union opened her home to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and worked closely with Laura Foner.[45] Deacy Real taught members how to read and write during the evening literacy courses the union offered its members.[46]

The Southern Tenant Farmers Union became a beacon of light and hope for sharecroppers who searched for a way out of their wretched conditions. According to H.L. Mitchell: "While some estimated the union membership at 31,000, I am sure that no fewer than 200,000 men and women came into the union during the years 1936-1938."[47] Though it became essentially defunct following World War II, the STFU claimed as many as 35,000 members during its height of operation and it aided sharecroppers who wrote to the union and inquired about working on STFU lands after their landlords evicted them from their lands.[48]

The New Negro Harlem Renaissance: A Development of a New Racial Consciousness and Social Uplift via an Artistic rendering of nature and its Connections to a People

During the early twentieth century African Americans responded to the increased racial violence and economic blackmail that occurred in sharecropping and tenant farming by migrating out of the South.[49] This massive migration of seven million people represented the discontent that African Americans experienced from trying to live off the land. The cultural productions buttressed their political activism through characterizing the multitude of thought and consciousness that blacks fostered during the early to mid-twentieth century.[50] A cursory examination of the historical information and the cultural works from 1915-1945 might suggest that African Americans became entirely disconnected from the land and nature in favor of the concrete and life-less spaces of urbanized spaces. On one hand there were individuals who felt irreparably displaced from the land because of the failures and exploits of sharecropping. Conversely, there were those who felt that the North and the West represented lands of rebirth and in a sense signified the new Promised lands of the twentieth century.[51]

Although the schism between those who migrated to northern urban spaces and those who remained in rural southern areas became more apparent, what remained continual, however, was how blacks re-imagined their land ethic as they survived in their surroundings. The fluidity within this spectrum occurred along three major arteries: (1) factions who migrated and still felt connected to nature, (2) migrants who associated their subjugation with the natural environment and thus maintained a disapproving view of nature and, (3) individuals who felt even more tied to the land and viewed it as part of their genealogical and cultural lineage. There was a conflicting interpersonal struggle for many African Americans in the South because they worked indefatigably on the lands in the hopes of owning a pied-a-terre, yet they faced stifling peonage laws, violence from whites and large-scale economic blackmail that rendered their dreams virtually unattainable.[52] How were they to rectify this need to exercise their rights as citizens of the United States while they processed a painful past and an uncertain future? As their landscapes changed due to the degradation of the Southern lands and the devastating impact of the boll-weevil, African Americans forcibly moved into new urban locales and reshape their identities in these urban and industrialized centers.

The movement of African Americans to the North and out West created cultural hubs and urban spaces where in which new ideas thrived. The concrete sidewalks and tall brick buildings became the fodder for rich cultural production by African American artists and it helped shape a new American identity following the Great Depression. Artists viewed their works as a form of propaganda and activism against the prevailing “happy darky,” “mammy” and “sambo” images of the nineteenth century.[53] The artistic production in the New Negro Harlem Renaissance spoke simultaneously about American landscape and the African American experience.[54]

As individuals and communities crossed into new spaces and were fed up with the material conditions that they were in, cultural leaders sought an avenue to make sense of this new phenomenon. They looked to Africa and started redefining the continent in the American imagination and discourse.[55] Africa was no longer symbolic of a dark continent, but now was a place full of life and cultural vicissitude. The description of the physical landscape was vital because that land gave birth to generations of Africans who preceded this new generation of African Americans. Scholars and cultural leaders called for a re-connection to an African homeland where the natural landscape was serene and it cradled the growth of human civilization.[56] Schomburg, Locke and Du Bois argued that African Americans could not realize their full potential into citizenship unless they valued their African Ancestry.[57] Moreover, it was essential that African American artists tell the story of the race and use it as propaganda.[58] Countee Cullen's "Heritage" and Hughes' "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" and "Our Land" magnified this connection between the growth of a black middle class with the recovery of an African past and a re-articulation of African Americans' relationship to the land.[59]

Arthur A. Anderson linked the growth of cultural nationalism within the African American community with the rise of Pan-Africanism.[60] According to Anderson, the government should repay $600,000,000 to blacks and most importantly establish a large piece of land where African Americans could reside and govern themselves while under the U.S. This he believed would produce a culturally stable and financially solvent community. "Prophetic Liberator of the Coloured Race" delineated:

> In addition to the $600,000,000 indemnity, we the colored people of the U.S.A. and our representatives, demand of the U.S.A. Government a suitable territory, a part of the United States of America, not some distant land over the sea, but the U.S.A. The land, every inch of which is hallowed by the blood of the Negro, shed in the upbuilding of this Empire. A suitable territory of ample spacious dimensions-in which to propagate, to develop their resourcefulness, necessary to it

> maintenance as a modern nation, a race a part, the people to be free from further oppression, but the U.S.A. Government to help the colored people to form and make laws themselves for themselves conducive to the welfare of the colored race. The whole to be under the protectorate of the U.S.A. but only in case of invasion from another foreign country, or the invasion by the white race of the U.S.A. of the colored people into the U.S.A. But the protectorate to in no way interfere with the civil affairs of the colored peoples territory. And I would like to state here to my people that a Monarchy would be preferable to a Republic;…. [61]

Du Bois also advocated for landownership among African Americans. The sociologist shared the belief with his mentor T. Thomas Fortune that landownership was the gateway to upward mobility for African Americans.[62] Du Bois argued that a family's ability to own land and control its food sources increased its opportunity to attain higher education and produce cultural knowledge.[63] Du Bois did not, however, support the exploitative nature of cotton production and its role in supporting pauperism among black sharecroppers. In a speech entitled: "The City Negro" Du Bois remarked:

> In fact there are today many resemblances between the situation of the Negro in the country districts of the United States, and the serf of the Middle Age who ran away to town to escape serfdom. Under such circumstances, the person who wishes the Negro to stay in the country districts of the South, must make those country districts places where human beings with reasonable aspirations will want to stay: the crop lien system and contract labor laws must go: landownership must be made possible to the poor; law and order must be established and above all, public schools maintained.[64]

Despite migrating up North and into urban spaces, African Americans still held strong emotional ties to the land and the soil. This ideological stance traversed into the concrete-laden side streets and the tall buildings. In his essay "Dilemma of the Social Pattern" Herskovits argued that the blacks in Harlem became fully acculturated into the white social customs. Herskovits noted: "What there is today in Harlem distinct from the white culture which surrounds it, is, as I am able to see, merely a remnant from the peasant days in the South."[65]

The historical and cultural evidence does not support Herskovits' argument. The bilateral relationship between the North and the South thrived during the early twentieth century and these Southern transplants maintained a strong connection to the South and nature. In the opening advertisements in the March 1925 special issue of the *Survey Graphic* on “Harlem Mecca of the New Negro” the periodical made special efforts to reach out to a southern audience. Four of the seven advertisements on upcoming events and social stories were directly related to the South and its influence in Harlem.[66] Among the two advertisements were: Morehouse President John Hope’s “A Southern Negro’s Impression of Harlem” and Tuskegee Institute Principal Dr. Robert Moton’s “Hampton, Tuskegee and Points North.”[67] In his essay “Black Workers and the City” Charles Johnson cited a letter from a Southerner who wrote to a friend and noted:

> Dear Partner:…. I don’t care to mix with white [folks] what I mean I am not crazy about being with white folks, but if I have to pay the same fare I have learn to want the same acomidation and if you are first in a place here hoping you don’t have to wait till all the white folks get thro tradeing yet amid all this I love the good old south and am praying that God may give every well wisher a chance to be a man regardless of his color…. [68]

Nature remained a salient element in African American imagination in both rural and urban areas. Beyond the continuous elements of using the swamps as spaces of refuge and escape from the burdens of servitude, nature appears as an important force in the literature of the New Negro Harlem Renaissance. Hughes’ “An earth Song” pays homage to the earth and its birth of new flowers and babies in the spring time.[69] Entrepreneur and cultural supporter Albert C. Barnes believed that African American art “…[revealed] to the rest of the world the essential oneness of all human beings.”[70] More notably Barnes wrote that:

> The later Negro has made us feel the majesty of Nature, the ineffable peace of the woods and the great open spaces. He has shown us that the events of our every-day American life contain for him a poetry, rhythm and charm which we ourselves had never discovered. Through him we have seen the pathos, comedy, affection, joy of his own daily life, unified into humorous dialect verse or perfected sonnet that is a work of exquisite art. He has taught us to respect the sheer manly greatness of fibre which has kept his inward light burning with an effulgence that shines through the darkness in which we have tried to keep him.[71]

In Claude McKay's "Like A Strong Tree" the narrator views the tree as a template for a people who have subsisted in the face of plight and quandary. She likens this experience to the life of a strong tree and what it must endure to survive. The narrator contends: "Like a strong tree that reaches down, deep, deep, / For sunken water, fluid underground, / Where the great-ringed unsightly blind worms creep, / And queer things of the nether world abound:…"[72] A strong tree is able to endure nature's most harrowing forces. The tree that survives strong winds, rainstorms and droughts must establish its root systems deep into the ground. Such a deep root system protects the roots from being pulled out during wind storms, washed out by floods, and it allows the tree to seek deeper underground water sources in the midst of dry and arid conditions. The narrator views the resilient tree as an inspiration because she too wants to "…live in rich imperial growth."[73] Its strength lies in its ability to navigate both the underworld and the world above ground.

Nature plays a pivotal role in the seminal works *Cane* and *Their Eyes Were Watching God*. In each of these works the environment molded how the protagonists and other characters processed the range of emotions that they experienced during life-altering events.[74] The presence of God as an omnipotent and omniscient being who showcases Himself through nature has an overwhelming presence in these narratives. The characters are able to connect with God through continuously engaging with all of nature's sentient beings. The trees simultaneously served as pillars of life and death while they held answers to the question of whether landownership ameliorated the quality of life for blacks remains salient in the characters' lives.[75]

Cane

Although Toomer did not believe that his work should be a part of James Weldon Johnson's *American Negro Poetry*, *Cane* was a clear expression of the local color of the South and its influence on the African American experience. The N.Y. Tribune heralded *Cane* as "A distinct achievement, unlike anything of this sort done before. The book is indeed a spiritual chronicle of the Negro."[76] Toomer juxtaposed the natural phenomena of the earth with the range of experiences that African Americans experienced in the Georgia South during the 1920s. The novel connects the characters' transference of time to their spiritual connection to God and the supernatural forces that mark their intimate experiences in nature.

Lynchings and trees were synonymous in the African American imagination because of the widespread injustices and inhumane acts of violence against blacks in the South.[77] These eviscerations of the human body and human spirit became a cornerstone of American culture as families gathered around the trees where public lynchings occurred and experienced elation in capturing the moment.[78] The poetry and literature of this era recalled these horrific acts in vivid detail. In the short story "Kabnis" Toomer described the scene of a mob lynching a pregnant black woman. Character Layman recalled:

> White folks know that niggers talk, an they don't mind jes so long as nothing comes of it, so here goes. She was in th family-way, Mame Lamkins was. They killed her in th street, an some white man seein th risin in her stomach as she lay there sloppy in her blood like any cow, took and ripped her belly open, an th kid fell out. It was living; but a nigger baby aint supposed t live. So he jabbed his knife in it an stuck it t a tree. An then they all went away.[79]

The lynch mob took pride in gutting Mrs. Lamkins' dead body by killing her premature baby and nailing the baby's lifeless body to the tree as a symbol of joy and terror for others.

In addition to outward and direct representations of death, the trees represented more spiritual forms of transition. In “Rhobert” the protagonist is degrading the land and his body rapaciously so that he can build his house. The narrator senses his impending death and writes: “Lets build a monument and set it in the ooze where he goes down. A monument of hewn oak, carved in nigger-heads.”[80] The short piece “Karintha” captures the circular and obscure nature of life on earth by imparting metaphysical characteristics upon the forests. Karintha gave birth in the forests and left the baby at the sawmill.[81] The baby’s soul soon travelled out of the mill and permeated the surrounding spaces. Ironically Karintha gave birth in a pure space and left her child for dead in an industrialized center that destroyed the forest’s trees for human consumption. Although Karintha thought her actions would remain unknown to others, the baby’s soul returns to the place from where it first entered the world. The strength of the spirit as expressed via the smoke is so pervasive and “heavy you tasted it in water.”[82] The song that arise from someone who felt this heaviness asserted: “Smoke is on the hills. Rise up. / Smoke is one the hills, O rise. / And take my soul to Jesus.”[83] The narrator presents this soul as rising to the heavens and to an eternal resting place with Jesus. The trees and the forest become the intermediary force been the eternal and temporal place on earth.

Toomer continues this thread of the trees and the forests as intermediaries in “Becky.” “Becky was the white woman who had Two Negro sons. She’s dead; they’ve gone away. The pines whisper to Jesus. The Bible flaps its leaves with an aimless rustle on her mound.”[84] Although Becky is white, raised her two children while Karintha is black and abandoned her baby, they are both lonely and misunderstood members of their communities. In both stories the reader does not hear their voices and must rely upon the trees in the forests to articulate these women's narratives.

Their Eyes Were Watching God

In *Their Eyes Were Watching God* Hurston creates an environmental medium in which all of the physical landscape and every sentient being in that environment are intimately connected to one another. There is a constant interplay between the birds, bees, trees, plants, other animals and human beings. One's ability to grow and develop is directly reflected in her relationship to the other organisms in this mechanism. Hurston expressed the characters' feelings and delineated their processes to self-actualization through constant and direct references to nature.[85]

Arguably one could make the conjecture that Hurston uses the terms "God" and "Nature" interchangeably. During a playful banter between Jody and Sam on whether nature or caution is the most pre-eminent factor in preventing someone from touching a red hot stove, Sam replied: '"Naw it ain't, it's nature, cause nature makes caution. It's de strongest thing dat God ever made, now. Fact it it's de onliest thing God ever made. He made nature and nature made everything else."[86] In their back and forth banter Sam finally wins when he argued that caution never made anything and that it is "Nature" which created everything including caution. More important in this section is that Hurston capitalizes the word Nature, which suggests that it is a proper noun and views it as something close to God.

Hurston makes clear connections to God and nature throughout her text and this is most apparent when the narrator describes the hurricane as it is passing over the Everglades and the peoples' reactions to the natural phenomena that they are experiencing. The narrator wrote: “They huddled closer together and stated at the door. They just didn’t use another part of their bodies, and they didn’t look at anything but the door. The time was past for asking the white folks what to look for through that door. Six eyes were questioning *God*.”[87] Here Hurston italicized the term God to call more attention to it and generate that sense of connection between the powerful forces of the wind and God’s presence in this situation. Hurston crystallizes this connection between God and nature when the narrator writes:

> The wind came back with triple fury, and put out the light for the last time. They sat in company with the others for the last time. They sat in company with the others in other shanties, their eyes straining against crude walls and their souls asking if He meant to measure their puny might against His. They seemed to be staring at the dark but their eyes were watching God.[88]

The devastating effect of the hurricane demonstrated God’s power and both the people and the animals understood that they were all in the same perilous position. The animals searched for shelter in the people’s homes and they were not worried that these individuals would eat them in that moment. The enormity of the hurricane crossed racial and taxonomic barriers.[89]

Landownership and the power dynamics between the characters and nature offer revealing insight into the person’s disposition. Logan Killicks and Nanny both viewed land as a means of control and power. They were most interested in controlling and dominating nature. Simultaneously, they both sought to control others through the land they owned. Nanny purchased her small plot of land so that she could protect Janie from white men’s sexual advances.[90] When she encouraged Janie to marry Logan, Nanny pressed upon Janie that Logan’s acres of land would ensure Janie a stable financial future. Nanny was the least bit concerned about Janie’s actual feelings for Logan because she believed that financial security superseded Janie’s need to be in love with Logan.

Logan believed that his acquisition of land gave him leverage over his peers and most importantly increased his chance of marrying a beautiful woman. Although Logan seeks to control nature and Janie, he fails miserably. He works from sun-up to sundown to chop wood, hoe the fields and prepare them for planting. His work schedule makes it hard for him to enjoy any meaningful time with Janie because by the time he gets home, he is exhausted. Logan's sensibilities towards nature transfer to Janie when he tries to compel her to work in the fields as well. In a sense, the land divides the two and increases the tensions in their marriage.

Conversely, Janie's third husband, "Tea Cake" (Vergible Woods) embodies a more holistic relationship with nature and does not try to control and dominate the environment. Tea Cake's perception of nature is intimately connected to how he treats Janie.[91] Necessarily the environment becomes a central figure in their relationship. When they first started dating, Tea Cake picked strawberries and lemons from the trees to make Jody fresh juices for her breakfast and lunch.[92] Tea Cake took Janie out of her comfort zone by taking her fishing with him and showing her how to hunt.[93] He was most excited about working at the swamps and marshes in Florida.[94] Ironically it is when Tea Cake undermines nature's power that he becomes subsumed by its forces. He did not believe that Lake Okeechobee would make any real damages with the hurricane. Despite his momentary lapse of judgment it remains that his natural footprints stand the test of time in the story. After Tea Cake dies, it is the garden seeds that he wanted to plant after he got well that reminds her of him.[95] She kept the seeds close to her heart and vowed "to plant them for remembrance."[96] In this sense, a tree which became the meeting place where the couple met for their first date also symbolized the ongoing connection that the two would share after Jody’s transition beyond the temporal space.

As discussed in the previous chapters, the tree was an integral part in West African and colonial slave culture. The tree served simultaneously as a marker of death for African Americans and a life-giving force. Dunbar’s famous poem “The Haunted Oak” captured the melancholy associated with the trees that supported the lifeless bodies of the lynched. In this poem the narrator speaks from the perspective of an old oak tree that is haunted by the spirit of a man that the mob lynched on its branches. Before the lynching the tree’s “… leaves were green as the best, I trow, / And sap ran free from in my veins, / But I saw in the moonlight dim and weird / A guiltless victim’s pains./ I bent me down to hear his sigh I shook with his gurgling moan, / And I trembled sore when they rode away, /And left him here alone.[97] This Oak is connected both to the physical act and the ramifications of a troubled spirit afterwards. Following the incident the narrator asserts that this tree is no longer green with life and is now “…burned with dread, ….dried and dead.”[98] A similar scene plays out in *Cane* when Toomer discussed the lynching of a black woman and her unborn baby. On the opposite end of the spectrum Hurston captured the life-bearing fruit associated with trees in the African American imagination. In *Their Eyes Were Watching God* the pear tree schooled Janie about love, marriage and the value of listening to her gut.[99]

The positive identification with trees is apparent in Hurston’s novel. The towering woody perennial symbolized an ancestral relationship across several generations. Nanny’s recollection of her historical lineage is painful and incomplete because of the constructs of slavery. Hurston’s grandmother exclaims: ‘“You know, honey, us colored folks is branches without roots and that makes things come round in queer ways.”’[100]

What Nanny presents as a disconnect, embodies Janie's growth and shapes how she interpret the world around her.

From the onset of the narrative to the end, the reader gets insight into Janie's most personal thoughts and her spirit through evaluating the personal relationship she has with the pear tree. This towering and flowering being permeated Janie's thoughts and it "quested about her consciousness."[101] The narrator exclaimed: Janie saw her life like a great tree in life with the things suffered, things enjoyed, things done and undone. Dawn and doom was in the branches."[102] The pear tree is an awakening symbol for Janie. It is under the pear tree where she sought refuge from her chores and where Janie cultivated her curiosity about nature. Janie respected and appreciated all of the animals, trees, and plants along with the healthy symbiotic relationship that these organisms shared. This relationship prompted Janie to question her sense of purpose and opportunity for "marriage" within this system.[103] As a young woman of sixteen, Janie first defined the concept of love and marriage for herself after she witnessed a bee cross-pollinate the blooming pear tree. When Nanny proposed that Janie marry Logan Killicks, Janie felt that "The vision of Logan Killicks was desecrating the pear tree."[104] Janie was not in love with Logan, nor was she attracted to him. Thus the tree was the most efficacious instrument the narrator used to express this to the reader.

The characters and the storyline in this text speak to Hurston's personal experiences and her standpoint towards nature. In her personal letters Hurston spoke lovingly about her new home and its surrounding natural landscape. The space was one of refuse and where the landscape grew wild. It was laden with bottles, tin cans, and other garbage when Hurston first viewed the property.[105] Hurston transformed this undesired space into the beautiful landscape that lurked just underneath all of that garbage. She transcended that space and time and appreciated the land for the opportunities that it presented in the future. Hurston recalled: “It looked like a jungle three weeks ago, and it took a strong heart and an eye on the future for me to move in when I arrived.”[106] Through her back-breaking work and determination, Hurston turned the space into a more hospitable and aesthetically pleasing space that both she and her neighbors appreciated.

The space inspired Hurston’s productivity and it enhanced her connection with nature. Her home was widespread and surrounded by large oak and palm trees on all four sides. Hurston reveled in the idea that nature abounded around her home and that she did not have to look at anyone’s home on either side of her home and that she could listen to nature’s song instead of anyone’s radios or records. Hurston was proud that she labored intensely on that piece of land because according to her: “Somehow, this one spot on earth feels like home…”[107] She continued: “Now you perhaps question why I am putting so much into this place where I now live. I have a chance to buy it. In this little house I wrote *MULES AND MEN*.”[108] Hurston’s joy abounded when she contended: “From all that hoeing and what not, I am losing weight, God be praised!”[109]

Being in nature offered Hurston an emotional and temporal release from the problems that ailed her in that period of her life. When Hurston felt blue, she relied on nature and her improvements on the landscape to raise her spirits. In another letter to Jean Park Waterbury Hurston mentioned: “As I told you in my last letter, … my nerves are in fine shape now. Keeping outdoors and raising a fine garden, both flowers and vegetables, has done me a world of good.”[110] The birds were an integral part of Hurston’s daily activities and they inspired her writing. Hurston noted: “But the birds, which I feed and who have begun to collect here already in large numbers, wake me up clamoring for their breakfast, and I dash out and place stale bread, etc. and watch the many colors and many behaviors of my feathered friends.”[111] Hurston marveled at the new hunting opportunities that her dogs Spot and Shaq came across given the rabbits, armadillos that abounded in Florida.

Nature embodied that space where she could express herself without judgment. In that sense, Hurston was not different from many of her predecessors and her peers. Like Harriet Tubman, Hurston respected the calming and healing properties of nature. Hurston understood the interplay between humans and the environment from her personal experience as a voodoo initiate in Haiti and Jamaica which she recounted vividly in her book *Tell My Horse: Voodoo and Life in Haiti and Jamaica.*[112] For Tubman it was the apple tree and the joy she felt as a child when she ate apples, while for Hurston it was the pear tree and its role in shaping Janie’s development into her womanhood.[113] In these instances, the tree represented a sense of continuity in these women’s lives.

Although the tree symbolized hope for Hurston and Tubman at these junctures in their lives, the tree stood for death and the tormented souls that mobs lynched during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[114] The moral depravity that surrounded public lynchings undergirded an institution of de jure and de facto segregation in the postbellum South. As newly freedpersons attempted to claim land and their dignity through a full participation in the federal, state, and local governments, the increased violence and legislative acts negated their efforts. Sharecropping created untenable living conditions for poor tenant farmers and sharecroppers alike. The migration of hundreds of thousands of blacks out of the South created new urban spaces in the North and forced African Americans to reshape their perspectives on land, nature, and the environment.[115] Within these wide-ranging and variegated stances, the one constant was nature's strong influence on the collective memory of African Americans. The artistic production from the New Negro Harlem Renaissance gave voice to a new African American identity. The devastating impact of sharecropping stood to dismantle a community of peoples and yet these artists used their pain to create art and literature that humanized their experiences.

CHAPTER 5

THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA: THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTION OF ENVIRONMENTAL INEQUALITY AND ITS BIRTH TO ENVIRONMENTAL REINTERPRETATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE: 1945-1984

"When Something Happens":

…. Sometimes, when a child walking / in your eyes is shot, / feeling, somehow, what you wish to forget, / through all cities your stark sorrow moving / where the sun leaks hideously / its garbage and the garbage / rots in your own stuffed room / and no one / in all the world gives a damn, / are firing rockets, are / ramming the roof Heaven, are / crowning glory with glory… / Sometimes something happens /

and happens and happens / when your breathing shape its tired to death / of being told / how well it lives, / how decent stinking ghetto, / the milk skimmed off to show, to demonstrate / this vegetable darkness. / When you are cheated, when / even netted fish find more freedom / and the eyes of stuffed beasts, / the eyes that never shut, seem / to mock you with their stuffed look- / you lead your blind family / from darkness to darkness, / on C Street on 5th Avenue look for work, / …. O God! Something / happens in this new world prison, / when prisoners rise up! / …. I think / those divided cities are hovering in alliance; / in America, in America / as purified out of a final fire / you rise up, / you continually elaborate / the tribal speech, the speech / of this Western tribe, / far from Africa, coming back, coming back, / without the introvert bleating / about "origins"…. James A Randall, Jr., "When Something Happens," in *The Black Poets*, ed. Dudley (Randall. New York: Bantam, 1985), pp. 275-276.

James A. Randall, Jr's poem "When Something Happens" from the Black Arts Movement (BAM) speaks to the sense of nihilism that some African Americans faced as a result of clamoring for space and being inundated by their own wastes in the nation's poorest urban communities.[1] The narrator juxtaposes her experience to that of fish caught in a fisher's net and declares that even under these circumstances, the fish have more liberties than the people who inhabit this urban space. Even in the midst of the towering hopeless and despair, this narrator engages in a form of protest and calls on others to rise out of the fire.[2] The narrator calls upon a historical connection to the African continent and channels that energy into a fiery protest against these environmental inequalities.

Urban environments became the bedrock of American environmental activism during the 1960s-1970s because of the magnified issues that arouse with limited land and resources.

Issues surrounding housing, job availability, access to public recreational spaces, the fundamental rights to clean air, and water were all integrated sources of environmental inequity that played out in these concentrated locales.[3] As large-scale fires destroyed entire cities such as Detroit and Chicago, officials rebuilt urban environments to suit an industrial model that maximized profits while minimizing the humanity of African Americans and other communities of color.[4]

The combined need for prime real estate and the social stratification in the United States' urban landscapes created environmental practices that disproportionately impacted African Americans and other communities of color. Conventional practices such as: removing Native Americans and African Americans from their lands to build national parks,[5] sanctioning racial restrictive covenants to keep neighborhoods segregated,[6] and enforcing de facto segregation in public recreational spaces confined blacks to polluted and perilous locales[7]-such enforcements infringed upon African Americans' 5th amendment right to just compensation for private property taken for public used along with their 14th amendment right to due process, and equal protection of the laws.[8]

Through filing court cases, organizing collective forms of resistance, and producing socially-conscious artistic renderings of nature, political leaders and social activists in the radical social movements of the Civil Rights (CRM) (1954-1968), Black Arts (BAM) (1968-1975), and Black Power (BPM) (1968-1980) agitated against these inequities and redefined the Conservation movement's (1850-1920) notions of environmentalism.[9] Rather than characterize nature as an entity that should be protected from humans, I argue that black political leaders prioritized the fundamental rights of marginalized communities in their struggle to protect the natural environment. They examined and critiqued the power dynamics that surfaced via the differing environmental practices and forced the nation to interrogate its racialized environmental practices.[10] I examine the historical construction of environmental inequality and its impact on urban cities by focusing on Chicago and Detroit because these two cities contain the following characteristics: maintain stark residential segregation, were devastated by a massive fire during the 19th century, experienced riots in public recreational spaces, and served as centers for political and cultural exchange during BAM and BPM.

At the first National Conservation Congress meeting in 1909, the Honorable Henry A. Barker of Rhode Island and representative of the American Civic Association defied conventional practice by extending aegis to the groups who occupied the lower rungs of the nation's socioeconomic ladder. He admonished his fellow conservationists for subverting the safety of communities of color while lobbying to protect the United States' forests, wildlife, and water supply. He reminded the leaders that they bore the responsibility to protect the natural environment for *all* Americans-not a select few-and that neglecting the fundamental rights of targeted populations could result in depraved and physically unfit urban communities:

> *The acquirement of and preservation of the places of natural beauty, public usefulness, and historic interest for the full enjoyment and use of all the people forever."* That is the motto of the Public Parks Association that brought this particular enterprise into being. But we don't try to keep people off the grass nowadays. The rapidly-growing park movement is, first of all, a movement for the conservation of American manhood and womanhood through the countless generations of the future. Without such resources an enormous portion of the race, deprived of opportunities for exercise, for recreation and the quiet enjoyment of God's great gifts of beauty that have existed for the full and untrammeled benefit of the former generations, must soon become a nation of hooligans and derelicts rather than of healthy-minded, healthy-bodied patriots. We must have these to keep up the physical standard. Think how the conditions of life are changing in America! In 1800 only three per cent of the people dwelt in cites or large towns. In 1900 more than thirty-three per cent lived amid urban conditions. In my own State ninety-five per cent of the people live in cities.[11]

Barker's historically and socially-informed foresight urged his peers to re-conceptualize their definitions of environmental activism to include the natural rights of all human beings. Despite the cynical nature of Barker's address, it accurately foreboded the social problems that arose among the nation's cities during the twentieth century as a result of immoral environmental practices, and it speaks to the historical construction of environmental inequality and the evolution of systemic racism in the United States.

The ideologies and frameworks of mainstream environmentalists evolved out of white, privileged backgrounds that failed to incorporate the nexus of race, gender, and class within the environmental discourse in the United States.[12] Despite differing motivational appeals, influential conservationists and preservationists of the 19th and early 20th century such as George Perkins Marsh (1801-1882), John Muir (1838-1914), and Gifford Pinchot (1864-1946) were part of an elite enclave of white male environmentalists who set out to protect the natural environment from unscrupulous human consumption. They theorized that human activity destroyed the environment and that it was virtually impossible to preserve nature and the integrity of its fragile ecosystems while people lived in these habitats.[13] Consequently, these leaders devoted their lives to creating national parks that quarantined considerable acreage from a fraction of the population.[14]

In the midst of saving nature from humans, these environmental stewards and their counterparts garnered the cleanest and most scenic natural spaces for their families and moved the poor, working class communities into polluted and congested spaces that severely diminished their quality of life. In an 1884 letter to the *Worcester Sunday Telegram* a reader denounced the sharp contrasts between the working class and wealthy neighborhoods. The writer grieved:

> Our wealthy citizens live in elegant homes on all the hills of Worcester, they have unrestricted fresh air and perfect sewage [disposal], their streets are well cleaned and lighted, the sidewalks are everywhere, and Elm Park, that little dream of beauty, is conveniently near. The toilers live on the lowlands, their houses are close together, the hills restrict the fresh air, huge chimneys pour out volumes of smoke, the marshy places give out offensiveness and poison the air, the canal remains uncovered, the streets are different, the little ones are many. While the families of the rich can go to the mountains or to the sea during the hot months of the summer, the families of the workers must remain at home.[15]

This 19th century letter voiced the norming and categorization of space as an iconographic element of social, economic, racial, and political stratification. It was by design that the homes of the wealthy towered near striking parks in the nation's largest cities.

During the 19th century, a circle of landscape architects and New York City officials set out to mitigate the pressures of city-life by constructing a national park that would offer provisional refuge to frazzled residents.[16] Inspired by European culture and motivated to increase property values, Frederick Olmsted and fellow elite Calvert Vaux collaborated on the blueprint (1858 Greensward Plan) for Central Park.[17] They envisioned a pastoral ideal in which immaculate and well-manicured terrains would be securely nestled in the city's most elite neighborhood tucked away from the poor and ill-repute.[18] In 1860, Frederick Olmsted came back to the U.S. from his European tour invigorated to include some of the sites he visited into the plans for Central Park. Olmsted wanted to incorporate cafes like the French and entertainment comparable to the "houses of entertainment on the public grounds of Dresden, Leipsie, Berlin…."[19] Central Park was Olmsted's first experience in landscape design and he held the project in high esteem. Olmsted confided to a friend that Central Park: "…is of great importance as the first real park made in this country-a democratic development of the highest significance & on the success of which, in my opinion, much of the progress of art & esthetic culture in this country is dependent.[20]

Although Frederick Olmsted aspired to situate Central Park within a “democratic” initiative,[21] the autocratic actions by the New York Park Board obliterated these hopes.[22] New York City’s Central Park, the nation’s first landscaped park, materialized out of practices undergirded by institutionalized racism. Seneca Village, a community settled by African Americans in 1820, exemplified black upward mobility through homeownership and thriving religious institutions.[23] In 1863, the New York City commission deemed Seneca Village- aka “Nigger Village”- as dilapidated and a harborage for miscreants. Therefore, the city claimed the land under public domain.[24] After these communities forcibly vacated these areas, they could not afford the homes that remained near the newly-built parks, nor could they experience the same access to public parks as their white counterparts.[25] Following the Greensward Plan completion in 1873, Central Park became a haven for wealthy business owners who used it to retreat from their stressful occupations. Olmsted noted that elite business men withdrew from the city into Central Park by doctors’ orders:

> As to the effect on public health, there is no question that it is already great. The testimony of the older physicians of the city will be found unanimous on this point. Say one: “Where I formerly ordered patients of a certain class to give up their business altogether and go out of town, I now often advise simply moderation, and prescribe a ride in the Park before going to their offices and again a drive with their families before dinner. By simply adopting this course as a habit, men who have been breaking down frequently recover tone rapidly, and are able to retain an active and controlling influence in an important business, from which they would have otherwise been forced to retire.[26]

What transpired with Central Park was not unique to New York City but rather a precedent for what occurred in in other urban areas such as Detroit and Chicago where racialized natural environments morphed out of deliberate institutionalized environmental inequities designed to subjugate African Americans and other communities of color.

Historical Environmental Inequalities and Residential Segregation: Case Study in Detroit

The current imploding Detroit economy and sociopolitical structure crystallized out of historical environmental degradation and residential segregation. The structural construction of environmental inequality in Detroit began in the aftermath of the massive fire that destroyed the city in 1805 and it evolved into more pervasive forms during the 20th century.[27] In 1807, Judge Augustus B. Woodward visualized the city as a cultural and industrial marker devised along distinct racial and class distinctions. He carried out this vision by designing a city model in which he named Detroit's most influential and eventually most divisive street after himself.[28]

Municipal leaders began buffering the interests of private entities with that of commercial developers during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Private landowners wanted to live in clean, secluded, safe, and peaceful surroundings with high property values.[29] Similar to the New York City's Central Park Committee, wealthy Detroit business owners wanted to increase their property values and shield the state parks and cultural centers from future environmental degradation and class mixture.[30] These interests stood in sharp contrast to that of commercial developers who sought to capitalize on the state's rich iron, copper, and lead deposits, and its thriving timber industry.[31] Moreover, Michigan's strategic location along the Great Lakes in addition to its proximity to Canada made it ideal for both interstate and international trade.[32]

To buffer against these competing interests, city officials drafted neighborhoods clearly demarcated according to commercial, cultural, racial, and class interests.[33] The city facilitated the growth of transportation while it sought public recreational spaces for residents. In the midst of the 1870s recession, Detroit officials embarked upon increasing public transportation to facilitate interstate commerce. Detroit's first railway, Detroit City Railway (DCR) marshalled Detroit residents into the industrial economy during the nineteenth century.[34] The idea of introducing railways to Detroit spurred heated debates among council members. At the heart of this 1860s debate stood two Detroit aldermans who served on the city's Common Council and represented the interests of private citizens and commercial enterprises respectively: Civil War veteran Mark Flanigan wanted municipal officials to retain more control over the DRC whereas hotel owner and former Michigan Attorney General William Hale contended that the private companies should have sole authority over their routes and expansion into new territories.[35] In the end, the financial district won with the city christening its first railway on Jefferson Avenue on August 3, 1863: It connected the privileged residents in Jefferson and Woodward Avenues to the city while it offered limited services to the working class who lived far from downtown.[36]

This public transportation became the framework for residential segregation in Detroit and the growth of the city's railroad system. The 1876 Common Council believed that:

> Street railways have of late years contributed greatly in the development of the city's prosperity; they have enabled the man of small income to live far away from his employment or business, at a cheap rate or in a cheap home, and for nominal fee be carried to and from his business or occupation…. They are at present as they have been in the past, the means of building up and improving the outer portions of all cities and thus of converting farm lands into valuable property…. [37]

Although the council promoted this move towards railroad expansion in Detroit as a beneficial maneuver for the working class, in actuality it hampered their ability to access

Detroit's financial center. Workers complained that the five-cent fares were too high and the limited schedule impeded them from using these railways repeatedly to travel for work.[38] The scattered scheduling arose in major part due to the wealthy residents who did not want the working class in their neighborhoods. Privileged residents along the Detroit River petitioned against the founding of the Detroit River Street Railway Company in 1872 out of fear that the heavy traffic and commercial activity would undermine their peaceful and serene surroundings.[39] Other residents along Lafayette Avenue successfully petitioned against railway companies until 1880.[40] Although these petitions benefitted property owners, they precluded workers who lived outside of the city from attaining the additional routes and schedules to travel for work. Despite these contentious relationships, by 1880 ten railroads connected Detroit to other major trade hubs in Chicago, Cleveland, New York, and New England and railroad mileage increased from 35 miles in 1840 to 9,100 miles by 1910:[41] by the early 20th century every major automobile plant had its own railway to ship crude materials and automobile parts.[42]

Officials sought recreational and cultural emblems that mitigated against industrial development and propitiated property owners who yearned for retreat from the fast-paced, concrete-laden urban life in Detroit. Belle Isle Park would meet the need and become the outstanding addition to Detroit's Grand Circus Park (1846), and 17 other smaller parks.[43] Native Americans inhabited and governed the island until British settler George McDougall *purchased* the land in 1768 from the Ottawa and Chippewa nations with rum, tobacco, wampum, and vermillion paint.[44] After successive bequeathments by the McDougall, McComb, and Compau families, the city of Detroit eventually purchased the island in 1879.[45]

Drawn by Olmsted's layout for Central Park, Detroit officials hired the famed landscape architect to design the plans for Belle Island;[46] Olmsted was exhilarated to lend his expertise to ameliorate the "excessive nervous tension, over-anxiety hasteful disposition, impatience, irritability" of the city life.[47] Similar to New York's Central Park, Olmsted turned Detroit's Belle Isle Park (physically disconnected from Detroit) into a fixture of cultural and environmental escape for urban residents who could not access parks.[48] The attraction became the nucleus of the city's public concerts, yacht clubs, rural setting, and the picturesque Detroit River.[49]

While the park accorded Detroit residents the freedom to converse with nature, the city's museums functioned at the heart of Detroit's cultural conversation with the world and they protected the interests of the elite. City planners modelled their museums and city buildings after a Parisian and Baroque style to showcase Detroit's cultural production and civic engagement with the international community.[50] Museum trustees and government officials lobbied the public to support their initiatives while building the city's flagship museum. William H. Brearley, advertising manager of *Detroit News*, proposed to build the museum a half mile away from the central park Grand Circus, and one block away from his home because he believed that:

> "surroundings will always probably be the same as now, exclusively residence property, and of the better class at that. It is and will be exempt from the smoke and dust of manufacturing houses, which make now or *will* make in the future, many other locations very objectionable."[51]

Similar to the developers of New York's Central Park, Brearley campaigned for the city to build the museum in his neighborhood in order to protect his property values and keep polluting industries out of his neighborhood.

In 1891, planners sited the Roman-inspired museum building in an elite neighborhood of mansions and well-manicured lawns and city streets. The residents of

Jefferson Avenue funded the museum and donated the lot to the city after planners convinced residents that the museum would increase their property values by 50-100%.[52] Project associates were proud that the museum buffered their homes from contact with other socioeconomic groups. Acclaimed museum guide, Silas Farmer, echoed the sentiments of elites when he informed visitors: “This may be called the oldest and most aristocratic thoroughfare in the city, its characteristics are French conservatism, and modern segregation….”[53] Protection from commercial industries did not last long as the neighborhood began changing with the increased presence of car showrooms, laundries, and other commercial businesses.[54] Consequently, museum trustee William C. Weber and other board members searched for a different site to build a new museum in 1910. They later sited the museum on Woodward Avenue because the consensus was that this new location would not be encroached by commercial industries and that “Woodward Avenue will undoubtedly remain a section of beautiful homes.”[55]

The scant housing for African Americans who lived in Detroit during the late 19th and 20th century paled in comparison to the spacious homes along Woodward Avenue. For blacks, the notion of housing embodied: isolation, overcrowding, ghettoization, and seediness. During the 1920s, the residential neighborhoods west of Woodward Avenue contained 100 people/acre while the locations east of Woodward housed 100 to more than 300 people/acre in several districts.[56] On a 1918 trip to a housing subdivision in Detroit, black sociologist George Edmund Haynes recounted that “the most convenient way to dress was to stand in the middle of the bed.”[57] Conversely, Gross Pointe Park in Detroit, an elite neighborhood filled with mansions and located along the Detroit River, publically celebrated that it was an “area of the highest class with high restrictions, which will make the village of Gross Pointe Park the beauty spot of all the property adjacent to the city of Detroit."[58]

Although black Southerners moved to the Northeast-particularly Detroit-to profit from the booming Wartime industries, and make livable wages to purchase homes and support their families, their white counterparts thwarted their efforts.[59] Between the 1920s and 1940s, ethnic minorities began organizing along racial rather than class lines.[60] The concept of whiteness became the fundamental grounds on which these once-divided groups began formulating constrictions against African Americans. To keep their neighborhoods segregated, these communities and the federal government instituted several critical measures: created and enforced racial covenants,[61] refused mortgages to African Americans who tried to live outside of prescribed communities, and valued black neighborhoods as unsafe and risky investments.[62] These practices in combination with the influx of African Americans who moved to Detroit during the Second Great Migration and the return of WWII veterans left African Americans in a quandary for living space.

The New Deal initiatives of the 1930s and 1940s disproportionately benefitted whites and supported residential segregation.[63] The G.I. Bill (1944) established a layered housing system which furnished white veterans with government aid to secure home loans devoid of any shame or guilt while the public housing assistance programs depicted African Americans as the sole recipients of government entitlement programs.[64] Simultaneously, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) endorsed racial restrictive covenants in its 1938 *Underwriting Manual*, which effectively gave government-sponsored banks the blessing to refuse loans to African Americans who tried to purchase homes in predominately white neighborhoods.[65]

This trend of racial segregation continued during the late 1940s and 1950s via both de facto and de jure means. Between 1947 and 1952, 1,226 out of 37,382 (3.28%) black families secured public housing in comparison to 9,908 out of 56,758 (17.46%) white families.[66] WWII veteran Charles Johnson was among the African Americans that the country failed. He applied for public housing on September 21, 1945 but the Detroit Housing Commission (DHC) placed him on a waiting list and informed Mr. Johnson that his chances of obtaining housing were minimal.[67] After witnessing his white veteran counterparts acquire public housing while he remained on the waitlist, Johnson lobbied the DHC, Detroit Mayor, Interracial Committee and Detroit Housing Committee, and finally the DHC again and asserted: “We have won the war, and are striving to win a complete peace. Each time negroes are discriminated against, veterans or otherwise, a nail is driven into the coffin of peace.”[68] Johnson’s struggles were part of a larger fight among African Americans who challenged residential segregation in the United States.

After segregating blacks, public administrators created zoning laws and instituted land practices that further segregated Detroit residents from the rest of state of Michigan.[69] A New York City zoning expert’s statement speaks to the condition in Detroit and other urban cities:

> No question that zoning protects some people better than others. Zoning is responsive to wealth, property, political power, and those areas or communities that are more politically empowered or connected clearly will be able to get done the zoning changes that they desire and to prevent the zoning changes that they don’t desire. Less politically or economically empowered communities, even though you have a formal structure (for public participation), will be less likely to impact on changes that are taking place to them or around them. [70]

At the 1926 Second National Conference on Street and Highway Safety which then Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover presided, the committees focused on decreasing traffic accidents and congestion in urban areas. One of their major prescriptions they offered for these challenges was to create traffic committees in every city where the committee would advise the traffic commission. They proposed that the traffic commission be comprised of "… chief of police,… engineer of the city plan commission, chief of the fire department, a representative of the city's legal department…" with the committee constituted with "representatives of street railway companies, motor bus companies, taxi cab companies…." and other businesses.[71] The conference, though heavily represented by members from Detroit, failed to address the needs of poorer neighborhoods and instead made concessions for traffic patterns in suburban communities by recommending that the traffic committee include representatives from the suburbs.[72]

Following in the footsteps of other cities and the federal government's recommendations, officials in Detroit embarked on urban renewal projects in which they built expressways through poor black neighborhoods. The Ambassador Bridge (completed 1929), which connected Detroit to Canada, ironically separated Detroit residents from the state, national and international commerce.[73] The gas and noise pollution from the diesel trucks and other motor vehicles subjected the residents to noise pollution and hazardous air emissions.[74] As white residents started leaving Detroit for better job opportunities in the suburbs, they left in their wake black residents who could not escape these conditions.

