Racial Segregation under Slavery

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Social demographers and historians have devoted extensive research to patterns of racial segregation that emerged under Jim Crow and during the post-Civil Rights era but have paid less attention to the role of slavery in shaping the residential distribution of Black populations in the United States. One guiding assumption has been that slavery rendered racial segregation to be both unnecessary and impractical. In this study, I argue that apart from the master–slave relationship, slavery relentlessly produced racial segregation during the antebellum period through the residential isolation of slaves and free people of color. To explain this pattern, I draw on racial threat theory to test hypotheses regarding interracial economic competition and fear of slave mobilization using data from the 1850 Census, as well as an architectural survey of antebellum sites. Findings suggest that the residential segregation of free people of color increased with their local prevalence, whereas the segregation of slaves increased with the prevalence of the slave population. These patterns continue to hold after controlling for interracial competition over land or jobs and past slave rebellions or conspiracies.

> "[Segregation] has its remote ideological roots in the slavery period. In most aspects of slavery as practiced in the ante-bellum South, however, segregation would have been an inconvenience and an obstruction to the functioning of the system. The very nature of the institution made separation of the races for the most part impracticable."—C. Vann Woodward (2002 [1955]: 11–12).

Social scientists view processes of residential and non-residential segregation as one of the most profound sources of racial inequality in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. While many scholars have abandoned the concept of the "ghetto," especially as it applies to African-Americans, the emergence and persistence of urban racial segregation have generated a voluminous literature over the last fifty years (Wilson 1987; Massey and Denton 1993; Duneier 2016). Historians and demographers have likewise engaged with earlier patterns of

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Black-White segregation, such as those observed under the regimes of South African apartheid and the U.S. Jim Crow era (Nightingale 2012), as well as the more subtle patterns of racial segregation and colorism found in other countries (Valente and Berry 2020). There continues to be an active interest in trends in place stratification and their impact on the economic attainment and well-being of racial minorities (e.g., Faber 2019).

Despite extensive attention to the historical contours and effects of racial segregation, there is limited research on its relationship to the institution of slavery. Beginning with the work of W.E.B. DuBois and C. Vann Woodward, a prevailing assumption has been that slavery in the United States necessitated contact between Whites and Blacks. In circumstances where social status was "fixed by enslavement[,] there was little occasion or need for segregation" (Woodward 2002: 13; see also DuBois 1903: Chapter 9). Social historians recognized that there were exceptions to the rule, particularly among free people of color and in some urban centers (e.g., Franklin 1943/1995; Berlin 1974/2007). For instance, Richard Wade acknowledged that "toward the end of the [antebellum] period a measure of segregation in housing appeared," although it was "a symptom of the general sickness of the institution [of slavery] in the cities" (1964: 75; see also Massey and Denton 1993). A broader group of scholars addressed the desire of slave owners to control their slaves through the physical configuration of slave quarters in urban compounds and rural plantations (e.g., Wade 1964; Vlach 1993). Yet there has been little effort to systematically document and account for variation in these residential patterns.

In this study, I posit that the institution of slavery relentlessly produced racial segregation in the United States through the residential isolation of slaves and free people of color. Antebellum segregation was not premised on the distance between slaves and White slaveholders, but the separation of slaves from spaces where they might encounter non-slave owning Whites, as well as the spatial exclusion of free people of color. Building on racial threat theory (Blalock 1967), this article hypothesizes that the segregation of the non-White population during the antebellum era was structured by a combination of two mechanisms. Perceived economic competition from free people of color contributed to the isolation of Black housing in the North and the South, while fears of slave mobilization in the South led slave owners to distance slave quarters from both public thoroughfares and locales where free Blacks lived. These mechanisms served to constrain Black access to public spaces and White households, even after accounting for "objective" measures of threat, such as Black-White similarity in occupations or property, as well as past instances of slave rebellion.

The study's analysis of racial segregation employs two archival sources. One involves data on architectural sites collected under the auspices of the Historic American Buildings Survey, a systematic effort to catalog building types in the United States (Burns 2004). In particular, I analyze a digitized and coded version of the surveys for 161 slave quarters, alongside surveys of the plantations, farms, or urban dwellings that surrounded them. The other source of data on segregation is the complete count census for 1850, which includes information

on nearly four million households and their immediate neighbors for both White and free Black heads of household.