Due to the racial tensions surrounding competition for employment, housing, inequitable access to public recreational spaces, transportation, and health care, Detroit became a breeding ground for race riots. This sense of heightened racial tension reached its peak on June 20-21, 1943 when an argument ensued between Black and White beachgoers at the recreation center on Belle Isle.[75] There were 60,000 blacks and 40,000 whites at the park on the day in question. The riot started after black and predominately white sailors argued on the bridge.[76] Shortly thereafter, residents of both races began circulating widespread rumors on the events: blacks held that whites threw a black woman and her baby off the bridge while whites broadcasted that blacks raped and killed a white woman, or her baby and threw the body in the Detroit River.[77]

The intimate, yet irreconcilable relationship between these two accounts and what they spurred reveals the incongruity of racialized oppression and environmental inequity. Blacks and marginalized white populations from immigrant European groups were fighting for the same limited housing and other resources while elite whites continued to segregate these populations through strategic forms of zoning and city planning.[78] This public recreational space became the outlet for residents to expel these racial tensions. The riot stemming from Belle Isle Park caused $2,000,000 in property damage, left 34 people dead, and at least 433 people injured[79] -among those killed, 25 of the 34 were African Americans.[80]

Municipal officials merely placated black political leaders by organizing the Governor's Fact-finding Committee. Rather than examine the true impetus for this riot- residential segregation, poor public transportation, and the meager job opportunities- the Governor's Fact-Finding Committee, and Michigan court sociologist Elmer R. Akers, and psychologist Vernon Fox dismissed the rioters as miscreants and labelled them as vagabonds from the South.[81] By labelling the rioters as criminals, Akers exacerbated the racial tensions: he decreased the black residents' moral standing in the public eye, substantiated the institutional racism against these communities, and mitigated the city's liability for creating the gross inequality in Detroit.[82] The city continued to deflect responsibility away from itself while the issues continued to grow and leaders colluded with manufacturers to oppress black Detroit residents.[83]

Since these residents could not get justice from their elected public officials, they sought it from the justice system. In *Sipes et. al. v. McGhee et ux.* (1947), defendants Orsel McGhee and his wife Minnie McGhee, African Americans, appealed Wayne County's Circuit Court decision to uphold a racial restrictive covenant enforced by plaintiffs Benjamin Sipes, Anna Sipes, and others.[84] The McGhees purchased a home on Seebaldt Avenue in Detroit Michigan, which was under a restrictive covenant that decreed: "'This property shall not be used or occupied by any person or persons except those of the Caucasian race.'"[85] The McGhees argued that the restrictive covenant infringed on their rights to due process and equal protection of the laws.

Moreover, in the amicus curiae brief for the *Sipes v. McGhee* case, African American lawyers juxtaposed the conditions of blacks in the United States with the global initiative to enforce human rights for all people by citing the Act of Chapultepec, Article 55c, and Article 56 of the United Nation's charter to support the claim that restrictive covenants did not "… promote…. uniform respect for, an observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language, and religion."[86] The court denied certiorari to the McGhee's appeal on grounds that: "….These arguments are predicated upon a plea for justice rather than the application of the settled principles of established law."[87] Thus, the justices upheld the precedent in Michigan case *Parmalee v. Morris* and declared that the racial covenants between private interests did not infringe upon the McGhee's constitutional right to due process and equal protection of the laws.[88] McGhee then filed an appeal with the U.S. Supreme Court, which eventually became a companion case with the *Shelley v. Kraemer* lawsuit.

Sipes et al. v. McGhee et ux, Hurd et ux. v. Hodge et al al., and *Urciolo et al. v Hodge et al.* were companion cases in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948). When the Supreme Court considered the historical framework surrounding the adoption of the 14th amendment, the justices addressed the undergirding and overriding issue that racial restrictive covenants discriminated against citizens because of their race. Even with this fact, the Court did not rule that the covenants between private citizens were unconstitutional, but the States' enforcement of these contracts violated the 14th amendment. Notably, three justices-Reed, Jackson, and Rutledge-recused themselves from the case due to conflicts of interest.[89]

The *Sipes* and *Shelley* decision did not change the larger infrastructure in Detroit. The city invested in further urban renewal projects that continued to displace African Americans out of their homes. During the 1940s Michigan officials started building highways and roadways that provided direct connection between the motor plants and the military bases.[90] The Oakland-Hastings Freeway alone displaced 43,096 people (mostly black).[91] Ford started moving jobs out of Detroit during the 1950s and Mayor Cobo (1950-1957) did not support the workers in the UAW Local 600.[92] Segregated housing increased with the urban renewal projects and Rosa Parks likened the residential segregation in Detroit to the Montgomery Bus Boycott and consequently led marches in 1956 and 1957 against the housing market in Detroit.[93]

Despite the 1963 peaceful Walk to Freedom in Detroit led by Martin Luther King, Jr. and Mayor Cavanagh, Detroit still had unresolved racial issues that plagued the city.[94] The government discounted the precipitating factors from its previous 1943 riot and the 1965 Watts riot in Los Angeles to its chagrin when Detroit residents rioted in 1967. The 1967 riot that lasted from June 22nd- June 30th claimed the lives of 33 African Americans and 10 whites while it cost the city approximately $ 50 million;[95] according to the consumer price index (CPI) calculator, the financial cost in 2013's market is $349,00,000.[96] According to the Kerner Commission's Report, blacks and whites held different beliefs on why the 1967 riot occurred. The white communities on the immediate periphery of Detroit contended that the riot was due to: laziness, criminals, unemployment, poor housing, poverty and the lack of jobs.[97] Blacks, however, asserted that the riot was due to police brutality.[98] Albeit from competing perspectives, both factions cited the critical political, economic, and social influences that undermined the humanity of African Americans and relegated them to second class citizenship. Perhaps the most important outcome of the 1967 riot was the Kerner Commission's findings which though unsuccessful, urged the government to support racially integrated housing.[99]

Despite the unanimous decision in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948) (which *McGhee v. Sipes* was a companion case), Kerner Commission's report, racial segregation continued to plague Detroit and the nation well after the passing of Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 (Fair Housing Act) which "… prohibits discrimination in the sale, rental, and financing of dwellings, and in other housing-related transactions, based on race, color, national origin, religion, sex, familial status…., and disability."[100] The affluent white neighborhoods that formed along Detroit's perimeter effectively formed a "White noose" around the city because Detroit residents could not move outside of these parameters.[101] NAACP Legal Defense Fund lawyer and University of Chicago Law Professor William Ming Jr., agreed that "… they [racial restrictive covenants] have been formidable devices for maintenance of the "walls" around the ghettos."[102] The percentage of black Detroit residents who desired to reside in racially-integrated neighborhoods rose from 57 to 62 percent between 1968 and 1971.[103] Only 12 percent of African Americans in Detroit lived in the suburbs in 1970.[104] The number of blacks in Detroit who lived in suburbs changed from 3.7% in 1960 to 4.2% in 1980 and African Americans moved to suburbs where blacks already resided.[105] In a 1976 study conducted by Farley et. al**,** two-thirds of white participants said that they would move if African Americans moved into their neighborhoods because these surveyed believed that blacks would not maintain their property and they would bring crime into these neighborhoods.[106]

These beliefs foregrounded how white residents received then HUD secretary George Romney when he visited Wayne County, Michigan in 1971.[107] In an effort to support integrated housing, Romney contended that HUD would remove sewage and waste water funding from neighborhoods that enforced racist housing policies. Residents and home owners associations were inflamed with Romney's proposal and waged violent threats against him when he visited; so much so that Romney's security team had to forcibly remove him from the crowd.[108] This fervent reaction from the crowd speaks to why thirty-seven percent of white and fifty-two percent of black participants in the study shared that they were unaware of any laws that banned discrimination in housing.[109]

Romney's untimely departure was a gesture to the American government that white Detroit residents had no plans of integrating their residential communities.

Residential Segregation, Urban Pollution and Its Impact on African Americans in Chicago

Chicago, "the most residentially segregated large city in the nation,"[110] epitomized the environmental and social conditions in urban areas in the United States.[111] The city's location along the Mississippi River and Lake Michigan anchored it as a major port for national and international trade.[112] As African Americans from the South and European immigrants moved to the city to take part in its rising industrial economy,[113] African Americans forcibly competed with first generation Americans for housing.[114] In the same vein as Detroit, Chicago experienced a large-scale fire that left the city in ruins and left it vulnerable to individuals who sought to capitalize from the destruction. After the massive 1871 fire destroyed one third of Chicago's buildings, architects rebuilt the city with high-rises rather than replace the two-story buildings in order to maximize their profits.[115] What signified wealth for some Americans, stood as barriers to economic opportunity and environmental safety for African Americans. Although Chicago continued to grow in wealth during the 20th century, officials enforced racial restrictive covenants that circumscribed black Chicagoans to the city's ruins.[116] Mayor Martin Kennelly (in office 1947-1955) openly supported residential segregation while his successor Richard J. Daley (in office 1955-1976) opted for a more covert form of racism that buried the issues surrounding housing, jobs, and neighborhood sanitation under his political machine.[117] Through the class action lawsuit *Hansberry v. Lee* (1940), Lorraine Hansberry's play *A Raisin in the Sun,* the Chicago Freedom Movement (CFM) and race riots, African

Americans in Chicago contested the city's racialized environmental practices in housing and public recreational spaces.

The Chicago Riot of 1919 occurred in July after Eugene Williams, African American male was swimming in Lake Michigan with his friends and crossed the *invisible* line of demarcation between blacks and whites. Despite the ambiguity of this segregating boundary, white beachgoer George Stauber pelted the young black boy with rocks.[118] Friend Harris who was swimming with Williams recalled: "He'd take a rock and throw it, and we would duck it-this sort of thing…. As long as we could see him, he never could hit us, because after all a guy throwing that far is not a likely shot." [119] Unfortunately, Stauber threw a straight shot to Eugene Williams' head, causing him to drown.[120] Rather than arrest Stauber, white police officer Dan Callahan let Stauber go free and preempted the African American officer who was also on the scene from arresting the white man.[121] Although armed blacks were on the scene and responded against this atrocity, they also initiated the grapevine telegraph and informed other black Chicago residents of what they witnessed.[122] As people heard and grew embittered by the wanton disrespect for black human life, tempers flared and a riot ensued. Analogous to the 1943 riot in Detroit, this 1919 riot in a segregated public recreational space revealed the racial tensions between whites and blacks. After the state militia quelled the fourteen day riot, there were 38 dead (23 blacks) and 342 of the 537 total injuries were black.[123] The large scale issues from this riot led to the widespread enforcement of racial restrictive covenants against African Americans in Chicago.

Pursuant to the riot, Chicago's housing market began aggressively supporting racial restrictive covenants to keep blacks in underserved neighborhoods.[124] These covenants served bankers' and real estate agents' profit margins twofold: by keeping housing options for African Americans scarce, these covenants drove up housing prices as a result of the increased demand; additionally, these covenants instilled fear among misinformed whites who categorized African Americans as indolent and attributed the squalid black neighborhoods to this notion. Through efforts by the Chicago Real Estate Board, forty percent of the covenants in Chicago occurred between 1927 and 1929.[125] That statistic surged to 75% within a year and *doubled* by 1947.[126] In a study conducted by researchers who analyzed the residential prices from 1940-1951 in Woodlawn and other transitioning areas in Chicago-as a result of white homeowners who sold their property under market value once a black family moved in because they feared that African Americans would overrun the neighborhood (blockbusting)-they uncovered that black home buyers paid considerably higher rates for the same houses.[127] This study corroborates instances in Chicago where an African American family purchased a home in 1951 at a *65% higher* rate than the previous owner who purchased the same property a short two years prior.[128]

The housing market in Chicago packed African Americans into tight spaces that quarantined families to the cramped spaces of designated areas in Chicago. Between 1941-1943 there were 34,000 white residents/sq. mile in comparison to 70,000 black residents/sq. mile who lived only a few blocks away.[129] In 1950, 492,000 blacks occupied the same amount of landscape as the 278,000 black Chicagoans did in 1940.[130] According to a report from the Illinois State Board and the Regional Board of the National Housing Agency the housing availability was dire for African Americans:

> According to January, 1945, estimates of the Chicago Housing Authority, 20,812 units were then required to relieve Negro overcrowding. Replacing the approximate 44,000 substandard dwellings

> occupied by Negroes is another problem. To the families overcrowded in 1945 must be added the Negro veterans who have returned to compete for housing for their united and newly created families. In January of 1946 the Chicago Housing Authority reported that of the 32,500 veteran's families then in distress because of inadequate housing facilities, 14,500 were Negroes.[131]

This trend of restricted housing continued during 1960s and ultimately motivated the coordinated efforts of the Southern Leadership Christian Conference's (SCLC) and Chicago's Coordinating Council of Community Organization's (CCCO) fight-Chicago Freedom Movement (CFM)-to unearth the health code violations in Chicago.[132] The dense concentration of high rise apartments shocked civil rights organizers from the South who were appalled at such conditions. Dorothy Tillman recalled her first reaction to the housing projects in Chicago in a conversation with fellow SCLC organizer James Bevel when she expressed: "Ooh, Bevel, what are all these factories doing in the middle of the city?" "Those are not factories, those are buildings, people live in those." I said, "How do you expect us to organize that? They're stacked up on top of each other like pancakes."[133]

Waste disposal within these high-rises proved a formidable task for both city officials and Chicago residents.[134] Chicago built its water reclamation rivers in 1922, which moved the city's wastewater downstream and away from its primary potable water source in Lake Michigan.[135] It was not until the 1940s that large urban cities started turning to the modern sanitary landfill model that safeguarded against air, water, and soil contamination.[136] Almost three decades later, black neighborhoods remained filthy and a petri dish for disease carrying rodents as trash inundated the streets.[137]Martin Luther King, Jr. recalled his experience while living in a poor black neighborhood in Chicago: "I remember a baby attacked by rats in a Chicago slum."[138] Such incidents occurred because residents bore the responsibility to dispose their garbage and consequently they threw their refuse out of their apartment windows and onto the city streets.[139] The putrefying organic matter released toxic gases into the atmosphere.[140] City officials contributed to the environmental pollution by leaving the refuse on the streets and even expelling the wastes into their lakes and rivers.[141] More importantly, these conditions persisted in black neighborhoods because city leaders did not provide the same level of sanitation services in African American communities as it did in white ones. Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Activist Bernard LaFayette recalled in her 1966 Chicago experience:

> One of the things that we recognized is that in the black communities, in many cases, the city did not keep up the same level of services. The parks were neglected, for example, where black people live. The streets were not swept. And, you know, these are basic kinds of things that something to do with the appearance. So naturally when white people saw the conditions of the community, they assumed it was going to happen to their community, they assumed it was related to blacks. Well, blacks didn't do it. Because blacks didn't have the power to determine who would sweep their streets and when they would be swept. So everybody was part of the conspiracy.[142]

As in 1919, the riots that ensued in Chicago and other cities throughout the nation precipitated out of frustration that Americans grappled with while confined to unclean and uninviting spaces. Martin Luther King characterized riots as "…the language of the unheard."[143] Chicago residents incited nine major riots between 1945 and 1954.[144] The riot in Chicago on July 12, 1966 erupted in conflagration after the police closed the fire hydrant that the children used to cool down from the hot summer day.[145] Given that Chicago's beaches and parks were largely segregated, the children did not have clean and green spaces to play.[146] The public pool that was one block away from the hydrant was for whites only.[147] Retired Army officer Hardy B. Ruffin exclaimed in the *Chicago Defender* that: "I don't think the fire hydrant was the cause of the riot. The riot's cause was deep rooted in frustrations, pent up emotions, crowded conditions, lack of recreational facilities, poverty, poor education, and unemployment."[148] President of the Chicago chapter of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) Bob Lucas recalled at the meeting with city officials to discuss their demands that: "During the discussion about how to stop the riots, one very well known civil rights leader stood up and said, "After all, you remember the riots started because you had black youngsters seeking relief with water from a fire hydrant, so obviously they need swimming pools.'"[149] Although Lucas believed that their request did not make any serious demands upon the city to redress its segregationist policies, it did, however, speak to the disproportionate access that African Americans had to pools and other public recreational spaces in Chicago.

Hansberry v. Lee **(1940)**

African Americans in these urban areas simply wanted their fundamental right to pursue the American Dream of homeownership and upward social mobility. Test case *Hansberry v. Lee* (1940) was a class action law suit that questioned the legal sanctioning of racial restrictive covenants.[150] The case centered on the issue of whether the Supreme Court of Illinois deprived the Hansberrys of their right to due process as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. Carl Hansberry purchased a home in the "South Park" or "Washington Park" area of Chicago.[151] This area was under a racial restrictive covenant, which segregated as much as 80% of Chicago's neighborhoods during the earlier part of the 20th century.[152] With 80%-95% of residential signatures and registry at the city or town's deed's department, these restrictive agreements guaranteed homeowners that they not would live near blacks for an average of 15-20 years.[153] The members of the Woodlawn Property Owners Association sued the Hansberrys on grounds that Hansberry violated the neighborhood's restrictive covenant. The covenant mandated that 95% of the property owners sign it when in actuality it contained only 54% of the required signatures. Thus, Hansberry argued that the covenant was not valid. Despite the facts surrounding the case, both the trial court and Illinois Supreme Court upheld the precedent set in the *Burke v. Kleiman* decision and ruled that this decision already settled the matter between the Hansberrys and the homeowners association.[154]

Hansberry appealed the decision with the Supreme Court and argued that they were not a part of the class represented in the *Burke* case and therefore the lower court's decision deprived them of their right to due process. Rather than address the issue that the restrictive racial covenant denied the Hansberrys and other African Americans their constitutional right to equal protection under the 14th Amendment, the Court opted instead to engage the issue of due process from a purely abstract form of jurisprudence.[155] Although the Court reversed the Illinois Court decision and ruled in favor of the Hansberrys in 1940, restrictive covenants remained constitutional until the *Shelley* decision in 1948.[156]

The conditions in Chicago and *Hansberry v. Lee* (1940) ultimately played out in Lorraine Hansberry's play *A Raisin in the Sun* (1959); a play that earned the Chicago native the honor of becoming the first black woman to produce a play on Broadway and the Best Play of the Year Award by the New York Drama Critics Circle.[157] Lorraine's father, Carl Hansberry, was the appellant in *Hansberry v. Lee* (1940).[158] In a 1964 letter to the New York Times Editor Lorraine Hansberry recalled her experience concerning the case and remarked that:

> … My father was typical of a generation of Negroes who believed that the "American way" could successfully be made to work to democratize the United States. Thus, twenty-five years ago, he spent a small fortune, his considerable talents, and many years of his life fighting, in association

> with NAACP attorneys, Chicago's "restrictive covenants" in one of this nation's ugliest ghettoes…. The fact that my father and the NAACP "won" a Supreme Court decision, in a now famous case which bears his name in the lawbooks, is-ironically- the sort of "progress" our satisfied friends allude to when they presume to deride the more radical means of struggle. The cost, in emotional turmoil, time and money, which led to my father's early death as a permanently embittered exile in a foreign country when he saw that after such sacrificial efforts the Negroes of Chicago were as ghetto-locked as ever, does not seem to figure in their calculations.[159]

Hansberry's poignant remarks attest to the grave sacrifices that African American trailblazers endured on their journey to acquire their moral and constitutional rights to fair housing practices and clean environments.

A Raisin in the Sun speaks to the black experience in ghettoized cities during the 1950s by revealing the tensions that the Younger family encountered while trying to escape the cramped and dilapidated conditions on the South Side of Chicago during the 1940s and 1950s.[160] The play opens up with a sobering description of the Younger family's "two" bedroom apartment:

> Weariness has, in fact, won in this room…..Moreover, a section of this room, for it is not really a room unto itself, though the landlord's lease would make it seem so….The single window that has been provided for these "two" rooms is located in this kitchen area. "The sole natural light the family may enjoy in the course of a day is only that which fights its way through this little window.[161]

The sunlight's powerful rays are refracted by the towering buildings that overshadow the small window into the Younger's apartment. Standing outside of the window is a small plant that Mrs. Younger cares for. Though enervated, the light and "feeble little plant" symbolized Mrs. Younger's need to connect with nature and her dream to plant a garden next to her grandson in their own home. The small plant reminded mama of home as mama reasoned: "Well, I always wanted me a garden like I used to see sometimes at the back of the houses down home. This plant is close as I ever got having one. (*She looks out of the window as she replaces the plant)* Lord, ain't nothing as dreary as the view from this window on a dreary day, is there?"[162]

Hansberry carries this symbol throughout the play to trace the family's response to living in morally depraved conditions. Hansberry establishes this connection at the onset when she introduces Mrs. Younger. Mama's character enters the play when: "She crosses through the room, goes to the window, opens it, and brings in a feeble little plant growing doggedly in a small pot on the windowsill. She feels the dirt and puts it back out."[163] Like the plant that was deprived of sunlight, the family was robbed of any viable opportunity to grow and thrive. Mrs. Younger compares her children's spirit and determination to survive to her plant that continues to grow despite the inadequate amount of sunlight it receives while cramped in between high-rise buildings.[164]

After Mama sees the plant she exclaimed: "… Lord, if this little old plant don't get more sun than it's been getting it ain't never going to see spring again."[165] This in addition to seeing her family fight over space and money deeply saddens Mrs. Younger. She feels that owning a home would unite her family and resolve their issues stemming from living in a small apartment where the family had share the bathroom with several other families.[166] Thus once Mrs. Younger receives her deceased husband's insurance check, she purchases a home for the family in Clybourne Park.[167]

Mama is proud after she procures this home with the yard and is thrilled to take her family and the plant to it.[168] Mama takes the plant with her to the new home despite Beneatha's view that it was "raggedy." In this moment Hansberry re-invokes this symbolism by creating a central exchange between Mama and Beneatha.[169] The mother loved the plant dearly and showcased it when she told Beneatha that "It expresses ME!"[170] The family comes to respect Mrs. Younger's affection for the plant by getting her new gardening tools and a gardening hat.[171]

The Younger's excitement is short-lived once Mr. Lindner, the Clybourne Park Improvement Association representative intercepts the family before they have the opportunity to unpack their boxes. He explains that the homeowners association is uncomfortable with the family's presence in their neighborhood and that they are prepared to purchase the Younger's home above their purchase price.[172] Mrs. Younger bought a home there because it was more affordable than the run down homes in the black neighborhoods. Given the housing conditions in Chicago, it was not in their best interest to accept this offer. Despite Mr. Lindner's proposition and Walter's mismanagement of his father's insurance check (loses the insurance money to Willie Harris-character Walter never meets), the family decides to stay in the home. Although the reader never finds out the outcome of the Younger family's decision, the play does address the housing discrimination in Chicago during the 1940s-1950s and speaks to the restorative power of nature.[173]

Hansberry's play *A Raisin in the Sun* portrayed the strong cultural and political forms of resistance that personified the succeeding Black Arts Movement (BAM). Amiri Baraka and other artists of (BAM) envisioned it as a cultural movement that would help liberate blacks from self-loathing and usher African Americans into an arena of cultural, political and economic success. Scholar Harold Cruse argued in *The Criteria of the Negro Intellectual* (1967) that the movement needed an ideological foundation that was undergirded by a cultural dialogue. [174] Poet and scholar Larry Neal addressed this call by characterizing BAM as "an ethical movement" "… that makes a black artist question a society in which art is one thing and the actions of men another. The Black Arts Movement believes that your ethics and your aesthetics are one. That the contradictions between ethics and aesthetics in western society is symptomatic of a dying culture."[175] BAM artists became the cultural component of the political movement that critiqued the nation's moral principles and its actions towards African Americans. Baraka noted this critical connection when he noted: "We showed that we had heard and understood Malcolm and that we were trying to create an art that would be a weapon in the Black Liberation Movement"[176]

In their battle for liberation, these activists imparted their revolutionary ideals to the environmental discourse. Although Civil Rights, Black Arts and Black Power leaders are not represented in the canonical literature in environmental history and may not have self-identified as environmental activists,[177] these trailblazers redefined environmental activism by reconciling the glaring inconsistencies within the theories/ideologies and actions of leading environmental activists. Through an invigorating diversity of thought, revolutionaries redefined the conventional definitions/conversations around environmental activism by examining the environmental inequalities that emanated out of residential segregation and how inequities in housing, residential segregation and sanitation emerged out of environmental inequality. Furthermore, some leaders embraced an African cosmological framework[178]- African-centered ideological construction in which all elements of nature are interconnected through time, water, fire, dirt, and wind- in their articulations of a black aesthetic and cultural nationalism. Political stances of nationalism informed by the geopolitical gains of land ownership resonated among a circle of activists while others situated their environmental interpretations through an economic form of nationalism that excoriated the financial transfigurations accorded by the access to natural resources.

Detroit and Chicago-alongside San Francico and Harlem-operated at the center of this political and cultural revolution. Detroit native and poet Dudley Randall reprinted the poetry of 19th century black poets and commemorated the works of renowned 20th century BAM poets such Nikki Giovanni and Sonia Sanchez through his Broadside Press publishing company.[179] Haki Madhubuti's (Don L. Lee) Third World Press out of Chicago spearheaded the careers of influential black artists who otherwise may not have been part of the intellectual discourse. Wayne State University students in Detroit founded UHURU in 1963 as an active forum that sponsored intellectual and political discourse on radical black nationalism and socialism.[180] Conversely, Roosevelt University in Chicago supported SNCC activists and actively spoke out on the black condition in the U.S.[181] These two cities collectively nurtured the growth and blossoming of the Nation of Islam (NOI) in that Detroit gave birth to the organization and welcomed Malcolm X to its fold.[182] Chicago would later house the NOI's headquarters after Elijah Muhammad moved it there and recruited Malcolm X to work with him in 1953.[183]

The overall objective of BAM and BPM was to galvanize African Americans around a collective cultural framework that would empower them to fight for their rights as citizens in the United States. Artists cultivated a black cultural nationalism that created an overarching community throughout the African Diaspora and reified the image of Africa as a connecting point of reference. Baraka's poem "Ka'Ba" celebrates the connection to Africa and encouraged African Americans to view their beauty from an African-inspired aesthetic as opposed to a European aesthetic that undermined the black body:[184] "…. We are beautiful people / with African imaginations / full of masks and dances and swelling chants / with African eyes, and noses, and arms, / though we sprawl in grey chains in a place / full of winters when what we want is sun."[185] Poet and activist Sonia Sanchez advocated for a spiritual connection to Africa and the ancestors who she believed guided African Americans through the Middle Passage, slavery, a failed reconstruction, Jim Crow segregation and environmental injustice.[186] In several of her pieces Sanchez calls upon nature and the ancestors to fill the gap of a forgotten past-particularly in Sanchez's piece "Woman," the narrator personifies the earth as "earth mother" and thus enters into an intimate plea with the earth to help her recover her historical roots. She writes:

> Come ride my birth, earth mother/ tell me how I have become, became this woman with razor blades between her teeth. / sing me my history O earth mother…./ tell me. tellllllLLLLLL me. earth mother/ for i want to rediscover me. the secret of me. the river of me. the morning ease of me…. / mother, light up my mind / with a story bright as the sun.[187]

Here the narrator exhibits the African cosmological framework in which humans are close to nature and garner their strength and resolve to attain self-actualization through connecting with the past and being connected to the larger universe. The poem "Present" offers a more concrete rendering of this relationship to nature and the past when the narrator expels her emptiness onto the world by recounting the story of her birth and the legacy of her existence. She ties her recollection to the past via her natural surroundings:

> And I dance my/ creation and my grandmothers gathering/ from my bones like great wooden birds/ spread their wings…/ and i taste the seasons of my birth. mangoes. papayas./ drink my woman/ coconut/ milks/ stalk the ancient grandfathers/ sipping on proud afternoons/ walk with a song round my waist/ tremble like a new/ born/ child troubled/ with new breaths .[188]

Nikki Giovanni conceptualizes an overriding image of Africa as a superpower because of its natural resources and superimposes this illustration upon the prevailing perception that Africa is culturally insolvent and impoverished. In Giovanni's poem "Ego Tripping" the narrator situates the African continent at the epicenter of the global economic framework. The poem celebrates the feats of Egyptians in building the pyramids along with the rarity of a natural phenomenon that occurs in Africa when the narrator asserts: “I designed a pyramid so tough that a star / that only glows every one hundred years falls into the center giving divine perfect light ….”[189] Through describing the pyramids, this star, and the Sahara desert, the narrator establishes the wealth on the continent and distinguishes African peoples from other constituents. She displaces the Arab world as the hub of oil production when she maintains: “My nose giving oil to the arab world….”[190]

Conversely, artists discussed ghettoization and how blacks experienced it through their natural surroundings. Nikki Giovanni’s poem “For Saundra” employs a militant stance to discuss blacks’ relationship to the natural environment when she contends:

> i wanted to write/ a poem/ that rhymes/ but revolution doesn’t lend/ itself to be –bopping/ then my neighbor / who thinks i hate/ asked- you ever write/ tree poem- i like trees/ so I thought/ i’ll write a beautiful green tree poem/ peeked from my window/ to check the image/ noticed the school year was covered / with asphalt/ no green- no trees grow/ in manhattan/ then, well, I thought the sky/ I’ll do a big blue sky poem/ but all the clouds have winged / low since no-Dick was elected / so i thought again/ and it occurred to me/ maybe I shouldn’t write at all/ but clean my gun/ and check my kerosene supply/ perhaps these are not poetic/ times/ at all/.[191]

In this poem the narrator critically responds to her neighbor who presumes that her art is morally debasing because she does not privilege the beauty of nature in her work. It is not that the narrator is morally bankrupt and thus unable to appreciate the natural environment: she admits that she loves trees. The reality is she is not surrounded by a pristine environment where trees and bodies of water are bountiful. The narrator lives in a concrete dessert in which the clouds trap the sunlight and reflect the life-giving force away from the earth’s surface. Giovanni ties the social justice aspect to her environmental discussion by specifically citing President Nixon’s policies as the basis for the deplorable living conditions that shape her perspective on nature.

The natural environment played a key role in the economic nationalism among black political leaders. BPM leaders continued a Marxist form of economic nationalism by charging African Americans to become proprietors and not just consumers.[192] The Nation of Islam (NOI), the leading political religious organization that rehabilitated poor blacks in Detroit, Chicago, and other major cities, widely advocated landownership and its leaders Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X believed that the religious organization needed to own land in order to carry out its forms of cultural and economic nationalism. Malcolm X believed: "We begin by being Nationalists. But a nation is land, and wars are fought over land. The sovereignty of culture, the sovereignty of race, the sovereignty of ideas and ways "into" the world…. And so Nationalist concept is the arrival of conceptual and environmental strength, or the realization of it in its totality by the Black Man in the West…."[193] They valued landownership for several reasons: the members could grow their own foods and eat according to the Qur'anic teachings, the facilities would be black-run and would strengthen their local economy since members would circulate their money in these communities and NOI could control the morale in these spaces.[194]

These economic and cultural forms of nationalism advocated by Malcolm X and other revolutionaries within BAM and BPM speak to the historical norming and racialization of natural spaces.[195] Through active home owners associations, zoning laws and racial covenants, political officials initiated inexorable decrees that refracted the energies and livelihoods of African Americans away from Detroit and Chicago's prosperous regions and immured them to the microcosms of these city's most perilous neighborhoods.[196] While operating under the government's umbrella, officials stripped

African Americans of their lands via eminent domain laws. Once displaced, blacks faced deed restrictions and racial restrictive covenants that determined where they could reside.[197] More often than not, African Americans had to *choose* from limited housing options in poorly ventilated, deteriorating houses and apartment complexes in undesirable locales.[198] Given the forced scarcity of housing options, black paid higher rent and mortgages for residences in underserved neighborhoods.[199] By contrast, their former homes were now branches rooted by majestic parks synonymous with stable and tranquil spaces. City planners further isolated African Americans by constructed highways in the city's non-elite and poor neighborhoods. These zoning measures brought disruptive traffic and pollution into these communities.[200]

The strategic isolation of African Americans into ghettoized conditions and preemptive measures that precluded blacks from enjoying public recreational facilities left an indelible mark on the environmental movement. The complex role of African Americans in the environmental movement of the 1960s and the 1970s has largely gone untold within mainstream environmentalism. The very nature of institutionalized racism and its legacy in the twentieth century forced blacks to redefine the discourse surrounding environmentalism in the United States. Such structurally-sanctioned racism informed why African American activists shaped their discussions on environmental protection within a context of a political and social movement.[201]

CONCLUSION

A ROUNDTABLE CONVERSATION: THE HISTORICAL LEGACY OF ENVIRONMENTAL THOUGHT AMONG BLACKS, 1850-1965

In this dissertation I examined the historical relationship that African Americans have with land, nature, and the environment. When I discussed the land, I situated it within a political discourse. The issue of land surfaces in the historical discussion as a vehicle for political sovereignty and the development of economic nationalism. T. Thomas Fortune and Malcolm X spoke vehemently in favor of blacks owning their own land and using it to gain political clout in the U.S. government.[1] When I used the term nature, I looked at it in the context of a religious and existential domain while the term environment embodied the social and cultural aspect of how Africans Americans related to their natural environments.[2]

Given the historical degradation of the land and racialized oppression, African Americans employed multiple forms of resistance that they fashioned during different historical periods. The natural environment shaped how bonpeople re-imagined their existence and re-created a worldview that resounded with justice, fairness, and beauty during the antebellum era. Credited as the father of transcendentalism, Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote extensively on man’s connection to nature and the circular nature of the universe. Furthermore the poet argued that man could become attuned to his metaphysical existence through this individualistic and uninterrupted experience in a secluded medium and that man can repair his faults and his spirit while being in nature.[3] This notion resonated in the experiences of bondpeople and freedpersons through their conversion experiences and cultural productions such as the Negro Spirituals. The reality that the black body became intertwined with the rise of capitalism could have created a culturally and emotionally defunct mass of people. Yet, out of the barbarism of slavery grew what Du Bois termed the “Negroes gift to the world.”[4] The spirituals articulated a spirit of hope in the face of desolation. Nature’s beauty and power allowed the enslaved to gain momentary glimpses into a world of freedom that validated their humanity and bondpeople successfully captured these moments in the Negro Spirituals. Politically, the enslaved turned the land into geopolitical spaces wherein which they escaped the bondages of slavery. Harriet Tubman, considered among the enslaved as Moses, successfully used her understanding of the physical landscape to lead hundreds of slaves to freedom and help the Union Army fight against the Confederates.[5]

African Americans faced a new set of challenges after the Civil War. Land distribution became a central component to the embittered battle among blacks and whites who fought to protect their interests in the national discourse during the late 19th century.[6] The nation was shrouded in the competing philosophies such as that of the Hon. Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania who called for the government to confiscate 394 million acres of land from elites and grant them to freedpersons and that of President Andrew Johnson who pardoned ex-confederates and rewarded them with lands that he seized from freedpersons.[7] Despite the Freedmen Bureau’s attempts at securing land for freedpersons, African Americans on the whole came out of slavery without property and their economic vulnerability forced them to sell their labor in the plantation economy after the southern economy collapsed.[8] Consequently, freedpersons entered into contractual agreements with landholders to produce crops on their lands. In order to keep sharecroppers immobile and tied to the land, landlords placed liens on the sharecroppers’ crops and charged them interest rates as high as 53 percent for advances.[9] This economic depravity forced sharecroppers into sordid conditions that threatened their physical and mental health.

Following the Civil War and a Failed Reconstruction in 1877, newly freedpersons looked to self-reliance, thrift, and moral uplift to control their destinies in the United States.[10] Leaders such as Carter G. Woodson, George Washington Carver, and Booker T. Washington responded to the conditions of sharecroppers through commenting on the conditions of black farmers and instituting new measures that helped these farmers become more self-sustaining. Carter G. Woodson began commenting on the poor air quality and the unsafe environmental living conditions that blacks experienced.[11] Woodson noted "In the first place, it is not true that the man in the rural community breathes pure air…. Because of flood conditions and tendencies toward subtropical diseases in the lowlands of the cotton and sugar districts, too, the water as well as the air tends to be more easily contaminated than in the case of the section farther north."[12] George Washington Carver applied his love for nature, God, and science to teach black farmers more sustainable forms of farming. While at Tuskegee Institute, Carver worked with the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) on soil research and provided viable solutions to the boll-weevil bug that wreaked havoc on the cotton plant during the late 19th and early 20th century.[13] Through teaching black farmers how to compost, rotate their crops, and plant nitrogen-fixing plants, Carver helped these agriculturalists improve their lands and rely less on the shark-like lending practices of the their landlords.[14]

The economic impoverishment that sharecroppers experienced from the conditions of the plantation economy lead hundreds of thousands of African Americans to leave the South and migrate North in search of thriving industries that could support families.[15] The opportunity to make living wages in the wartime economy and protection against lynchings attracted over six million African Americans into Northern industrial centers.[16] The second Great Migration of African Americans (1940-1970) differed from the previous migrations during the 1870s-1880s and the early twentieth century in that blacks were no longer looking to settle in Liberia or other nations in Africa. Nor were they moving throughout the South into cities such as Kansas, Oklahoma and Arkansas.[17] This 20th century epic migration created urbanized spaces that instituted new forms of economic poverty and other sets of challenges for African Americans that developed well into the 20th and 21 century.

The Peculiar Institution, a failed Reconstruction, sharecropping, and Jim Crow segregation yielded new environmental conditions for blacks in the United States.[18] The centuries of African Americans organizing against political disenfranchisement, economic exploitation, and cultural oppression crystallized into the radical mass movements of the mid to late twentieth century. African Americans inserted their experiences into the country’s political infrastructure and established the terms by which the conversation around human rights, environmental activism, and social justice would occur during the 20th century.[19] The combined push from the Civil Rights, Black Arts, and Black Power movements expressed the unique plight of blacks and demonstrated their determination to fight against these atrocities.[20] More notably, these movements set the stage for an integrated effort aimed at redressing the issues of civil rights violations and environmental degradation in the United States.

African Americans during the late 20th century exhibited a range of responses in their concern for civil rights and environmental protection. Civil Rights, Black Arts, and Black Power leaders employed numerous channels to speak out against the unfair environmental practices associated with housing, the upkeep of sanitation, and municipal services in African American neighborhoods. Some engaged the environment within an African cosmological understanding by examining the complexity of the relationship between the past, present, and the future.[21] Others engaged the geopolitical nature of being able to control the land and its natural resources while others excoriated the economic transfigurations associated with the access to natural resources.[22]

Overwhelmingly black political leaders shifted the environmental conversation towards creating safe, sustainable, and aesthetically pleasing environments that could inspire the human spirit and foster collective community participation. In her April 23, 1964 letter to the *New York Times* editor Lorraine Hansberry recounted the struggles that she and her family endured while her father fought against de jure segregation in the judicial system (*Hansberry v. Lee* (1940) and her mother warded off the mob that encircled her home in 1938:

> That fights also required that our family occupy the disputed property in a hellishly hostile "white neighborhood" in which, literally, howling mobs surrounded our house. One of their missiles almost took the life of the then eight-year-old signer of this letter. My memories of this "correct" way of fighting white supremacy in America include being spat at, cursed and pummeled in the daily trek to and from school. And I also remember my desperate and courageous mother, patrolling our house all night with a loaded German luger, doggedly guarding her four children, while my father fought the respectable part of the battle in the Washington court.[23]

The emotional turmoil that the Hansberrys faced as a result of purchasing a home in a white neighborhood that enforced a racial restrictive covenant highlighted the composite degradation of nature and racialized oppression. The racialized space created by racial restrictive covenants during the 20th century barred African Americans and other communities of color from living in homes outside of the over-priced, rat-infested, congested, and ghettoized spaces manufactures by elite whites.[24] This construction of social justice and environmental thought crystallized during the Civil Rights Movement through the leaders' rhetoric and their actions when Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. organized the sanitation workers in Chicago because of the unclean and deplorable living conditions that blacks in Chicago faced.[25]

Leaders argued that the limited access to pools, parks, clean and safe neighborhoods infringed upon their 14th amendment rights to equal protection under the laws (*Hansberry v. Lee*).[26] These leaders were not concerned with preserving natural spaces and protecting them from human contact but focused on protecting the environment so that all individuals could live in clean and peaceful surroundings. Green spaces in cities during the twentieth century were limited in comparison to the concrete that overlay the entirety of northern city streets; these conditions were further exacerbated by the cities' improper garbage disposal.[27] Such hard and impenetrable spaces banished African Americans' access to nature and negatively impacted city-dwellers even though both rural and urban residents alike paid higher rent for homes with lower property values.[28] Communities of color paid for the construction of national parks with their taxes even though these parks were not in their neighborhoods; instead, African Americans and other communities of color held the undue burden of living near undesirable and hazardous waste facilities.[29]

The progress of environmental thought and social justice activism took on a greater cultural and economic nationalist form during the Black Arts and Black Power

Movements. Like its predecessors during the New Negro Harlem Renaissance, the artists of the Black Arts movement reclaimed their ancestral connection the African motherland and the physical landscape became a major component in the rise of cultural nationalism and the sense of belonging in their art.[30] Stokely Carmichael continued in this transnational struggle and called for blacks in the African nations to demand land and gain their independence from their imperial oppressors.[31]

The legacy of the Civil Rights Movement has arguably continued with the environmental justice movement. In a 1992 interview Angela Davis championed the environmental justice movement as the continuance of the Civil Rights Movement.[32] Civil Rights Activists Ben Chavis, Jr. and Elijah Cummings are among the direct corollaries between the civil rights movement and the environmental justice movement.[33] Activists within the movement such as Majora Carter are fighting the issue of environmental quality for African Americans and other people of color by utilizing grassroots activism to push for more governmental implementation of environmental quality initiatives in high impact neighborhoods.[34] As these leaders fight for higher environmental quality for these communities, the narratives and voices of this populace will become part of the national and transnational conversation on environmental quality and social justice.

The Modern Civil Rights Movement As Extended Through the Environmental Justice Movement, 1965 to present

The second part of this conclusion examines the relationship that African Americans have with the land and how it has influenced the modern environmental justice movement. I utilize an ecofeminist and womanist lens to examine the impact of hazardous waste facilities on women who live in communities near noxious facilities. I am using this theoretical framework because environmental injustice disproportionately impacts women of color transnationally because in developing nations women are generally responsible to acquire water and wood for the home.[35] Moreover, both in the United States and globally, the dangerous chemicals and pollutants that leach out of noxious facilities cause higher rates of cancer and reproductive health problems among women of color.[36]

"Environmental justice is defined as the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, colour, national origin or income with respect to the development, implementation and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations and policies."[37] Scholars and activists within this field reconceptualize the issues that environmental activists fight for because environmental justice (EJ) activists focus on the fair distribution of environmentally compromising sites and actions and assert that there is an inextricable linkage between environmental activism and civil rights.[38] These activists have fought EJ issues through litigation, research, and grassroots activism.