The findings provide the first comprehensive evidence of segregation under slavery, showing how the residential separation of the non-White population occurred during the decades before the Civil War. By theorizing the social foundations of these changes, the study suggests how racial threat theory, an influential framework initially developed during the post-World War II period, can be fruitfully generalized to understand racial segregation in an earlier era. Another key contribution of the study is to replace the vague notion of racial segregation as being ideologically rooted in slavery with a structural account of how slavery initiated patterns of residential segregation that persisted in the postbellum era. In line with other perspectives that reject the idea of racism as limited to ideology (Bonilla-Silva 1997; Ray 2019), this provides a suitable starting point for understanding the legacy of the "peculiar institution" of slavery for the racial inequalities that we observe today.

Racial Threat Theory and Slavery

Racial threat theory was developed by Hubert Blalock (1967) as an approach to explain minority group relations. Applications of the theory have overwhelmingly dealt with race relations in (nominally) free societies, with a particular focus on punitive attitudes and mobilization against minorities who are seen as a threat to the status of a majority group (e.g., King and Wheelock 2007; Olzak and Shanahan 2014; Owens, Cunningham and Ward 2015). Nevertheless, racial threat theory originally addressed other forms of intergroup conflict and control, including those found under slavery. A key difference in that institutional context is that most members of the racial minority are effectively incarcerated and controlled by force. Even under the harsh circumstances of slavery, Blalock predicted that the dominant group could perceive a threat when in close proximity to large numbers of the minority unless the latter's ability to mobilize was effectively reduced to zero (1967: 154).

Although Blalock's argument engaged with the topic of slavery, it did not articulate a systematic theory of interracial contact and avoidance under these institutional conditions. Other social theories identify a fundamental tension in societies with a large enslaved minority population and a racial majority consisting of both slaveholders and non-slaveholders. On the one hand, interracial contact between minority and majority groups could contribute to fears of economic competition and resistance against the dominant group. Non-slaveholders did not want to compete with slaves nor the low-wage minority workers who had been freed from slavery (Bonacich 1975), while interpersonal contact could also expose the vulnerability of slaveholders to slave protest and mobilization (Aptheker 1943). On the other hand, the parasitic relationship between master and slave called for extensive social control, rooted in physical and symbolic dominance over the enslaved population (Patterson 1982). Contact between the racial majority and minority groups was inherent in this process of domination.

Economic Competition Hypothesis

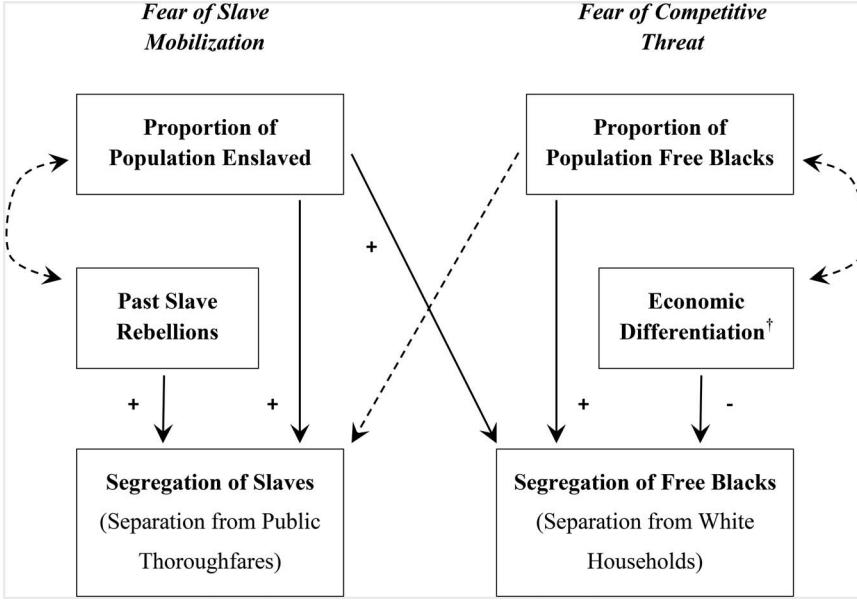
During the antebellum era, White fear of economic competition from slaves and free Blacks was widespread. The cost of White labor was consistently higher than that of enslaved individuals, as well as free people of color, whose tenuous legal status exposed them to exploitation and below-market wages (Bonacich 1975). Fears regarding competition were sometimes dealt with legally in questions of land ownership and occupational attainment. Many Southern states imposed statutory restrictions on the ability of free Blacks to acquire real estate (Copeland 2013) and mandated that free people of color practice "honest" occupations, especially those entailing physical labor (Franklin 1943/1995). Still, nineteenth-century legal constraints on land acquisition or employment were often weak instruments of economic differentiation, particularly in frontier regions. When de jure restrictions were not enough, residential segregation was another mechanism deployed to manage intergroup competition, effectively splitting the labor market into local pools of White and Black workers.