Bean v. Southwestern Waste Management Corp. (1979) is cited as the first lawsuit to claim environmental injustice.[39] The residents in Houston claimed that the landfill that was in their community occurred because they were African American. The town attempted to locate this landfill earlier when the town was predominately white and the county repudiated this measure.[40] With only twenty-eight percent of Houston's population, African Americans were directly exposed to all five of the city's landfills and six of the city's eight incinerators.[41] *Matthews v. Coyle* was a landmark case in which the

NAACP Legal Defense Fund, ACLU, and other civic organizations successfully settled out of court with California for a reported $15 million to $20 million for lead testing program for children after The Federal Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry discovered that sixty-eight percent of African American children in homes of $6000 or less annual income were exposed to lead poisoning in comparison to thirty-six percent of white children.[42]

There were more organized efforts among blacks and other people of color following the Nixon Administration.[43] In the 1980s, the United States did not impart proper safety codes for the disposal of hazardous wastes and consequently there were over 250 dump sites that posed a significant risk to communal water supplies.[44] One of the first major cases of documented protest in the modern era occurred in 1982 when protestors in Warren, North Carolina fought against the state government after one of the local neighborhoods became the dumping site for 30,000 gallons of soil laden with polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs).[45] North Carolina police arrested more than 500 people during this massive protest.[46] Residents were terribly afraid of these PCBs because their danger is due to their inertness. Since they are not naturally-occurring elements and they do not react with anything in the environment, they remain in the environment untouched.[47] Burns and Ward of the Ward Transfer Company opted to illegally dump the soil in Warren County after the EPA banned its resale in 1979. After this incident, the state government left the town contaminated for four years before it finally agreed to contain the area by building a landfill rather than treating it.[48] The water table in Warren County was only five to ten feet above sea level, which meant that the inevitable leakage of PCBs into the ground would directly impact the residents who retrieve their water supply from the local wells.[49]

The early 1990s offered a new branch of environmentalism and grassroots activism that surged away from mainstream environmentalism. The leaders from this movement challenged U.S. government officials to rethink their participation in the disproportionate rate at which corporations polluted urban neighborhoods. Environmental justice (EJ) activists met formally for the first time in October 1991 at the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in Washington, D.C.[50] After the summit, leaders formulated a list of tenets to address issues of environmental racism. Among these tenets are: 1) every person has the right to a safe environment that is devoid of environmental degradation; 2) public health is focused on preventative measures rather than trying to fix the problem after it occurs; 3) shifts the burden of proof to those responsible for polluting and away from the victims of the pollutants; 4) gives legal credence to empirical data rather than merely arguing a philosophical/ a priori defense of "intent" to show discrimination; 5) Fixes the problem by applying adequate and direct resources towards the issue.[51] These tenets exemplify how the EJ activists couched their platform around redressing ethical decisions by illuminating the disparities in the allocation of resources and showing how these disparities positively impact whites at the expense of people of color.[52]

There are several key reasons why hazardous waste facilities are located in poor neighborhoods of color. White flight is responsible for creating localized areas of poverty and segregation because those who are financially equipped move away from neighborhoods that are on an economic decline.[53] Housing projects for the poor often are located near these facilities because the land is cheaper in these areas.[54] Another contributing factor is that corporations leverage their financial and social capital in the courts to intimidate communities that try to block the building of these facilities.[55] Often industry officials sell/justify the idea of citing landfills in communities of color on the grounds that these properties will create new jobs and generate more taxes for members in the community. In turn, these new monies will help improve the local schools since they are supported through property taxes. However, the president of Houston's Northeast Community Action Group counters this argument by asserting "We need to get all the money we can get to upgrade our school system. But we shouldn't have to be poisoned to get improvements for our children."[56] Moreover, these facilities merely create small amounts of low-skilled jobs that do not necessarily benefit the particular members of the communities in which they are situated.

These facilities are not favorable to their neighbors. The exchange of liability over time is highly unfavorable to the local community because they inevitably acquire the final burden of responsibility if/when the facility leaks. This occurs because the company transfers its responsibility to the landfill company once it dumps the waste in the site. The landfill company in turn is liable for the waste for five years. After this time, it becomes the tax payers' liability if there is a problem with the facility.[57]

The toxic environments have severely impacted particular communities. The "Cancer Alley" in Louisiana's southeastern district contains eighty-five miles of harmful petrochemical industries that adversely impact the residents of this location. During the 1970s, Louisiana "was producing 60 percent of the nation's vinyl chloride and nitrogen fertilizer and 26 percent of the nation's chlorine."[58] The efforts of local activists to gain attention and support from the EPA and the Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry (ATSDR) have largely paled in comparison to the work of powerful corporate lobbyists.[59] Dow Chemicals is among the petrochemical companies who have bought out residents (primarily African American) within the Morrissonville area. Several towns no longer exist in Louisiana as a result of the buyouts.[60]

The results of the presence of these harmful industries have been people dying from different forms of cancers and women giving birth to babies with serious deformities.[61] Other examples of industrial pollution include the construction of the Gauley Bridge in West Virginia which killed 500 and permanently disabled 1500 of the workers after its manufacture exposed them to silicosis.[62] The United States government dumped toxic wastes in Native American sites since the land was not subject to the local or state laws.[63] Several women were forced to have abortions after finding out that their babies were not forming properly in the womb.

Grassroots activism has proven to be one of the more effective means of fighting against larger groups because legal activism has several setbacks for activists. First, legal action requires considerable financial and social capital because it is difficult to find competent lawyers who specialize in “toxic tort litigation.” Also, since people of color are disproportionately kept from access to adequate health care, it becomes more difficult to provide medical evidence to show the direct correlation between the environmental degradation and their compromised health.[64]

The United States government has introduced new initiatives to address and potentially redress the issues of environmental racism and environmental injustice. The

US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is showing that it is committed to bringing criminals to justice with its criminal lawsuits against large corporations and smaller businesses. In 1994, the US EPA tried 2,247 criminal cases and fined companies as much as $22 million in favor of plaintiffs.[65] In this same year, President Clinton issued an executive order that forced federal agencies to incorporate race into their environmental laws.[66] The result of $20 million worth of studies was that landfills are not fail-safe and *will* leak over time.[67] This expensive study only reveals a small amount of the problem. The level of PCBs are so prominent in the environment that the average nursing infant receives ten times the allotted amount of PCBs in the mother's breast milk.[68] PCBs are also linked to heightened levels of cancer, liver malfunction and reproductive issues.[69] These are serious issues that will adversely impact the future generations.

The nation and the global community are working arduously to draft solutions to the environmental devastation that we have created for ourselves. In 2001 the nations within the European Union responded to the initiatives set out in the 1997 Kyoto Protocol and set out to reduce their 1990 greenhouse gas emissions by an average of 12% by 2010. Within a year they reduced their emissions by 3.5% from 1990.[70] Germany decreased its carbon emissions by 20% from 1990 from implementing carbon taxes and developing wind energy.[71] Additionally, the German government strengthened its local economies when it allowed the local landowners the rights to own the turbines.[72] In Sweden hydropower plants produce 50% of the nation's electricity.[73]

Although the U.S. backed out of the 1997 Protocol in 2001, U.S. policy makers, environmental activists and scientists are engaging in new policies and procedures to address the deleterious effects of industrialization and fossil fuel used on the natural environment. The U.S.'s dependency on foreign oil and coal production poses a serious threat to our national security.[74] In 2005 Congress passed the Energy Policy Act of 2005 (EPAct of 2005) in part to call for investment/research into non-renewable sources of energy. The law required states to explore how they can include renewable energy in their overall energy production.[75] On March 17, 2009 the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) and the Minerals Management Service (MMS) settled their debate over which organization would have jurisdiction to license hydrokinetic companies.[76] Energy expert Frank Felder argues that all shareholders should conduct a socially-responsible cost-benefit-analysis (CBA) that examines the short and long-term impacts of renewable energy. For instance the chemicals in solar power energy panels contain cadmium sulfide and the panels have a life-span of 25 years. Given the novelty of solar energy, officials must deal with the new challenges associated with disposing this waste. Felder and Haut contend that "If one were to extrapolate this small amount of metal to the number of panels necessary to match the kWh produced by large power plants, the amount of contaminants generated is potentially large and, perhaps in some cases, comparable to those created by coal-fired power plants."[77] A socially-responsible CBA would include how and where these hazardous wastes would get disposed.

Our societal view of nature mirrors a subject-object relationship in which we view nature as valuable because of our perceived instrumental value that we place upon it. More importantly we need to construct a different reality that produces a relationship between human beings and nature where nature has intrinsic value outside of that placed upon it by human beings.[78] Scholars, activists, and policy makers who are working towards redressing the major environmental issues need to be informed about the standpoints of communities of color in order to make socially conscious decisions. As Van Jones demonstrates in *The Green Collar Economy*, leaders in the movement must include the voices and experiences of people of color to actualize their goals.[79]

APPENDIX A

MAPS OF WEST AFRICAN NATIONS

Figure A.1: Map of West Africa According to Nation States

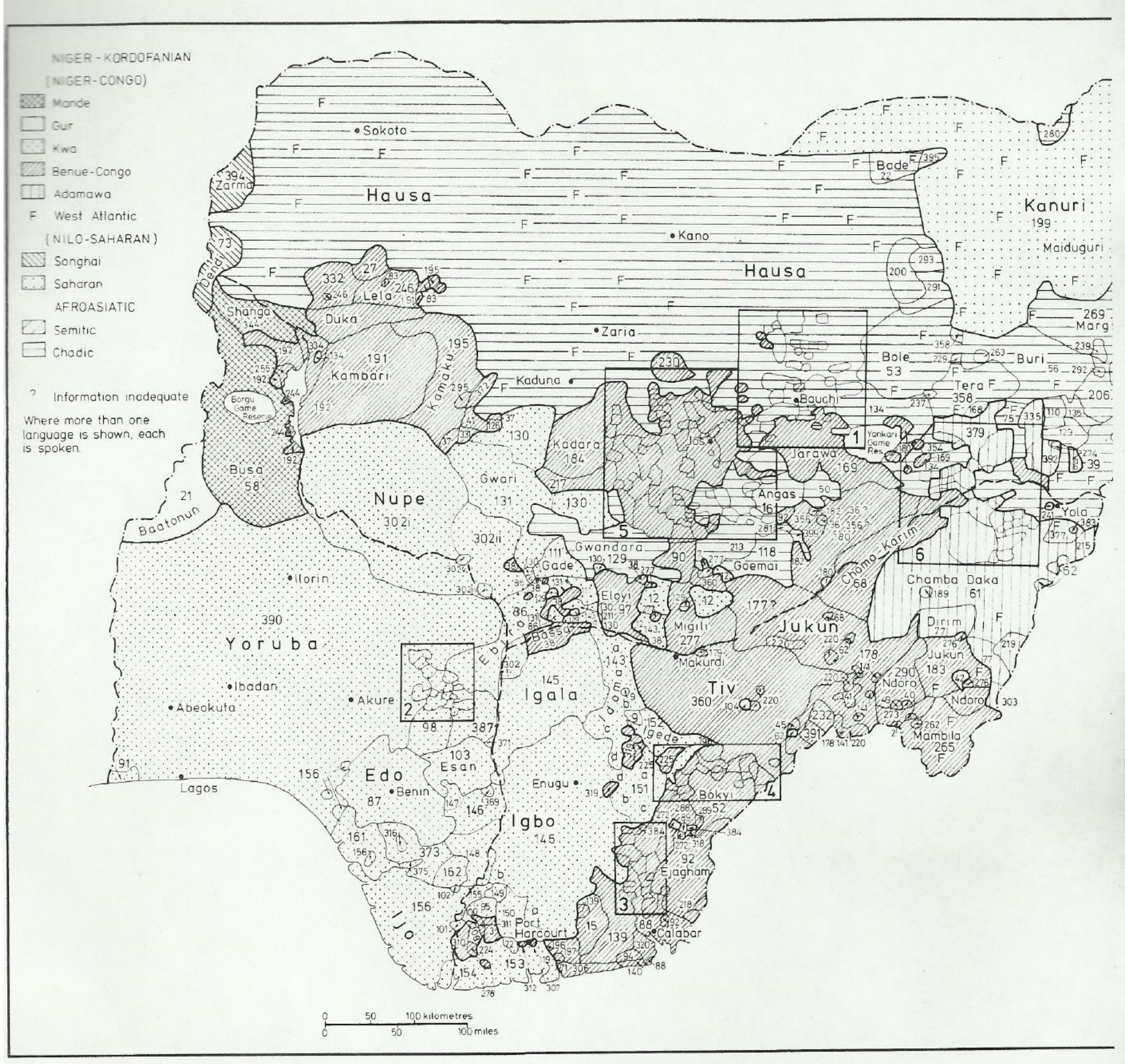
NIGER-KORDOFANIAN
(NIGER-CONGO)
Mande
Gur
Kwa
Benue-Congo
Adamawa
F West Atlantic
(NILO-SAHARAN)
Songhai
Saharan
AFROASIATIC
Semitic
Chadic
? Information inadequate
Where more than one language is shown, each is spoken.
Sokoto
Hausa
Kano
Hausa
Kanuri
Maiduguri
Bade
Zaria
Kaduna
Bauchi
Jos
Bole
Buri
Tera
Marg
Zarma
Dendi
Shanga
Borgu Game Reserve
Busa
Baatonun
Kambari
Kamuku
Duka
Lela
Gwari
Kadara
Nupe
Gwandara
Gade
Angas
Jarawa
Goemai
Eloyi
Migili
Jukun
Chomo-Karim
Chamba Daka
Dirim
Jukun
Ndoro
Ndoro
Mambila
Yola
Yankari Game Res.
Yoruba
Ilorin
Ibadan
Abeokuta
Lagos
Akure
Ebira
Bassa
Igala
Idoma
Makurdi
Tiv
Edo
Benin
Esan
Enugu
Igbo
Bokyi
Ejagham
Calabar
Port Harcourt
Ijo
0 50 100 kilometres
0 50 100 miles

Figure A.2: Map of the Ivory Coast

UMASS/AMHERST
Cote d'Ivoire, Base 802224AI (C00674),
PREX 3.10/4:C 82/6
3 3206 600016992 4

G
8780
2004
U52

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS COLLECTION
APR 2005
University of Massachusetts
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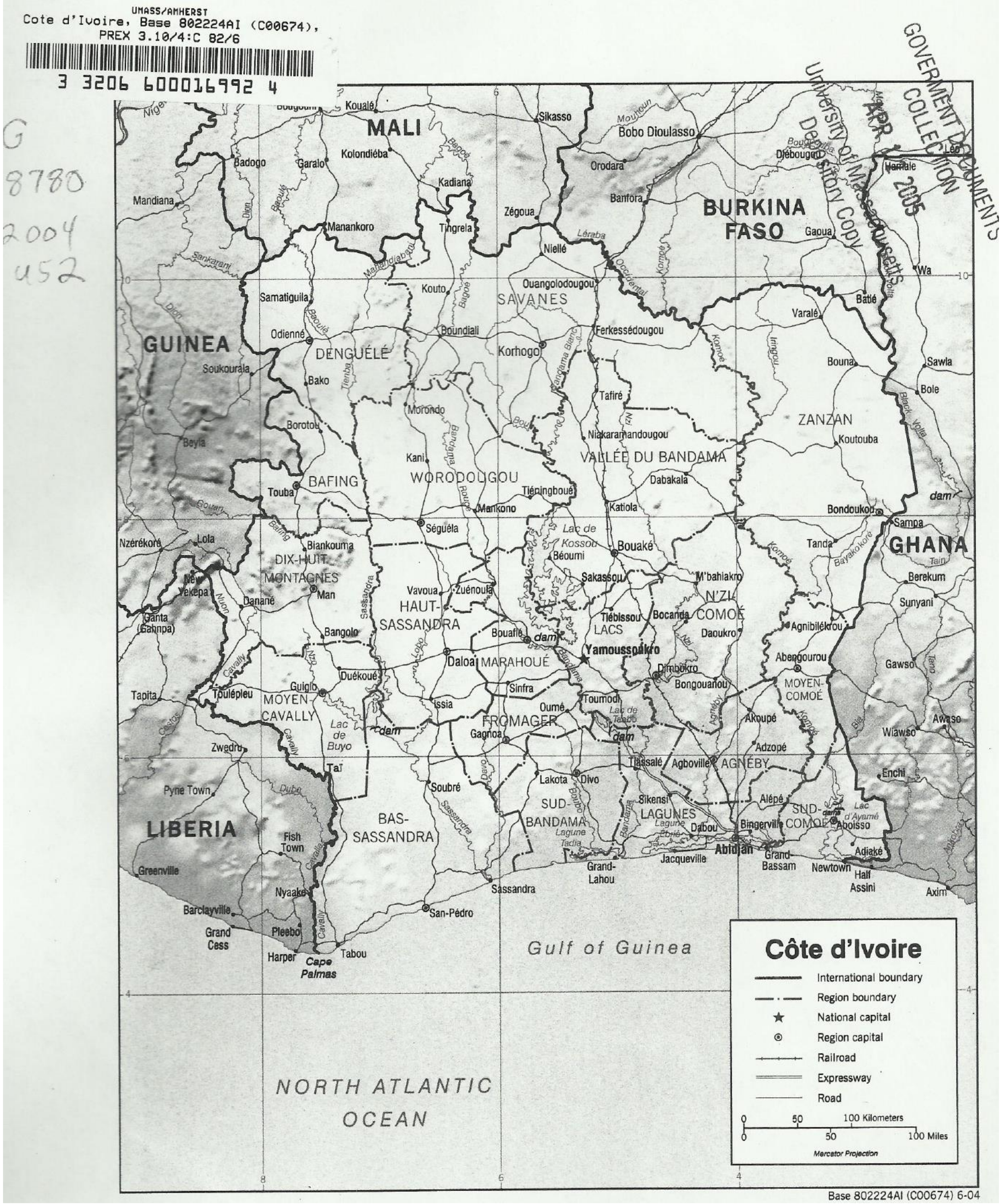
MALI
BURKINA FASO
GUINEA
LIBERIA
GHANA
Gulf of Guinea
NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
SAVANES
DENGUÉLÉ
ZANZAN
VALLÉE DU BANDAMA
BAFING
WORODOUGOU
DIX-HUIT MONTAGNES
HAUT-SASSANDRA
LACS
N'ZI COMOÉ
MARAHOUÉ
MOYEN-CAVALLY
MOYEN-COMOÉ
FROMAGER
AGNÉBY
SUD-BANDAMA
LAGUNES
SUD-COMOÉ
BAS-SASSANDRA
Sikasso
Bobo Dioulasso
Kolondiéba
Kadiana
Tingrela
Manankoro
Orodara
Banfora
Gaoua
Niellé
Ouangolodougou
Ferkessédougou
Korhogo
Boundiali
Odienné
Samatiguila
Kouto
Touba
Séguéla
Mankono
Katiola
Bouaké
Béoumi
Sakassou
Yamoussoukro
Man
Danané
Daloa
Gagnoa
Divo
Dabou
Abidjan
Grand-Bassam
Jacqueville
Grand-Lahou
Sassandra
San-Pédro
Tabou
Cape Palmas
Harper
Bondoukou
Bouna
Abengourou
Agnibilékrou
Dimbokro
Bongouanou
Daoukro
Adzopé
Agboville
Aboisso
Adiaké
Bingerville
Tiassalé
Toumodi
Oumé
Sinfra
Bouaflé
Zuénoula
Vavoua
Issia
Soubré
Duékoué
Guiglo
Toulépleu
Taï
Bangolo
Biankouma
Dabakala
Tafiré
Niakaramandougou
Tiéningboué
Kani
Morondo
Borotou
Bako
Tiébissou
Bocanda
M'bahiakro
Lakota
Sikensi
Alépé
Lac de Kossou
Lac de Buyo
Lac de Taabo
dam
Côte d'Ivoire
International boundary
Region boundary
National capital
Region capital
Railroad
Expressway
Road
0 50 100 Kilometers
0 50 100 Miles
Mercator Projection
Base 802224AI (C00674) 6-04

Figure A.3: Map of Togo

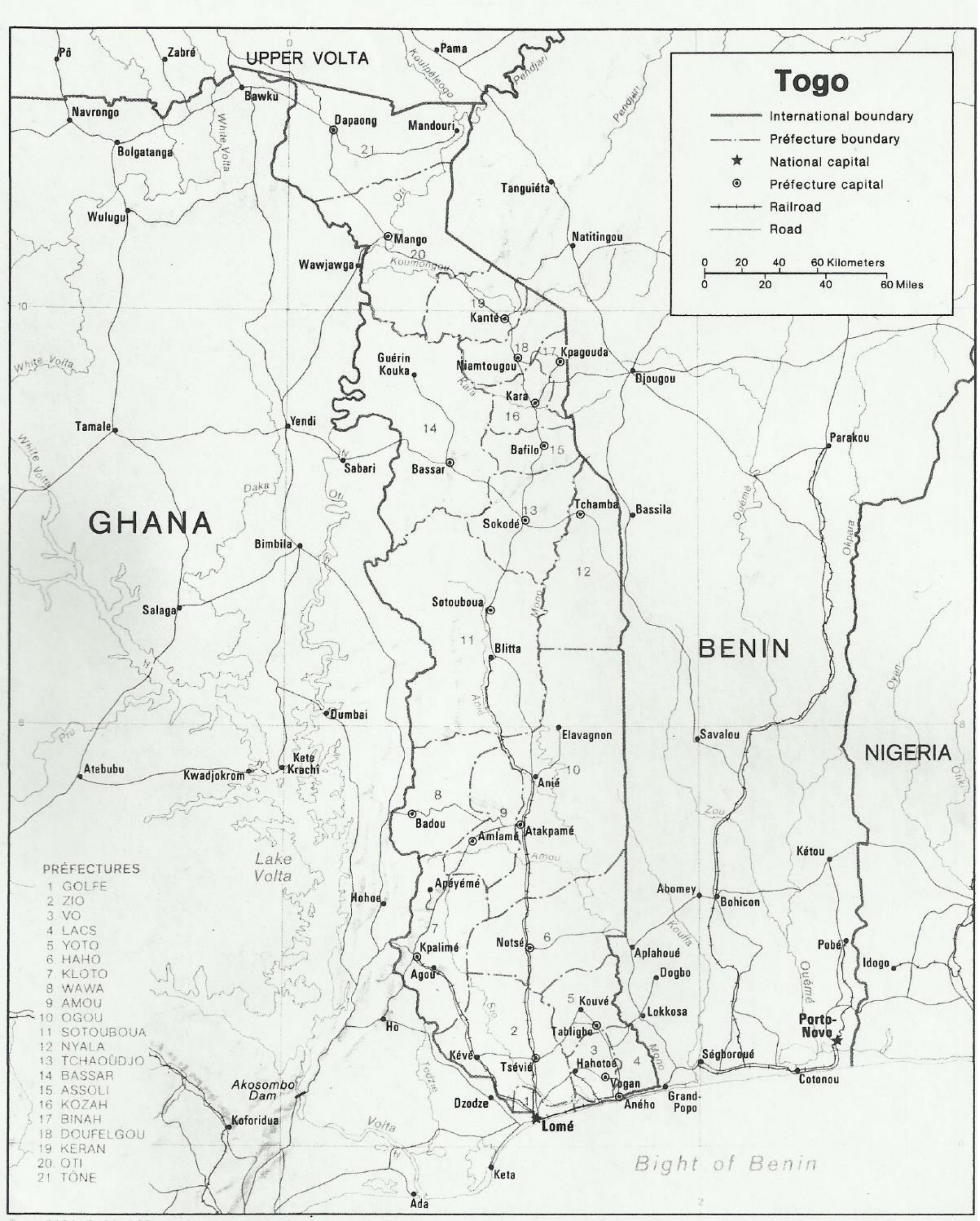
Togo
International boundary
Préfecture boundary
National capital
Préfecture capital
Railroad
Road
0 20 40 60 Kilometers
0 20 40 60 Miles
UPPER VOLTA
GHANA
BENIN
NIGERIA
Bight of Benin
Lake Volta
Akosombo Dam
Pô
Zabré
Pama
Bawku
Navrongo
Bolgatanga
Dapaong
Mandouri
Tanguiéta
Wulugu
Mango
Natitingou
Wawjawga
Kanté
Guérin Kouka
Niamtougou
Kpagouda
Djougou
Kara
Tamale
Yendi
Sabari
Bassar
Bafilo
Parakou
Tchamba
Bassila
Sokodé
Bimbila
Salaga
Sotouboua
Blitta
Dumbai
Elavagnon
Savalou
Atebubu
Kwadjokrom
Kete Krachi
Anié
Badou
Amlamé
Atakpamé
Kétou
Apéyémé
Hohoe
Abomey
Bohicon
Notsé
Kpalimé
Agou
Aplahoué
Dogbo
Pobé
Idogo
Kouvé
Lokkosa
Ho
Tabligbo
Porto-Novo
Kévé
Hahotoé
Ségborioué
Tsévié
Vogan
Cotonou
Dzodze
Aného
Grand-Popo
Koforidua
Lomé
Keta
Ada
White Volta
Oti
Mono
Volta
Ouémé
PRÉFECTURES
1 GOLFE
2 ZIO
3 VO
4 LACS
5 YOTO
6 HAHO
7 KLOTO
8 WAWA
9 AMOU
10 OGOU
11 SOTOUBOUA
12 NYALA
13 TCHAOÛDJO
14 BASSAR
15 ASSOLI
16 KOZAH
17 BINAH
18 DOUFELGOU
19 KERAN
20 OTI
21 TÔNE

Figure A.4: Map of the Niger

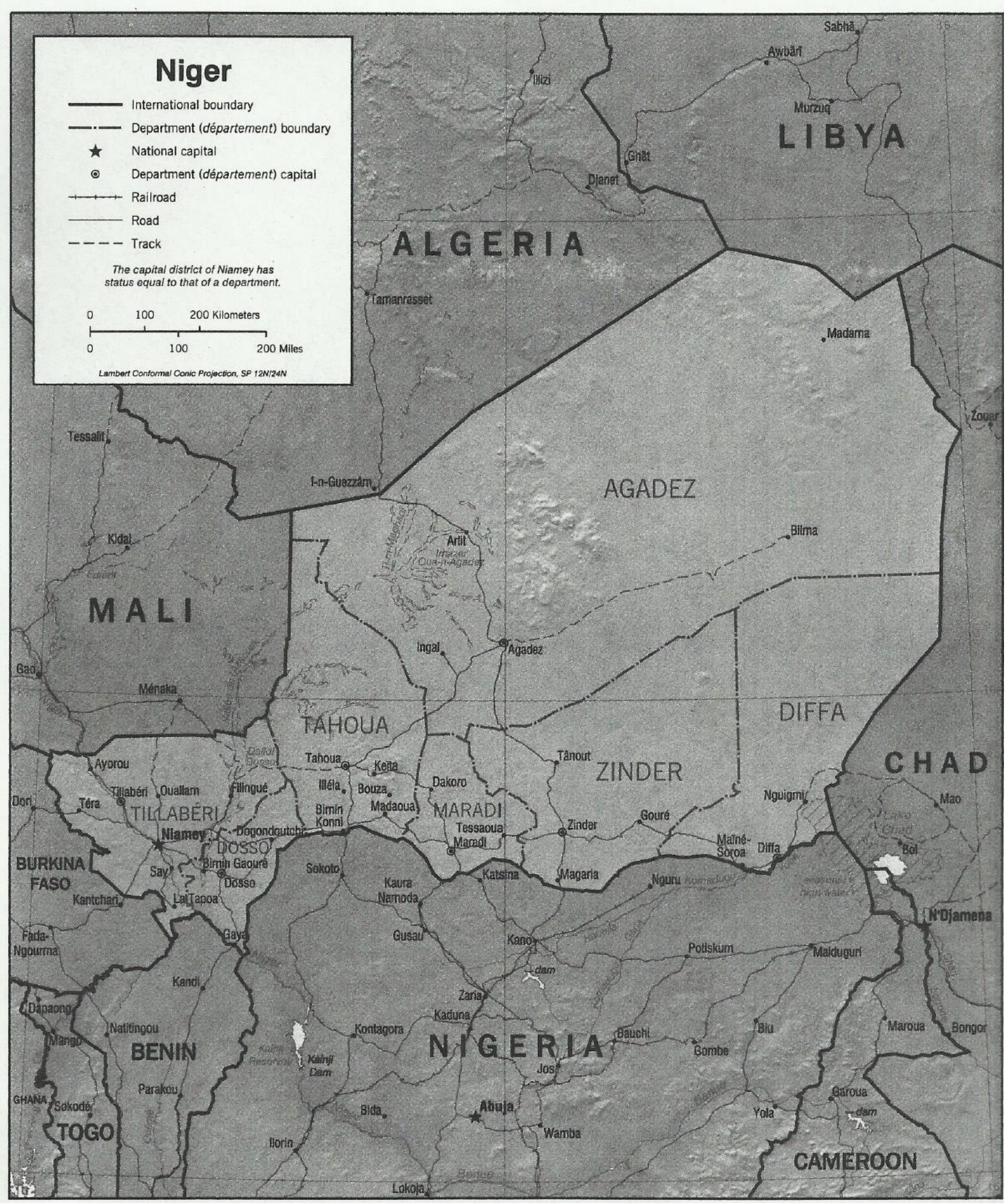
Niger
International boundary
Department (*département*) boundary
National capital
Department (*département*) capital
Railroad
Road
Track
The capital district of Niamey has status equal to that of a department.
0 100 200 Kilometers
0 100 200 Miles
Lambert Conformal Conic Projection, SP 12N/24N
ALGERIA
LIBYA
MALI
CHAD
NIGERIA
BENIN
BURKINA FASO
TOGO
CAMEROON
GHANA
AGADEZ
TAHOUA
TILLABÉRI
DOSSO
MARADI
ZINDER
DIFFA
Niamey
Agadez
Arlit
Ingal
Bilma
Madama
Tahoua
Zinder
Maradi
Dosso
Diffa
Tillabéri
Sabhā
Awbārī
Murzuq
Illizi
Ghāt
Djanet
Tamanrasset
I-n-Guezzām
Tessalit
Kidal
Gao
Ménaka
Ayorou
Ouallam
Filingué
Téra
Dori
Say
Kantchari
Fada-Ngourma
Gaya
Birnin Gaouré
Dogondoutchi
Birnin Konni
Illéla
Keita
Bouza
Madaoua
Dakoro
Tessaoua
Tânout
Gouré
Nguigmi
Mainé-Soroa
Magaria
Katsina
Sokoto
Kaura Namoda
Gusau
Kano
Nguru
Potiskum
Maiduguri
Zaria
Kaduna
Bauchi
Gombe
Jos
Abuja
Bida
Kontagora
Kainji Dam
Ilorin
Lokoja
Wamba
Yola
Garoua
Biu
Maroua
Bongor
N'Djamena
Mao
Bol
Zouar
Kandi
Natitingou
Parakou
Dapaong
Mango
Sokodé
Lake Chad
dam

Figure A.5: Map of Mali

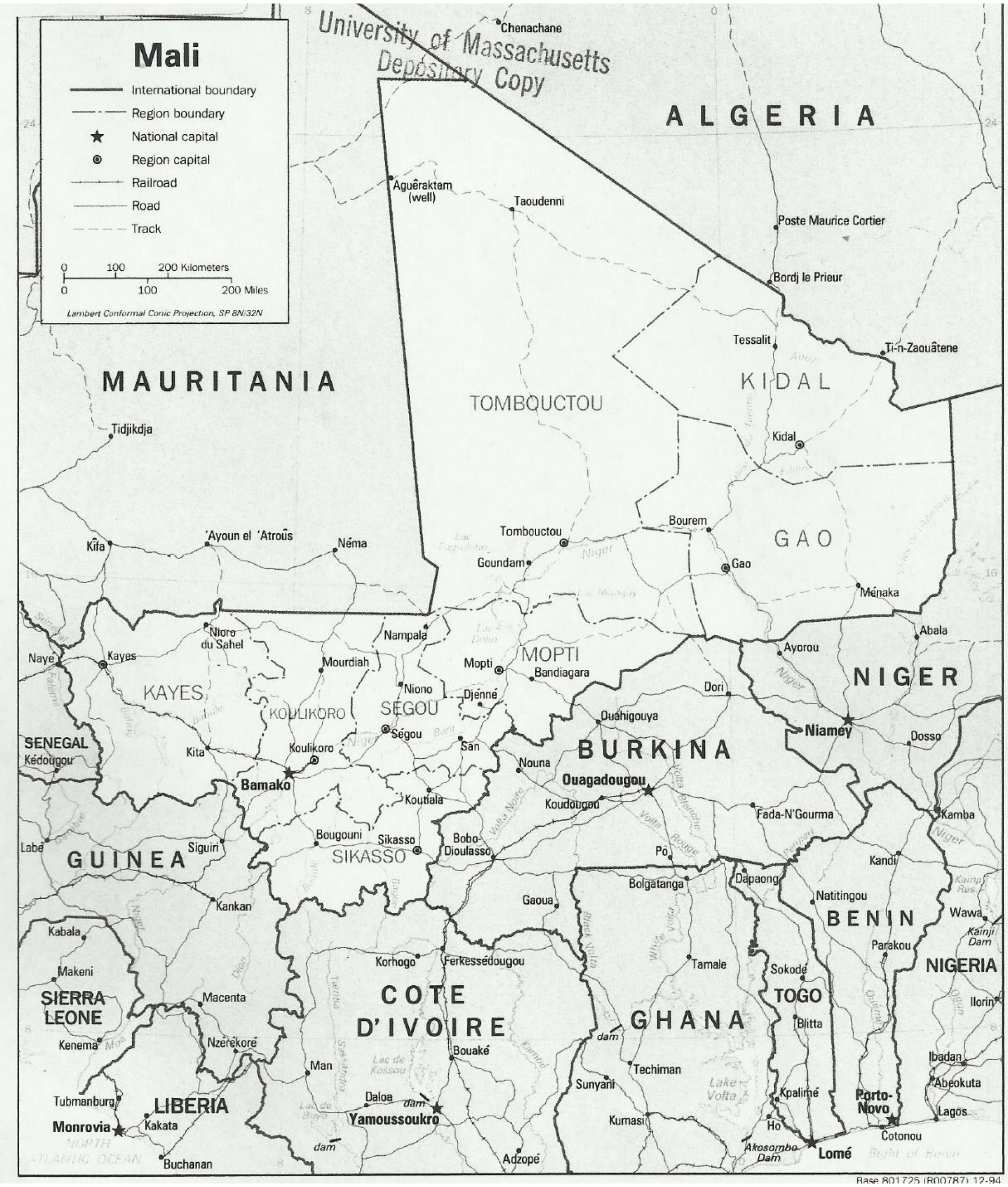
Mali
International boundary
Region boundary
National capital
Region capital
Railroad
Road
Track
0 100 200 Kilometers
0 100 200 Miles
Lambert Conformal Conic Projection, SP 8N/32N
Chenachane
ALGERIA
Aguêraktam (well)
Taoudenni
Poste Maurice Cortier
Bordj le Prieur
Tessalit
Ti-n-Zaouâtene
KIDAL
MAURITANIA
TOMBOUCTOU
Tidjikdja
Kidal
Bourem
GAO
Tombouctou
Kîfa
'Ayoun el 'Atroûs
Néma
Goundam
Niger
Gao
Ménaka
Nioro du Sahel
Nampala
Naye
Kayes
Mopti
MOPTI
Bandiagara
Mourdiah
Abala
Ayorou
NIGER
KAYES
Niono
Djenné
Dori
KOULIKORO
SEGOU
Ouahigouya
Niamey
Dosso
SENEGAL
Kédougou
Ségou
Kita
Koulikoro
San
BURKINA
Nouna
Ouagadougou
Bamako
Koudougou
Koutiala
Fada-N'Gourma
Kamba
Labé
GUINEA
Siguiri
Bougouni
Sikasso
SIKASSO
Bobo-Dioulasso
Pô
Kandi
Bolgatanga
Dapaong
Natitingou
Kankan
Gaoua
BENIN
Wawa
Kainji Dam
Kabala
Parakou
NIGERIA
Makeni
Korhogo
Ferkessédougou
Tamale
Sokodé
SIERRA LEONE
Macenta
COTE D'IVOIRE
TOGO
Ilorin
GHANA
Kenema
Nzérékoré
Bouaké
Blitta
Man
Techiman
Ibadan
Sunyani
Abeokuta
Kpalimé
Tubmanburg
LIBERIA
Daloa
Porto-Novo
Lagos
Monrovia
Kakata
Yamoussoukro
Kumasi
Ho
Cotonou
NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
Buchanan
Adzopé
Akosombo Dam
Lomé
Bight of Benin
Base 801725 (R00787) 12-94

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Figure A.6: Map of Guinea

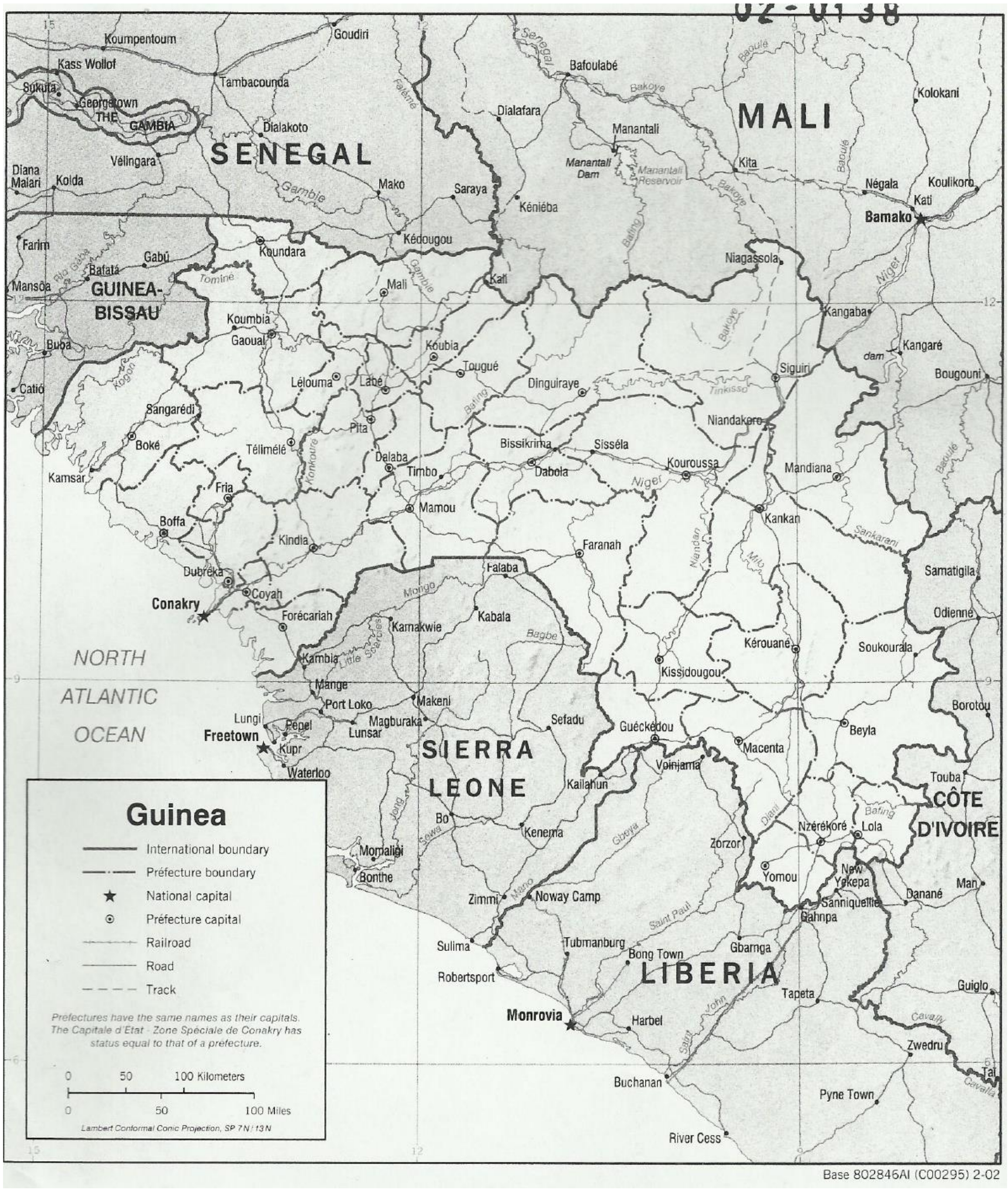

Guinea
International boundary
Préfecture boundary
National capital
Préfecture capital
Railroad
Road
Track
Prefectures have the same names as their capitals. The Capitale d'Etat - Zone Spéciale de Conakry has status equal to that of a préfecture.
0 50 100 Kilometers
0 50 100 Miles
Lambert Conformal Conic Projection, SP 7 N / 13 N
SENEGAL
MALI
GUINEA-BISSAU
THE GAMBIA
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
CÔTE D'IVOIRE
NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
Conakry
Freetown
Monrovia
Bamako
Koumpentoum
Kass Wollof
Sukuta
Georgetown
Tambacounda
Goudiri
Dialakoto
Vélingara
Diana Malari
Kolda
Mako
Saraya
Kédougou
Dialafara
Bafoulabé
Manantali
Manantali Dam
Manantali Reservoir
Kéniéba
Kita
Kolokani
Négala
Koulikoro
Kati
Niagassola
Kangaba
Kangaré
Bougouni
Siguiri
Niandakoro
Mandiana
Kankan
Samatigila
Odienné
Soukourala
Borotou
Beyla
Touba
Man
Danané
Guiglo
Zwedru
Tai
Pyne Town
River Cess
Buchanan
Harbel
Tapeta
Gbarnga
Bong Town
Tubmanburg
Robertsport
Sulima
Zimmi
Noway Camp
Ganta
Sanniquellie
Yekepa
Yomou
Zorzor
Nzérékoré
Lola
Macenta
Voinjama
Guéckédou
Kailahun
Kenema
Bo
Bonthe
Mattru
Sefadu
Kissidougou
Kérouané
Faranah
Falaba
Kabala
Kamakwie
Makeni
Magburaka
Lunsar
Port Loko
Mange
Kambia
Lungi
Pepel
Kupr
Waterloo
Forécariah
Coyah
Dubréka
Kindia
Boffa
Fria
Kamsar
Boké
Sangarédi
Télimélé
Pita
Dalaba
Timbo
Mamou
Labé
Lélouma
Gaoual
Koumbia
Koundara
Mali
Kali
Koubia
Tougué
Dinguiraye
Bissikrima
Dabola
Sisséla
Kouroussa
Farim
Gabú
Bafatá
Mansôa
Buba
Catió
Senegal
Gambie
Falémé
Bakoye
Bafing
Baoulé
Niger
Tinkisso
Milo
Niandan
Sankarani
Mongo
Bagbe
Little Scarcies
Konkouré
Kogon
Tominé
Rio Gêba
Jong
Sewa
Mano
Gbeya
Saint Paul
Saint John
Cavally
Dijali
Base 802846AI (C00295) 2-02

Figure A.7: Map of Upper Volta

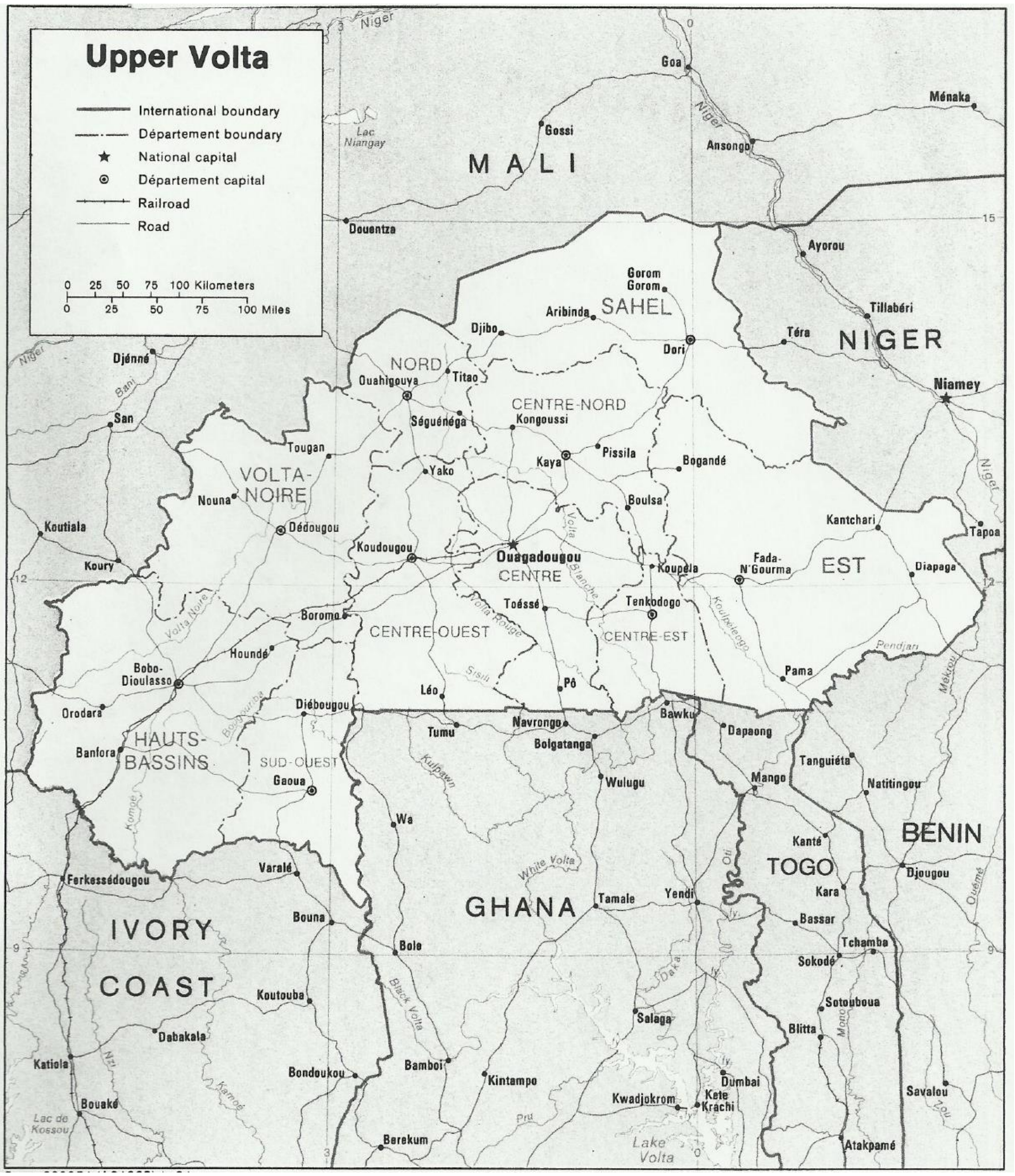

Upper Volta
International boundary
Département boundary
National capital
Département capital
Railroad
Road
0 25 50 75 100 Kilometers
0 25 50 75 100 Miles
MALI
NIGER
BENIN
TOGO
GHANA
IVORY COAST
NORD
SAHEL
CENTRE-NORD
VOLTA-NOIRE
CENTRE
CENTRE-OUEST
CENTRE-EST
EST
HAUTS-BASSINS
SUD-OUEST
Niger
Lac Niangay
Goa
Ménaka
Gossi
Ansongo
Douentza
Ayorou
Gorom Gorom
Aribinda
Djibo
Tillabéri
Téra
Dori
Niamey
Djénné
Bani
San
Ouahigouya
Titao
Séguénéga
Kongoussi
Tougan
Yako
Kaya
Pissila
Bogandé
Nouna
Boulsa
Koutiala
Dédougou
Kantchari
Tapoa
Koury
Koudougou
Ouagadougou
Koupéla
Fada-N'Gourma
Diapaga
Volta Blanche
Volta Noire
Volta Rouge
Boromo
Toéssé
Tenkodogo
Koulpélogo
Pendjari
Houndé
Bobo-Dioulasso
Sissili
Pama
Mékrou
Léo
Pô
Orodara
Bougouriba
Diébougou
Bawku
Tumu
Navrongo
Dapaong
Bolgatanga
Banfora
Gaoua
Kulpawn
Tanguiéta
Mango
Wulugu
Natitingou
Wa
Komoé
Kanté
Djougou
White Volta
Oti
Varalé
Ferkessédougou
Tamale
Yendi
Kara
Ouémé
Bouna
Bassar
Bole
Tchamba
Sokodé
Daka
Koutouba
Black Volta
Sotouboua
Dabakala
Mono
Salaga
Blitta
Katiola
Nzi
Bamboi
Kintampo
Bondoukou
Dumbai
Savalou
Zou
Kamoé
Kwadjokrom
Kete Krachi
Bouaké
Lac de Kossou
Pru
Berekum
Atakpamé
Lake Volta
15
12
9
0
3

Figure A.8: Map of Senegal

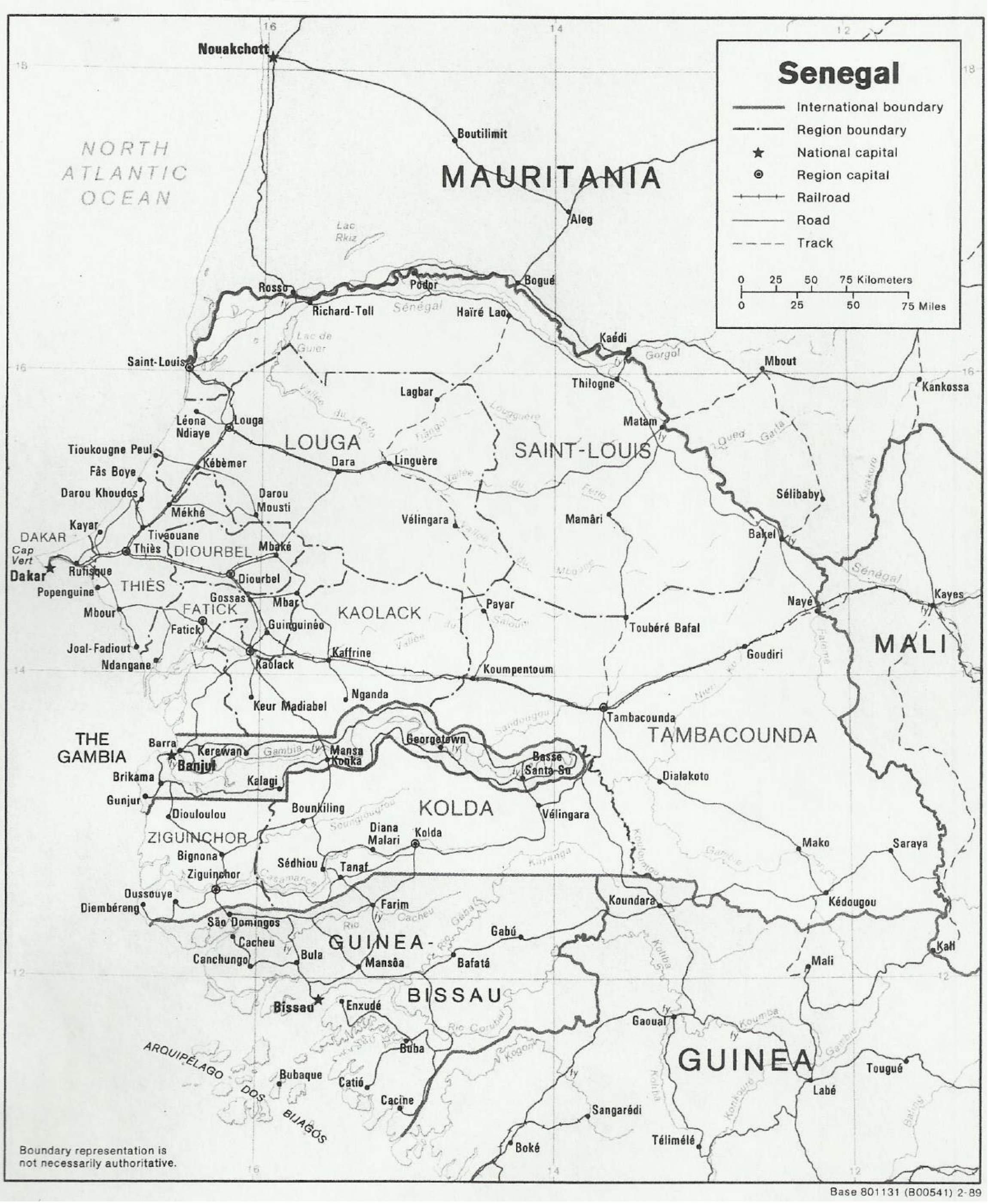

Senegal
International boundary
Region boundary
National capital
Region capital
Railroad
Road
Track
0 25 50 75 Kilometers
0 25 50 75 Miles
NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
MAURITANIA
Nouakchott
Boutilimit
Aleg
Lac Rkiz
Rosso
Richard-Toll
Podor
Bogué
Haïré Lao
Sénégal
Kaédi
Gorgol
Thilogne
Mbout
Kankossa
Saint-Louis
Lac de Guier
Lagbar
Louga
Léona Ndiaye
LOUGA
Dara
Linguère
SAINT-LOUIS
Matam
Tioukougne Peul
Kébèmer
Fâs Boye
Darou Khoudos
Darou Mousti
Sélibaby
Mékhé
Vélingara
Mamâri
Kayar
Tivaouane
Bakel
DAKAR
Cap Vert
Dakar
Thiès
DIOURBEL
Mbaké
Rufisque
Diourbel
Popenguine
THIÈS
Gossas
Mbar
FATICK
KAOLACK
Payar
Naye
Kayes
Mbour
Fatick
Guinguinéo
Toubéré Bafal
Joal-Fadiout
Kaffrine
Goudiri
MALI
Ndangane
Kaolack
Koumpentoum
Nganda
Keur Madiabel
Tambacounda
THE GAMBIA
Barra
Kerewan
Banjul
Mansa Konka
Georgetown
TAMBACOUNDA
Brikama
Kalagi
Basse Santa Su
Gunjur
Dialakoto
Diouloulou
Bounkiling
KOLDA
Vélingara
ZIGUINCHOR
Diana Malari
Kolda
Bignona
Mako
Saraya
Sédhiou
Ziguinchor
Tanaf
Oussouye
Diembéreng
Koundara
Kédougou
Farim
São Domingos
Cacheu
GUINEA-BISSAU
Gabú
Canchungo
Bula
Mansôa
Bafatá
Kali
Mali
Bissau
Enxudé
Gaoual
ARQUIPÉLAGO DOS BIJAGÓS
Buba
GUINEA
Tougué
Bubaque
Catió
Labé
Cacine
Sangarédi
Boké
Télimélé
Boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.
Base 801131 (B00541) 2-89

Figure A.9: Map of Sierra Leone

UMASS/AMHERST
Sierra Leone, Base 803102AI (C00986),
PREX 3.10/4:SI 1/3
3 3206 600018077 8
G
8860
2005
.U5
University of Massachusetts
Depository Copy

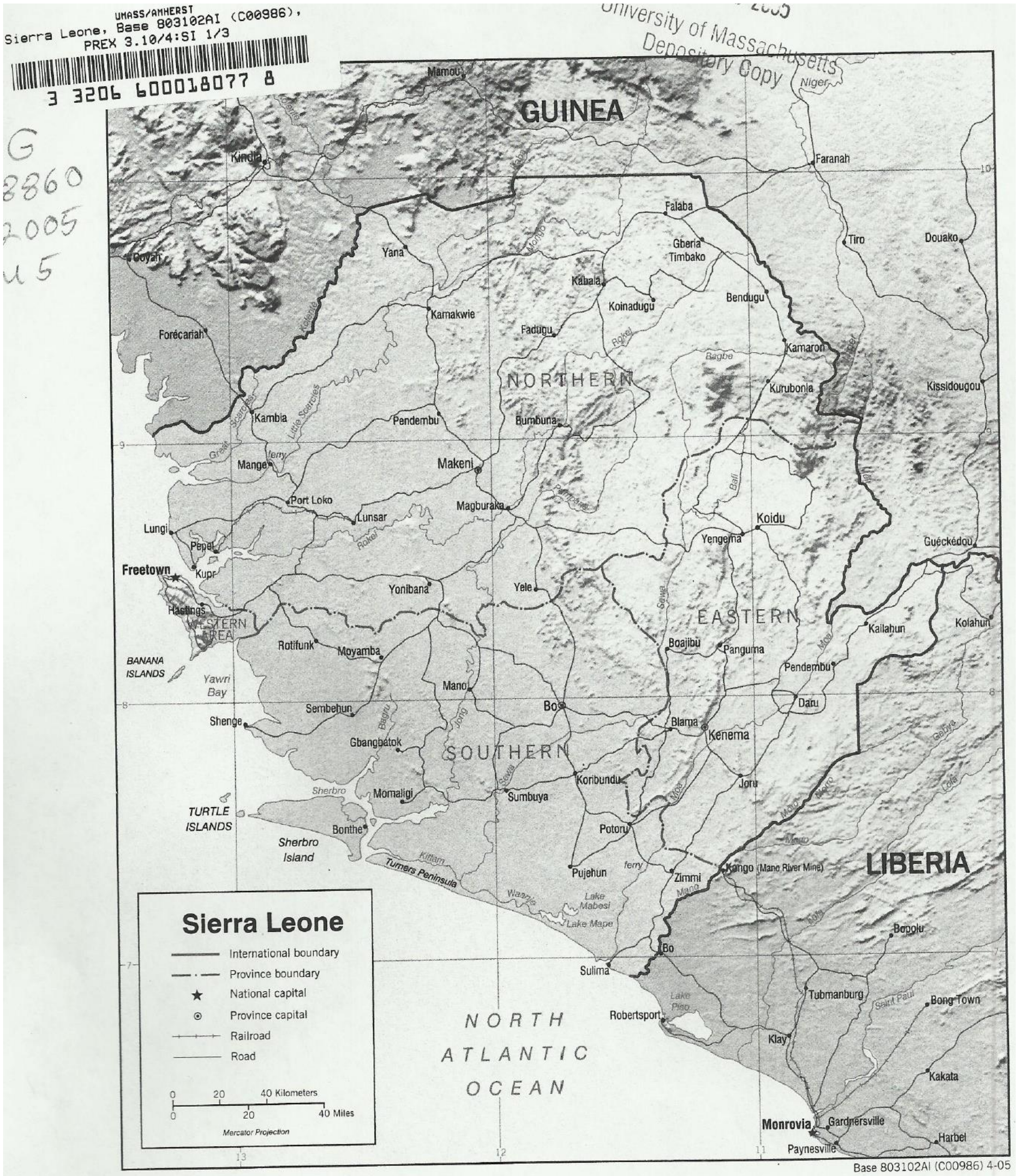
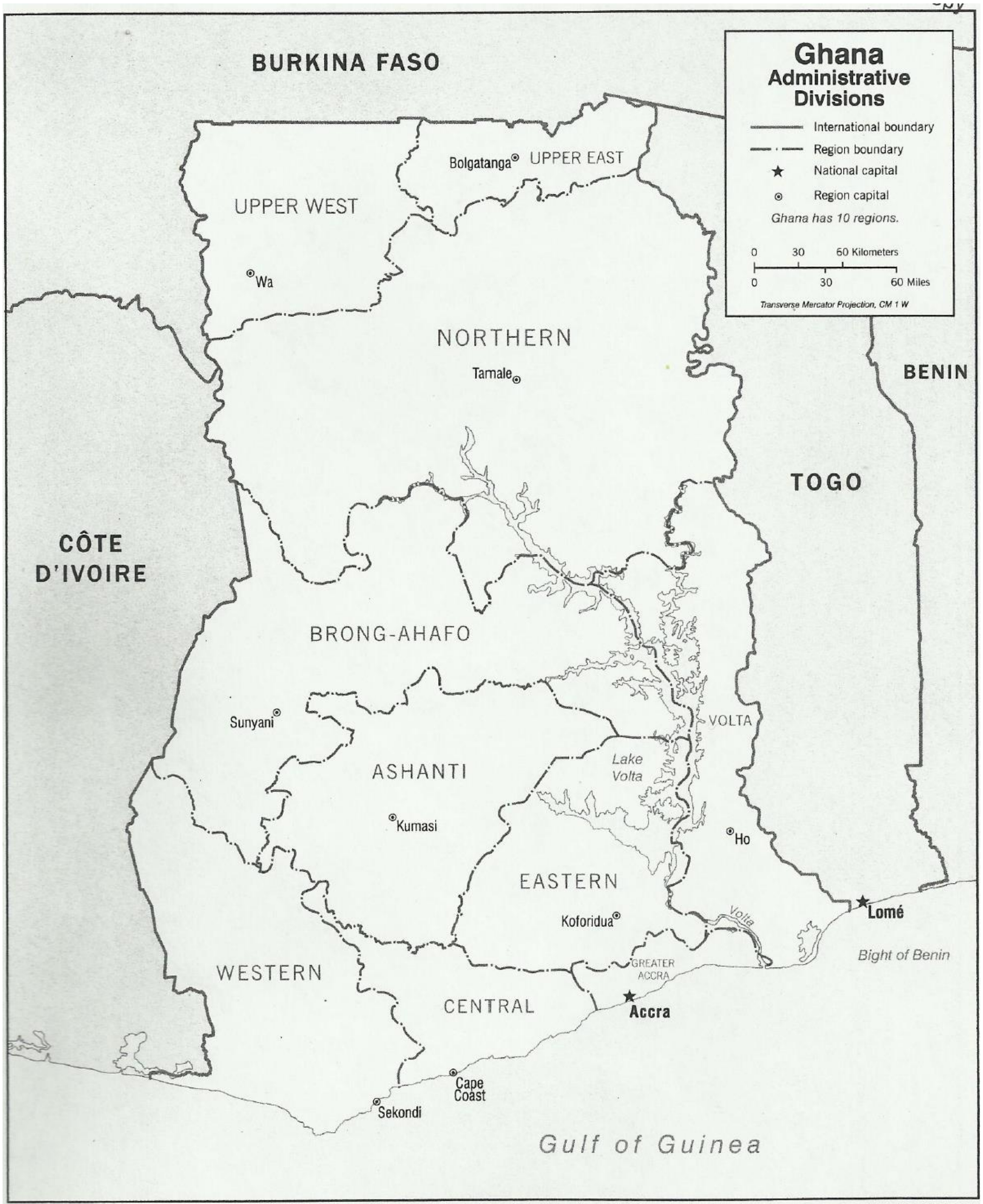
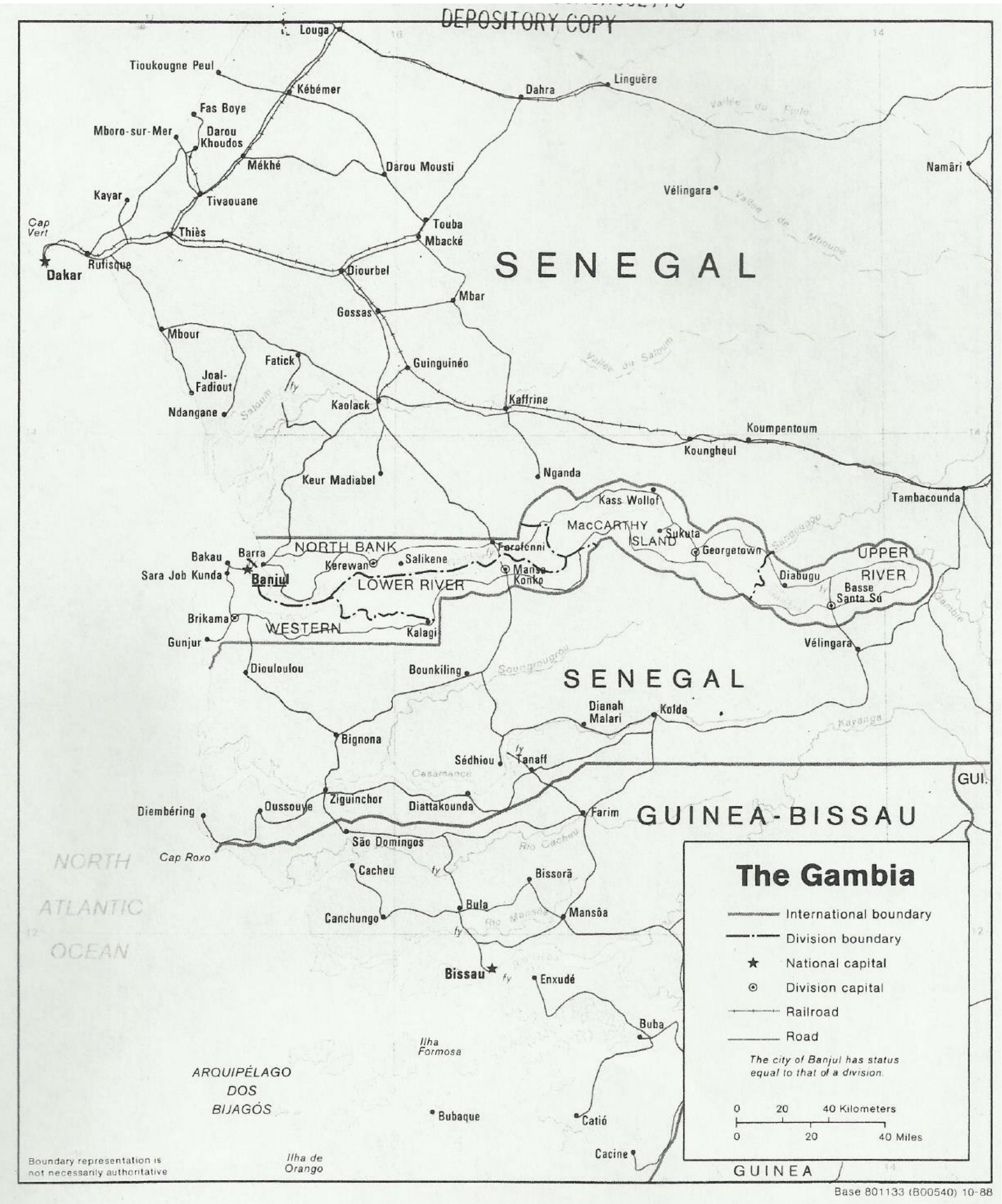

GUINEA
LIBERIA
NORTHERN
EASTERN
SOUTHERN
WESTERN AREA
NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
Freetown
Makeni
Bo
Kenema
Koidu
Mamou
Kindia
Coyah
Forécariah
Faranah
Tiro
Douako
Kissidougou
Guéckédou
Kolahun
Kailahun
Falaba
Gberia Timbako
Kabala
Koinadugu
Bendugu
Fadugu
Kamaron
Kurubonla
Yana
Kamakwie
Kambia
Pendembu
Bumbuna
Mange
Port Loko
Lunsar
Magburaka
Lungi
Pepel
Kupr
Hastings
Yonibana
Yele
Yengema
Bajibu
Panguma
Pendembu
Daru
Rotifunk
Moyamba
Mano
Sembehun
Shenge
Gbangbatok
Blama
Joru
Koribundu
Sumbuya
Momaligi
Bonthe
Potoru
Pujehun
Zimmi
Kongo (Mano River Mine)
Sulima
Bo
Bopolu
Tubmanburg
Robertsport
Klay
Bong Town
Kakata
Monrovia
Gardnersville
Harbel
Paynesville
BANANA ISLANDS
Yawri Bay
TURTLE ISLANDS
Sherbro Island
Turners Peninsula
Lake Mabesi
Lake Mape
Lake Piso
Niger
Sewa
Moa
Mano
Rokel
Bagbe
Mongo
Kolente
Great Scarcies
Little Scarcies
Jong
Bagru
Waanje
Kittam
Sherbro
Saint Paul
Lofa
Gbeya
Mafa
Bafi
ferry
Sierra Leone
International boundary
Province boundary
National capital
Province capital
Railroad
Road
0 20 40 Kilometers
0 20 40 Miles
Mercator Projection
Base 803102AI (C00986) 4-05

Figure A.10: Map of Ghana's Administrative Divisions


Ghana
Administrative
Divisions
International boundary
Region boundary
National capital
Region capital
Ghana has 10 regions.
0
30
60 Kilometers
0
30
60 Miles
Transverse Mercator Projection, CM 1 W
BURKINA FASO
UPPER EAST
Bolgatanga
UPPER WEST
Wa
NORTHERN
Tamale
BENIN
TOGO
CÔTE
D'IVOIRE
BRONG-AHAFO
Sunyani
VOLTA
Lake
Volta
ASHANTI
Kumasi
Ho
EASTERN
Koforidua
Volta
Lomé
Bight of Benin
GREATER
ACCRA
Accra
WESTERN
CENTRAL
Cape
Coast
Sekondi
Gulf of Guinea

Base 803238AI (G00183) 5-07

Figure A.11: Map of The Gambia


DEPOSITORY COPY
SENEGAL
Louga
Tioukougne Peul
Kébémer
Dahra
Linguère
Fas Boye
Mboro-sur-Mer
Darou Khoudos
Mékhé
Darou Mousti
Namâri
Vélingara
Kayar
Tivaouane
Cap Vert
Thiès
Touba
Mbacké
Dakar
Rufisque
Diourbel
Mbar
Gossas
Mbour
Fatick
Guinguinéo
Joal-Fadiout
Kaolack
Kaffrine
Ndangane
Koumpentoum
Koungheul
Keur Madiabel
Nganda
Kass Wollof
Tambacounda
MacCARTHY ISLAND
Sukuta
Georgetown
NORTH BANK
Barra
Bakau
Sara Job Kunda
Banjul
Kerewan
Salikene
Farafenni
Mansa Konko
LOWER RIVER
UPPER RIVER
Diabugu
Basse Santa Su
Brikama
WESTERN
Kalagi
Gunjur
Vélingara
Diouloulou
Bounkiling
SENEGAL
Dianah Malari
Kolda
Bignona
Sédhiou
Tanaff
GUI.
Diembéring
Oussouye
Ziguinchor
Diattakounda
Farim
GUINEA-BISSAU
São Domingos
Cap Roxo
NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
Cacheu
Bissorã
Canchungo
Bula
Mansôa
Bissau
Enxudé
Buba
Ilha Formosa
ARQUIPÉLAGO DOS BIJAGÓS
Bubaque
Catió
Cacine
Ilha de Orango
GUINEA
Boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative
The Gambia
International boundary
Division boundary
★ National capital
⊙ Division capital
Railroad
Road
The city of Banjul has status equal to that of a division.
0 20 40 Kilometers
0 20 40 Miles
Base 801133 (B00540) 10-88

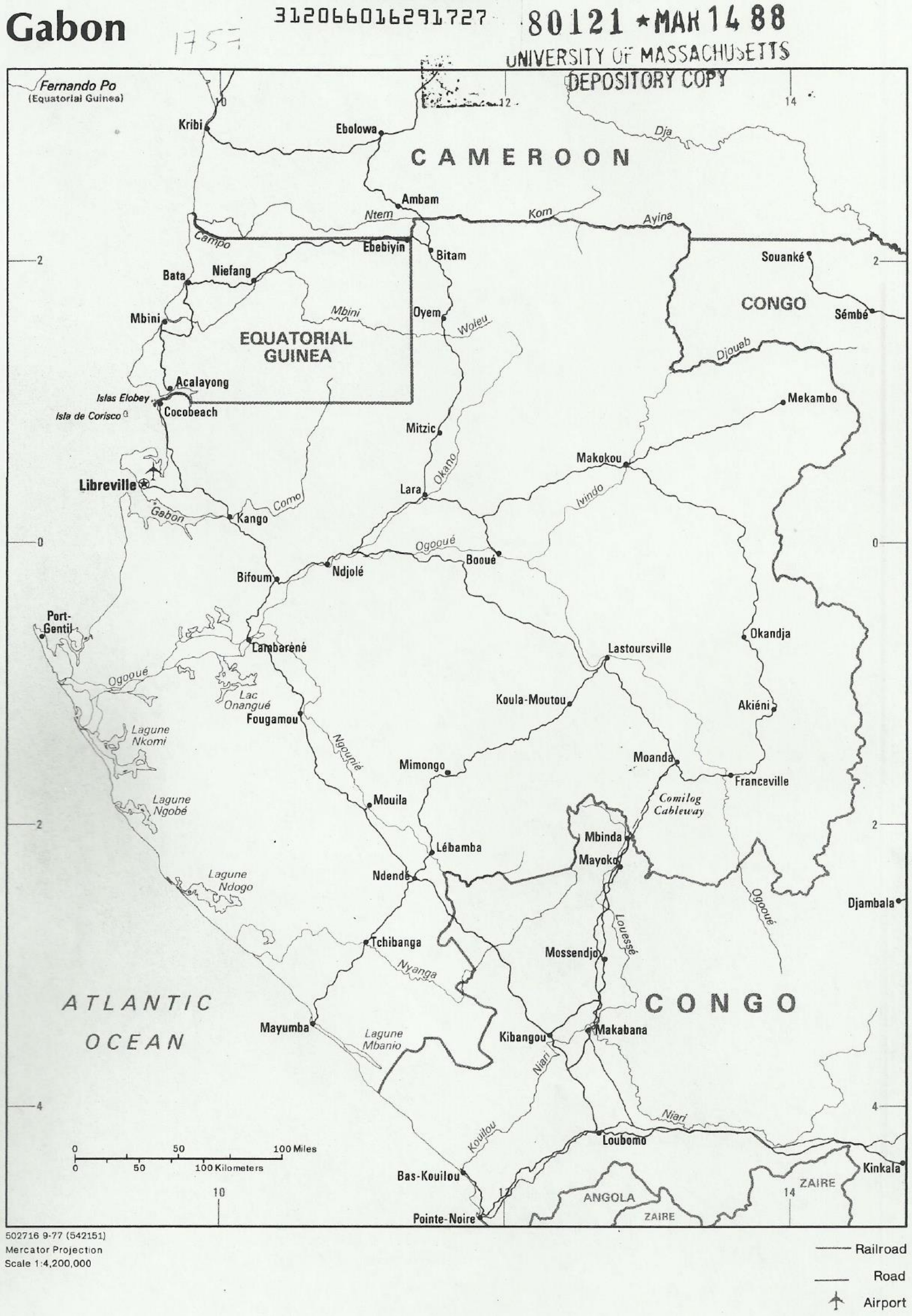

Gabon
312066016291727
80121 *MAR 14 88
UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
DEPOSITORY COPY
Fernando Po
(Equatorial Guinea)
Kribi
Ebolowa
CAMEROON
Dja
Ambam
Ntem
Kom
Ayina
Campo
Ebebiyin
Bitam
Souanké
Bata
Niefang
CONGO
Sémbé
Mbini
Mbini
Oyem
Woleu
EQUATORIAL GUINEA
Djouah
Acalayong
Islas Elobey
Isla de Corisco
Cocobeach
Mekambo
Mitzic
Makokou
Libreville
Lara
Okano
Ivindo
Gabon
Kango
Como
Ogooué
Booué
Ndjolé
Bifoum
Port-Gentil
Lambaréné
Okandja
Lastoursville
Ogooué
Lac Onangué
Koula-Moutou
Akiéni
Fougamou
Lagune Nkomi
Ngounié
Moanda
Mimongo
Franceville
Comilog Cableway
Mouila
Lagune Ngobé
Mbinda
Lébamba
Mayoko
Lagune Ndogo
Ndendé
Ogooué
Djambala
Louessé
Tchibanga
Mossendjo
Nyanga
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CONGO
Mayumba
Lagune Mbanio
Kibangou
Makabana
Niari
Niari
Kouilou
Loubomo
Bas-Kouilou
Kinkala
ZAIRE
ANGOLA
ZAIRE
Pointe-Noire
0 50 100 Miles
0 50 100 Kilometers
10
12
14
2
0
2
4
502716 9-77 (542151)
Mercator Projection
Scale 1:4,200,000
Railroad
Road
Airport

Figure A.12: Map of Gabon

APPENDIX B

MAPS OF UNITED STATES CENSUS TRACTS

Figure B.1: Percentage of Population Distribution Change by State

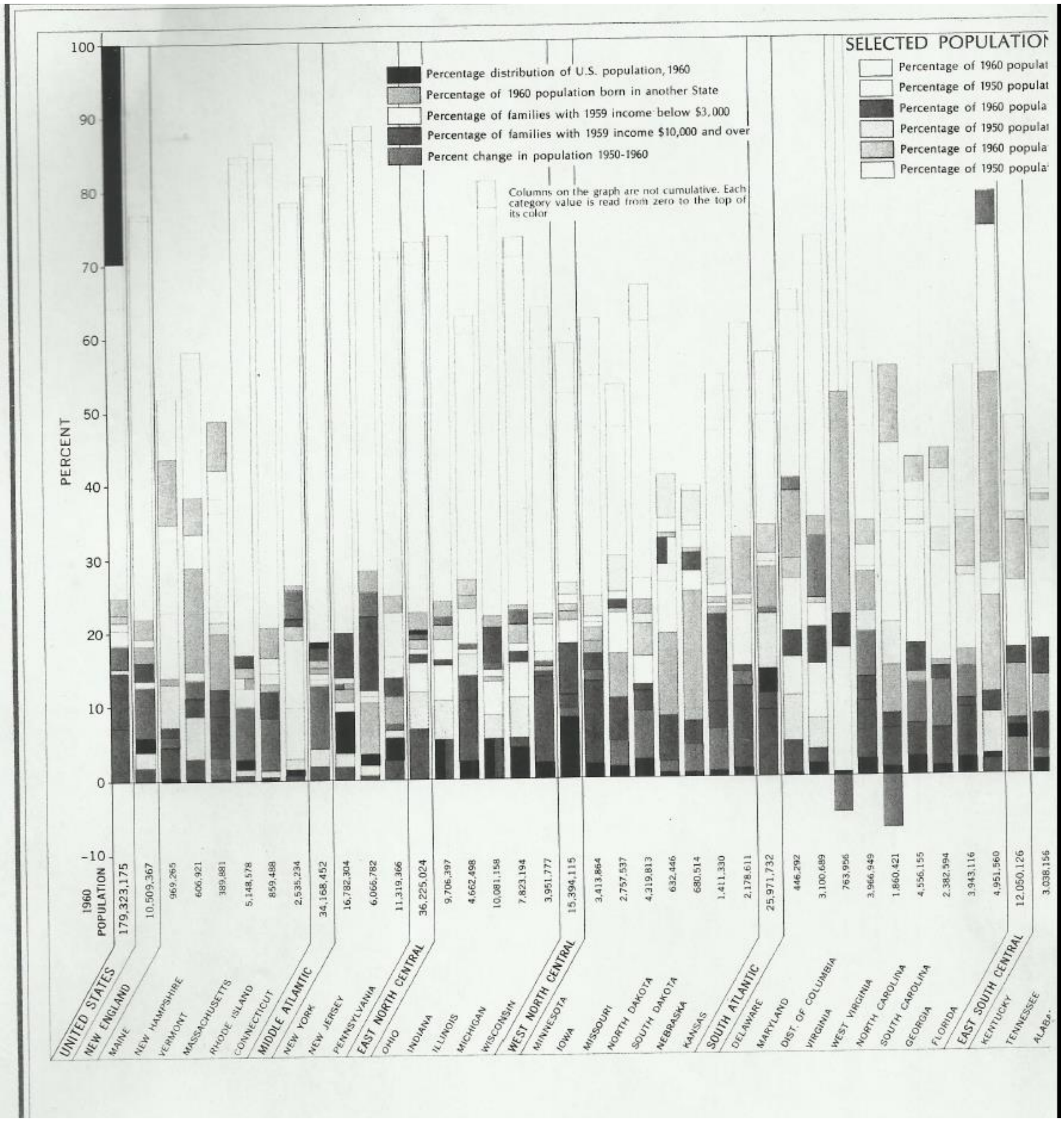
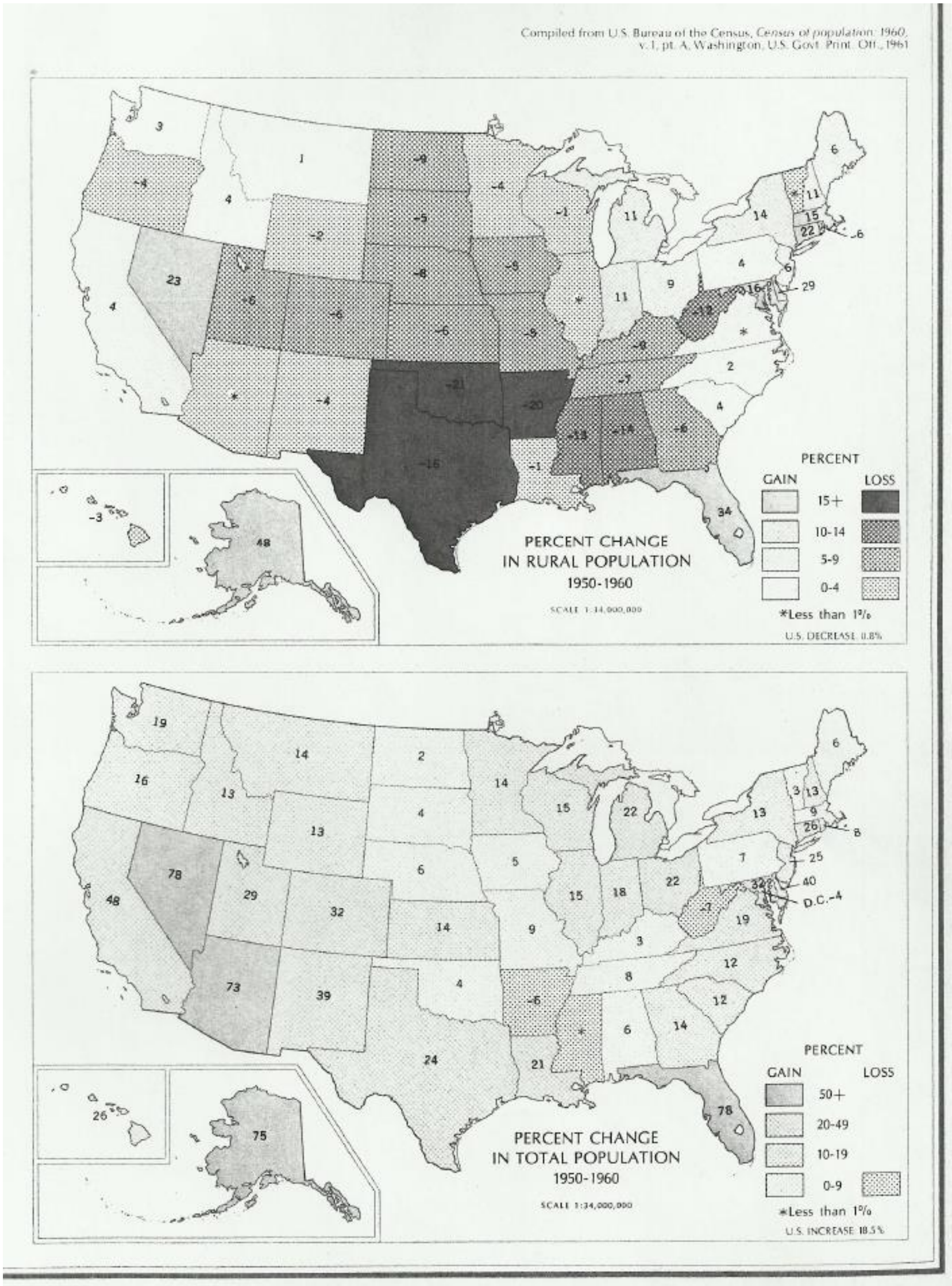


Figure B.2: Percent Change in Rural and Total Population 1950-1960



Compiled from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of population: 1960*, v. 1, pt. A, Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1961

PERCENT CHANGE IN RURAL POPULATION 1950-1960

SCALE 1:34,000,000

U.S. DECREASE 0.8%

PERCENT CHANGE IN TOTAL POPULATION 1950-1960

SCALE 1:34,000,000

U.S. INCREASE 18.5%

PERCENT
GAIN
LOSS
15+
10-14
5-9
0-4
*Less than 1%
3
-4
4
1
-8
-2
-9
-4
-1
11
14
6
*
11
15
22
-6
23
-6
-6
-8
-8
-9
*
11
9
4
16
29
-12
4
-6
-9
-8
*
-7
2
*
-4
-21
-20
4
-13
-14
-6
-16
-1
34
-3
48
PERCENT
GAIN
LOSS
50+
20-49
10-19
0-9
*Less than 1%
19
16
14
2
14
13
6
3
13
4
15
22
13
9
26
8
13
78
6
5
7
25
48
29
32
15
18
22
32
40
D.C.-4
-7
19
14
9
3
12
73
39
4
-6
8
12
*
6
14
24
21
78
26
75