Under conditions of competition, Blalock (1967) predicted that the motivation to segregate would increase with the relative size of a minority group. Applied to the antebellum period, his argument appears especially relevant for the free Black population in the North and South. In Charleston, South Carolina, for instance, many free Black households were located in the Wraggborough neighborhood north of Calhoun Street. When racial animus mounted in the 1850s, as White laborers perceived a growing economic threat from Blacks, free people of color concentrated their quarters in particular sections of Wraggborough, clustering in courts and living in buildings that faced one another (Stojsavljevic 2007). The resulting residential segregation decreased the visibility of free Blacks, helping to assuage the economic fears of the White laboring classes. At the same time, the housing pattern also resulted from the preferences of Black households, especially among prosperous free people of color, who sought safety in numbers, the preservation of Black community, and the avoidance of White control.

A key component of Blalock's competition hypothesis is that it does not necessarily reflect objective economic overlap between a majority and minority group, but the perceived threat to the material resources of the majority group (King and Wheelock 2007). While it is generally not feasible to assess perceptions of racial threat directly in historical settings, it is possible to control for observed levels of economic differentiation between the majority and minority groups (figure 1). Thus, free people of color were often protected from "destructive competition" by taking jobs that were considered beneath the dignity of White laborers (Berlin 1974/2007: 238). Yet a growing proportion of free Blacks could still drive processes of economic and spatial marginalization in antebellum communities.

In general terms, White fear of competitive threat extended from free people of color to the enslaved population itself. Like a laborer from Georgia, many Whites came to believe that "slaveholders could get the slave for almost nothing and the poor young men like myself could not get a job" (Merritt 2017: 5). But as the property of White elites, the perceived economic threat posed by Black slaves was

Figure 1. Hypotheses from racial threat theory regarding segregation under slavery†



†White-Black difference in property ownership and occupational status.

fundamentally different from that posed by free people of color. While a large underclass of White workers in the South could not compete with slave labor economically, their resistance to chattel slavery was muted by slaveholder power and ideology. Moreover, the slave economy generated job opportunities and higher wages for some poor and middling Whites (Clegg 2019). Consequently, the primary catalyst to the segregation of slaves was the planter fear of slave mobilization and insurrection.

Slave Mobilization Hypothesis

In developing racial threat theory, Blalock (1967) linked a second mechanism to the size of a minority group, positing that relative group size would increase fears among the majority that they might lose political dominance or, in an undemocratic society, dominance by force. Following previous scholarship, this study does not argue that Blalock's hypothesis regarding minority political power yields a suitable explanation of racial antagonism toward free people of color during the antebellum period. Although "defensive mobilization" could occur under the right circumstances (Tate 1998), the disenfranchisement of free Blacks, as well as their small numbers, did not provide a basis for the perceived political threat to White elites.