Figure B.3: Comparison of Population Change Between 1940-1950 and 1950-1960

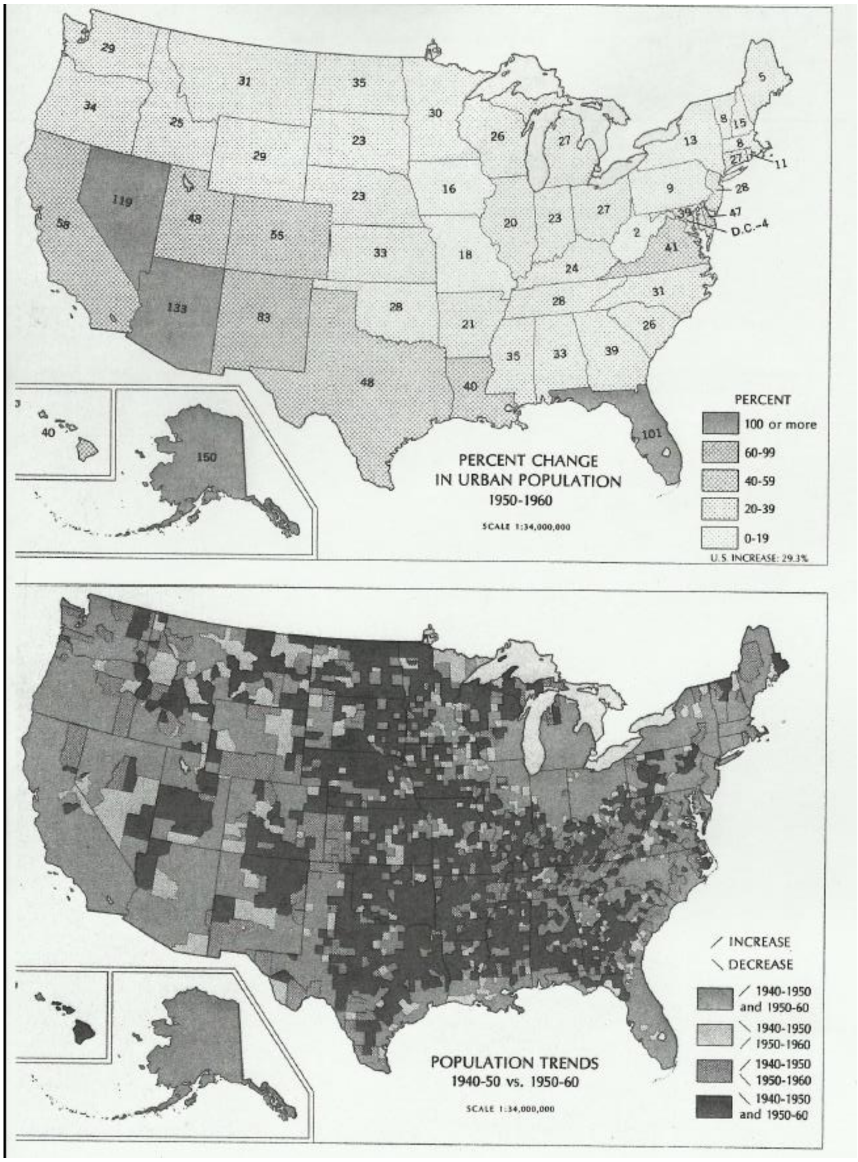
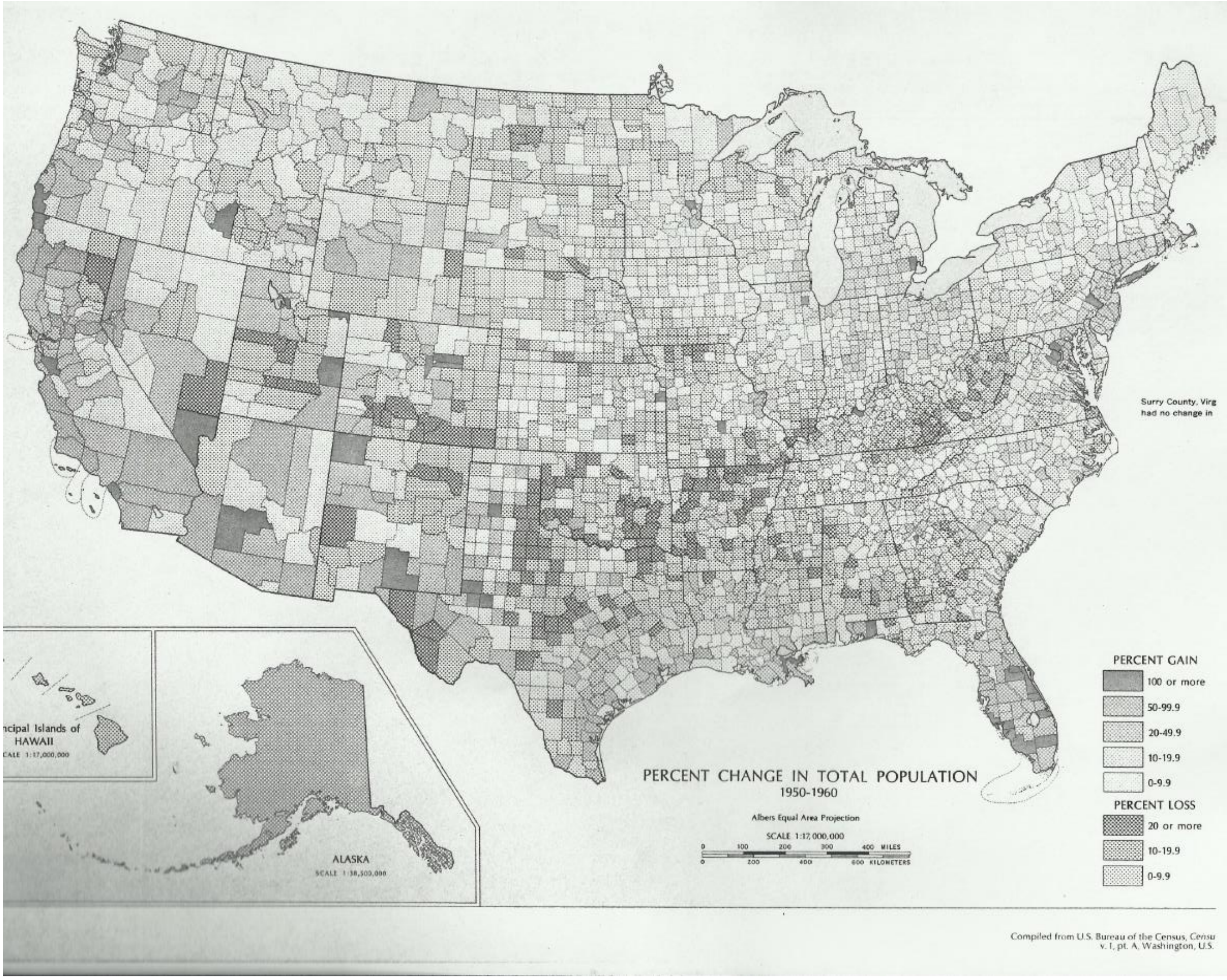
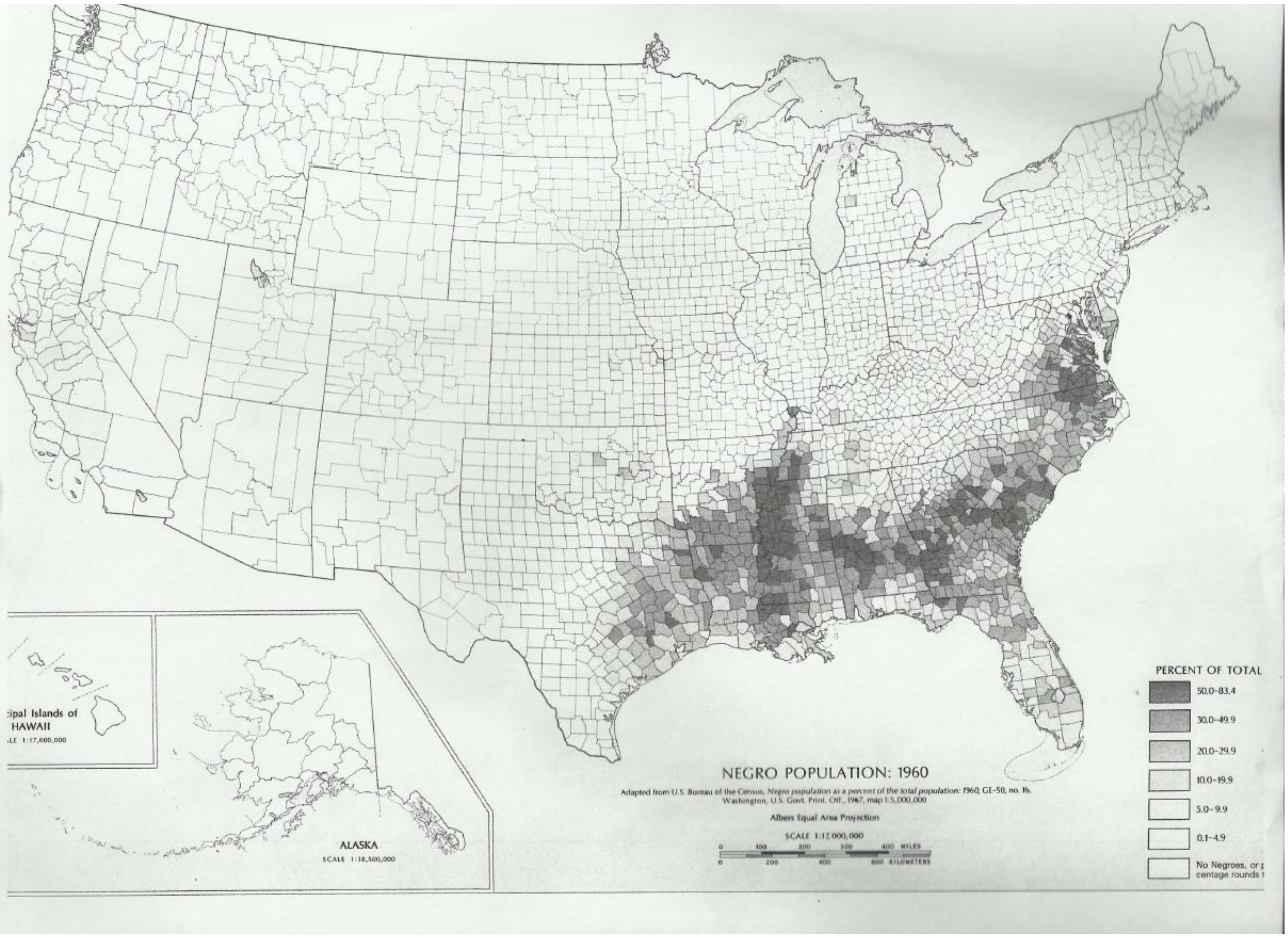

PERCENT CHANGE
IN URBAN POPULATION
1950-1960
SCALE 1:34,000,000
PERCENT
100 or more
60-99
40-59
20-39
0-19
U.S. INCREASE: 29.3%
29
34
31
35
25
30
26
27
13
5
8
15
8
27
11
28
47
D.C.-4
119
58
43
55
29
23
23
16
20
23
27
9
39
2
41
33
18
24
133
83
28
21
28
31
26
35
33
39
48
40
101
40
150
/ INCREASE
\ DECREASE
/ 1940-1950 and 1950-60
\ 1940-1950 / 1950-1960
/ 1940-1950 \ 1950-1960
\ 1940-1950 and 1950-60
POPULATION TRENDS
1940-50 vs. 1950-60
SCALE 1:34,000,000

Figure B.4: Percent of Change in Total Population 1950-1960


Surry County, Virg
had no change in
ncipal Islands of
HAWAII
CALE 1:17,000,000
ALASKA
SCALE 1:38,500,000
PERCENT CHANGE IN TOTAL POPULATION
1950-1960
Albers Equal Area Projection
SCALE 1:17,000,000
0 100 200 300 400 MILES
0 200 400 600 KILOMETERS
PERCENT GAIN
100 or more
50-99.9
20-49.9
10-19.9
0-9.9
PERCENT LOSS
20 or more
10-19.9
0-9.9

Compiled from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Censu
v. I, pt. A, Washington, U.S.

Figure B.5: Percent of Change in Black Population 1950-1960



ipal Islands of
HAWAII
LE 1:17,000,000
ALASKA
SCALE 1:38,500,000
NEGRO POPULATION: 1960
Adapted from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Negro population as a percent of the total population: 1960, GE-50, no. 16.
Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1967, map 1:5,000,000
Albers Equal Area Projection
SCALE 1:17,000,000
0
100
200
300
400 MILES
0
200
400
600 KILOMETERS
PERCENT OF TOTAL
50.0-83.4
30.0-49.9
20.0-29.9
10.0-19.9
5.0-9.9
0.1-4.9
No Negroes, or
centage rounds

APPENDIX C

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE PRINCIPLES

Figure C.1: Adopted Principles of Environmental Justice

Principles of Environmental Justice

Delegates to the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit held on October 24-27, 1991, in Washington DC, drafted and adopted 17 principles of Environmental Justice. Since then, *The Principles* have served as a defining document for the growing grassroots movement for environmental justice.

PREAMBLE

WE, THE PEOPLE OF COLOR, gathered together at this multinational People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, to begin to build a national and international movement of all peoples of color to fight the destruction and taking of our lands and communities, do hereby re-establish our spiritual interdependence to the sacredness of our Mother Earth; to respect and celebrate each of our cultures, languages and beliefs about the natural world and our roles in healing ourselves; to ensure environmental justice; to promote economic alternatives which would contribute to the development of environmentally safe livelihoods; and, to secure our political, economic and cultural liberation that has been denied for over 500 years of colonization and oppression, resulting in the poisoning of our communities and land and the genocide of our peoples, do affirm and adopt these Principles of Environmental Justice:

1) **Environmental Justice** affirms the sacredness of Mother Earth, ecological unity and the interdependence of all species, and the right to be free from ecological destruction.

2) **Environmental Justice** demands that public policy be based on mutual respect and justice for all peoples, free from any form of discrimination or bias.

3) **Environmental Justice** mandates the right to ethical, balanced and responsible uses of land and renewable resources in the interest of a sustainable planet for humans and other living things.

4) **Environmental Justice** calls for universal protection from nuclear testing, extraction, production and disposal of toxic/hazardous wastes and poisons and nuclear testing that threaten the fundamental right to clean air, land, water, and food.

5) **Environmental Justice** affirms the fundamental right to political, economic, cultural and environmental self-determination of all peoples.

6) **Environmental Justice** demands the cessation of the production of all toxins, hazardous wastes, and radioactive materials, and that all past and current producers be held strictly accountable to the people for detoxification and the containment at the point of production.

7) **Environmental Justice** demands the right to participate as equal partners at every level of decision-making, including needs assessment, planning, implementation, enforcement and evaluation.

8) **Environmental Justice** affirms the right of all workers to a safe and healthy work environment without being forced to choose between an unsafe livelihood and unemployment. It also affirms the right of those who work at home to be free from environmental hazards.

9) **Environmental Justice** protects the right of victims of environmental injustice to receive full compensation and reparations for damages as well as quality health care.

10) **Environmental Justice** considers governmental acts of environmental injustice a violation of international law, the Universal Declaration On Human Rights, and the United Nations Convention on Genocide.

11) **Environmental Justice** must recognize a special legal and natural relationship of Native Peoples to the U.S. government through treaties, agreements, compacts, and covenants affirming sovereignty and self-determination.

12) **Environmental Justice** affirms the need for urban and rural ecological policies to clean up and rebuild our cities and rural areas in balance with nature, honoring the cultural integrity of all our communities, and provided fair access for all to the full range of resources.

13) **Environmental Justice** calls for the strict enforcement of principles of informed consent, and a halt to the testing of experimental reproductive and medical procedures and vaccinations on people of color.

14) **Environmental Justice** opposes the destructive operations of multi-national corporations.

15) **Environmental Justice** opposes military occupation, repression and exploitation of lands, peoples and cultures, and other life forms.

16) **Environmental Justice** calls for the education of present and future generations which emphasizes social and environmental issues, based on our experience and an appreciation of our diverse cultural perspectives.

17) **Environmental Justice** requires that we, as individuals, make personal and consumer choices to consume as little of Mother Earth's resources and to produce as little waste as possible; and make the conscious decision to challenge and reprioritize our lifestyles to ensure the health of the natural world for present and future generations.

NOTES

Introduction

1. Carolyn Merchant, “Shades of Darkness: Race and Environmental History.” *Environmental History* 8, (2003): 380-383; Dorceta E. Taylor, “American Environmentalism: The Role of Race, Class and Gender in Shaping Activism, 1820-1995,” *Environmentalism & Race, Gender, Class Issues* 5, no. 1 (1997): pp.16-62.

2. Merchant, pp. 380-394; J.R. McNeill, “Observations on the Nature and the Culture of Environmental History,” *History and Theory* 42, no. 4 (2003): pp. 5-43.

3. Through their intellectual history, political activism, religious and cultural frames of reference, the perspectives of people of color helped shape the overall American landscape. Such an environmental stance that prescribes connection to nature, respect for natural resources and a resourceful used of products are major key elements that constitute the cosmological framework of communities of color throughout the African Diaspora and Native Americans. Prior to European colonization, these groups espoused and practiced strong beliefs that everything in the universe was connected and important to the overall health of the system. These groups did not take from nature more than they needed and allowed the land and everything within it the opportunity to replenish itself before they removed anything from it. Native Americans and Africans alike used every part of an animal that they killed. They would use the skin and fur of animals for warmth and clothing. The community would eat the animal’s meat. The bones and teeth were adornments and tools for hunting. Thus no part of the animal went to waste. Winona LaDuke, *All our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life* (Cambridge, South End, 1999), pp. 51 and 26; Rattray noted that the Ashanti prayed to the heavens and the trees in supplication for providing them with the wood necessary to build their drums. R.S. Rattray, *Religion & Art in Ashanti* (London: Oxford University, 1954), pp. 6; The connection in philosophy between these groups is evidenced by Chief Seattle when he asserted: “How can you buy or sell the sky, the warmth of the land? If we do not own the freshness of the air and the sparkle of the water, how can you buy them? The idea is strange to us…. Every part of this earth is sacred to my people. All things are connected. Whatever befalls the earth, befalls the sons of the earth….” Alan S. Miller, *Gaia: Connections: An Introduction to Ecology, Ecoethics, and Economics*, 2nd ed. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefied Publishers, 2003), pp. 14; This regard for nature contrasted the values and priorities of European colonizers. Environmentalists presented degrading and caricatured representations of people of color.

4. Mark Fiege, *The Republic of Nature: An Environmental History of the United States* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), pp. 318-357; Dorceta E. Taylor, “American Environmentalism: The Role of Race, Class and Gender in Shaping Activism, 1820-1995,” pp. 16-62.

5. Jackson T.J. Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 4-5 and

50; Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

6. Du Bois, W.E.B. “The Housatonic River” delivered at Searles High School, Great Barrington, Massachusetts, July 21, 1930; University of Massachusetts, Amherst Special Collections in Du Bois Papers, 80:412.

7. Ibid; Du Bois graduated from Searles High School in 1917. Searles High School, Senior Class of Searles High School, Commencement Exercises, June 25, 1917, June 1917; University of Massachusetts, Amherst Special Collections in Du Bois Papers, (MS 312).

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid; Du Bois, W.E.B. “Economic Planning For the American Negroes.” W.E.B. Du Bois Papers. University of Massachusetts, Amherst Library. University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Amherst, MA., MS-312, Box# 266; W.E.B Du Bois, “The City Negro,” W.E.B. Du Bois Papers. University of Massachusetts, Amherst Library. University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Amherst, MA., MS-312, Box# 265, Series #2, Folder #4985.

10. Christopher B., Rieger, *Clear-Cutting Eden: Representation of Nature in Southern Fiction, 1930-1950* (PhD diss., Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 2002) pp. 135-192; Leigh Anne Duck, “Rebirth of Nation”: Hurston in Haiti.” *The Journal of American Folklore* 117, no. 464 (2004): pp. 127-146.

11. Duck, pp. 128-129.

12. Gates, Henry, and Nellie Y. McKay eds., “Zora Neale Hurston 1891-1960” in *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature,* 1020; Zora Neale Hurston wrote *Their Eyes Were Watching God* while doing fieldwork as Guggenheim Fellow in Haiti.

13. Zora Neale Hurston, *Tell My Horse: Voodoo and Life in Haiti and Jamaica* (New York: Perennial Library, 1990).

14. Zora Neale Hurston, Their Eyes Were Watching God. First Perennial Library ed. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1990), pp. 8 and 11.

15. Zora Neale Hurston Letter to Jean Waterbury Eau Gallie, “Her Garden, hocked typewriter,” Oct. 25, 1951; University of Florida Special Collections in Zora Neale Hurston Papers. 2:29; Zora Neale Hurston Letter to Jean Waterbury Eau Gallie, “Thanks for money; her garden; her house; her script; Herod the Great,” July 9, 1951; University of Florida Special Collections in Zora Neale Hurston Papers, 2:35.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. For instance, in “Florida’s Migrant Farm Labor” Hurston contrasted the lavish and opulent lifestyle of the wealthy in Florida to the “…nameless, faceless force…” of migrant farm laborers who made “…the state’s $475,863,000 agricultural take…” possible. Zora Neale Hurston, “Florida’s Migrant Farm Labor” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 12, no. 1 (1991): pp. 199; Hurston allowed the migrant farm laborers to describe how their poverty was subject to the weather conditions. Ibid., pp. 199-203; Ibid, “Photograph Series E. Migrant Farm Workers; University of Florida Special Collections in Zora Neale Hurston Papers, 14:5. Dorothy Abbott, “Recovering Zora Neale Hurston’s Work.” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 12, no. 1 (1991): pp. 174-181; David G. Nicholls, “Migrant Labor, Folklore, and Resistance in Hurston’s Polk County: Reframing Mules and Men,” *African American Review* 33, no. 3 (1999): 467-479; Du Bois, W.E.B. “Economic Planning For the American Negroes”; Du Bois, “The City Negro.”

19. W.E.B. Du Bois, “The Housatonic River.”

20. W.E.B. Du Bois, “Letter from W.E.B. Du Bois to Searles High School Alumni Association,” June 13, 1961; University of Massachusetts, Amherst Special Collections in Du Bois Papers, (MS 312).

21. Ibid.

22. Ernest Allen, Jr., “Du Boisian Double Consciousness: The Unsustainable Argument,” *The Massachusetts Review* 43, no. 2 (2002): 235, and 238-239.

23. Ibid., pp. 235.

24. Refer to Ernest Allen, Jr.’s essay “Du Boisian Double Consciousness: The Unsustainable Argument” for a critique of the conceptualization of “double consciousness” and an analysis of how Du Bois strategically used the term in 1897 and dismissed it by 1903, pp. 236. In my application of this notion of double consciousness I am referring to the intellectual, political, social and financial decisions that African Americans made during the late 19th and 20th centuries given the unique ways that the natural landscape shaped their experiences.

25. Fiege, pp. 318-357; Dorceta E. Taylor, *The Environment And the People in American Cities, 1600s-1900s: Disorder, Inequality, and Social Change* (Durham: Duke U.P., 2009).

26. Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Belknap, 1998), pp. 1-14.

27. Kimberly K. Smith, *African American Environmental Thought: Foundations* (Lawrence: U. Press of Kansas, 2007), pp. 118.

28. Michael Ash and James Boyce, “Measuring Corporate Environmental Justice Performance,” *Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management* 18, no. 2 (2011): pp. 61-79; John Bellamy Foster and Brett Clark, *The Ecological Rift: Capitalisms War on the Earth* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2010), pp. 53-106; Harland Prechel and Lu Zheng, “Corporate Characteristics, Political Embeddedness and Environmental Pollution by Large U.S. Corporations,” *Social Forces* 90, no. 3 (2012): pp. 947-970; William R. Catton, *Overshoot: The Ecological Basis of Revolutionary Change* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980), pp. 142-182; Amanda Lee and James Alm, “The Clean Air Amendments and Firm Investment in Pollution Abatement Equipment,” *Land Economics* 80, no. 3 (2004): pp. 433-447; Harland Prechel, *Big Business and the State: Historical Transitions and Corporate Transformations, 1880s-1990s* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000); Allan Schnaiberg, *The Environment: From Surplus to Scarcity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

29. John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, ed. C.B. Macpherson (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1980), pp. 18-19, 20 and 23.

30. Ibid., pp. 19.

31. Ibid., pp. 45, 48.

32. Ibid., pp. 18-19, 20 and 23. Locke berated Native Americans for leaving much of the land fallow.

33. Berlin, pp. 2.

34. Ibid., pp. 79-80; 86-91; 96-97; 238-239.

35. Jay R. Mandle, *The Roots of Black Poverty: The Southern Plantation Economy After the Civil War* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1978).

36. Herbert Shapiro, *White Violence and Black Response: From Reconstruction to Montgomery* (Amherst, University of Massachusetts, Amherst Press, 1988), pp. 30-32 and 237-240.

37. James B. Steedman and J.S. Pullerton, “The Freedmen’s Bureau: Reports of Generals Steedman and Fullerton on the Condition of the Freedmen’s Bureau in the Southern States,”Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress. [E185.A254 Case U, no. 316], pp. 2.

38. Ibid., pp. 1-4.

39. Refer to section 220 where Locke writes: In these and the like cases, when the government is dissolved, the people are at liberty to provide for themselves, by erecting a new legislative, differing from the other, by the change of persons, or form, or both, as they shall find it most for their safety and good: for the society can never, by the fault of another, lose the native and original right it has to preserve itself, which can only be done

by a settled legislative, and a fair and impartial execution of the laws made by it. But the state of mankind is not so miserable that they are not capable of using this remedy, till it be too late to look for any. To tell people they may provide for themselves, by erecting a new legislative, when by oppression, artifice, or being delivered over to a foreign power, their old one is gone, is only to tell them, they may expect relief when it is too late, and the evil is past cure. This is in effect no more than to bid them first be slaves, and then to take care of their liberty; and when their chains are on, tell them, they may act like freemen. This, if barely so, is rather mockery than relief; and men can never be secure from tyranny, if there be no means to escape it till they are perfectly under it: and therefore it is, that they have not only a right to get out of it, but to prevent it. pp.110-111.

40. T. Thomas Fortune, *Black and White: Land, Labor, and Politics in the South* (New York: Washington Square, 2007), pp. 150-153.

41. Qtd. In W.E.B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk,* In *Three Negro Classics (*New York: Avon Books, 1965), pp. 217.

42. Mary Frances Berry, *My Face is Black Is True: Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), pp. 4, 11-13 and 238-251.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid., pp. 139-144.

45. United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice, *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States: A National Study of the Racial and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Communities with Hazardous Waste Sites* (New York: United Church of Christ, 1987), pp. 14-15; Robert D. Bullard, *Dumping In Dixie: Class, and Environmental Quality*, 3rd ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 2000), pp. 21-22.

46. Amy E. Hillier, “Residential Security Maps and Neighborhood Appraisals: The Home Owners Loan Corporation and the Case of Philadelphia.” *Social Science History* 29, no. 2 (2005): pp. 207-233; Todd M. Michney, “Constrained Communities: Black Cleveland’s Experience with World War II Public Housing.” *Journal of Social History* 40, no. 4 (2007): pp. 933-956.

47. Merchant, pp. 385; Wendy Plotkin, ““Hemmed in”: The Struggle against Restrictive Covenants and Deed Restrictions in Post-WWII Chicago.” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 94, no. 1 (2001): pp. 39-69; Joe T. Darden, “Differential Access to Housing in Suburbs,” *Journal of Black Studies* 21, no. 1 (1990): pp. 21; For a study with results that counters the statistical significance of race and redlining please refer to Andrew Holmes and Paul Horvitz’s “Mortgage Redlining: Race, Risk, and Demand,” The Journal of Finance 49, no. 1 (1994): pp. 81-99.

48. Bullard, Robert D., Glenn S. Johnson, and Beverly H. Wright “Confronting Environmental Injustice: It’s the Right Thing to Do.” *Environmentalism & Race, Gender,*

Class Issues 5, no. 1 (997): pp. 63-79; Carl Anthony, “Understanding Culture, Humanities and Environmental Justice.” *Race, Poverty & the Environment* 6, no. 2/3 (1996): pp. 17-18; Martin Melosi, “Equity, Eco-Racism and Environmental History.” *Environmental History Review* 19, no. 3 (1995): pp. 1-16.

49. United Church of Christ, *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States*, pp. 14-15; Giovanna Di Chiro, “Living is For Everyone:” Border Crossing for Community, Environment, and Health,” *Osiris*, 19 (2004): 112-129; Barbara Deutsch Lynch, “The Garden and the Sea: U.S. Latino Environmental Discourses and Mainstream Environmentalism.” *Social Problems* 40, no. 1 (1993): pp. 108-124.

50. De Chiro, pp. 115-116; Winona LaDuke, *All our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life* (Cambridge: South End, 1999), pp. 109.

51. Qtd. In Marion Moses, “Farmworkers and Pesticides.” In Bullard, Robert D., ed. *Confronting Environmental Racism: Voices from the Grassroots* (Boston: South End Press, 1993), pp. 167.

52. Beverly H. Wright, Bryant Pat, and Robert D. Bullard. “Coping with Poisons in Cancer Alley.” In *Unequal Protection: Environmental Justice and Communities of Color, e*dited by Robert D. Bullard. (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1994), pp. pp. 93-109; Michael Ash and Robert T. Fetter, “Who Lives on the Wrong Side of the Environmental Tracks? Evidence from the EPA’s Risk Screening Environmental Indicators Model,” *Social Science Quarterly* 85, no. 2 (2004): pp. 441-462.

53. Karl Grossman, “Environmental Racism” In S. Harding, (Ed.), *The “Racial” Economy of Science: Toward a Democratic Future* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993) pp. 326- 334; Taylor *The Environment and the People*, pp. 59-60; Bullard, *Dumping in Dixie*, pp. 37-64.

54. Lani Guinier and Gerald Torres, *Miner’s Canary: Enlisting Race, Resisting Power, Transforming Democracy* (Cambridge: Harvard, 2002), pp. 11-12.

55. Paul Mohai, “Gender Differences in the Perception of Most Important Environmental Problems,” *Environmentalism & Race, Gender, Class Issues* 5, no. 1 (1997): pp. 63-79; Joel Silliman, “Making the Connections: Women’s Health and Environmental Justice.” *Environmentalism & Race, Gender, Class Issues* 5, no. 1 (1997): pp. 153-169.

56. Donald Worster, *Nature’s Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas* (New York: Cambridge, 1977), pp. 2, 27-28, 31-38.

57. Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1980), pp. 164-192.

58. Ibid., pp. 183-186.

59. Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1962), pp. 1-100.

60. William Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature* (New York: Norton, 1996), pp. 48.

61. Giovanna De Chiro. "Nature As Community: The Convergence of Environment and Social Justice," in *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature,* ed. by William Cronon, (New York: Norton, 1996), pp. 298-321.

62. Ibid., pp. 301-319.

63.Merchant, pp. 380-394.

64. Qtd. In John Muir, *My First Summer in the Sierra and Selected Essays* (New York: Penguin, 1987), pp. 205-206.

65. Fehrenbacher notes in the *The Slaveholding Republic: An Account of the United States Government's Relations to Slavery* argument that the framers of the Constitution did not purport to incorporate slavery into the Constitution and support it as a national institution and that the Framers of the Constitution adopted a neutral stance on the issue. Although Fehrenbacker addresses the 3/5 clause in the Constitution, it still holds that this agreement formally recognized slavery as a legitimate and integral part of the nation. Charles Mill's in *The Racial Contract* argues that the racial contract underlines the formal Constitutional framework. This racial contract is designed to benefit white people irrespective of whether they chose to actively or indirectly participate in racial and economic oppression of people of color. It is not enough to separate the words of the Constitution and the way it is applied in practice.

66. John R. McNeill, Padua, Jose' A. and Mahesh Rangarajan. *Environmental History: As If Nature Existed* (New Delhi: Oxford, 2010).

67. Carolyn Merchant, Ed. *Major Problems in American Environmental History Documents and Essays* (Lexington: D C Heath & Co, 1993).

68. *The Environment And the People in American Cities.*

69. Qtd. In Ibid., pp. 2.

70. Ibid.

71. United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice, *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States: A National Study of the Racial and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Communities with Hazardous Waste Sites* (New York: United Church of Christ, 1987), pp. 14-15.

72. Ibid.

73. Robert D. Bullard, *Dumping In Dixie: Class, and Environmental Quality*, 3rd ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 2000), pp. 21-22.

74. "Dorceta Taylor, Women of Color, Environmental Justice and Ecofeminism." In *Ecofeminism: Women, Culture, Nature.* Edited by Karen J. Warren. (Bloomington: Indiana U., 1997), pp. 45-49.

75. Ibid., pp. 48.

76. Karen J. Warren, "Taking Empirical Data Seriously: An Ecofeminist Philosophical Perspective," in *Ecofeminism: Women, Culture, Nature,* ed. by Karen J. Warren, (Bloomington: Indiana U., 1997), pp.10.

77. Karl Grossman, "Environmental Racism" In S. Harding, (Ed.), *The "Racial" Economy of Science: Toward a Democratic Future* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993) pp. 326.

78. Qtd. In Ibid., pp. 326.

79. Qtd. In Melville Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston: Beacon, 1958), pp. 21.

80. U.B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery: Survey of the Supply, Employment, and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Regime* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State, 1966), pp. 13.

81. Qtd. In Herskovits, pp. 25.

82. Stanley Elkins, Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life. 3rd ed. (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1976).

83. Eugene Genovese. *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon, 1974).

84. Qtd. In Herskovits., pp. 3.

85. U.B. Phillips, pp. 13; Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts.* 5th ed. (New York: International Publishers, 1983).

86. Herskovits, pp. 1-32.

87. Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art & Philosophy*. (New York: Random House, 1983).

88. Michael A. Gomez, Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities on the Colonial and Antebellum South (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 1998).

89. Ibid., pp. 59, 66-67, 73-74 and 86-87.

90. Berlin, pp. 1.

91. Harold Courlander, *A Treasury of African Folklore: The Oral Literature, Traditions, Myths, Legends, Epics, Tales, Recollections, Wisdom, Sayings, And Humor of Africa* (New York: Crown, 1975).

92. William H. Cobb and Donald H. Grubbs, "Arkansas' Commonwealth College and the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (1966): pp. 293-311.

Chapter 1

1. The speaker's respect for the tree represents the customary belief that the trees harbor spirits (R.S. Rattray, *Religion & Art in Ashanti* (London: Oxford University, 1954), pp. 4-6). These spirits range from the innocuous to the harmful. One must always negotiate between the temporal sphere and the divine world since failure to do so could result in death (Ibid). Refer to Appendix A for maps on the geographical spaces discussed in this chapter.

2. Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities on the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 1998), pp. 50-58.

3. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks:…*, pp. 66.

4. Jacob K. Olupona, *African Religions: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Although Christianity was a part of West African culture,I focus on Islam and indigenous religions for the purpose of the parameters of my research.

5. Albert J. Raboteau, *Canaan Land: A Religious History of African Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

6. Mechal Sobel, *Trabelin' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 3-4.

7. Gomez, pp. 53-72.

8. Sobel, *Trabelin' On:…*, pp. 9-10.

9. James Henry Owino Kombo, *The Doctrine of God in African Christian Thought: The Holy Trinity, Theological Hermeneutics, and the African Intellectual Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 150.

10. Qtd. In Ibid., pp. 154.

11. Sobel, pp. 14-16.

12. Ibid., pp. 16; Kombo, *The Doctrine of God in African Christian Thought:…*, pp.153; Janheinz Jahn, *Muntu: African Culture and the Western World* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1990), pp. 104.

13. Sobel, pp. 12-13; The Ashanti, Fon, and Yoruba believe that a person's soul can be disconnected from the physical body (Ibid., pp. 14). Such a belief characterizes their perceptions on the "living dead" and the need to maintain a favorable equilibrium between the spirits in the Sacred Cosmos.

14. Sobel, pp. 9-10.

15. Alma Gottlieb, "Loggers v. Spirits in the Beng Forest, Cote d'Ivoire Competing Models" in *African Sacred Groves: Ecological Dynamics & Social Change*, eds. Michael J. Sheridan and Celia Nyamweru (Oxford: James Currey Ltd, 2008), pp. 154-157.

16. The numbers of Shiite Muslims are a majority in Iraq and Iran while negligible in West Africa (Vali Nasr, "When the Shiites Rise," *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 4 (2006): pp.58-71).Sufi Islam becomes a part of West African religion after a 19th century jihad (John Hunwick, "Timbuktu: A Refuge of Scholarly and Righteous Folk," *Sudanic Affairs* 14, (2003): pp. 19). Given that these historical and geographical parameters lie outside of the purview of my scope, I do not discuss Shiite and Sufi Islam in this research. I center my discussion of Islam on Sunni Islam. For a more comprehensive discussion on Islam refer to J. Spencer Trimingham's *A History of Islam in West Africa.* The fundamental tenet of Islam requires one to submit to Allah and profess publicly that He is the only God and that Muhammad is His prophet. The other requirements of Islam are that adherents: (1) Pray five times per day while facing the east (Mecca) (Qur'an 2:110); (2) Fast during the month of Ramadan; (3) Pay the yearly *zakat* (charity) to help the poor (Qur'an 2:110); (4) Perform the *hajj* by journeying to Mecca in one's lifetime if possible.

17. Ozdemir, pp. 7; Karen Armstrong, *Islam: A Short History* (New York: Modern Library, 2002), pp. 3-6; He experienced revelations over twenty years (Armstrong, pp. 3-6).

18. Richard Brent Turner, *Islam in the African-American Experience* (Bloomington: Indiana
University Press, 1997), pp. xiv and 16; J. Alexander, "Islam, Archaeology and Slavery in Africa," *World Archaeology* 33, no. 1 (2001): pp. 44-46.

19. Hunwick, “Timbuktu:…, pp. 26.

20. Turner, pp. 16.

21. Ibid., pp. 12-13.

22. Turner, *Islam in the African-American Experience,* pp. 19-21; Alexander, “Islam, Archaeology…, pp. 45-52.

23. Ibid., pp. 23; Hunwick, pp. 27.

24. Timothy A. Insoll, “The Road to Timbuktu: Trade & Empire, *Archaeology* 53, no. 6 (2000): pp. 48-52.

25. Turner, pp. 13.

26. Ibid., pp. 18-19.

27. Hunwick, pp. 27 and 42.

28. Turner, pp. 14-15.

29. Ibid., pp. 19-20.

30. Ibid., pp. 18-21.

31. In his article “Toward an Understanding of Environmental Ethics from a Qur’anic Perspective” Ibrahim Ozdemir’s provides a philosophical discussion of Islam and its stance on an Islamic environmental ethic. He argues that that the Qur’an contains and prescribes an environmental ethic in which the earth is valuable independent of human utility and the Qur’an establishes laws that teach its followers to live in harmony with nature and respect its powers and the creations within (Ibrahim Ozdemir, “Toward an Understanding of Environmental Ethics from a Qur’anic Perspective” in Islam and Ecology, A Bestowed Trust, eds. Richard C. Foltz, Frederick M. Denny and Azizan Baharuddin, (Cambridge: Harvard U Press, 2003), pp. 3-37).

32. Ibid.

33. Surat Al-Shura 42:17.

34. Surat Al-Rahman 55:7-9.

35. Surat Al-Hijr 15:19.

36. To date water remains a scarce resource in these regions. It is particularly troublesome for nations that adopted a Western model of consumption before they weighed out the strain that these customs would place on their natural resources.

37. Al-Furqan 25:54; Section 5 of Al-Furqan is entirely devoted to "A Lesson from Nature" (25:45-60).

38. Surat Al-Nahl 16:65; Surat Al-Anbiya 21:30 asserts: "… And We made from water everything living. Will they not then believe?" (Al-Anbiya 21:30); Surat Al-Nur 24:45 mentions that "…Allah has created every animal of water" (Al-Nur 24:45); Surat 16:10-13 contend that: 10: He it is Who sends down water from the clouds for you; it gives drink, and by it (grow) the trees on which you feed. 11: He causes to grow for you thereby herbage, and the olives, and the date-palms, and the grapes, and all the fruits. Surely there is a sign in for a people who reflect." (Surat Al-Nahl 16:10-13); Also Al-Baqarah 2:22 states: "Who made the earth a resting place for you and the heaven a structure, and sends down rains from the clouds then brings forth with its fruits for your sustenance so do not set up rivals to Allah while you know" (Al-Baqarah 2:22); Surat Al-An 'am 6:99 also presents water as a source of Allah's mercy and the originator of life).

39. Hadith 3.838 (Al-Bukhari Hadith).

40. Surat Al-An 'am 6:141.

41. Surat Al- Baqarah 2:205; Al-An 'am 6:141; Al- A 'raf 7:31; Al- A 'raf 7:85 speaks against wastefulness.

42. Surat l- A 'raf 7:31.

43. Qtd. In Ozdemir, "Toward an Understanding of Environmental Ethics…, pp. 14 and 33n.

44. Muslims can use clean dust if water is not available.

45. Mawil Izzi Dien, "Islam and the Environment: Theory and Practice," In Islam and Ecology, A Bestowed Trust, eds. Richard C. Foltz, Frederick M. Denny and Azizan Baharuddin, (Cambridge: Harvard U Press, 2003), pp. 107-120.

46. Surat Al-An 'am 6:38.

47. Surats Al-Baqarah 2 (The Cow), Al-An'am 6 (The Cattle), Al-Nahl 16 (The Bee), Al-'Ankabut 29 (The Spider), Al-Fil 105 (The Elephant).

48. Al-Nahl 16:66, 68-69.

49. Surat 38:27.

50. Harold Courlander, *A Treasury of African Folklore: The Oral Literature, Traditions, Myths, Legends, Epics, Tales, Recollections, Wisdom, Sayings, And Humor of Africa* (New York: Crown, 1975), pp. 157.

51. Robert Norris, *Memoirs of the Reign of Bossa Aha'dee King of Dahomy An Inland Country of Guiney to Which are Added The Authors Journey to Abomey, the Capital and a Short Account of The African Slave Trade* (London: Frank Cass & Co. LTD, 1966), pp. 36-44; Frederick E. Forbes, *Dahomey and the Dahomans: Being the Journals of Two Missions to the King of Dahomey and Residence at his Capital in the Years 1849 and 1850,* 2nd vol. (London: Frank Cass & Co. LTD, 1966), pp. 88-91.

52. Melville J. Herskovits, D*ahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom*, 2nd vol. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967), pp.138-139; John Duncan, *Travels in Western Africa in 1845 & 1846, Comprising A Journey from Whydah, Through the Kingdom of Dahomey, to Adofoodia, in the Interior.* 2 vols. Combined ed. London: Richard Bentley, 1847), pp. 144-145.

53. Melville J. Herskovits, D*ahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom*, 2nd vol., pp.109.

54. Ibid., pp. 107-109.

55. Ibid., pp. 102.

56. Courlander, pp. 163.

57. Herskovits, D*ahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom*, 2nd vol., pp.103.

58. Ibid., pp. 163-165.

59. Herskovits, D*ahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom*, 2nd vol., pp. 163-165.

60. Gomez, pp. 68; Courlander, pp. 186. It is important to note that there are geographical and familial differences that account for variances in the names and powers bestowed upon these deities; Ibid., pp. 158 and 186; Melville Jean Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (New York; London: Harper & Bros., 1941), pp. 72. The Yoruba nation also created a complex and vast religious system that celebrated the forces between humans and nature. There exists a tier of gods and goddesses with powers that exhibited their powers through natural processes and through crop cultivation. Still there existed other opportunities for cultural exchange after the Fon people of Dahomey and the Yoruba people were in constant war with one another. These societies absolved their opponents' gods after wars and consequently there are striking resemblances in the pantheons and religious doctrines of neighboring nations. This yielded potentially interchangeable and structurally similar divination systems.

61. Ibid., pp. 93-96.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid., pp. 49-50.

64. Ozdemir, pp. 13.

65. Courlander, pp. 68-70.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid., pp. 69-70.

69. Ibid., pp. 76. The Islamic influence is clear when the jinn orders Sunjata to read a verse from the Qur'an to overcome a childhood fear which was getting in the way of Sunjata's way of being king.

70. Ibid., pp. 73.

71. Ibid., pp. 75.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid., pp. 73.

75. Surat Al-Naml 27:16-19 Sahih International Version.

76. Al-Naml 27:20-22 Sahih International Version.

77. Ibid.

78. J.A. Allan, "Substitutes for Water are Being Found in the Middle West and North Africa," *GeoJournal* 28, no. 3 (1992): pp. 375-385.

79. More Islamic references on wastefulness are as follows: Surats 3:195; 4:6; 6:141; 17:26. More Islamic references on water are as follows: Surat 10:24; 15:22; 23:18; 41:39; 47:15; 50:9; 54:28; 56:68; 67:30; 69:11; 47:15).

80. R.S. Rattray, *Religion & Art in Ashanti*, pp. 41-42.

81. Ibid.

82. Ibid., pp. 46.

83. The evidence in Doetse's dissertation regarding the ten major droughts from 1661 to 1852 corroborates the reason why the Asante held water in such high regard (Ibid., pp. 54).

84. Ibid., pp. 72.

85. Ibid., pp. 74-75. The Asante believed that every child had a ghost mother that lived in the ancestral realm and that this mother mourned the death of her child when this child was born into the living world. They believed that a child who passed away before puberty went back to their ghost mother.

86. Winterbottom, pp. 230.

87. Rattray, *Religion & Art in Ashanti*, pp. 44-47.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

90. Herskovits, D*ahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom*, 2nd vol., pp.131.

91. Courlander, pp. 162.

92. Herskovits, D*ahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom,* 2nd vol., pp.132 and 134.

93. Courlander, pp. 168.

94. Rattray, *Religion & Art in Ashanti*, pp. 30.

95. Herskovits, *Dahomey:…*, 2nd vol., pp.141.

96. Ibid., 1st vol., pp. 42-43.

97. Ibid., 2nd vol., pp.168.

98. Ibid., pp. 163-165.

99. Courlander, pp. 158.

100. Herskovits, *Dahomey: …*, 2nd vol. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967), pp.131.

101. Courlander, pp. 158.

102. The large scale deforestation in these areas increases drastically after the Atlantic slave trade.

103. Winterbottom, pp. 3; Mary H. Kingsley, *West African Studies,* 2nd ed. , pp. 38-39.

104. Ray A. Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Polities in the Seventeenth-Century Gold Coast* (Baltimore: John Hopkins U.P., 1982), pp. 43 and 60.

105. Thomas Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighborhood*…, pp. 3.

106. Mary H. Kingsley, *West African Studies,* 2nd ed. (London and New York: MacMillan and Co., 1901), pp. 38-39.

107. Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Polities*…, pp. 60-65.

108. Ibid., pp. 46.

109. Dov Ronen, *Dahomey: Between Tradition and Modernity* (Ithaca: Cornell U. Press, 1975), pp. 18-19; Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art & Philosophy* (New York: Random House, 1983), pp. 112.

110. Kingsley, *West African Studies*…, pp. 404.

111. Another belief was that a person's souls travelled while they slept and that if this "dream soul" did not come back to the person before he awoke, he could fall ill and die. These spirits or the "dream soul" went to the trees where they resided and corresponded with other "dream souls." In these cases the victim's family would call upon a witch doctor who would either go up the tree himself or summon his assistant to retrieve the soul and return it to its rightful owner (Kingsley pp.170-173).

112. Kingsley, pp. 177.

113. Ibid.

114. Ibid., pp. 177-178.

115. Qtd In Ibid., pp. 54.

116. Rattray, *Religion & Art in Ashanti*, pp. 39.

117. Ibid., pp. 58.

118. Ibid., pp. 33, 55 and 57.

119. Kea, pp. 60 and 65.

120. Ibid., pp. 62-63.

121. Eric S. Ross, "Palaver Trees Reconsidered in the Senegalese Landscape Arboreal Monuments & Memorials" in *African Sacred Groves: Ecological Dynamics & Social Change,* eds. Michael J. Sheridan and Celia Nyamweru (Oxford: James Currey Ltd, 2008), pp. 139.

122. Ross, "Palaver Trees Reconsidered," pp. 133; John M'Leod, *A Voyage to Africa: With Some Account of the Manners and Customs of the Dahomian People* (London: Frank Cass & Co. LTD., 1971), pp.111.

123. Ross, "Palaver Trees Reconsidered…, pp. 138; Archaeologist Ibahima Thiaw's carbon dating of a tamarind tree near one of the mosques in Sierra Leone determined this tree was over one thousand years old. This scientific measurement support the accounts within the oral tradition and explain the practical reasons why it is most practical for people to determine their lineage and make land claims according to a specific tree's life and position.

124. Ross, pp. 142.

125. R.S. Rattray, *Religion & Art in Ashanti* (London: Oxford University, 1954), pp. 4-6.

126. Sandra Greene, *West African Narratives of Slavery: Texts from Late Nineteenth- and early Twentieth-Century Ghana* (Bloomington: Indiana U. Press, 2011), pp. 27; Anthropologist Chouin's fieldwork in Nsadwer, Southern Ghana in 1994 speaks to the prevalence of this tradition well into the 20th century. The bush spirits were strong forces that parlayed into the livelihood of the Asante people. Chouin's interviews revealed that farmers were sometimes possessed by spirits while they were clearing the land.

127. Sobel, pp. 11.

128. Rattray, *Religion & Art in Ashanti*, pp. 38-39.

129. Their powers survived the Middle Passage and I discuss how these principles translate into the New World in my subsequent chapter.

130. Rattray, *Religion & Art in Ashanti*, pp. 39; David J. Parkin, "Medicines and Men of Influence," Man 3, no. 3 (1968): pp. 424-439.

131. Ibid.

132. Parkin, "Medicines and Men of Influence," Man 3, no. 3 (1968): pp. 424-439.

133. Rattray, pp. 44-45.

134. Winterbottom, pp. 224-225.

135. Qtd. In Herskovits, D*ahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom*, 2nd vol., pp.113; The anya trees are part of the sacred shrine dedicated to the Mawu Lisa (Ibid., pp. 107 and 110-111.

136. Qtd. In Ibid., pp.109.

137. Herskovits, *Dahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom*, 1st vol., pp. 41; It was commonplace for people to bury their money under trees (Herskovits, Dahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom, 1st vol., pp. 81). In instances where trees are inherited and transferred as property, the issue of wealth is at stake (Ibid., pp. 92-94). This may represent a situation in which the land is owned privately and ancestors bequeathed it to a subsequent generation. However, this is vastly different from Locke's philosophy because they deemed the land as a sacred entity in and of itself and has intrinsic value that is completely independent of human perception.

138. Gomez, pp. 65-85.

139. Winterbottom, pp. 223.

140. Ibid., pp. 222-223.

141. Ross, "Palaver Trees Reconsidered," pp. 144-145.

142. Gottlieb, "Loggers v. Spirits in the Beng Forest, pp. 156.

143. Shumway, pp. 134-142.

144. Greene, *West African Narratives of Slavery:…*, pp. 27.

145. Chouin, pp. 178-194.

146. Gottlieb, "Loggers v. Spirits in the Beng Forest, pp. 156.

147. In light of his sobering perceptions towards West African culture, Herksovits' research provides insight into the intimate lives of West African nations. During his 1931 fieldwork among the Dahomey Herskovits recorded that: Before the actual labor of clearing a new field is undertaken, however, other requirements must be met… for the farmer must ascertain what supernatural beings watch over the new land and how to assure the aid of these beings for an abundant crop. He therefore takes a sample of its soil to his diviner, who, as a first formality throws the palm-kernels to consult Fate whether the new ground may be cultivated. If the answer is favorable, a sacrifice to the Earth is then made, wherein the suppliant, taking earth from the projected field, moulds it into a

human head with caury-shells for eyes, and placing this head on the ground offers it palm-oil, the blood of a chicken, and finally maize mixed with flour and water (Herskovits, Dahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom, 1st vol., pp. 31).

148. Herskovits, *Dahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom*, 1st vol., pp., pp. 33-34.

149. Herskovits, *Dahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom*, 2nd vol., pp.144.

150. Herskovits, *Dahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom*, 1st vol., pp. 32.

151. Please refer to the maps of West Africa; Kea, pp. 30-32.

152. Winterbottom, pp.14; Refer to Winterbottom's map in between pages 14 and 15; Ibid., pp. 18.

153. Gomez, pp. 92.

154. Rebecca Shumway, *The Fante and the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (Rochester: U. of Rochester Press, 2011), pp. 47-52. Ghana's role in the slave trade developed in the latter part of the 18th century because the European traders found it more profitable to export gold rather than humans out of the Asante Kingdom and helped preserve the military integrity of the state as a result. Moreover, at times they would pay off debts between the Fante and Asante along the coastline to prevent internal warfare that could threaten their trade with the Asante.

155. American Museum of Natural History, *Ocean: The World's Last Wilderness Revealed* (New York: DK Books, 2006), pp. 130-135.

156. Ibid.

157. Winterbottom, pp. 18.

158. Kingsley, pp. 83.

159. Winterbottom, pp. 3.

160. Ibid.

161. Ibid., pp. 19-20.

162. Judith A. Carney, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 2001), pp.11 and 15.

163. Ibid.

164. Walter Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast: 1545-1800* (Oxford: London, 1967), pp. 20-21.

165. Gomez, pp. 39-41 and 48; The Mande speakers from Gambia and Sierra Leone were great rice cultivators and arguably introduced rice cultivation to South Carolina. The current scholarship presents compelling historical evidence which debunks the prevailing notion that the Portuguese introduced Asian rice to Africa or that the Muslims bought in rice grains during Islamic conquest. The research proposes that Africans possessed a strong knowledge of rice cultivation Pre-European contact, Islamic conquest and the Atlantic Slave Trade. Carney's work discusses West African agricultural practices 1000 years prior to European contact and the Atlantic Slave trade. Archaeological evidence suggests that rice cultivation in Africa dates as far back as 300 BCE to 300 CE and historians while theological scholars date the spread of Islam in Africa between the eighth and fourteenth centuries (Fields-Black, *Deep Roots:…*, pp. 29; Carney, pp. 34).

166. I.E. Upkong, "An Ordination Study of Mangrove Swamp Communities in West Africa" in *Vegetatio* 116, no. 2 (1995): 148 and 150; Ibid., pp. 157. Research suggests that humans introduced the species *Nypa fruiticans* in this geographical space.

167. There were eighteen growing conditions along this area (Edda L. Fields-Black, *Deep Roots: Rice Farmers in West Africa and the African Diaspora* (Bloomington: Indiana U. Press, 2008), pp. 26).

168. Fields-Black, *Deep Roots:…*, pp. 30.

169. Carney, pp. 23.

170. American Museum of Natural History, *Ocean: The World's Last Wilderness Revealed.* (New York: DK Books, 2006), pp. 120.

171. Carney, pp. 69.

172. Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Washington, D.C.:, Howard U. Press, 1972), pp. 21-22.

173. Fields-Black, pp. 26.

174. Carney, pp. 26, 34, 44-45, 56 and 59.

175. Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State U. Press, 1981), pp.79; Rice production is a highly labor intensive crop that requires approximately twelve hours of work per day.

176. Melville J. Herskovits, D*ahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom*, 1st vol. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967), pp. 32-33. This method is similar to the

description Herskovits offered when he described the planting methods among the Dahomey.

177. Carney, pp. 107-108.

178. Melville J. Herskovits, D*ahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom*, 1st vol. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967), pp. 35; D. Gledhill, “The Ecology of the Aberdeen Creek Mangrove Swamp.” in *Journal of Ecology* 51 (1963), pp. 694.

179. Carney, pp. 134.

180. Ibid.

181. R.S. Rattray, *Hausa Folk-Lore, Customs, Proverbs, Etc.: Collected and Transliterated with English Translation and Notes,* 1st vol. (New York: Negro University Press, 1969), pp. 136.

182. Winterbottom, pp. 144-145.

183. Ibid.

184. Carney, pp. 26; The rice fields were the main spaces where these women could operate with little to no male presence in many societies where rice was not the main crop. Although there is a source issue concerning these women’s actual conversations, the fruits of their labor speak volumes to the high-skilled work inherent to rice production.

185. Ibid., pp. 126; African women’s unique knowledge of rice cultivation was the driving force behind the success of the rice economy in South Carolina**.**

186. Ibid., pp. 66.

187. Fields-Black, pp. 36-37. They only leave it fallow when it is newly cleared land and allow the rainwater to desalinate the soil over time.

188. Rattray, *Religion & Art in Ashanti*, pp. 25.

189. Kea, pp. 46.

190. Rattray, *Religion & Art in Ashanti*, pp. 25, 30, 39, 41 and 42.

191. Ibid., pp. 184-185; Carney, pp. 134.

192. Rattray, *Religion & Art in Ashanti*, pp. 184-186.

193. Ibid., pp. 184-185; Carney, pp. 134.

194. Surat 38:27.

195. Gomez, pp. 62-64.

196. Rattray, *Religion & Art in Ashanti*, pp. 184-186.

197. Courlander, pp. 221.

198. Rattray, *Religion & Art in Ashanti*, pp. 184-186.

199. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past*, pp. 71.

200. Herskovits, *Dahomey: …*, 2nd vol. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967), pp.131.

201. Arthur Huff Fauset, "Negro Folk Tales from the South. (Alabama, Missippi, Louisiana)," *The Journal of American Folklore* 40, no. 157 (1927): pp. 213-303.

202. R.S. Rattray, "Some Aspects of West African Folklore," *Journal of the Royal African Society* 28, no. 109 (1928): pp. 1-11.

Chapter 2

1. W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, In *Three Negro Classics* (New York: Avon Books, 1965), pp. 386-387.

2. John White, "Veiled Testimony: Negro Spirituals and the Slave Experience," *Journal of American Studies* 17, no. 2 (1983): pp. 251-263; Alwyn Williams, "Jazz and the New Negro: Harlem's Intellectuals Wrestle with the Art of the Age," *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 21, no. 1 (2002): pp. 1-18.

3. Gavin Wright, "Slavery and American Agricultural History," *Agricultural History* 77, no. 4 (2003): pp. 527-552.

4. John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, ed. C.B. Macpherson (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1980), pp. 17-23, 45 and 48.

5. Issac D. Williams, *Sunshine and Shadow of Slave Life: Reminiscences as Told by Isaac D. Williams to "Tege."* (East Saginaw: Evening News Printing and Binding House, 1885), pp.6.

6. Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, pp. 17-23.

7. C. Eric Mount, Jr. "American Individualism Reconsidered," *Review of Religious Research* 22, no. 4 (1981): pp. 362-376; Claudio J. Katz, "Thomas Jefferson's Liberal Anticapitalism," *American Journal of Political Science* 47, no. 1 (2003): pp. 1-17.

8. The ambiguity and logical fallacies in Locke's perfunctory treatment of slavery reflect his circumscribed perceptions on investment in the Royal African Company Native Americans and Africans. His abstraction of human desire and human action when it operates in the state of nature failed to acknowledge these groups' humanity.

9. Frederick Douglass, "Letter to Henry Clay" North Star; Library of Congress, Frederick Douglass Papers, Washington D.C., pp. 2. See also Benjamin Quarles *The Negro in the American Revolution* (New York: Norton, 1961), pp.108; Williams, pp.71.

10. Williams, pp. 52.

11. *Dred Scott v. Sandford* 60 U.S. 393, 15 L. Ed. 691, U.S. 19 HOW 393 (1857).

12. Ibid.

13. Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*: *The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: Norton, 1975), pp. 5; Virginia comprised forty percent of the slave population by the 18th century.

14. Although Jefferson was a staunch supporter of agrarianism and championed the right of the common man to own land, he did not speak against Indian Removal and the colonists' large scale theft of Native American lands. In *Notes on the State of Virginia* Jefferson retorted: "That the lands of this country were taken from them by conquest, is not so general a truth as is supposed. I find in our historians and records, repeated proofs of purchase, which cover a considerable part of the lower country; and many more would doubtless be found on further search. The upper country we know has been acquired altogether by purchases made in the most unexceptionable form…" (Qtd. In Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Norton: New York, 1954), pp. 281n. However, in the unpublished manuscript Jefferson crossed out: "it is true that these purchases were sometimes made with the price in one hand and the sword in the other." Qtd. In Ibid., Jefferson, pp. 96). Given that his truth went against Jefferson's ultimate goals, he would not admit responsibility and fault in how his predecessors acquired the land which he now owned and intended to protect.

15. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Norton: New York, 1954), pp. 45. The Virginia Company was particularly interested in plants that could help in their textile and medical industries. Also they wanted to develop other industries in the colonies that would directly benefit England.

16. It makes sense because Jefferson served as the governor of Virginia during the Revolutionary War against England.

17. Morgan, pp. 4; Jefferson, pp. 138-140, 143.

18. Edwin Betts, ed., *Thomas Jefferson's Garden Book, 1766-1824. With Relevant Extracts from His Other Writings (*Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1944), pp. 45-46.

19. Ibid.

20. Jefferson, pp. 135 and 176.

21. Although Jefferson and Berkeley tried to engage in crop rotation because tobacco stripped the soil of its nutrients and tobacco's prices dropped during the latter part of the 17th century, Jefferson enacted legislation to give yeomen land to produce crops for the world market, Morgan, pp. 185. Furthermore, tobacco planters continued to move out West and use up new land after the crop destroyed the soil.

22. Charles W. Mills, *The Racial Contract* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1997).

23. Ibid., pp. 31-41.

24. Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "The Mask of Obedience: Male Slave Psychology in the Old South," *The American History Review* 93, no. 5 (1988): pp. 1228-1252.

25. Ibid., pp. 1233-1238.

26. Ibid., pp. 1233-1234.

27. Charles W. Mills, *The Racial Contract*, pp. 11 and 19 and Elizabeth Hyde Botume, *First Days Amongst the Contrabands* (New York: Arno Press, 1968), pp. 117.

28. Henry D. Thoreau, *Walden, Civil Disobedience, and Other Writings*. 3rd ed. Edited by William Rossi, (New York: Norton, 2008), pp. 138.

29. Ronald Bailey, "The Other Side of Slavery: Black Labor, Cotton, and Textile Industrialization in Great Britain and the United States," *Agricultural History* 68, no. 2 (1994): pp. 35-50; Slave masters and overseers who sought to achieve these goals garnered control through physical and emotional forms of abuse (B.A Botkin, ed., *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1945) pp.12). They instituted corporal punishment against the black body that simultaneously fashioned psychic trauma among the enslaved. For instance, it was not uncommon for masters to order overseers to sever the digits severed on people who ran away or stole. Archaeologists have uncovered physical specimens of punishment (Paul Farnsworth, "Brutality or Benevolence in Plantation Archaeology," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 4, no. 2 (2000): pp. 146-150). Chains, shackles, whips and other punishment tools became staple products in the slave community. In her memoirs where Elizabeth Hyde Botume recalled her experience while working as a missionary teacher

for the contrabands in Sea Islands, South Carolina in 1864 she reported the inhumane punishment that one slave master employed against a truant slave: "He [slavemaster] "would fix her;" so he had heavy iron shackles put on her feet so she could not run off. In this manner she had to drag herself around her kitchen all day, and at night she was locked in the corn-house (Qtd. In Botume, *First Days Amongst the Contrabands*, pp. 14)." In the same vein Former slave Isaac Williams recalled: "I have often seen colored men and women, and even little children, stripped and chained to the whipping post and whipped until the blood streamed down their bare backs, and some of the more unruly mixture of pepper and salt that cause the greatest agony. I know from a dear experience that this is a fact, for I have suffered myself, and my blood boils now when I think of the enormities committee (Williams, *Sunshine and Shadow of Slave Life...* , pp. 6)." These forms of harsh punishments remained etched in the public memory of the enslaved.

30. Bailey, "The Other Side of Slavery:…, pp. 36; After the abolition of the international slave trade in 1808, the black body became more critical in the preservation of slavery in the nation. Slave masters judged men in terms of their output and particularly after the abolition of the international slave trade in 1808, masters focused on the black woman's body ability to produce additional workers for the industrial machine.

31. Bailey, pp. 35.

32. Ibid., pp. 36.

33. Elias Hicks, *Observations on the Slavery of the Africans and Their Descendants, and on the Use of the Procure of Their Labor* (New York: Samuel Wood, 1814); University of Massachusetts, Amherst Special Collections in Antislavery Collection, pp. 9.

34. Ecofeminist philosopher Merchant contends that: "Slavery and soil degradation are interlinked systems of exploitation, and deep-seated connections exist between the enslavement of human bodies and the enslavement of the land. (Carolyn Merchant, "Shades of Darkness: Race and Environmental History." *Environmental History* 8, (2003): pp. 380).

35. Botkin, ed., *Lay My Burden Down:…*, pp. 39.

36. Mechal Sobel, *Trabelin' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. xix-xx; Sobel discusses the duality of existence that blacks expressed in their conversion narratives and contrasts this absence in white Christian conversion recounts.

37. Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (Updated ed. New York: Oxford, 2004), pp. 265-271.

38. Clifton H. Johnson, Social Science Institute, *God Struck Me Dead: Religious Conversion Experiences and Autobiographies of Negro Ex-Slaves* (Nashville: Fisk University, 1945), pp. 65.

39. Ibid., pp. 61.

40. Ibid., pp. 3.

41. Ibid., pp. 34.

42. Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History*, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1983), pp. 6-23; Work songs and boat songs were important elements in the daily activities of bondpersons. Although the journey was an individual process, the enslaved gained a sense of connection and communal support in light of the absurdity of slavery. The call-and-response supported a more democratic and participatory process for all who were in attendance at the revivals, ring shouts, prayer meetings and on the plantations.[76] Epstein's book *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War* offers great insight into work songs and boat songs.

43. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, pp. 377-378.

44. Ibid., pp. 378.

45. Qtd. In Christa Dixon, *Wesen und Wandel geistlicher Volkslieder Negro Spirituals* (Wuppertal: Jugenddienst-Verlag, 1967, pp. 154.

46. Du Bois, pp. 383.

47. Dixon, *Wesen und Wandel geistlicher Volkslieder Negro Spirituals*, pp. 154. They imagined this heavenly space as: "Oh, the milk and honey, / Milk and honey, / Milk and honey over in Jordan, / The milk and honey, milk and honey / How I long to see that day! / Oh, the healing water, the healing water / The healing water over in Jordan / The healing water, the healing water / How I long to see that day!" (Qtd. In Ibid.).

48. Ibid., pp. 2.

49. Howard Thurman, "The Negro Spiritual Speaks of Life and Death" in *African American Religious Thought: An Anthology*, eds. Cornel West and Eddie S. Glaude, Jr. (Louisville: Westminister John Knox Press, 2003), pp. 40-44.

50. Qtd. In Dixon, pp. 173; See another similar example offered in Courlander, pp. 54-55.

51. Qtd. In Raboteau, *Slave Religion:…,* pp. 259.

52. Qtd. In Marcus Brinkmann, *Slave Songs of the United States*, digital ed. (New York: A. Simpson & Co., 1867), pp. 54.

53. Qtd. In Dixon, pp. 144; another similar example in Courlander 68-69.

54. Refer to spiritual qtd. In Dixon pp. 213, 289 and 299; Harold Courlander, *Negro Folk Music, U.S.A.* (New York: Coulmbia, 1963), pp. 259; William E. Barton, *Old Plantation Hymns: A Collection of Hitherto Unpublished Melodies of the Slave and the Freedman, with Historical and Descriptive Notes* (New York: AMS Press, 1972), pp. 5; Brinkmann, pp. 55; Dixon, pp. 147.

55. Dixon, pp. 147.

56. Qtd. In Dixon, pp. 213.

57. Raboteau, pp. 251and Barton, *Old Plantation Hymns:…*, pp. 4.

58. Qtd. In Brinkmann, pp. 70; In his analysis of the spiritual "Down in the Valley" Raboteau asserted: "The figurative lonesome valley took on literal shape as the troubled sinner wandered the woods, the marshes, and other deserted places, seeking to find release from the burden of sin: …." (Qtd. In Raboteau, pp. 254).

59. Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 144-165.

60. Dianne D. Glave, "A Garden So Brilliant with Colors, So Original in its Design': Rural African American Women, Gardening, Progressive Reform, And the Foundation of An American Environmental Perspective," *Environmental History* 8, no. 3 (2003): pp. 395-411.

61. Ibid., pp. 396-399; Zora Neale Hurston Letter to Jean Waterbury Eau Gallie, "Her Garden, hocked typewriter," Oct. 25, 1951; University of Florida Special Collections in Zora Neale Hurston Papers. 2:29.

62. Glave, "A Garden So Brilliant…," pp. 398. Although some scholars argue that slave masters also granted their slaves gardens to keep them psychologically attached to the land, slaves turned these gardens into their own means of survival.

63. Botkin, pp. 4-5; Solomon Northup, *Twelve Years A Slave: And Plantation Life In the Antebellum South*, ed. Sue Eakin (Lafayette: University of Louisiana at Lafayette, 2007), pp. 57-58.

64. Qtd. In Botkin, pp. 24.

65. Mary H. Kingsley, *West African Studies*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: MacMillan and Co., 1901), pp. 38-39; 404 and 170-173.

66. Ray A. Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Polities in the Seventeenth-Century Gold Coast* (Baltimore: John Hopkins U.P., 1982), pp.43 and 60.

67. Leland Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800.* (Washington: Smithsonian, 1992), pp. 1-2.

68. John W. Barber, comp. *A History of the Amistad Captives: Being A Circumstantial Account of the Capture of the Spanish Schooner Amistad, By the Africans on Board; Their Voyage, And Capture Near Long Island, New York, With Biographical Sketches of Each of the Surviving Africans. Also, An Account of The Trials Had on Their Case, Before the District and Circuit Courts of the United States, For the District of Connecticut* New Haven: E.L. & J.W. Barber, 1840; University of Massachusetts, Amherst Special Collections in Antislavery Collection, pp. 4-5.

69. Williams, *Sunshine and Shadow of Slave Life…*, pp. 71.

70. Qtd. In Botume, pp. 95.

71. Botkin, pp. 7.

72. Ibid., pp. 26.

73. David Garland, "Penal Excess and Surplus Meaning: Public Torture Lynchings in Twentieth-Century America," *Law & Society Review* 39, no. 4 (2005): pp. 793-833; Wilkie, "Medicinal Teas and Patent Medicines:…, pp. 119-131.

74. Marie Jenkins Schwartz, *Birthing a Slave: Motherhood and Medicine in the Antebellum South.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 34-36.

75. Ibid.

76. Laurie A. Wilkie, "Medicinal Teas and Patent Medicines: African-American Women's Consumer Choices and Ethnomedical Traditions at a Louisiana Plantation," *Southeastern Archaeology* 15, no. 2 (1996): pp. 119-131.

77. Ibid.

78. Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground…*, pp. 1-2.

79. Botkin, pp. 60; Wilkie, "Medicinal Teas and Patent Medicines…, pp. 124-126.

80. Johnson, *God Struck Me Dead:…*, pp. 22.

81. Women who possessed intimate knowledge of the animals, woods and everything therein garnered respect and fear amongst both the slave community and the dominant population (Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South,* rev. ed. (New York: Norton, 1999), pp. 144). For instance, Harriet Tubman's root knowledge served the Union Army Camp in Florida around 1905 when she brewed a concoction of plants to save the general and his soldiers from dysentery. According to

Tubman: “I went down there, and found them that bad with chronic dysentery, that they was dying off like sheep. I dug some roots and herbs and made a tea for the doctor and the disease stopped on him. And then he said, ‘Give it to the soldiers.’ So I boiled up a great boiler of roots and herbs, and the General [de] tailed a man to take two cans and go round and give it to all in the camp that needed it, and it cured them” (Qtd. In Jean McMahon Humez, *Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), pp. 248).

82. White, *Ar’n’t I a Woman?:…*, pp. 144; Dylan C. Penningroth, *The Claims of Kinfolk: African American Property and Community in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina P., 2003), pp. 100-103.

83. White, pp. 124 and 130.

84. Botkin, pp. 80.

85. Qtd. In Ibid., pp. 63.

86. Qtd. In Humez, *Harriet Tubman:…*, pp. 254. Although Tubman felt some resignation for not getting the proper veteran’s benefit for her military service, the image of the apple trees made her happy.

87. Johnson, pp. 131.

88. Dr. L.S. Thompson and Mattie Jackson, *The Story of Mattie Jackson; Her Parentage-Experience of Eighteen Years in Slavery-Incidents During the War-Her Escape From Slavery* (Lawrence: Sentinel, 1866), pp. 9.

89. Qtd. In Brinkmann, *Slave Songs of the United States…*, pp. 57 and 70; In his analysis of the spiritual “Down in the Valley” Raboteau asserted: “The figurative lonesome valley took on literal shape as the troubled sinner wandered the woods, the marshes, and other deserted places, seeking to find release from the burden of sin: ….” (Qtd. In Ibid., pp. 39).

90. Raboteau, Slave Religion: The “Invisible Institution” in the Antebellum South….

91. Johnson, pp. 130.

92. Ibid., pp. 147.

93. Thomas Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighborhood of Sierra Leone To Which is Added An Account of the Present State of Medicine among Them,* vol.1 (London: Frank Cass & Co. LTD., 1969), pp. 3; Peter Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina From 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Knopf, 1975), pp. 54-59; Kingsley, *West African Studies…,* 2nd ed., pp. 38-39.

94. Timothy James Lockley, ed., *Maroon Communities in South Carolina: A Documentary Record* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2009).

95. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Letters and Journals of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, 1846-1906,* ed. Mary Thacher Higginson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1906), pp. 166-167.

96. Ibid.

97. Ibid., pp. 167.

98. Humez, pp. 52-58.

99. Nat Turner, "The Confessions of Nat Turner, The Leader of the Late Insurrection in Southampton, VA," in *I Was Born a Slave: An Anthology of Classic Slave Narratives, vol. 1 1770-1849,* ed. Yuval Taylor (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1999), pp. 247.

100. Ibid., pp. 247.

101. Harriet A. Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl Written by Herself*, ed. Maria L. Child (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), pp. 64. Similar reference occurs in Frances Anne Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation,* ed. John A. Scott (New York: Knopf, 1961), pp. 215-216.

102. Ibid.

103. Qtd. In Botume, pp. 179.

104. Daniel O. Sayers, P. Brendan Burke and Aaron M. Henry, "The Political Economy of Exile in the Great Dismal Swamp," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 11, no. 2 (2007): pp. 63.

105. Tim Lockley and David Doddington, "Maroon and Slave Communities in South Carolina Before 1865," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 113, no. 2 (2012): pp. 126 and 131; Peter Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina From 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Knopf, 1975), pp. 54-59.

106. Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities on the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 1998), pp. 53.

107. Timothy James Lockley, ed., *Maroon Communities in South Carolina: A Documentary Record* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2009), pp. 30-63.

108. Daniel O. Sayers, P. Brendan Burke and Aaron M. Henry, “The Political Economy of Exile in the Great Dismal Swamp,” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 11, no. 2 (2007): pp. 69-72.

109. Also refer to Midlo Hall’s Research Database. Midlo. Hall, *Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy 1719-1820* (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill), Last Accessed 7 Sept. 2012. < http://www.ibiblio.org/laslave/>. Archaeologists are doing ground-breaking research in which they are uncovering new sites of maroon culture that surround the Virginia and North Carolina borders (Ferguson, pp. 58); Aptheker’s account of the maroon societies in the United States provides a wealth of resources for further research on these societies and their overall value to slave communities during the nineteenth century (Herbert Aptheker, “Maroons Within the Present Limits of the United States” in *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas*, ed. Richard Price (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), pp. 156).

110. Ferguson, pp. 41; Aptheker, pp. 156.

111. Lockley, “Maroon and Slave Communities in South Carolina…,” pp. 128-130.

112. Ibid., pp. 132.

113. Ibid., pp. 130-132.

114. Ibid., pp. 129.

115. The boorish nature of chattel slavery complicated the relationships that bondpersons forged with animals. Contrary to *African American Environmental Thought: Foundations* author Kimberly K. Smith’s argument that the enslaved maintained an antagonistic relationship with animals and that they killed animals solely out of disdain and a form of resistance, bondpersons viewed animals in several regards (Kimberly K. Smith, *African American Environmental Thought: Foundations* (Lawrence: U. Press of Kansas, 2007), pp. 67). Dogs, which could tear the human flesh into pieces during a runaway capture were important members of the family amongst the enslaved (Williams, pp. 71). These animals were sources of protection, companionship and hunting for these communities. In the Amistad case the slaves purchased two dogs from islanders although their cargo was full of wheat, fruits, rice and other edible products (Barber, comp. *A History of the Amistad Captives:…*, pp. 4-5). This suggests that the Africans from Sierra Leone wanted the dogs in part for security purposes. Dogs were imperative for slaves to have when they hunted because of strong senses that dogs possess (Williams, pp. 71). Throughout her account, missionary Botume narrated how several of her students came to class with their dogs and refused to leave their companions. Her students, which ranged from small, young kids to older former slaves who were illiterate were emotionally attached to their pets and viewed them as part of their families. One of Botume’s students retorted: “‘Why, ef I lef’ my leetle dog, I mus’ stay too, fur him ain’t going to stop widout me (Qtd. In Botume, pp. 95).’” Given the instability of family structure within slavery, pets offered some semblance of consistency and companionship for this community. Although there

are several examples in which the enslaved killed their masters' animals out of rage and a form of resistance, there were other circumstances that forced slaves to slaughter animals (Botkin, pp. 7). Often the enslaved killed animals out of desperation and for survival. Their diets which consisted of "fat meat and corn bread and molasses" left them enervated and malnourished (Ibid., pp. 26). In the account "Malitis" from the WPA narratives, the narrator discussed how her mother and other slaves became emaciated out of hunger and consequently killed several of their masters' hogs for their consumption. They lied to the master when they told him that the hogs died of "malitis" so that he would give the carcasses to them since he was afraid to eat the supposed tainted meat (Ibid., pp. 4-5). In this instance one sees that killing the hogs was a matter of survival and the slaves did it out of hunger. It does not mean that these persons in vassalage hated the animals but simply that eating these hogs meant the difference between life and death.

116. Williams, pp. 52; Wilkie, pp. 124-126.

117. Raboteau, pp. 289-319.

118. Ferguson, pp. 18-32.

119. Edda L. Fields-Black, *Deep Roots: Rice Farmers in West Africa and the African Diaspora* (Bloomington: Indiana U. Press, 2008), pp. 29.

120. Raboteau, pp. 13, 29, 35 and 95-150.

121. Jerrell H. Shofner, "Custom, Law and History: The Enduring Influence of Florida's "Black Code," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (1977): 277-298; James B. Browning, "The North Carolina Black Code," *The Journal of Negro History* 15, no. 4 (1930): pp.461-473.

122. Olaudah Equiano (Gustavus Vassa), "The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, The African" in *I Was Born a Slave: An Anthology of Classic Slave Narratives, vol. 1 1770-1849*, ed. Yuval Taylor (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1999), pp. 53; William Grimes, "Life of William Grimes, The Runaway Slave," in *I Was Born a Slave: An Anthology of Classic Slave Narratives, vol. 1 1770-1849*, ed. Yuval Taylor (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1999), pp. 192.

123. Bondpersons created caves and other clandestine places in the woods and the swamps (Williams pp. 11, 16, 26-29, 32 and 35); To ward off the scent of the bloodhounds, slaves would rub spruce pine and red onions on their feet and rub themselves violently against a tree so that the bloodhounds would stop at a specific tree instead of following their human scent along the path (Williams, pp.10).

124. Refer to spirituals in Dixon, pp. 269-285.

125. For other spirituals in which nature is an important element in the definition of an experience that is not necessarily garnered from direct Biblical inference refer to: (38J in

Dixon, 233; 51B in Dixon; 51D in Dixon 269; and 57A in Dixon 303; “The Sun Will Never Go Down” qtd. In Courlander 72; “God Moves on the Water” qtd. In Courlander 76; “Down by the River” qtd. In Barton 13; “Go Down Moses” qtd. In Dixon, C. 22-23). Dixon offers a sound analysis of the spiritual “Jacob’s Ladder” and the role of the Jordan river in this arrangement (Dixon, c. 16. Additionally she offers a good analysis of “Go Down Moses” and it describes how the wilderness shapes Moses’ experience Dixon, C. 28-3.

126. Raboteau, pp. 39 and 108.

Chapter 3

1. W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction: An Essay Toward A History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1935), pp. 156-159; Eric Foner, *America’s Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), pp. 60-77.

2. General Howard and the Freedmen’s Bureau, Remarks of the Hon. George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, Hon. W. Townsend, of Pennsylvania, Hon. John A. Peters, of Maine, Hon. J.P.C. Shanks, of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, February 23, 1871 (Washington, DC.: Government Printing Office, 1871), pp. 1-8.

3. Ibid., pp. 3.

4. Ibid, pp. 8.

5. Ibid.

6. Gerald David Jaynes, *Branches Without Roots: Genesis of the Black Working Class in the American South, 1862-1882* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 10-11; Foner, pp. 103-228; B.A Botkin, ed., *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1945) pp. 69; Dylan C. Penningroth, *The Claims of Kinfolk: African American Property and Community in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina P., 2003), pp. 173.

7. Jay R. Mandle, *The Roots of Black Poverty: The Southern Plantation Economy After the Civil War* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1978).

8. James B. Steedman and J.S. Pullerton, “The Freedmen’s Bureau: Reports of Generals Steedman and Fullerton on the Condition of the Freedmen’s Bureau in the Southern States,” (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress), [E185.A254 Case U, no. 316] pp. 4-7; Foner 153-170.

9. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, pp. 637-667; 645, 648; To counter these obstacles, the new freedmen population turned inward to support its cause. Blacks in Georgia operated

96 of the 236 schools that were designated for Black pupils (Ibid., pp. 645). Northern philanthropy aside, Black churches and benevolent societies became the primary financiers of Negro education. Between 1868 and 1870, these organizations contributed $1,572,287 towards the construction of Black schools (Ibid., pp. 648). With the aide of the Freedman's Bureau, Blacks established schools for their students. Of the $6 million raised, new freedmen contributed $750,000 towards the construction of Fisk, Howard, and Atlanta University (W.E.B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, In *Three Negro Classics* (New York: Avon Books, 1965), pp. 234). This success appears that much more impressive considering the overall poverty that existed and the financial hardships that made it difficult to establish public schools for white Southern children. There also existed a pertinent and reciprocal relationship between the industrial schools and the Negro colleges. Because college-educated Negroes provided the teaching force for the industrial schools (Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, pp. 247). DuBois contended that normal schools trained over thirty thousand Black teachers who taught in the South and these teachers were imperative in teaching an overwhelming number of Blacks to read after Reconstruction (Ibid., pp. 246).

10. Booker T. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee & Its People: Their Ideals and Achievements,* Reprinted ed. (New York: Negro University Press, 1969), pp. 45; Linda O. McMurry, *George Washington Carver: Scientist and Symbol* (New York: Oxford, 1981), pp.305-307; Mark D. Hersey, *My Work is That of Conservation: An Environmental Biography of George Washington Carver* (Athens: U of Georgia Press, 2011), pp. 134-135; Rackham Holt, *George Washington Carver: An American Biography*, rev. ed. (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc. 1963), pp. 171-174.

11. Gary R. Kremer, *George Washington Carver: In His Own Words* (Columbia: U. of Missouri Press, 1987), pp. 133, 135, 140-144; Hersey, pp. 99-100.

12. Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (Va), *The Southern Workman* 43.3 (1914): pp. 162. Hortense Powdermaker, *After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South* (Atheneum: New York, 1968), pp. 85. Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Vintage, 1985), pp. 86-92; The work *Beyond Forty Acres and a Mule: African American Landowning Families Since Reconstruction* is a groundbreaking work that examines the lives and contributions of late nineteenth century and twentieth century rural landholders in the South. It opens up the conversation on revising the current historiography on black landownership and how these few successfully negotiated their historical moment, tensions between their kinship groups and that of sharecropping families. In her essay "The Jim Crow Section of Agricultural History" Adrienne Petty made the point that historians should look at the historical questions of agriculture in terms of relationships rather than contradictions (*Beyond Forty Acres and a Mule: African American Landowning Families since Reconstruction*, ed. Debra A. Reid and Evan P. Bennett (Gainesville: U. Press of Florida, 2012), pp. 28). Although this chapter does not examine the specific relationships between black and poor white sharecroppers, there is a rich conversation that remains unexplored. Another inquiry occurs at the heart of how racial

and economic barriers shaped the relationships between black landowners and poor white sharecroppers could spark future fruitful scholarship.

13. Several major debates on the abolition of slavery and its impact on the economic health of the United States erupted throughout the nation that resembled previous discourses in the Atlantic (Jaynes, pp. 3-6). Thirty-three years prior to General Lee's surrender to the Union in April 1865, ranking member of Britain's parliament Viscount Howick invigorated a conversation on how British colonies would maintain their profitable commercial output after Britain passed the Abolition Act of 1833 which abolished slavery in the British West Indies (Ibid., pp. 3-6; Bruce Taylor, "Our Man in London: John Pollard Mayers, Agent for Barbados, and the British Abolition Act, 1832-1834," *Caribbean Studies* 16, no. ¾ (1976-1977): pp. 60. Howick feared that if freed and granted land, these freedpersons would turn to subsistence farming instead of working for wages (Jaynes, pp. 4). To counter this likely possibility, Howick and the British parliament pushed the leaders in these colonies to sanction new taxes against the subsistence crops of freed Africans and pass stringent laws against "squatting upon waste lands." (Qtd. In Ibid., pp. 5). American leaders also faced the issue that given the choice between wage labor and subsistence farming that freedpersons would not raise commercial crops such as cotton because it reminded them of slavery and it had no value to their livelihood (Ibid., pp. 13).

14. Allan G. Bogue, "Historians and Radical Republicans: A Meaning for Today," *The Journal of American History* 70, no. 1 (1983): pp. 7-34.

15. Ibid., pp. 8; Jaynes, pp. 9-10.

16. Frederick Douglass, "Land for the Landless The Record of Parties on the Homestead Prinicple No. 20." Library of Congress, Frederick Douglass Papers. Washington D.C., pp. 2.

17. Qtd. In Edward L. Pierce, *Memoirs and Letters of Charles Sumner* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1893), pp. 76.

18. Roy E. Finkenbine, "Wendell Phillips and "The Negro's Claim": A Neglected Reparations Document," *Massachusetts Historical Review* 7 (2005): pp. 108.

19. Ibid., pp. 110.

20. Qtd. In Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction,* pp. 197.

21. Jaynes, pp. 10-11; Brooks D. Simpson, "Land and the Ballot: Securing the Fruits of Emancipation?" *Pennsylvania History* 60, no. 2 (1993): pp. 176-177.

22. Ibid.

23. Mark Schultz, "Benjamin Hubert and the Association for the Advancement of Negro Country Life," in *Beyond Forty Acres and a Mule: African American Landowning Families since Reconstruction*, ed. Debra A. Reid and Evan P. Bennett (Gainesville: U. Press of Florida, 2012), pp. 83.

24. T. Thomas Fortune, *Black and White: Land, Labor, and Politics in the South* (New York: Washington Square, 2007), pp. 69-80 and 132.

25. Ibid., pp. 91-99.

26. Ibid., pp. 137.

27. Although Fortune's editorial "Who Owns the Soil of the South in the Future" was published in 1883, a year before *Black and White*, it spoke candidly to his stance on the land question when Fortune wrote: "let every colored man get as much land as he can and let him keep as much of it as he can" (T. Thomas Fortune, "Who Will Owns the Soil of the South in the Future," Qtd. In *T. Thomas Fortune, the Afro-American Agitator: A Collection of Writings, 1880-1928,* ed. Shawn Leigh Alexander (Gainesville: U. Press of Florida, 2008), pp. 5). The editor believed that denying citizens land would develop a mass of people who would become apathetic towards the government since these communities would not be invested in supporting a political regime that rendered their experiences immaterial. Fortune offered the French Revolution as an example of how the disparity in land ownership and class could create widespread instability within a respective national government.

28. Joseph D. Reid Jr., "The Evaluation And Implications of Southern Tenancy." *Agricultural History* 53, no. 1 (1979): pp. 47n.

29. W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Negro Farmer," In *Negroes in the United States.* Bulletin 8 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), pp. 76.

30. Ibid., pp. 78; Reid Jr., "The Evaluation And Implications of Southern Tenancy," pp. 47n.

31. Ibid., pp. 75. Black farmers in the early 20th century produced 45 percent of the U.S' crops in cotton and tobacco.

32. Yet, notwithstanding sweet potatoes which stood at 21 percent, black farmers produced only 11.4 percent of food crops for U.S. consumption (*The Southern Workman* 43.3 (1914): pp. 165).

33. Ibid., pp. 162.

34. Max Bennett Thrasher, *Tuskegee: Its Story and Its Work* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), pp. 104; Britt Rusert, "'A Study in Nature': The Tuskegee

Experiments and the New South Laboratory," *Journal of Medical Humanities* 30.3 (September 2009): pp.160.

35. White, Deborah Gray., *Ar'n't I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South,* rev. ed. (New York: Norton, 1999), pp. 162. *Tuskegee & Its People: Their Ideals and Achievements,* pp. 168-170.

36. Omar Ali, "Black Populism: Agrarian Politics from the Colored Alliance to the People's Party," in *Beyond Forty Acres and a Mule: African American Landowning Families since Reconstruction*, ed. Debra A. Reid and Evan P. Bennett (Gainesville: U. Press of Florida, 2012), pp. 112-113 Schultz, pp. 84. Reid, pp. "The Evaluation And Implications of Southern Tenancy," pp. 167; Mary Frances Berry, *My Face is Black is True: Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), pp. 11.

37. Bernie D. Jones, *Fathers of Conscience: Mixed-Race Inheritance in the Antebellum South.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), pp. 23 and 43-47; Scott E. Casper, "Out of Mount Vernon's Shadow: Black Landowners in George Washington's Neighborhood, 1870-1930," in *Beyond Forty Acres and a Mule: African American Landowning Families since Reconstruction,* ed. Debra A. Reid and Evan P. Bennett (Gainesville: U. Press of Florida, 2012), pp. 42-50.

38. Thrasher, pp. 178.

39. *The Southern Workman* 43.4 (1914): pp. 203.

40. *The Southern Workman* 43.3 (1914): pp. 158.

41. Qtd. In Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction*, 15th anniversary ed. (New York: Oxford, 2007), pp. 15.

42. Robert Higgs, "Accumulation of Property by Southern Blacks Before World War I," *The American Economic Review* 72, no. 4 (1982): pp. 730, Table 2.

43. W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Negro Farmer," pp. 69 and 82.

44. Higgs, "Accumulation of Property…," pp. 731.

45. Ibid., pp. 729, Table 1.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., pp. 730.

48. Foner, pp. 176-216; Reid 155; Mandle, *The Roots of Black Poverty,* pp. 16-17; Martin A. Garrett Jr. and Zhenhui Xu, “The Efficiency of Sharecropping: Evidence from the Postbellum South,” *South Economic Journal* 69, no. 3 (2003): pp. 578-579.

49. Ibid.

50. Reid Jr., “The Evaluation And Implications of Southern Tenancy,” pp. 153.

51. Ibid., pp. 155-160; Jaynes, pp. 39-40.

52. Garrett Jr. and Zhenhui Xu, pp. 584.

53. Lee J. Alston and Robert Higgs, “Contractual Mix in Southern Agriculture Since the Civil War: Facts, Hypotheses, and Tests,” *The Journal of Economic History* 42, no. 2 (1982): pp. 327; Over time, tenant farmers were in better positions to become future land owners. Du Bois, “The Negro Farmer,” pp. 81.

54. Du Bois, “The Negro Farmer,” pp. 80; Mandle, pp. 45; Joseph D. Reid Jr., “Sharecropping and Agricultural Uncertainty,” *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 24, no. 3 (1976): pp. 550 and 560.

55. Arthur F. Raper and Ira D. Reid, *Sharecroppers All* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), pp. 45.

56. Alston and Higgs, pp. 328.

57. W.E.B. Du Bois, “The Negro Farmer,” pp. 80-81.

58. Ibid., pp. 81; Lee J. Alston and Robert Higgs, “Contractual Mix in Southern Agriculture…,” pp. 327-353.

59. Garrett Jr. and Zhenhui Xu, pp. 583; Reid, 1979, 39).

60. Du Bois, “The Negro Farmer,” pp. 80; Mandle, pp. 11.

61. Mandle, pp. 10, 13-18; *Tuskegee & Its People: Their Ideals and Achievements,* pp. 112; Any attempt by blacks or whites otherwise to disrupt this structure would often lead to the ultimate death of the protestors.