Blalock's broader theory of power threat, concerning the capacity of a minority group to mobilize against the dominant majority, is nevertheless highly relevant. Slave rebellions and plots occurred with some frequency during

the antebellum era. The largest happened in 1811 when a group of several hundred bondsmen armed themselves and marched on New Orleans, rather than toil under the harsh conditions of the Louisiana cane fields (Rasmussen 2011). White concern regarding slave uprisings became widespread when slave resistance was also observed in the eastern seaboard states, sometimes under the leadership of free people of color (e.g., the Denmark Vesey plot in 1822). As a result, "one finds nearly unanimous agreement concerning the widespread fear of servile rebellion," apart from the objective likelihood of insurrections or conspiracies (Apethekar 1943: 18). In areas with prevalent slave populations, slaveholders were anxious to isolate their bondsmen and women from free Blacks, troublesome Whites, and slaves on other plantations.

The most immediate locus for racial segregation was the slaveholder's property itself. In contrast to other societies, such as Jamaica, where chattel slavery was accompanied by absentee plantation owners (Patterson 2019), slave owners in the United States were typically coresident on the same property as slaves. The crucial axis of microsegregation involved the separation of slave quarters from property gates or public thoroughfares, where interaction with passersby could stir thoughts of freedom and opportunities for escape. Although contact with abolitionists posed the most obvious risk, slaveholders were equally concerned about gossip and illicit trade between poor Whites and enslaved people of color. Given the perceived immorality of poor Whites and the crucial role of slaves within the underground economy, slaveholders aimed for "strict segregation" that would inhibit any collective action between these racial groups (Merritt 2017: 124).

Blalock's theory thus predicts that slaveholders would configure slave housing so as to minimize the threat that enslaved individuals would have contact with non-slaveholding Whites. Northern slave owners, such as those that operated in the eighteenth century near Rhode Island's Narragansett Bay, often placed slave quarters in the main house but maintained segregation in religious services, meals, and other daily rituals that might involve outsiders (Fitts 1996). In the antebellum South, residential segregation was produced through the physical separation of slave quarters from property entrances; the existence of mediating social buffers such as work yards, outbuildings, and overseer cabins; and the concealment of slave quarters in the back of the planters' "big house" (Vlach 1993). From the standpoint of racial threat theory, reliance on such microsegregation would increase with the proportion of enslaved people in a region, even after accounting for other antecedents to mobilization, such as past slave rebellions (figure 1).

Aside from troublesome Whites, slaveholders also considered slave mobilization and unrest a result of contact with free people of color. In a study of antebellum North Carolina, John Hope Franklin (1943/1995, 184) wrote about the desire of White elites to build "a social wall around the free Negroes over which it was most difficult to climb," with the primary purpose of maintaining "the peace and contentment of their slaves." The residential segregation of free people of color would serve as another device to remove enslaved individuals from such "evil and insidious influences" (ibid) in cities and rural areas where

slaves were numerous. These fears regarding slave mobilization lead to two implications that are distinct from the economic threat hypothesis: (1) the segregation of free people of color was influenced by the slave population, as well as their own prevalence; and (2) the separation of slaves from property gates and public thoroughfares was likewise a function of the proportion of enslaved individuals in a local area.

Data, Measures, and Analytic Approach

Data

This study addresses segregation separately for enslaved and free African Americans. Because enslaved people were treated as property in the U.S. Census, the population schedules provide too little information about their spatial and social context for a meaningful analysis.[1] Instead, I draw on the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), which includes over eight hundred documents (photos, elevations, and site plans) pertaining to the housing of slaves. The HABS initiative, started in 1933, is the federal government's oldest preservation program and a national archive to document the history of architecture and the built environment in the United States (Burns 2004). Although historians and architects have analyzed the surveys qualitatively (Vlach 1993; Lavoie 2006; Ellis and Ginsburg 2017), this is the first systematic effort to code their features in order to analyze racial segregation. The data collection process for information on slave quarters began by accessing HABS through the Library of Congress (https://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh) and identifying all documents and surveys related to the topic of "slaves" or "slavery." This search yielded surveys of 236 sites with documentation referencing slavery, over a geographic scope from Massachusetts to Texas. The site surveys were then pruned in order to: (1) eliminate duplicates (e.g., sites that were surveyed a second time); (2) remove sites outside the continental United States or those that were built after the Civil War (e.g., by former slaves); and (3) drop sites where there was no evidence of slave living quarters (e.g., structures limited to slave labor or the slave trade). This left 161 sites for purposes of analysis.