62. Jaynes, pp. 148.

63. Mandle, pp. 49; Since cotton was the cash crop, tenants had little if any plots of land where they could grow their own potatoes and vegetables and consequently were no longer producing their own crops for consumption and relied solely on the local commissaries for their food consumption (Thrasher, pp. 105). Sharecroppers’ diets consisted of sorghum, corn meal and fatback (Theodore Rosengarten, *All God’s Dangers:*

The Life of Nate Shaw (New York: Knopf, 1975), pp. 30). This diet was deficient of important vitamins and nutrients and left many sharecroppers vulnerable to pellagra (Hortense Powdermaker, *After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South* (Atheneum: New York, 1968), pp. 76 and 79-80); Howard Kester, *Revolt Among the Sharecroppers* (New York: Arno Press, 1969), pp. 50-51. Carter G. Woodson, *The Rural Negro* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1969), pp. 5; The uncertainty of the price of cotton and the panic of 1914 left sharecroppers in further economically compromised conditions (Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery*, pp. 18; Rosengarten, pp. xvii.

64. Steedman and J.S. Pullerton, "The Freedmen's Bureau: Reports of Generals Steedman and Fullerton on the Condition of the Freedmen's Bureau in the Southern States," pp. 12. Given that some families wanted to leave the plantations and move to urban areas in search of better job opportunities, it was not uncommon for sharecroppers to leave their lands and abandon their crops before harvest if the landholders gave them a large advance. The stifling conditions of debt peonage forced many sharecroppers who would otherwise have left to remain on their lands.

65. Hortense Powdermaker, *After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South* (Atheneum: New York, 1968), pp. 82.

66. Mandle, pp. 13; U.S. Congress and National Archives and Records Administration, Records of the Field Offices For the State of Alabama, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872. Washington, D.C., 2002 [Roll 28; Subordinate Field Offices Opelika. Aug.-Nov. 1868 Monthly Reports of Operations], pp. 95; Sept. 30, 1868.

67. Charles E. Seagrave, *The Southern Negro Agricultural Workers: 1850-1870* (New York: Arno Press, 1975), pp. 63.

68. W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction:…*, pp. 9; U.S. Congress and National Archives and Records Administration, Records of the Field Offices For the State of Alabama, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872, pp. 60.

69. Steedman and Pullerton, pp. 5 and 7.

70. Ibid., pp. 4-5.

71. Ibid., pp. 8.

72. *The Southern Workman* 43.3 (1914): pp. 162. Rosendgarten, pp. 14, 17, 37-38. In her diary white female landowner Patience Pennington recalled: "My renters here, nearly all own their farms and live on them, coming to their work every day in their ox-wagons or their buggies; for the first thing a negro does when he makes a good crop is to buy a pair of oxen, which he can do for $30, and the next good crop he buys a horse and buggy." Elizabeth Waties Pringle (pseud. Pennington, Patience), *A Woman Rice Planter*, illus.

Alice R. H. Smith, UNC Chapel Hill Documenting the American South Digitization Project (New York: The Macmillan company, 1914), pp. 5.

73. Rosengarten, pp. 14.

74. Qtd. In Ibid., pp. 15.

75. Ibid., pp. 25-26.

76. Ibid., pp. 25.

77. Ibid.

78. Higgs, “Accumulation of Property by Southern Blacks…,” pp. 736. Higgs’ study in “Accumulation of Property by Southern Black Before World War I” also found that the institutionalized racism that persisted via high illiteracy rates among African American children in public educational facilities severely thwarted their future chances of accumulating property and wealth.

79. Booker T. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee & Its People:…*, pp. 146-147.

80. Jaynes, pp. 20-21.

81. Ibid., pp. 22.

82. Ibid.

83. U.S. Congress and National Archives and Records Administration, Records of the Field Offices For the State of Alabama, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872, pp. 1.

84. Ibid.; President Johnson appointed Howard in May 1865.

85. General Howard and the Freedmen’s Bureau, Remarks of the Hon. George F. Hoar, pp. 1-8.

86. “Letter From a Radical, on the Freedmen’s Bureau,” (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress), [E185.A254 case L, no. 161], pp. 1-4.

87. A Citizen of New Orleans, “What Gen. Fullerton Did in Louisiana,” *New York Tribune*. June 13, 1866, pp. 5.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

90. Steedman and Pullerton, pp. 2.

91. A Citizen of New Orleans, “What Gen. Fullerton Did in Louisiana,” pp. 5.

92. Ibid.

93. “Letter From a Radical, on the Freedmen’s Bureau,” pp. 1.

94. Records of the Field Offices For the State of Alabama, pp. 4-5 and 22.

95. Ibid., pp. 5.

96. Ibid., pp. 38.

97. Reid Jr., “The Evaluation And Implications of Southern Tenancy,” pp. 153-169; Reid Jr., “Sharecropping and Agricultural Uncertainty,” pp. 549-576.

98. Ibid., pp. 550; Ibid., pp. 154.

99. Garrett Jr. and Zhenhui Xu, pp. 578; Jonathan M. Borwein, “On the Existence of Pareto Efficient Points,” *Mathematics of Operations Research* 8, no. (1983), pp. 64-73; Vincent P. Crawford, “A Procedure for Generating Pareto-Efficient Egalitarian-Equivalent Allocations,” *Econometrica* 47, no. 1 (1979): pp. 49-60.

100. Jaynes, pp. 232-233; Reid Jr., “Sharecropping and Agricultural Uncertainty,” pp. 562. Landlords who understood this reality gave their workers bonuses through rations. This is why sharecropping did not take shape in rice and sugar producing states where it extremely labor intensive. Jaynes, pp. 234.

101. Garrett Jr. and Zhenhui Xu, pp. 580.

102. Reid Jr., “The Evaluation And Implications of Southern Tenancy,” pp. 156.

103. Reid Jr., “Sharecropping and Agricultural Uncertainty,” pp. 555.

104. Garrett Jr. and Zhenhui Xu, pp. 578 and 593. They used mules as a measure of capital and upon doing a regression analysis between land and capital for farm owners, sharecroppers and tenants at the county level for 792 counties in 11 states, they yielded the following results: “The results of our tests reveal that a significant correlation does not exist between labor-land and draft animals-land ratios and the percentage of sharecroppers. The value of the correlation is -0.167 between the percentage of sharecroppers and labor per acre and -0.185 between the percentage of sharecroppers and draft animals per acre. While the values of correlation are negative and low, the computed value of R^2 is 0.028 from the regression of labor per acre on the percentage sharecroppers and 0.035 from that of draft animals per acre on the percentage of sharecroppers. With such low values of R^2, we must conclude that our data do not reveal

any evidence to support the Marshalian theory of less-than-adequate employment under sharecropping." Ibid., pp. 587.

105. Mandle, pp. 4-6.

106. Ibid., pp. 5.

107. Reid Jr., "The Evaluation And Implications of Southern Tenancy," pp. 156.

108. Garrett Jr. and Zhenhui Xu, pp. 580.

109. Ibid., pp. 582 and 584.

110. Ibid., pp. 584.

111. Ibid., pp. 587.

112. Reid Jr., "Sharecropping and Agricultural Uncertainty," pp. 555; Jaynes noted that, "This argument contains an implicit premise that is never stated by its proponents: the economic agents must face no constraints that prevent them from making a choice other than sharecropping and all would-be borrowers must have access to a textbook-perfect capital market. However, in the absence of a perfect credit market some employers will be able to offer money wages only of the postharvest variety." Jaynes, pp. 224-225.

113. Mandle, pp. 10.

114. Ibid., pp. 12 and pp. 18, 4n.

115. Mandle, *The Roots of Poverty*.

116. Jaynes, *Branches Without Roots.*

117. What makes his study significant is that it overlays the statistics with the narrative and gives credence to the numbers and what they signified and the please and entreaties of freepersons who made claims to the land.

118. W.E.B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk,* In *Three Negro Classics (*New York: Avon
Books, 1965), pp. 246-248; Schultz, pp. 84; August, Meier, *Negro Thought in America 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington* (Ann Arbor: U. of Michigan Press, 1963), pp. 86-90.

119. Qtd In Booker T. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee & Its People: Their Ideals and Achievements,* Reprinted ed. (New York: Negro University Press, 1969), pp. 29.

120. Qtd. In Booker T. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee & Its People: Their Ideals and Achievements,* pp. 146-147.

121. Thrasher, pp. 147-154. Linda O. McMurry, *George Washington Carver: Scientist and Symbol* (New York: Oxford, 1981), pp. 114-120.

122. Booker T. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee & Its People: Their Ideals and Achievements,* pp. 45; Before becoming the Secretary of Agriculture and Vice-President, Henry A. Wallace was a close childhood friend to Carver and Wallace accompanied the scientist on his nature walks as a young child.

123. Rosengarten, pp. 225-230; Garrett Jr. and Zhenhui Xu, pp. 583.

124. Booker T. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee & Its People:…*, pp. 45.

125. Pete Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South 1901-1969* (Urbana: U. of Illinois Press, 1972), pp. 2-18.

126. Rackham Holt, *George Washington Carver: An American Biography*, rev. ed. (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc. 1963), pp. 239-246. Gary R. Kremer, *George Washington Carver: In His Own Words* (Columbia: U. of Missouri Press, 1987), pp. 115.

127. McMurry, pp. 305-307.

128. Kremer, pp. 64.

129. McMurry, pp. 77-81.

130. W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Negro Farmer," pp. 69; Hersey, pp. 134-135; Holt, pp. 171-174.

131. Rosengarten, pp. 107.

132. Qtd. In Washington, *Up From Slavery,* pp. 191.

133. McMurry, pp. 86.

134. Thrasher, pp. 108.

135. Thrasher, pp. 107. Hersey, pp. 126.

136. McMurry, pp. 130-132; 141.

137. McMurry, pp. 179-180.

138. Kremer, pp. 139.

139. John Muir, *My First Summer in the Sierra and Selected Essays* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911), pp. 1-3.

140. In a personal letter to Judge McCord, Washington expressed his love for a sunset that he witnessed at the moment he wrote this letter. The beautiful sunset was a source of metaphysical connection the colorful rays moved him beyond the words in front of him and shifted Carver's attention and gaze upon a lovely natural phenomenon that rendered him calm, tranquil and took him to another mental realm. Kremer, pp. 137.

141. Hersey, pp. 99-100. Kremer, pp. 140-144.

142. Kremer, pp. 135.

143. Kremer, pp. 133.

144. Holt, pp. 101 and 131.

145. Qtd. In Ibid, pp. 193.

146. Holt, pp. 13. Kremer, pp. 20.

147. Reprinted in Kremer pp. 128.

148. John Muir, *My First Summer in the Sierra*, pp. 26-28.

149. Holt, pp. 27.

150. McMurry, pp. 26.

151. Holt, pp. 57.

152. Britt Rusert, "'A Study in Nature': The Tuskegee Experiments and the New South Laboratory," *Journal of Medical Humanities* 30.3 (September 2009): pp.160; Kremer, pp. 90.

153. Holt, pp. 239-240.

154. Ibid., pp. 239-246. Kremer, pp. 127-128.

155. Holt, pp. 294.

156. Hersey, pp. 175-176.

157. A Citizen of New Orleans, "What Gen. Fullerton Did in Louisiana," pp. 5; Steedman and Pullerton, pp. 1-7; Foner, pp. 176-216.

Chapter 4

1. Paul Laurence Dunbar, “Sympathy” in *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature,* 2nd ed., eds. Henry Louis and Nellie Y. McKay (Norton: New York, 2004), pp. 922.

2. Donald H. Grubbs, Cry From the Cotton: The Southern Tenant Farmers’ Union and the New Deal (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971); Van Hawkins, Plowing the New Ground: The Southern Tenant Farmers’ Union and Its Place in Delta History (Virginia Beach: Donning Co. Publishers, 2007).

3. Zora Neale Hurston, Their Eyes Were Watching God. First Perennial Library ed. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1990), pp. 66 and 73.

4. James B. Steedman and J.S. Pullerton, “The Freedmen’s Bureau: Reports of Generals Steedman and Fullerton on the Condition of the Freedmen’s Bureau in the Southern States,” (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress), pp. 8. [E185.A254 case U, no. 316].

5. Arguably, the nadir extended into 1940; Patrick Renshaw, “The Black Ghetto 1890-1940,” *Journal of American Studies* 8, no. 1 (1974): pp. 41-59; James Allen, John Lewis, Leon F. Litwack, and Hilton Als, *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America* (Twin Palms Publishers: Santa Fe, 2000), pp. 41-59; Herbert Shapiro, *White Violence and Black Response: From Reconstruction to Montgomery* (Amherst, University of Massachusetts, Amherst Press, 1988). Refer to Appendix B to see the population changes that occur as African Americans migrated into urban spaces.

6. William J. Wilson, “Class Conflict and Jim Crow Segregation in the Postbellum South,” *The Pacific Sociological Review* 19, no. 4 (1976): pp. 431-446; Rob in D.G. Kelley, “We Are Not What We Seem”: Rethinking Black Working-Class Opposition in the Jim Crow South,” *The Journal of American History* 80, no. 1 (1993): pp. 75-112; Dan Moore Sr. and Michele Mitchell, *Black Codes in Georgia (*Atlanta: APEX Museum, 2006).

7. Charles S. Johnson, *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy: Summary of Field Studies & Statistical Surveys, 1933-35* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935), pp. 8-9.

8. Lee J. Alston and Robert Higgs, “Contractual Mix in Southern Agriculture Since the Civil War: Facts, Hypotheses, and Tests.” *The Journal of Economic History* 42, no. 2 (1982): pp. 327-328.

9. Johnson, pp. 18.

10. Nan E. Woodruff, "The Failure of Relief During the Arkansas Drought of 1930-1931," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (1980): pp. 304-306; Charles E. Orser, Jr., "Artifacts, Documents and Memories of the Black Tenant Farmer," *Archaeology* 38, no. 4 (1985): pp. 49; Jerrell H. Shofner, "Forced Labor in the Florida Forests 1880-1950," *Journal of Forest History* 25, no. 1 (1981): pp. 21.

11. Carter G. Woodson discussed the environmental quality in which poor blacks survived. He spoke against the poor air and water quality that the sharecroppers experienced. Woodson noted: "In the first place, it is not true that the man in the rural community breathes pure air…. Because of flood conditions and tendencies toward subtropical diseases in the lowlands of the cotton and sugar districts, too, the water as well as the air tends to be more easily contaminated than in the case of the section farther north." Quoted in Carter G. Woodson, *The Rural Negro* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1969) pp. 3 and 5. Although Woodson did not use the nomenclature of modern scholarship, his discussion of the negative environmental impacts upon the poor black sharecroppers is arguably a pivotal work in environmental justice that was written before its time. Douglas A. Blackmon, *Slavery By Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (New York: Doubleday, 2008).

12. Shapiro, pp. 226 and 235.

13. Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (Va), *The Southern Workman* 43.3 (1914): pp. 162. Hortense Powdermaker, *After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South* (Atheneum: New York, 1968), pp. 85. Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Vintage, 1985), pp. 86-92; Robin D. G. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression*
(Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 1990), pp. 35-44.

14. Thomas Norman, "The Sharecropper and the A.A.A.," April 1935, Southern Tenant Farmers Union Papers. Mount Holyoke College Library. Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts, pp. 3-5, Reel 1.

15. Charles S. Johnson, *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy: Summary of Field Studies & Statistical Surveys, 1933-35* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935), pp. 84-88; Woodson, pp. 23; Carol B. Stack, *All our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1974), pp. 105.

16. Donald Worster, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s*, 25th Anniversary ed. (New York: Oxford, 2004), pp. 139-164; Kenneth M. Sylvester and Eric S. A. Ripley. "Revising the Dust Bowl: High Above the Kansas Grasslands," *Environmental History* 17, no. 3 (2012): pp. 603-633.

17. Worster, pp. 139-164; Sylvester, pp. 603-605.

18. James C. Giesen, “The Herald of Prosperity”: Tracing the Boll Weevil Myth in Alabama,” *Agricultural History* 85, no. 1 (2011): pp. 24-49; Ibid. “The Truth About the Boll Weevil”: The Nature of Planter Power in the Mississippi Delta.” *Environmental History* 14, no. 4 (2009): pp. 683; Kent Osband, “The Boll Weevil Versus “King Cotton.” *The Journal of Economic History* 45, no. 3 (1985): pp. 627.

19. Giesen, “The Truth About the Boll Weevil,” pp. 683; Gilbert C. Fite, “Recent Progress in the Mechanization of Cotton Production in the United States,” *Agricultural History* 24, no. 1 (1950): pp. 23.

20. Jean Toomer, *Cane* (New York: Liveright, 1975), pp. 4.

21. Fite, pp. 20; Keith J. Volanto, “Leaving the Land: Tenant and Sharecropping Displacement in Texas during the New Deal,” *Social Science History* 20, no. 4 (1996): pp. 533-551; Monica Richmond Gisolfi, “From Crop Lien to Contract Farming: The Roots of Agribusiness in the American South, 1929-1939,” *Agricultural History* 80, no. 2 (2006): pp. 167-189; John Fraser Hart, “The Demise of King Cotton,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 67, no. 3 (1977): pp. 307-322.

22. A.B. Cox, and L.H. Bean, “The A.A.A., The Cotton Growers, and the Agricultural Problem,” *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 31, no. 194 (1936): pp. 295-317.

23. Thomas Norman, “The Sharecropper and the A.A.A.,” April 1935, Southern Tenant Farmers Union Papers. Mount Holyoke College Library. Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts, pp. 3-5, Reel 1; Alexander Yard, “They Dont Regard My Rights at All”: Arkansas Farm Workers, Economic Modernization, and the Southern Tenant Farmers Union,” *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (1988): pp. 201-229.

24. Ibid; Fite, pp. 20; H.L. Mitchell, *Mean Things Happening in This Land: The Life and Times of H.L. Mitchell Co-founder of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), pp. 50.

25. Qtd. In H.L. Mitchell, *Mean Things Happening in This Land: The Life and Times of H.L. Mitchell Co-founder of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), pp. 132.

26. Yard, pp. 201-229.

27. Thomas, “The Sharecropper and the A.A.A.,” and “The Plight of the Sharecropper,” STFU Papers, Reel 1.

28. Mitchell, pp. 50; Cindy Hahamovitch, *The Fruits of Their Labor: Atlantic Coast Farm Workers and the Making of Migrant of Migrant Poverty, 1870-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), pp. 155-156; Shapiro, pp. 237-240.

29. “STFU Preamble,” July 1934, Southern Tenant Farmers Union Papers, Reel 1.

30. “STFU Constitution,” July 1934, Southern Tenant Farmers Union Papers, Reel 1.

31. Raper, pp. 66; Mitchell, pp. 50; Howard Kester, *Revolt Among the Sharecroppers* (New York: Arno Press, 1969), pp. 50-51.

32. Isaac McNatt, “Letter of Inquiry from Hampton Institute History Club,” December 1935, Ibid., Reel 1.

33. Gregory John Hall, “Rituals and Secrecy in the Southern Tenant Farmers’ Union,” *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 21, no. 2 (2002): pp. 1-14.

34. Mitchell, pp. 173; For a more in-depth analysis of the church’s role in STFU, refer to the thesis entitled: *Realistic Religion and Radical Prophets: The STFU, The Social Gospel, and the American Left in the 1930s* by Joshua C. Youngblood.

35. Mnnie Miller Brown, “Black Women in American Agriculture,” *Agricultural History* 50, no. 1 (1976): pp. 202-212.

36. Tera W. Hunter, *To ‘Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women’s Lives and Labors After the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. 21-130.

37. Orser, pp. 52-53.

38. Kelley, pp. 59.

39. Ibid., pp. 36.

40. “STFU Constitution,” reel 1. In what Mitchell referred to as “The Girl Friday of the STFU” the women leaders demanded board official board positions in the union. Evelyn Smith, a white woman, served as the office secretary for five years and produced the protest literature that the organizers disseminated during their meetings. She created the lesson plans and the teaching exercises that the organizations used to educate their members about socialism and their rights. Mitchell, pp. 124-125.

41. Mitchell, pp. 113 and 114; Carolyn Terry Bashaw, “One Kind of Pioneer Project”: Julia F. Allen and the Southern Tenant Farmers’ Union College Student Project, 1938,” *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (1996): pp. 1-25.

42. Mitchell, pp. 114.

43. Kelley, pp. 45-46.

44. Ibid., pp. 129-130.

45. Ibid., pp. 130.

46. Ibid., pp. 133.

47. Mitchell, pp. 100.

48. John McGhee, “Note to STFU,” January 1936, STFU Papers, Reel 1.

49. Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford, 1992), pp. 13.

50. In Toomer’s “Cotton Song,” the speaker groans against the inhumanity of cotton production and calls for others to escape the horrors of sharecropping when the speaker narrates: “Come, brother, come. Lets lift it; /Come now, hewit! roll away! Shackles fall upon Judgment Day / But let’s not wait for it./ God’s body’s got a soul, /Bodies like to roll the soul, /Cant blame God if we dont roll, / Come, brother, roll, roll! /Cotton bales are the fleecy way/ Weary sinner’s bare feet trod, / Softly, softly to the throne of God, / “We ain’t agwine t wait until th Judgment Day!” (Toomer, pp. 9). Toomer’s poem “Harvest Song” also speaks to the exploitive nature of sharecropping.

51. Alain Locke, “The New Negro” in *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature,* 2nd ed., eds. Henry Louis and Nellie Y. McKay (Norton: New York, 2004), pp. 987 and 992.

52. Jay R. Mandle, *The Roots of Black Poverty: The Southern Plantation Economy After the Civil War* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1978).

53. Kinfe Abraham, *Politics of Black Nationalism: From Harlem to Soweto* (Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc., 1991), pp. 39-42.

54. James Edward Smethurst, *The African American Roots of Modernism: From Reconstruction to the Harlem Renaissance* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina, 2011), pp. 109.

55. W.E.B. Du Bois, “Criteria of Negro Art” in *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature,* 2nd ed., eds. Henry Louis and Nellie Y. McKay (Norton: New York, 2004), pp. 779; W.E.B. Du Bois, “The Conservation of Races” in *Black Nationalism in America,* eds. John H. Bracey, August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merill Company, Inc., 1970), pp. 250-262. Monroe N. Work, “The Passing Tradition and the African Civilization,” in Ibid., pp. 319-326.

56. “The Art of the Ancestors” and Countee Cullen, “Heritage,” *Survey Graphic: Harlem Mecca of the New Negro* 6.6 (March 1925): pp. 673-675.

57. Arthur A. Schomburg, “The Negro Digs Up His Past” in *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature,* 2nd ed., eds. Henry Louis and Nellie Y. McKay (Norton: New York, 2004), pp. 963 and 967.

58. Du Bois, “Criteria of Negro Art,” in Ibid., pp. 784.

59. Langston Hughes, “The Negro Speaks of Rivers.” In *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature,* 2nd ed., eds. Henry Louis Gates and Nellie Y. McKay, (Norton: New York, 2004), pp. 1291; Cullen, Countee. “Heritage.” In Ibid., pp. 1347.

60. Arthur A. Anderson, “Prophetic Liberator of the Coloured Race of the United States of America: Command to His People” in *Black Nationalism in America,* eds. John H. Bracey, August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merill Company, Inc., 1970), pp. 177-178.

61. Ibid., pp. 181.

62. T. Thomas Fortune, “Who Will Owns the Soil of the South in the Future,” In *T. Thomas Fortune, the Afro-American Agitator: A Collection of Writings, 1880-1928,* ed. Shawn Leigh Alexander (Gainesville: U. Press of Florida, 2008), pp. 5.

63. W.E.B. Du Bois, “Economic Planning For the American Negroes,” W.E.B. Du Bois Papers.
University of Massachusetts, Amherst Library. University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Amherst, MA., MS-312, Box# 266.

64. Ibid., “The City Negro,” W.E.B. Du Bois Papers. University of Massachusetts, Amherst Library. University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Amherst, MA., MS-312, Box# 265, Series #2, Folder #4985.

65. Melville J. Herskovits, “The Dilemma of Social Pattern,” *Survey Graphic,* pp. 678. Herskovits’ belief that a cultural group could become fully absorbed into another cultural group stands in stark contrast to what he demonstrates in his classic text *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941).

66. Advertisements. “Hampton, Tuskegee and Points North,” “A Southern Negro’s Impression of Harlem,” “The School of the Home-Acres,” “Southern Experience in Its Bearing on the Northern City,” in *Survey Graphic: Harlem Mecca of the New Negro* 6.6 (March 1925): 626.

67. Ibid.

68. Qtd. In Charles Johnson, “Black Workers and the City,” in *Survey Graphic: Harlem Mecca of the New Negro* 6.6 (March 1925): pp. 642.

69. Langston Hughes, “An Earth Song,” in Ibid., pp. 663.

70. Albert C. Barnes, “Negro Art and America,” Ibid., pp. 669.

71. Barnes, Ibid., pp. 669.

72. Claude McKay, “Like A Strong Tree,” Ibid., pp. 662.

73. McKay, Ibid., pp. 662.

74. Zora Neale Hurston, *Their Eyes Were Watching God.* First Perennial Library ed. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1990), pp. 66 and 73.

75. Ibid., pp. 67, 74, 80.

76. Qtd. In *Survey Graphic*, pp. 707.

77. Moore and Mitchell, pp. 41-67.

78. David Garland, “Penal Excess and Surplus Meaning: Public Torture Lynchings in Twentieth-Century America,” *Law & Society Review* 39, no. 4 (2005): pp. 793-833.

79. Toomer, pp. 90.

80. Ibid., pp. 41.

81. Ibid., pp. 2. The narrator states: “A child fell out of her womb onto a bed of pine-needles in the forest.”

82. Ibid., pp. 2.

83. Ibid., pp. 2.

84. Ibid., pp. 5.

85. I am not certain why Hurston chose to state that ‘“God is everywhere (45)”’ in the negative. The text insists that this is a statement that people say but they do not believe it. This assertion seems to go against what she writes and maintains throughout the novel.

86. Qtd. In Hurston, *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, pp. 61.

87. Ibid., pp. 151.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid., pp. 18-19.

91. Hurston, pp. 140-141. Although Tea Cake treated Janie well in the beginning, he did beat her.

92. Ibid., pp. 98 and 102.

93. Ibid., pp. 107.

94. Ibid., pp. 123-125.

95. Ibid., pp. 182.

96. Ibid.

97. Paul Laurence Dunbar, “The Haunted Oak” in *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature,* 2nd ed., eds. Henry Louis and Nellie Y. McKay (Norton: New York, 2004), pp. 923.

98. Ibid., pp. 923.

99. Hurston, pp. 11.

100. Ibid., pp. 15.

101. Ibid., pp. 10.

102. Ibid., pp. 8.

103. Ibid., pp.11.

104. Ibid., pp. 13.

105. Zora Neale Hurston Letter to Jean Waterbury Eau Gallie, FL. “Thanks for money; her garden; her house; her script; Herod the Great,” July 9, 1951; University of Florida Special Collections in Zora Neale Hurston Papers. 2:35.

106. Ibid., pp. 2:35.

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid.

109. Ibid.; Gates, Henry, ed. “Zora Neale Hurston 1891-1960” in *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature,* 1019. This is especially important given that during the latter years of her life, Hurston shrunk into isolation after the allegation of misconduct with a ten-year old boy. She was poor and worked as a domestic in addition to other low-paying jobs.

110. Zora Neale Hurston Letter to Jean Waterbury Eau Gallie, FL. “Her Garden, hocked typewriter,” Oct. 25, 1951 ; University of Florida Special Collections in Zora Neale Hurston Papers. 2:29.

111. Hurston, 2:35.

112. Zora Neale Hurston, *Tell My Horse: Voodoo and Life in Haiti and Jamaica* (New York: Perennial Library, 1990).

113. Jean McMahon Humez, *Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), pp. 254.

114. Ibid, Hurston, *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, pp. 11.

115. Luther Adams, “Headed for Louisville”: Rethinking Rural to Urban Migration in the South, 1930-1950,” *Journal of Social History* 40, no. 2 (2006): pp. 407-430.

Chapter 5

1. James A Randall, Jr., “When Something Happens,” in *The Black Poets*, ed. Dudley (Randall. New York: Bantam, 1985), pp. 275-276.

2. Ibid.

3. Robert D. Bullard and Beverly Hendrix Wright, “Blacks and the Environment,” *Humbodlt Journal of Social Relations* 14, no. ½ (1987): pp. 165-184; United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice, *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States: A National Study of the Racial and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Communities with Hazardous Waste Sites* (New York: United Church of Christ, 1987); Zora Neale Hurston Letter to Jean Waterbury Eau Gallie, “Her Garden, hocked typewriter,” Oct. 25, 1951; University of Florida Special Collections in Zora Neale Hurston Papers. 2:29; Zora Neale Hurston Letter to Jean Waterbury Eau Gallie, “Thanks for money; her garden; her house; her script; Herod the Great,” July 9, 1951; University of Florida Special Collections in Zora Neale Hurston Papers, 2:35.

4. Daniel M. Bluestone, “Detroit’s City Beautiful and the Problem of Commerce,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 47, no. 3 (1988): pp. 246; Dorceta E. Taylor, *The Environment And the People in American Cities, 1600s-1900s: Disorder, Inequality, and Social Change* (Durham: Duke U.P., 2009), pp. 190-191; Paul Johnson, *A History of the American People* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1997), pp. 570.

5. Michael Rodriguez and Thomas Featherstone, *Images of America: Detroit’s Belle Isle Island Park Gem* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2003), pp. 9-26; Diana diZerega Wall, Nan A. Rothschild and Cynthia Copland, “Seneca Village and Little Africa: Two African American Communities in Antebellum New York City.” *Historical Archaeology* 42, no.

1 (2008): pp. 97-107; Taylor, *The Environment And the People in American Cities,* pp. 273-274; Spence, Mark David. *Disposessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Philip Burnham, *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans and the National Parks* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2000); Robert H. Keller and Michael F. Turek, *American Indians and National Parks.* Tucson:
(University of Arizona Press, 1998).

6. Wendy Plotkin, "“Hemmed in”: The Struggle against Restrictive Covenants and Deed Restrictions in Post-WWII Chicago." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 94, no. 1 (2001): pp. 39-69; Allen Kamp, "The History Behind *Hansberry v. Lee.*" *U.C. Davis Law Review* 20, no. 3 (1986): pp. 481-500.

7. Janet L. Langlois, "The Belle Isle Bridge Incident: Legend Dialectic and Semiotic System in the 1943 Detroit Race Riots." *The Journal of American Folklore* 96, no. 380 (1983): 183-199; Rodriguez, *Images of America,* pp. 8-13. Taylor, *The Environment And the People in American Cities* pp. 332-337; 577 n. 116; Bullard, "Blacks and the Environment," pp. 165-166.

8. Wall, pp. 97-107; Burnham, pp. 313-323; Amendment V: "… nor shall private property be taken for public used, without just compensation.; Amendment XIV: " …nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

9. After 1910, leaders within the Conservation movement split over ideological differences. The conservationists held a utilitarian perspective on nature and sought to protect natural resources for future human consumption whereas the preservationists believed in the intrinsic value of the environment and fought to protect nature for its own sake. Preservationist leaders were John Muir, Aldo Leopold, and Robert Marshall. Notable conservationists were George P. Marsh and John Wesley Powell, Lester Frank Ward, and W J McGee.; Henry A. Barker, "The Civic Aspect of Conservation. Hon. Henry A. Barker, Representing the State of Rhode Island and the American Civic Association," Washington, D.C.: [Addresses and proceedings of the first National conservation Congress held at Seattle, Washington, August 26-28, 1909; HC 106. N4], pp. 103; John R. Ross, "Man Over Nature: Origins of the Conservation Movement." *American Studies* 16, no.1 (1975): pp. 49.

10. W.E.B. Du Bois, "Letter from W.E.B. Du Bois to Searles High School Alumni Association," June 13, 1961; University of Massachusetts, Amherst Special Collections in Du Bois Papers, MS-312, Box #154; George Perkins Marsh, "Address delivered before the Agricultural society of Rutland County, September 30, 1847," (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress), pp.6-8. [S523.M36]. Ross, pp. 49-56; Eileen Maura McGurty, "From NIMBY to Civil Rights: The Origins of the Environmental Justice Movement." *Environmental History* 2, no. 3 (1997): pp. 301-323; Eileen Maura McGurty, *Transforming Environmentalism: Warren County, PCBs, and the Origins of*

Environmental Justice (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007), pp. 100-111. Refer to Appendix C for the adopted principles of environmental justice.

11. Barker, pp. 105. Barker's statement echoes the values set forth by the health reform, playground, park, and muscular Christian movements of the mid-19th and 20th century (Newbury 685-687). These movements' leaders- Catharine Beecher, Edward Hitchcock, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson-contended that exercise and public recreation were crucial to the development of strong morals in individuals, families, and communities; they further argued that physical activity not only worked a person's body, but that it also developed strong ethical and moral conditioning. Thomas W. Higginson, "Saints and their Bodies," In *The American Sporting Experience: A Historical Anthology of Sport in America,* edited by Steven A. Riess, pp. 80-93. New York: Leisure Press, 1984), pp. 80-93. Abolitionist, military officer, and Unitarian minister Thomas Wentworth Higginson supported this initiative and debunked the myth "…. that physical vigor and spiritual sanctity are incompatible" in his 1858 article "Saints and their Bodies" when he argued that a person exercises her moral acuity while she engages in demanding physical exercise. Qtd in Riess, pp. 81.

These leaders confronted the increasing sedentary lifestyles of the new urban middle class of 19th century intellectuals, clerics, and other skilled non-manual laborers and its contribution towards the deteriorating mental and physical health of individuals within this population. von Hoffman, pp. 348; Michael Newbury, "Healthful Employment: Hawthorne, Thoreau, and Middle-Class Fitness." *American Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (1995): pp. 681-694. *The Scarlet Letter* author Nathaniel Hawthorne factored in this conversation when in 1850 he expressed the "lack of physical vigor and energy" he experienced while he wrote the acclaimed novel and objected to how the inactivity "re-acts upon the mind." Qtd In Newbury, pp. 681. To quell this illness, Hawthorne exhorted to his friend that he would retreat into the secluded landscapes of the countryside and the beach. Newbury, pp. 682. In the same vein, 19th century Educator and women's advocate Catharine Beecher engaged this conversation in *Letters to the People on Health and Happiness* (1856) when she promoted the development of a recreational facility-she termed the "Temple of Health"-where middle class persons could attend dances, exercise, and experience nature. She viewed these activities as fundamental components of elite women raising healthy children in moral environments. Newbury, pp. 689-690.

Although Barker spoke for the marginalized communities and his predecessors advocated for the privileged, the consensus within this dialectic is that a moral environment entails clean and accessible public recreational facilities in addition to natural spaces that provide residents with a sense of security and connection to something beyond the tangible.

12. Carolyn Merchant, "Shades of Darkness: Race and Environmental History." *Environmental*
History 8, (2003): 380-394; George P. Marsh (1801-1882), arguably the first American environmentalist, was born in Vermont to a U.S. Congressman. To his credit, Marsh, a Dartmouth graduate, vehemently opposed slavery and the second class status of ex-slaves. Lucia Ducci, *George P. Marsh Correspondence: Images of Italy, 1861-1881* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2012), pp. 30. In a May 4, 1865 letter to

Hiram Powers Marsh exclaimed: “The news of President Lincoln’s death shocked, indeed, but did not in the least surprise me…. It is a natural expression of the brutal ferocity engendered by slavery, and every secessionist, every copperhead, every European sympathiser, with treason and rebellion, must bear the burden of guilt as an accomplice in this great crime….. I am glad to see that Pres. Johnson will probably treat such of the leading rebels as he can catch with merited severity. Most of them will probably abscond but some I trust may be made to serve as examples” (Qtd In Ducci, pp. 65-66); Gifford Pinchot was part of an elite family and graduated from Yale. Gifford’s father persuaded him to become a forester and professionalize his interests to protect the forests. Glaring forms of inconsistencies marked Pinchot’s ideologies. The former forest manager to wealthy forest owners, became the first chief of the U.S. Forest Service (1905-1910). His conservation beliefs prescribed that: “First: wisely to use, protect, preserve, and renew the natural resources of the earth. Second: to control the use of the natural resources and their products in the common interest, and to secure their distribution to the people at fair and reasonable charges for goods and services. Third: to see to it that the rights of the people to govern themselves should not be controlled by great monopolies through their power over natural resources.” Gifford Pinchot and Al Sample, *Breaking New Ground,* Commemorative ed. (Washington D.C.: Island Press, 1998), Qtd. In pp. 506;

13. Marsh, pp. 6-8; 11. Hough, Franklin B. “On the Duty of Governments in the Preservation of Forests,” Library of Congress, From the Proceedings of the American association for the advancement of science, Portland meeting, August, 1873. Washington D.C:; Laura Pulido, *Environmentalism and Economic Justice: Two Chicano Struggles in the Southwest* (Tucson: U. of Arizona Press, 1996), pp. 3-4; 20-30; Taylor, pp. 9-12; Donald Worster, *Nature’s Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas* (New York: Cambridge, 1977), pp. 424-433.

14. Worster, *Nature’s Economy:*, pp. 416-420; Ross, “Man Over Nature:, pp. 49-56; Marsh, pp. 6-8.

15. Qtd. In Taylor, *The Environment and the People,* pp. 312-313.

16. Ibid., pp. 273.

17. Alexander von Hoffman, “Of Greater Lasting Consequence”: Frederick Law Olmsted and the Fate of Franklin Park, Boston,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 47, no. 4 (1988): pp. 339; Bluestone, “Detroit’s City Beautiful and the Problem of Commerce,” pp. 251.

18. Taylor, pp. 252-253.

19. Frederick Law Olmsted, “Improvements in Central Park.; Interesting Recommendation of Mr. Olmstead. Report of Mr. Olmstead *New York Times,* June 2, 1860, pp. 1.

20. Frederick Law Olmsted, *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted*, ed. Charles Capen McLaughlin and Charles E. Beveridge (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1977), pp. 3.

21. von Hoffman, pp. 341; Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., and Frederick Law Olmsted. *Frederick Law Olmsted: Landscape Architect 1822-1903*, ed. Frederick Law Olmsted and Theodora Kimball (New York: G.P. Putnam Sons, 1922), pp.1: 94-97.

22. Frederick Law Olmsted, *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted*, pp. 1; Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. and Frederick Law Olmsted and William P Trent. *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States With Remarks on their Economy.* Vol. 2. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

23. Taylor, *The Environment and the People,* pp. 276-277.

24. Ibid, pp. 273-274; Wall, pp. 97-107.

25. Taylor, *The Environment and the People*, pp. 275-276.

26. Qtd. In Frederick Law Olmsted, *Civilizing American Cities: Writings on City Landscapes*, First DaCapo Press edition, ed. S.B. Sutton (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 1997), pp. 94.

27. Bluestone, pp. 246.

28. Reynolds, Farley, Mick Couper and Maria Krysan, “Race and Revitalization in the Rust Belt: A Motor City Story,” *Michigan Sociological Review* 20, (2006): pp. 15; Bluestone, pp. 246; Rodriguez, pp. 14.

29. Michael O. Smith, “The City as State: Franchises, Politics, and Transit Development in Detroit, 1863-1879,” *Michigan Historical Review* 23, no. 1 (1997): pp. 19; Bluestone, pp. 249-250.

30. Bluestone, pp. 255.

31. Ibid., pp. 246; Zunz, pp. 2 and 16.

32. Zunz, pp. 1-3.

33. Bluestone, pp. 245-251.

34. Smith, pp. 6; Zunz , pp. 16.

35. Smith, pp. 8-9.

36. Ibid., pp. 6.

37. Qtd. In Ibid., pp. 18.

38. Ibid., pp. 30.

39. Ibid., pp. 19.

40. Ibid., pp. 17.

41. Ibid., pp. 16; Peter Gavrilovich, and Bill McGraw, *The Detroit Almanac: 300 Years of Life in the Motor City* (Detroit: The Detroit Free Press, 2000), pp. 231.

42. Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit.*
1996 Reprint, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 18.

43. Rodriguez, pp. 23.

44. Ibid., pp. 12. Rodriguez's text provides a thorough analysis of the violence surrounding how the French and British acquired Belle Island from the Native Americans.

45. Rodriguez, pp. 2-15.

46. Ibid., pp. 23.

47. Geoffrey Blodgett, "Frederick Law Olmsted: Landscape Architecture as Conservative Reform," *The Journal of American History* 62, no. 4 (1976): pp. 886.

48. Langlois, pp. 187; von Hoffman, pp. 342-343; 350.

49. Rodriguez, pp. 39.

50. Ibid., pp. 23; Bluestone, pp. 249-251.

51. Qtd. In Bluestone, pp. 249.

52. Ibid., pp. 249-250.

53. Qtd. In Ibid., pp. 251.

54. Ibid., pp. 252.

55. Qtd. In Ibid., pp. 257.

56. Zunz, pp. 292.

57. Qtd. In Ibid.

58. Qtd. In Ibid., pp. 291.

59.Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis:*, pp. 33-88.When Ford and the other members of the Big Three (Chrysler and General Motors) moved to Detroit in the early 20th century, they provided black workers with decent, well-paying jobs. Ford used the established black cultural networks and institutions such as the Black Church and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to secure cheap and dependable black laborers for its Highland Park Plant. Zunz, pp. 3. Although Ford was the only company in 1919 to train blacks in skilled divisions such as brick-laying and laboratory investigators, the company still largely relegated the black workers to the unskilled and dangerous jobs such as painting the cars because the whites did not want to inhale the fumes. Kasinsky, pp. 164; Zunz, pp. 396-397.

60. Zunz, pp. 43-46.

61. Plotkin, ""Hemmed in":, pp. 39-42.

62. John Kimble, "Insuring Inequality: The Role of the Federal Housing Administration in the Urban Ghettoization of African Americans." *Law & Social Inquiry* 32, no. 2 (2007): pp. 399-434.

63. Thomas J. Sugrue, "Labor, Liberalism, and Racial Politics in 1950s Detroit." *New Labor Forum* no. 1 (1997): pp. 20; Benjamin Howell, "Exploiting Race and Space: Concentrated Subprime Lending as Housing Discrimination," *California Law Review* 94, no. 1 (2006): pp. 108.

64. Arnold R. Hirsch, "Containment on the Home Front: Race and Federal Housing Policy from the New Deal to the Cold War," *Journal of Urban History* 36, no. 2 (2000): pp. 159-160; Robert C. Weaver, "Integration in Public and Private Housing" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 304, (1956): pp. 91.

65. (FHA 980 (3) (g); 982 (1); 1938): Special Considerations in Rating Undeveloped Subdivisions and Partially Developed Residential Areas- 284 (3). Recorded deed restrictions should strengthen and supplement zoning ordinances and to be really effective should include the provisions listed below. The restrictions should be recorded with the deed and should run for a period of at least twenty years. Recommended restrictions include the following: (a) Allocation of definite areas for specific uses such as single or double-family houses, apartments, and business structures. (b) The placement of buildings so that they will have adequate light and air with assurance of a space of at least ten feet between buildings. (c) Prohibition of the resubdivision of lots. (d) Prohibition of the erection of more than one dwelling per lot. (e) Control of the design of all buildings through requiring their approval by a qualified committee and by appropriate cost

limitations. (f) Prohibition of nuisances or undesirable buildings such as stables, pig pens, temporary dwellings, and high fences. (g) Prohibition of the occupancy of properties except by the race for which they were intended. (h) Appropriate provisions for enforcement. 289 (1). Adequacy of Civic, Social, and Commercial Centers.-- These elements of comfortable living usually follow rather than precede development. Those centers serving the city or section in which the development is situated should be readily available to its occupants. Schools should be appropriate to the needs of the new community and they should not be attended in large numbers by inharmonious racial groups. Employment centers, preferably diversified in nature, should be at a convenient distance.

66. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis:*, pp. 58.

67. Ibid.

68. Qtd. In Ibid., pp. 58.

69. Joe T. Darden, “Differential Access to Housing in Suburbs,” *Journal of Black Studies* 21, no. 1 (1990): pp. 21; Gilbert C. Gee and Devon C. Payne-Sturges, “Environmental Health Disparities: A Framework Integrating Psychological and Environmental Concepts,” *Environmental Health Perspectives* 112, no. 17 (2006): pp. 1645-1646; Julian Agyeman and Tom Evans, “Toward Just Sustainability in Urban Communities: Building Equity Rights with Sustainable Solutions,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 590 (2003): pp., pp. 42.

70. Juliana Maantay, “Zoning, Equity and Public Health,” *American Journal of Public Health* 91, no. 7 (2001): Qtd. In pp. 1038.

71. Department of Transportation, “Second National Conference on Street and Highway Safety. Hon. Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce Chairman,” Section 22, (Washington, D.C:. March 23, 24, 25, 1926), a and b.

72. Ibid., d.

73. Schulz, pp. 691.

74. Ibid., pp. 691-693; Agyeman : pp. 46-47.

75. Dominic J. Capeci Jr. and Martha Wilkerson, “The Detroit Rioters of 1943: A Reinterpretation,” *Michigan Historical Review* 16, no. 2 (1990): pp. 52; Langlois, pp. 184-185; Joseph, Peniel E., Waiting ‘Til the Midnight Hour: A Narrative History of Black Power in America (New York: Holt, 2006), pp. 5 and 54.

76. Ibid., pp. 187.

77. Ibid., pp. 185.

78. Ibid., pp. 185.

79. Capeci Jr., “The Detroit Rioters of 1943: A Reinterpretation,” pp. 53.

80. Farley, “Race and Revitalization in the Rust Belt:, pp. 2; Harvard Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality: 1954-1992* (New York: Hill And Wang, 1993), pp. 187-189.

81. Capeci, Jr., pp. 54-57.

82. Martha Minow, *Making All the Difference: Inclusion, Exclusion, and American Law* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp. 6-7.

83. Langlois, 185.

84. *Sipes v. McGhee* 316 Mich. 614, 25 N.W. 2d 638 (1947), pp.1-2.

85. Qtd. In Ibid, pp. 1.

86. University of Chicago Law School, “Current Legal Attacks on Racial Restrictive Covenants,” *The University of Chicago Law Review* 15, no. 1 (1947): pp. 195n.

87. Qtd. In Ibid., pp. 196.

88. *Sipes*, pp. 8-9.

89. Qtd. In Ibid., pp. 205, 7n; *Shelley v. Kraemer* 334 U.S. 1, L. Ed 1161, 68 S. Ct. 836 (1948), Section 3; William R. Ming, Jr., “Racial Restrictions and the Fourteenth Amendment: The Restrictive Covenant Cases,” *The University of Chicago Law Review* 16, no. 2 (1949): pp. 205, 7n. The *London Economist* reported that these judges recused themselves because they owned property that may have been under such covenants.

90. Charles K. Hyde, “Planning a Transportation System for Metropolitan Detroit in the Age of the Automobile: The Triumph of the Expressway.” *Michigan Historical Review* 32, no. 1 (2006): 73-78.

91. Jeanne Theoharis, “The Northern Promised Land That Wasn’t”: Rosa Parks and the Black Freedom Struggle in Detroit.” *OAH Magazine of History* 26, no. 1 (2012): pp. 26.

92. Sugrue, “Labor, Liberalism…”, pp.19.

93.Theoharis, “The Northern Promised Land..”:, pp. 24-27.

94. Hampton, pp. 374.

95. Kasinsky, pp. 168.

96. U.S. Dept. of Labor rate is 1 in 1967 to 6.98 in 2013.

97. Kasinsky, pp. 169.

98. Ibid.

99. Farley, “Race and Revitalization in the Rust Belt:…”, pp. 28.

100. Farley, “Barriers to the Racial Integration of Neighborhoods:…”, pp. 112; Howell, “Exploiting Race and Space:…”, pp. 104-108; Civil Rights Act of 1968.

101. Kasinsky, pp. 166.

102. Ming, Jr., “Racial Restrictions and the Fourteenth Amendment:…”, pp. 206.

103. Farley, “Barriers to the Racial Integration of Neighborhoods:…”, pp. 101.

104. Ibid., pp. 99.

105. Darden, “Black Residential Segregation Since the 1948 *Shelley v. Kraemer* Decision,” *Journal of Black Studies* 25, no. 6 (1995): pp. 685.

106. Farley, “Barriers to the Racial Integration of Neighborhoods:…”, pp. 105-110.

107. Farley, “Race and Revitalization in the Rust Belt:…”, pp. 50.

108. Ibid.

109. Farley, “Barriers to the Racial Integration of Neighborhoods:…”, pp. 112.

110. Qtd. In Hampton, pp. 298.

111. Ming, Jr., “Racial Restrictions and the Fourteenth Amendment:…”, pp.208n; Roger Biles, “Race and Housing in Chicago.” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 94, no. 1 (2001): pp. 31; Hampton, pp. 298-299; 303; 308-309 and 316. Hurley, pp. 1-4.

112. Louis P. Cain, “William Dean’s Theory of Urban Growth: Chicago’s Commerce and Industry 1854-1871.” *The Journal of Economic History* 45, no. 2 (1985): pp. 241-249.

113. Dorothy M. Powell, “The Negro Worker in Chicago Industry.” *The Journal of Business of the University of Chicago* 20, no. 1 (1947): pp. 21-32; Thomas Norman, “The Sharecropper and the A.A.A.,” and “The Plight of the Sharecropper,” STFU Papers, Reel 1.

114. Arnold Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 3-5.

115. Taylor, pp. 190-191; Johnson, *A History of the American People*, pp. 570.

116. Sister Claire Marie, O.S.F. "Some Aspects of Residential Segregation in Chicago." The American Catholic Sociological Review 14, no. 4 (1953): pp. 237-241.

117. Biles, pp. 31-33.

118. William Tuttle, *Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (New York: Antheneum, 1970), pp. 4-6.

119. Qtd. in Tuttle, pp. 6.

120. Ibid., Jonathan S. Coit, "Our Changed Attitude": Armed Defense and the New Negro in the 1919 Chicago Race Riot." *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 11, no. 2 (2012): pp. 229-231; "Jim Crow at 'Y' Pool Hits Negro Girl, Polio Victim." *Chicago Defender,* February 24, 1945.

121. Coit, pp. 229-231; Tuttle, pp. 8.

122. Coit, pp. 229-231; Tuttle, pp. 44-47.

123. Tuttle, pp. 64.

124. Claire, "Some Aspects of Residential Segregation in Chicago", pp. 242; Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1944), pp. 624.

125. Claire, pp. 237; Biles, pp. 33.

126. Claire, pp. 237.

127. E.F. Schietinger, "Race and Residential Market Values in Chicago." *Land Economics* 30, no. 4 (1954): pp. 301-308.

128. Claire, pp. 241.

129. Sylvia Hood Washington, *Packing Them In: An Archaeology of Environmental Racism in Chicago, 1865-1954* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2005), pp. 171.

130. Washington, pp. 174.

131. Qtd. In Ming, Jr. 208n.

132. Hampton, pp. 299; Additionally, SCLC accepted CCCO's request because they wanted to determine if the nonviolent tactics would work in an urban area.

133. Qtd. In Hampton, pp. 300.

134. Anthony Valenti, Personal Interview. May 2012 in Port St. Lucie, FL.

135. These construction projects tapered the large cases of typhoid and cholera among Chicago residents. Bacon, Vinton W. and Frank E. Dalton, "Professionalism and Water Pollution Control in Greater Chicago." *Journal (Water Pollution Control Federation)* 40, no. 9 (1968): pp.1586-1600.

136. Clayborne Carson, *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr*. (New York: Warner Books, 1998), pp. 303-304.The tenant unions in Chicago demanded that city officials clean the city's roads and sanitize the public areas to combat the public health issues that plagued the city. In 1947 Chicago Urban League executive secretary Sidney R. Williams urged the National Urban League to prioritize cleaning up Chicago's urban streets in addition to its fight against the restrictive covenants. Washington, pp. 174.

137. Melosi, pp. 741.

138. Carson, pp. 300

139. Martin Melosi, "Hazardous Waste and Environmental Liability: An Historical Perspective." *Houston Law Review* 25, no. 4 (1988): pp. 741-742; Valenti, Anthony. Personal Intierview. May 2012 in Port St. Lucie, FL.

140. Melosi, pp. 741-745.

141. Bacon, "Professionalism and Water Pollution Control in Greater Chicago", pp. 1586;
Andrew Hurley, "The Social Biases of Environment in Gary, Indiana, 1945-1980." *Environmental Review* 12, no. 4 (1988): pp. 1-2.

142. Qtd. In Henry Hampton, pp. 308.

143. Qtd in Randall, *The Black Poets*, pp. 175.

144. Washington, pp. 174.

145. Hampton, pp 309.

146. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto,* pp. 65, 176, 291; Chona Sister, Jennifer Wolch and John Wilson. "Got green?: Addressing Environmental Justice in Park Provision." *GeoJournal* 75, no. 3 (2010): pp: 229-248.

147. Nathaniel Clay, “Blame Police for Race Riot in Park.” *Chicago Defender.* July, 18, 1966, pp.5; Hampton, pp. 298-299; 303; 308-309 and 316. Hurley, pp. 1-4.

148. Qtd. In Clay, “Blame Police for Race Riot in Park,” *Chicago Defender,* pp. 5; “Poverty, Cops Blamed in Riots.” *Chicago Defender.* July 18, 1966, pp. 5. Race riots plagued the nation in the summer of 1964. The summer of 1964 catapulted the nation into widespread uprisings: New York City (July 18-23); Rochester (July 24-25); Jersey City (August 2-4); Peterson (August 11-13); Elizabeth (August 11-13); Watts (August 11-17); Chicago (Dixmoor) (August 16-17), and Philadelphia (August 28-30) (Watts Report).

149. Qtd. In Hampton, pp. 310; Hampton, pp. 310-311. Although this essay hinges on urban conditions in the North, the inequalities in public land access occurred throughout the South as well. Lucius Holloway Sr., the son of a former sharecropper recalled his experience as a child while he grew up in Terrell County, GA during the Civil Rights Movement. Holloway remembered: “We had been asking our parents all summer to take us to the pool. We put on our swimsuits…. My mother took us to the city pool on Lee Street. When we got to the pool, there was a small booth at the entrance. Inside the booth was a white man standing in the window of the booth. My mother and the white man began to talk. My sister, brothers, and I were standing at the booth looking at the pool…. I turned around to see what was taking my mother so long. I saw the white man when he gave her a piece of white paper. Mother turned around, looked at us, and said, ‘“You can’t get in today. I have to fill out an application.”’ We all walked away babbling. My older sister and brothers said, “I knew those white folk were not going to let us get into their pool.” Bishop Charlene Holloway and Lucius Holloway Sr., *The Civil Rights Movement through the Eyes of Lucius Holloway Sr.,* (Pittsburgh: Dorrance Publishing Co., Inc., 2008), pp. 31.

150. Kamp, “The History Behind *Hansberry v. Lee*”, pp. 481-500.

151. Kamp, pp. 485.

152. Ibid, pp. 484; Washington, pp. 38; Plotkin, pp. 44-45.

153. Plotkin, pp. 41.

154. Kamp, pp. 489.

155. Ibid., pp. 495.

156. *Shelley v. Kraemer* 334 U.S. 1, L. Ed 1161, 68 S. Ct. 836 (1948);Washington, pp. 50-51.

157. Henry Louis Gates and Nellie Y., eds. McKay, *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature,* 2nd ed., (Norton: New York, 2004), pp. 1768.

158. Kamp, pp. 481-483. The *Hansberry* case was unique for a number of reasons. The plaintiffs in the original *Burke* case changed their position with respect to the restrictive covenant, helped Carl Hansberry purchase the home and became the defendants in the subsequent *Hansberry* case Ibid., pp. 497. This ideological shift represented the overall phenomena by other whites who went against their own covenant during the 1940s when

their economic interests to collect income from their properties outweighed their desire to remain segregated. Kamp, pp. 498 and Plotkin, pp. 42. The University of Chicago factored heavily on the decisions rendered by the courts in Illinois and the university financially supported the Washington Park Owners' Association because it wanted to keep the Washington Area devoid of African American residents. Plotkin, pp. 42. Ironically, the lawyers who tried the cases on behalf of the NAACP and the Hansberrys were trained at the University of Chicago. Plotkin, pp. 42; Washington, pp. 33-34. Also, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) leaders spoke out against the University of Chicago although they were a part of the university community. Plotkin, pp. 46.

159. Lorraine Hansberry, *To Be Young, Gifted and Black: An Informal Autobiography of Lorraine Hansberry.* Reissue ed. Adapted by Robert Nemiroff, (New York: Signet Classics, 1970), pp. 51.

160. Hansberry, *A Raisin in the Sun*, pp. 22.

161. Ibid, pp. 24.

162. Ibid., pp. 53.

163. Ibid., pp. 39.

164. Ibid., pp. 52.

165. Ibid., pp. 40.

166. Ibid., pp. 92.

167. Ibid.

168. Ibid., pp. 52-53.

169. Ibid., pp. 121.

170. Ibid., pp. 123.

171. Ibid., pp. 117-119.

172. Walter epitomizes the anger that African Americans harbored towards institutional racism. His reaction to turn that anger inward towards himself and his family was the prototypical response among young black men who could not provide for their families. Although Water was a chauffeur and drove a car all day, he could not afford to purchase a vehicle to escape from his crippling environmental circumstances. Walter felt stifled by his natural environment and expressed this when he exclaimed: "Mama- you don't know all the things a man what got leisure can find to do in this city… What's this-Friday night? Well- Wednesday I borrowed Willy Harris' car and I went for a drive… just me an myself and I drove and drove… Way out… way past South Chicago and I parked the car and I sat and looked at the steel mills all day long. I just sat in

the car and looked at them big black chimneys for hours. Then I drove back and I went to the Green Hat. (*Pause)* And Thursday- Thursday I borrowed the car again and I got it in and I pointed it the other way and I drove the other way- for hours- way, way up to Wisconsin, and I looked at the farms. I just drove and looked at the farms. Then I drove back and went to the Green Hat…." Qtd. In Ibid., pp. Ibid., pp. 105. Richard Wright's novel *Native Son* also discusses the development of moral depravity in Chicago's slums in the 1930s through the character Bigger Thomas. While King worked in the Chicago Freedom Movement he chose to live in these conditions and he witnessed firsthand the negative impact that living in the Chicago slums elicited in his own family. King remembered: "Our own children lived with us in Lawndale, and it was only a few days before we became aware of the change in their behavior. Their tempers flared, and they sometimes reverted to almost infantile behavior. During the summer, I realized that the crowded flat in which we lived was about to produce an emotional explosion in my own family. It was just too hot, too crowded, too devoid of creative forms of recreation. There was just not space enough in the neighborhood to run off the energy of childhood without running into busy, traffic- laden streets. And I understood anew the conditions which made of the ghetto an emotional pressure cooker." (Carson, pp. 302).

173. Harold Cruse, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (New York: New York Review Book, 1967).

174. Qtd. In Larry Neal, "The Black Arts Movement" *The Drama Review: TDR* 12, no. 4 (1968): pp. 30-31.

175. Amiri Baraka, *The LeRoi Jones/Amiri Baraka Reader,* ed. William J. Harris, (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1960), pp. 383.

176. Merchant, pp. 380-394.

177. Michael A. Gomez, Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities on the Colonial and Antebellum South (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 1998), pp. 53-72.

178. Edward James Smethurst, *The Black Arts Movement: Literary Nationalism in the 1960s and 1970s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), pp. 191.

179. Ibid., pp. 167.

180. Smethurst, *The Black Arts Movement:…*, pp.199-200; "EPA Photos at Roosevelt Show Problem, Pride of Poor." *Chicago Defender*. November 25, 1975, pp. 15.

181. Smethurst, pp. 181.

182. Ibid., pp. 182.

183. Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 40-48.

184. Qtd. In Randall, pp. 213.

185. "Sonia Sanchez" in *Call & Response*, pp. 1489-1491. "Sonia Sanchez" in *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature*, 1963.

186. Sonia Sanchez, "Woman" in *Call & Response: The Anthology of the African American Literary Tradition*, Patricia Liggins Hill, general ed. (New York: Houghton, 1998), p. 1497.

187. Sonia Sanchez, *Shake Loose My Skin* (Boston: Beacon, 1999), pp.19.

188. Nikki Giovanni, "Ego Tripping" in *Call & Response: The Anthology of the African American Literary Tradition,* Patricia Liggins Hill, general ed. (New York: Houghton, 1998), p. 1559. Uranium was especially important to the U.S. and other superpowers during World War II because the development of nuclear power and the atomic bomb replaced the used of nerve gas in World War I and it could annihilate civilizations with the press of a button. Consequently, access to Africa's natural resources become the pivotal marker of a nation's ability to position itself as a dominant sovereign entity within the international community.

189. Ibid., pp. 1560.

190. Nikki Giovanni, "For Saundra" in *Call & Response: The Anthology of the African American Literary Tradition*, Patricia Liggins Hill, general ed. (New York: Houghton, 1998), p. 1555-1556. Although Nixon championed environmental protection, his initiatives did not necessarily translate in African American and other communities of color. In his 1970 State of the Union Address Nixon believed: "In the year 1980, will the President look back on a decade in which 70% of our people lived in metropolitan areas choked by traffic, suffocated by smog, poisoned by water, deafened by noise, and terrorized by crime? The great question of the 1970s is, shall we surrender to our surroundings, or shall we make our peace with nature and begin to make reparations for the damage we have done to our air, to our land, and to our water?.... Clean air, clean water, open spaces-these should once again be the birthright of every American. If we act now, they can be." (Pres. Nixon's 1970 State of the Union message to Congress Jan 22, 1970). President Nixon delivered on this promise through his robust energy policies that enacted pivotal environmental agencies and environmental protection laws. Albeit motivated in part by political interests, Nixon established the Environmental Protection Agency in 1970, signed the National Environmental Policy Act on January 1, 1970, which required environmental impact statements for federally funded projects, passed the Clean Air Act of 1970 requiring the EPA to enforce laws against hazardous air pollutants, and introduced the Safe Drinking Water Act to protect the nation's water supply (Congress adopted bill in 1974). Flippen, "The Nixon Administration, Timber, and the Call of the Wild." *Environmental History Review* 19, no. 2 (1995): pp. 37-54; John Brooks Flippen, and John B. Flippen. "Containing the Urban Sprawl: The Nixon Administration's Land Use Policy." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (1996): pp. 199-207. Nixon voted favorably on environmental issues. However, he vehemently opposed desegregation-even though he noted that school segregation was a direct result of "racial separation in housing." Qtd. In Lawrence McAndrews, "The Politics of Principle: Richard Nixon and School Desegregation" *The Journal of Negro History*83, no. 3 (1998): pp. 190. Nixon precluded the Federal Legal Service branches from accepting desegregation cases when he signed a bill that dictated they could not use any public or private monies on such cases. McAndrews, pp. 191. For a detailed account of local desegregation in the South refer to Francoise N. Hamlin's *Crossing At Clarskdale: The Black Freedom St*ruggle in the Mississippi *Delta after World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2012), pp. 167-208.

191. Frederick Douglass, "Letter to Henry Clay" North Star; Library of Congress, Frederick Douglass Papers, Washington D.C., pp. 2. See also Benjamin Quarles *The Negro in the American Revolution* (New York: Norton, 1961), pp.108. Frederick Douglass, "Land for the Landless The Record of Parties on the Homestead Prinicple No. 20." Library of Congress, Frederick Douglass Papers. Washington D.C., pp. 2. T. Thomas Fortune, *Black and White: Land, Labor, and Politics in the South* (New York: Washington Square, 2007), pp. 132-137; Du Bois, W.E.B. "Economic Planning For the American Negroes." W.E.B. Du Bois Papers; University of Massachusetts, Amherst Library. University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Amherst, MA., MS-312, Box# 266. W.E.B Du Bois, "The City Negro," W.E.B. Du Bois Papers. University of Massachusetts, Amherst Library. University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Amherst, MA., MS-312, Box# 265, Series #2, Folder #4985. So too, would the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense view control of the land as a means of community empowerment. This understanding was also evident in the tenth point of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense Platform which stated: "We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the Black colony in which only Black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of Black people as to their national destiny." Charles E. Jones, ed., *The Black Panther Party Reconsidered* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1998), pp. 474.The panthers fought arduously and many gave up their lives to protect and serve the land that they claimed in their communities. They were fighting to control the land they used to implement their benevolent programs such as free breakfast and health clinics in underserved populations. Stokely Carmichael travelled abroad and argued that the fight for political rights was directly tied to controlling the resources of the land. Joseph, pp. 246. Also, BPP leader Stokely Carmichael's "Black Power and the Third World" Address to the Organization of Latin America Solidarity, he articulated "In these cities we do not control our resources. We do not control the land, the houses or the stores." Stokely Carmichael, "Black Power and the Third World" Address to the Organization of Latin American Solidarity, August 1967, Havana, Cuba. (Thornhill: Third World Information Service), pp. 4

192. Qtd. In Baraka, *The LeRoi Jones/Amiri Baraka Reader,* pp. 162.

193. Malcolm X and Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X: As Told to Alex Haley* (New York: Ballantine Publishing Group, 1964), pp. 250-261; Baraka, *The LeRoi Jones/Amiri Baraka Reader,* pp. 162-163 and 257; Malcolm X, *The Autobiography,* pp. 250;

194. Baraka, *The LeRoi Jones/Amiri Baraka Reader,* pp. 261. Prior to the current discourse on food justice, Elijah Muhammad discussed how the food systems in poor black neighborhoods kept African Americans infirmed and reliant upon western medicine. In his book *How to Eat to Live* (1967) Muhammad discussed the historical relationship of slavery and how this institutionalized form of racism carried into the foods that uninformed African Americans eat. He prescribed healthier food alternatives and encouraged the NOI to farm its own food on its own land.

195. Charles W. Mills, *The Racial Contract* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 50-51.

196. Sugrue, “Labor, Liberalism, and Racial Politics, pp. 21; Kasinsky, pp. 162.

197. Kamp, pp. 481-500; Plotkin, pp. 39-69.

198. Weaver, “Integration in Public and Private Housing”, pp. 95.

199. Ibid, pp. 90.

200. Schulz, pp. 690-692.

201. The 1979 Urban Environment Conference in Detroit was mainly supported by both the Sierra Club and the Urban League. The primary goal of the conference was to urge civil rights groups to incorporate the environmental issues related to urban life in their own platforms. Gerald Torres, “Environmental Law.” *The Politics of Law: A Progressive Critique*, ed. David Kairys, pp.172-189 (New York: Basic Books, 1998), pp. 172-189.

Conclusion

1. T. Thomas Fortune, *Black and White: Land, Labor, and Politics in the South* (New York: Washington Square, 2007), pp. 137; Malcolm X and Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X: As Told to Alex Haley* (New York: Ballantine Publishing Group, 1964), pp. 250-261; Baraka, *The LeRoi Jones/Amiri Baraka Reader*, pp. 162-163 and 257; Malcolm X, *The Autobiography,* pp. 250.

2. Du Bois, W.E.B. “The Housatonic River” delivered at Searles High School, Great Barrington, Massachusetts, July 21, 1930; University of Massachusetts, Amherst Special Collections in Du Bois Papers, 80:412; Zora Neale Hurston Letter to Jean Waterbury Eau Gallie, “Her Garden, hocked typewriter,” Oct. 25, 1951; University of Florida Special Collections in Zora Neale Hurston Papers. 2:29. Zora Neale Hurston Letter to Jean Waterbury Eau Gallie, “Thanks for money; her garden; her house; her script; Herod the Great,” July 9, 1951; University of Florida Special Collections in Zora Neale Hurston Papers, 2:35; Du Bois’ discussion of the Housatonic River and its beauty before General Electric (GE) polluted it along with Zora Neale Hurston’s personal reflections on the birds and her physical environment both speak to this existential component of an African American environmental ethic.

3. Qtd. in *Essay on Nature*, 1844: “Within these plantations of God, a decorum and sanctity reign, a perennial festival is dressed, and the guest sees now how he should tire of them in a thousand years. In the words, we return to reason and faith…. The greatest delight which the fields and woods minister is the suggestion of an occult relation between man and the vegetable. I am not alone and unacknowledged. They nod to me, and I to the them…” quoted in ibid., pp. 84; Quoted. In *The American Scholar,* 1884: “There is never a beginning, there is never an end, to the inexplicable continuity of this web of God, but always circular power returning into itself. Therein it resembles his own

spirit, whose beginning, whose ending, he can never find,- so enture, so boundless" Qtd .in "Document 36: Ralph Waldo Emerson on Nature (1844, 1884)" in Emerson In *The Environmental Debate: A Documentary History*, edited by Peninah Neimark and Peter R. Mott, (Westport: Greenwood, 1999), pp.83-85.

4. W.E.B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk,* In *Three Negro Classics* (New York: Avon Books, 1965), pp. 377-378.

5. Jean M. Humez, *Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories* (Madison: U. of Wisconsin Press, 2003), pp. 52-58.

6. Allan G. Bogue, "Historians and Radical Republicans: A Meaning for Today," *The Journal of American History* 70, no. 1 (1983): pp. 7-34; Ibid., pp. 8; Jaynes, pp. 9-10; Frederick Douglass, Land for the Landless The Record of Parties on the Homestead Prinicple No. 20 Land for the Landless The Record of Parties on the Homestead Prinicple No. 20 "Land for the Landless The Record of Parties on the Homestead Prinicple No. 20." Library of Congress, Frederick Douglass Papers. Washington D.C., pp. 2; Roy E. Finkenbine, "Wendell Phillips and "The Negro's Claim": A Neglected Reparations Document," *Massachusetts Historical Review* 7 (2005): pp. 108; Jaynes, pp. 10-11; Brooks D. Simpson, "Land and the Ballot: Securing the Fruits of Emancipation?" *Pennsylvania History* 60, no. 2 (1993): pp. 176-177; Mark Schultz, "Benjamin Hubert and the Association for the Advancement of Negro Country Life," in *Beyond Forty Acres and a Mule: African American Landowning Families since Reconstruction*, ed. Debra A. Reid and Evan P. Bennett (Gainesville: U. Press of Florida, 2012), pp. 83; T. Thomas Fortune, *Black and White:*, pp. 69-80 and 132.

7. Gerald David Jaynes, *Branches Without Roots: Genesis of the Black Working Class in the American South, 1862-1882* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 10-11; Brooks D. Simpson, "Land and the Ballot: Securing the Fruits of Emancipation?" *Pennsylvania History* 60, no. 2 (1993): pp. 176-177.

8. Eric Foner, *America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), pp. 176-216; Jay R. Mandle, *The Roots of Black Poverty: The Southern Plantation Economy After the Civil War* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1978), pp. 16-17; Martin A. Garrett Jr. and Zhenhui Xu, "The Efficiency of Sharecropping: Evidence from the Postbellum South," *South Economic Journal* 69, no. 3 (2003): pp. 578-579; Freedpersons had to navigate the exploitive conditions of sharecropping. Sharecropping placed blacks in dually oppressive circumstances given that the eleven plus working hours yielded pauperized conditions and nutritionally deficient diets among sharecroppers. (Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (Va), *The Southern Workman* 43.3 (1914): pp. 162. Hortense Powdermaker, *After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South* (Atheneum: New York, 1968), pp. 85. Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Vintage, 1985), pp. 86-92). For instance, the elite whites in Powdermaker's anthropological fieldwork in "Cottonville" Mississippi understood that blacks were indispensable to a stable economic and political institution and thus viewed the black sharecroppers as cheap labor whose

sole purpose it was to produce profits that favored the landowners. Any attempt by blacks or whites otherwise to disrupt this structure would often lead to the ultimate death of the protestors. Landowners had to find innovative ways of subjecting freedpersons to the land given that they were not paying them adequate wages for their labor (Mandle, pp. 13).

9. Mandle, pp. 49.

10. 24. Meier, August, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963), pp. 11; Litwack, Leon F, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow,* (New York: Vintage, 1998), pp. 145.

11. In *The Rural Negro* Carter G. Woodson advanced a strong and critical argument on the environmental ethic of blacks during Reconstruction. Although Woodson did not use the terminology of modern scholarship, his discussion of the negative environmental impacts upon the poor black sharecroppers is arguably a pivotal work in environmental justice because he spoke against the poor air and water quality that the sharecroppers experienced and moreover Woodson presented their environmental ethic. *The Rural Negro* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1969).

12. Qtd. in Carter G. Woodson, *The Rural Negro* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1969), pp. 3 and 5; Woodson contended that the poor exacerbated these environmental problems because freedmen often relied on their own cosmological framework and distrusted the perspectives of trained physicians and Western medical advancements. True to their heritage, sharecroppers generally used herbal roots that they concocted from plants, animals and foods to cure their ailments. Moreover, they perceived illnesses as tangible manifestations of voodoo and curses against others (Woodson, pp. 16). Woodson offered a unique lens to discuss sharecroppers and their relationship to the land because he situated this conversation within an environmental framework.

13. Pete Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South 1901-1969* (Urbana: U. of Illinois Press, 1972), pp. 2-18; Rackham Holt, *George Washington Carver: An American Biography,* rev. ed. (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc. 1963), pp. 239-246. Gary R. Kremer, *George Washington Carver: In His Own Words* (Columbia: U. of Missouri Press, 1987), pp. 115.

14. Booker T. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee & Its People: Their Ideals and Achievements,* Reprinted ed. (New York: Negro University Press, 1969), pp. 45.

15. Mark Schultz, "Benjamin Hubert and the Association for the Advancement of Negro Country Life," in *Beyond Forty Acres and a Mule: African American Landowning Families since Reconstruction*, ed. Debra A. Reid and Evan P. Bennett (Gainesville: U. Press of Florida, 2012), pp. 83; Debra A. Reid, "Land Ownership and the Color Line: African American Farmers in the Heartland, 1870s-1920s," in Ibid, pp. 158; August, Meier, *Negro Thought in America 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T.*

Washington (Ann Arbor: U. of Michigan Press, 1963), pp. 59-62. Refer to Table 1 in Appendix.

16. Stewart E. Tolnay, “The African American “Great Migration” and Beyond,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 29, (2003): pp. 209-211.

17. Ibid., pp. 212 and 217; Luther Adams, “Headed for Louisville”: Rethinking Rural to Urban Migration in the South, 1930-1950,” *Journal of Social History* 40, no. 2 (2006): pp. 407-409.

18. Mary Frances Berry, *My Face is Black is True: Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), pp. 4, 11-13, and 238-251. The U.S. government has yet to redress the fundamental wrongs associated with the historical legacy of slavery and its failure to provide the freedpersons with tenable land during Reconstruction

19. Steven F. Lawson, *Running for Freedom: Civil Rights and Black Politics in America Since 1941* (Boston: McGraw Hill, 1997), pp. 68-71.

20. Hill, Patricia Liggins, general ed. “Call for Critical Debate.” In *Call & Response: The Anthology of the African American Literary Tradition.* New York: Houghton, 1998. p. 1450.

21. “Sonia Sanchez” in *Call & Response*, pp. 1489-1491. “Sonia Sanchez” in *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature*, 1963; Sonia Sanchez, “Woman” in *Call & Response: The Anthology of the African American Literary Tradition*, Patricia Liggins Hill, general ed. (New York: Houghton, 1998), p. 1497.

22. Malcolm X and Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X: As Told to Alex Haley* (New York: Ballantine Publishing Group, 1964), pp. 250-261; Baraka, *The LeRoi Jones/Amiri Baraka Reader*, pp. 162-163 and 257.

23. Lorraine Hansberry, *To Be Young, Gifted and Black: An Informal Autobiography of Lorraine Hansberry*. Reissue ed. Adapted by Robert Nemiroff (New York: Signet Classics, 1970), pp. 50-51.

24. Wendy Plotkin, ““Hemmed in”: The Struggle against Restrictive Covenants and Deed Restrictions in Post-WWII Chicago.” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 94, no. 1 (2001): pp. 39-69; Allen Kamp, “The History Behind *Hansberry v. Lee*.” *U.C. Davis Law Review* 20, no. 3 (1986): pp. 481-500; John Kimble, “Insuring Inequality: The Role of the Federal Housing Administration in the Urban Ghettoization of African Americans.” *Law & Social Inquiry* 32, no. 2 (2007): pp. 399-434.

25. Clayborne Carson, *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr*. (New York: Warner Books, 1998), pp. 303-304; Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was well-versed in

Thoreau's work and became inspired to use nonviolent resistance techniques after he read Thoreau's essay "On Civil Disobedience." (Ibid., pp. 14).

26. *Hansberry v. Lee* 311 U.S. 32, 85 L. Ed. 22, 61 S. Ct. 115 (1940).

27. Martin Melosi, "Hazardous Waste and Environmental Liability: An Historical Perspective." *Houston Law Review* 25, no. 4 (1988): pp. 741-745. It is not that African Americans who resided in northern urban areas of the twentieth century could not appreciate the beauty of the birds and animals; enjoying the cardinals and the bluebirds proved fleeting for many given that rats, roaches, and pigeons monopolized these environs (Carson, *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr*., pp. 300; Melosi, pp. "Hazardous Waste and Environmental Liability:..," pp. 741).

28. Robert C. Weaver, "Integration in Public and Private Housing" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 304, (1956): pp. 86-97; Ibid., "Housing Allowances." *Land Economics* 51, no. 3 (1975): pp. 247-257; Ibid., "Housing in a Democracy." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 244, (1946): pp. 95-105.

29. United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice, *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States: A National Study of the Racial and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Communities with Hazardous Waste Sites* (New York: United Church of Christ, 1987), pp. 14-15; Giovanna Di Chiro, "Living is For Everyone:" Border Crossing for Community, Environment, and Health," *Osiris*, 19 (2004): 115-116; Dorceta E. Taylor, *The Environment And the People in American Cities, 1600s-1900s: Disorder, Inequality, and Social Change* (Durham: Duke U.P., 2009), pp. 256 and 275-276.

30. Sonia Sanchez, *Shake Loose My Skin* (Boston: Beacon, 1999), pp. 19; Ishamel Reed, "Railroad Bill, A Conjure Man" in *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature,* 2nd ed., eds. Henry Louis Gates and Nellie Y. McKay (Norton: New York, 2004), pp. 2054-2055 .

31. Imamu Baraka, "Revolutionary Culture And Future of Pan-Afrikan Culture" Presented at the 6th Pan-Afrikan Congress. June 19-27, 1974. Stokely Carmicheal's "Black Power and the Third World" Address to the Organization of Latin America Solidarity.

32. Joy James, *The Angela Y. Davis Reader* (Malden: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1998), pp. 322-323.

33. United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice, *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States: A National Study of the Racial and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Communities with Hazardous Waste Sites* (New York: United Church of Christ, 1987).

34. Majora Carter, "Green is the New Black," *Race, Poverty, & the Environment* 13, no. 1 (2006): pp. 48-50.

35. The problem, however, becomes more exacerbated and a transnational issue because corporations often will dump their hazardous waste in poor countries with less stringent/non-existent environmental laws. Thus the U.S. should: (1) engage in a multinational and multi-corporation discussion; (2) develop and enforce a plan of action to address and redress these environmental issues that impact the majority of the global population.

Hazardous wastes that leach into the groundwater and soil render the land untenable. This reality severely threatens not only the advancement and equality for women, but in addition threatens the very subsistence of families since women are the primary caretakers of the household. Current research must focus on the specific effects of hazardous chemical industries bring to women. Food growing is a means of transferring knowledge and culture among various women (*Women's Activism and Globalization: Linking Local Struggles and Transnational Politics*, edited by Nancy A. Naples and Manisha Desai, (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 140-141).These women have to spend more time traveling to find drinking water and wood to cook for their families (Manisha Desai, “Transnational Solidarity Women’s Agency Structural Adjustment, and Globalization” in *Women's Activism and Globalization*, pp. 23.) The elderly women who are capable of sustaining the natural ecosystems are reduced to mere silent members of society who can no longer make important medicines for their families (Helen Zweifel, “The Gendered Nature of Biodiversity Conservation” in *The Gender and Science Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 293-299). A few multinational corporations have controlled entire food chains and have stripped significant power away from rural women as a result (Betty Wells, “Context, Strategy, Ground Rural Women Organizing to Confront Local/Global Economic Issues” in *Women's Activism and Globalization*, pp. 139-145).

In the process towards addressing and redressing these issues, these women have created extensive networks of transnational solidarity (Nancy A. Naples, “The Challenges and Possibilities of Transnational Feminist Praxis” in Ibid., pp. 265-275). Women throughout the world rejected the reductionist model of thinking and instead engaged in a holistic approach of an ecologically sensitive connection with the land. They have instated laws that have directly challenged the influence of the North into their respective communities. They shifted the meaning of capital flow by viewing it as the flow of knowledge and human resources in opposition to the reductionist notion that global capitalism is the flow of money.

Women in India’s Women’s Liberation Struggle built an ecologically compatible dam in order to counter the problems of drought (Desai, pp. 24). The Women, Food, and Agriculture Network (WFAN) works with farmers who are unable to compete with commercial planters (Wells, pp. 139). As an immediate result of the rape of a 12-year - old girl, the Fourth UN Women’s NGO Conference held in China passed the Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence in 1998 (OWAAMV). The OWAAMV was also in direct response to the massive toxic products that the US military was dumping into the area (Yoko Fukumura and Martha Matsuoka, “Redefining Security Okinawa

Women's Resistance to U.S. Militarism" in *Women's Activism and Globalization*, pp. 244-258.) The United Nations Conferences provide women around the world with a neutral space to discuss the issues of women's rights (Naples, "The Challenges and Possibilities of Transnational Feminist Praxis" in *Women's Activism and Globalization* pp. 272-275).

With the help of the Association of Women in Niger and an agricultural advisor, the women of Niger constructed a successful small market garden around the only well in Kourfa, Niger (Riley, Shamara S. "Ecology Is A Sistah's Issue Too: The Politics of Emergent Afrocentric Ecowomanism" In *Worldviews, Religion, and the Environment: A Global Anthology*, ed. Richard C. Foltz (Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth, 2003), pp.478-479). On August 10, 1983, various women and peasants throughout a small village in India protested against the environmental degradation and oppression of women by marching to the government forest nursery where they pulled out millions of eucalyptus seedlings. The women planted tamarind and mango seeds in their place (Vandana Shiva, "Coloniamlsim And the Evolution of Masculinist Forestry" in *The "Racial" Economy of Science: Toward A Democratic Future*, ed. Sandra Harding (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), pp. 313). These women worked through their hardships in order to insure the survival of their families.

36. The health of the environment is especially important to women in developing nations because they are the principle agents who get the water and wood for the home (Karen J. Warren, "Taking Empirical Data Seriously: An Ecofeminist Philosophical Perspective," in *Ecofeminism: Women, Culture, Nature*, ed. by Warren, Karen J. (Bloomington: Indiana U., 1997), pp. 6). Women of color have been among the principal grassroots organizers against environmental degradation. Native Americans for a Clean Environment, Mothers of East Los Angeles and Concerned Citizens of South Central Los Angeles are all lead by women of color and Citizens for a Better America and West Harlem Environmental Action are also primarily lead by women of color (Dorceta Taylor, "Environmentalism and the Politics of Inclusion," in *Confronting Environmental Racism: Voices from the Grassroots*, ed. by Bullard, Robert D. (Boston: South End Press, 1993), pp. 57).
37. Robert Bullard, "Dismantling environmental racism in the USA," *Local Environment*, 4.1 (1999). Retrieved April 17, 2013, from <http://www.epnet.com/academic/acasearchprem.asp>. pp.5-20.

38. Dorceta Taylor, "Women of Color, Environmental Justice, and Ecofeminism," in *Ecofeminism: Women, Culture, Nature,* ed. Karen J. Warren (Bloomington: Indiana U., 1997), pp. 45; Robert D. Bullard, *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990), pp. 1-26.

39. *Bean v. Southwestern Waste Management Corp.* (1979) 482 F. Supp. 673.

40. Robert D. Bullard, "Environmental Justice for All" in *Unequal Protection: Environmental Justice and Communities of Color* ed. by Bullard, Robert D. (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1994), pp. 4.

41. Beverly H. Wright, Pat Bryant and Robert D. Bullard, "Coping with Poisons in Cancer Alley," in *Unequal Protection: Environmental Justice and Communities of Color,* ed. Robert D. Bullard (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1994), pp. 112.

42. Bullard, *Unequal Protection*, pp. 19; Bullard, *Confronting Environmental Racism*, pp. 21.

43. Native Americans also suffer the greatest amount of environmental pollution because their land is not taxed by the government and the federal government does not protect their health because of the historical relationships that exist between Native Americans and the United States (Bullard, 1994, pp. 17). Native Americans have waged fights and protests against the government and corporations. For instance, the Lumbee Indians in North Carolina successfully defeated a measure by the GSX Companies who were going to place a hazardous waste landfill near an important communal river in their neighborhood. The Choctaw Indians in Mississippi also stopped a landfill from being placed in their community (Ken Geiser and Gerry Waneck, "PCBs and Warren County," in *Unequal Protection: Environmental Justice and Communities of Color,* ed. Robert D. Bullard (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1994), pp. 62).

44. Warren, pp. 8.

45. Bullard, *Unequal Protection*, pp. 5.

46. Ken Geiser and Gerry Waneck, "PCBs and Warren County," in *Unequal Protection: Environmental Justice and Communities of Color,* ed. Robert D. Bullard (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1994), pp. 44.

47. Ibid., pp. 44.

48. Ibid., pp 50.

49. Geiser, pp. 51.

50. Bullard, 1994, pp. 7.

51. Ibid., pp. 10.

52. Ibid., pp. 11.

53. Ibid., pp. 18; In 1990, Greenpeace reported in *Playing with Fire* that the income of people in communities with incinerators was 15 percent less than the national average.

54. Regina Austin and Michael Schill, "Black, Brown, Red, and Poisoned" in *Unequal Protection: Environmental Justice and Communities of Color,* ed. by Bullard, Robert D.

(San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1994), pp. 54; Bullard, *Confronting Environmental Racism*, pp. 21.

55. Geiser, pp. 55.

56. Qtd. in Bullard, *Unequal Protection*, pp. 4-5.

57. Geiser, pp. 51.

58. Bullard, *Confronting Environmental Racism*, pp. 13.

59. Ibid, pp. 4.

60. Similarly in in his article “Environmental Racism,” Karl Grossman interviewed a woman who was affected by the environmental pollution at the Atgeld Gardens housing project in Chicago. Grossman’s article “Environmental Racism,” provides a case study analysis of the particular problems related to environmental racism. It specifically addresses the severe impact that exposure to hazardous wastes has on the reproductive health of women. Moreover, it provides a historical context of how people of color and poor communities have been the victims of environmental and economic exploitation.

61. Karl Grossman, “Environmental Racism” In S. Harding, (Ed.), *The “Racial” Economy of Science: Toward a Democratic Future* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993) pp. 326-335.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. An honest examination of the diets of people of color could also contribute to their illnesses (Geiser, pp. 66-67). This is a food justice issue, which is part of the EJ Movement.

65. (US EPA 1995).

66. (US EPA 1998).

67. Geiser, Ibid., pp. 51.

68. Ibid., pp. 45.

69. Ibid., pp. 46.

70. Michael K. Heiman and Barry D. Solomon, “Power to the People: Electric Utility Restructuring and the Commitment to Renewable Energy,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 94, no. 1 (2004): pp. 109.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

73. Lars Lundahl, “Impacts of Climate Change on Renewable Energy in Sweden,” *Ambio* 24, no. 1 (1995): pp. 28-32.

74. Frank A. Felder and Ruthanne Haut, “Balancing Alternatives and Avoiding False Dichotomies to Make Informed U.S. Electricity Policy,” *Policy Sciences* 41, no. 2 (2008): pp. 171.

75. Ibid., pp. 168.

76. Peter F. Chapman, “Offshore Renewable Energy Regulations: FERC and MMS Jurisdictional Dispute Over Hydrokinetic Regulation Resolved?,” *Administrative Law Review* 61, no. 2 (2009): pp. 434-436; EPAct 2005. 119 Stat. 605, <http://energy.gov/sites/prod/files/2013/10/f3/epact_2005.pdf>. Accessed 26, June 2014.

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