The HABS materials include only sporadic evidence of the structures occupied by free Blacks during the antebellum era. Architectural and other historical surveys paid little attention to the settlements of free people of color. However, the availability of complete count (100%) census data for 1850 (Ruggles et al. 2020) permits the reconstruction of information on the microgeography of free Black households. Like other censuses in the nineteenth century, enumerators conducted the 1850 census through personal visits to each household within the district where they lived. Census returns were sequenced by order of visitation, reflecting the contiguity of households along streets and dirt paths, as well as within buildings (e.g., tenements and boarding houses). Consequently, the ordering in the census population listing is a reliable historical indicator of neighbor demographics and segregation (Grigoryeva and Ruef 2015; Logan and Parman 2017). In order to explain patterns of segregation, these sequences

of households were analyzed across entire counties and linked to broader demographic, geographic, and economic features. The 1850 Census includes 3,664,233 non-institutional households, of which 81,303 were headed by free people of color.[2]

Measures of Segregation

For free Black households, I derive a measure of segregation directly from the listing of households in the population census. As in subsequent censuses, the 1850 Census required that "dwelling houses [be] numbered in the order of visitation" and it incentivized enumerators to visit buildings in "regular order" based on contiguity (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850). Assistant marshals conducting the enumeration were given a deadline to complete their work and paid a fixed amount for their travel time, considering the square miles they needed to cover and the household density of census divisions. While it was possible for assistant marshals to plan inefficient routes (e.g., moving to a house some distance away, while ignoring closer neighbors), this would lead to a loss of time and compensation, rendering such routes to be statistical aberrations.

Following Grigoryeva and Ruef (2015), segregation is conceptualized as the extent to which free people of color had same-race neighbors (high segregation) or different-race neighbors (low segregation) in the census listing. In order to focus on autonomous households, the measure was analyzed exclusively based on household heads.[3] At the level of counties, the measure is the sequence index of segregation (SIS), calculated as the number of runs **R** of free Black households relative to how many would be expected under random mixing:

$$\mathrm{SIS} = 1 - \frac{\mathrm{R} - 2}{\mathrm{E}\,(\mathrm{R}) - 2} \tag{1}$$

The expected number of runs **E(R)** can then be derived from the number of White ($\mathbf{N}_1$) and Non-White ($\mathbf{N}_2$) households within each county:

$$\mathrm{E}\Big(\mathrm{R}\Big) = \frac{2\mathrm{N}_1\mathrm{N}_2}{\mathrm{N}_1 + \mathrm{N}_2} + 1. \tag{2}$$

SIS is zero under conditions of random mixing, one under conditions of complete segregation in the residential patterns of a county (e.g., with all free Black households concentrated in one settlement or community), and negative when racial integration goes beyond random mixing. As long as $\mathbf{N}_1$ and $\mathbf{N}_2$ each include more than 10 households, the measure will be normally distributed and does not require small-sample adjustments (Agresti 1980). In 1850, almost all counties had more than ten White households, while 40% (647) had more than ten free Black households.

Among enslaved people of color, segregation was assessed via the characteristics of their living quarters and the surrounding built environment in the HABS surveys. A quarter corresponds to a room that would typically have

been occupied by a slave household. The buildings housing the quarters varied quite substantially throughout the antebellum period, from simple one-room shacks and two-room "double houses" for field slaves to more elaborate "show quarters" that would signal the wealth of planters (Vlach 1993). Despite this variation, the units in the structures were fundamentally identical: rudimentary chambers where slave households, bonded by blood or copresence, slept near a fireplace. For every site, the study coded the year when the quarters were surveyed, the year they were built, their location (address, nearest city, county, state), the number of quarters, their position vis-à-vis the house of the slaveholder, and the existence of mediating structures between the slave quarters, the entry to the property, and the slaveholder's house.

When the HABS surveys included measured drawings of site plans and buildings, the study recorded the walking distance between the slave quarters and the entrance to the slaveholder's property (gate or street-front entry).[4] The measure is a straight-line distance (door-to-gate, or D2G, distance) that accounts for barriers, such as walls and buildings that would have required that slaves plan pedestrian routes around them. Although there is no data on surrounding properties, the approach is otherwise consistent with those that incorporate the built environment into the analysis of residential segregation (e.g., Roberto 2018). The combination of raw distance and barriers reflects the "basic objective" of slave housing "to seal off Negroes from outside contacts" (Wade 1964: 59), by isolating slaves from public thoroughfares, where escape or interaction with passersby (e.g., free Blacks, poor Whites, slaves-on-hire, abolitionists) could occur.

A complication in analyzing segregation as D2G distance is that the separation of slave quarters from property entrances may be a function of overall property dimensions and the size of slaveholdings, as well as perceptions of racial threat. To account for physical constraints, analyses control for the size of the lot containing the main house, outbuildings, entry gates, and slave housing for each site. Specifically, the lot is drawn as the rectangular area (in thousands of square feet) required to encompass all antebellum buildings from the entrance of the property, including those that only existed as ruins or archaeological sites by the time of the HABS survey. Because buildings on slaveholdings tended to be clustered along a road or path extending directly from the nearest public thoroughfare, this measure has the virtue of excluding the majority of land used for commodity crops or livestock and does not rely on original property lines, which are seldom preserved from the antebellum era. Conditional on the size of the lot devoted to the built environment of the plantation or urban compound, segregation was greater to the extent that slave housing was far from property gates or entries.

Explanatory Variables

The analyses of segregation classify locations by region. Based on territorial boundaries in 1800, the regions include New England, the Mid-Atlantic states, the Northwest Territory, the Upper South, the Lower South, and the Old

Southwest. The first three regions subsume states and territories that had initiated gradual or immediate emancipation before the ban on the transatlantic slave trade and are identified generically as the "North." The last three regions subsume states, territories, and districts that maintained slavery until the beginning of the Civil War and are identified as the "South." New states and territories that joined the union after 1800 are classified as "southern" if they were admitted as slave states and as "western" states and territories otherwise.

A number of demographic features of counties factor into racial threat theory. The competitive threat hypothesis is examined via the proportion of the total county population that includes free people of color, while the slave mobilization hypothesis is assessed via the proportion of the total population that includes enslaved individuals. These measures correspond to historical perceptions of threat, which often related White fear of competition or rebellion to the relative size of Black populations.[5] Owing to the high skewness of the proportion of free Blacks across counties, it is converted to a percentage and log-transformed for purposes of estimation (i.e., $\log \% = \log[\text{proportion} \times 100 + 1]$).

All models control for total county population, since existing studies of nineteenth-century residential segregation suggest that it tended to increase with the population in a local area (Grigoryeva and Ruef 2015). I operationalized the urbanization for each county using a continuous measure, based on the proportion of residents in urban settlements (2,500+ inhabitants), as well as another measure, based on the proportion of households involved in farm labor. For the HABS data, which offers more precise geographic locations, I also assessed whether a site was located in a town or city in 1860, apart from the level of urbanization in the surrounding county.

The SIS analysis incorporates two measures that address the level of interracial economic competition more directly: similarity in interracial levels of property ownership and in the socio-economic status of Whites and free Blacks. The property measure considers the difference in proportions of real property ownership between White and free Black household heads within a county, with larger values indicating less perceived economic precarity among Whites. The status differential between Whites and Blacks is the gap in the mean value of the real property (in 1850 dollars) by occupational group, averaged across each county's labor force. Specifically, it relies on the international standard classification of occupations (ISCO), which has previously been adapted to the nineteenth-century censuses (Leeuwen et al. 2002). In order to ensure that there are an adequate number of cases for Whites and free Blacks, each worker is placed in one of six major groups: (1) administrative and managerial; (2) professional and technical; (3) sales or service; (4) agriculture, animal husbandry, and forestry; (5) manufacturing, transport, and construction; and (6) common laborer or apprentice. As a proxy of occupational standing, I computed mean property values by the group from national statistics in 1850.

The models of slave quarter segregation control for past episodes of rebellion, which served as an antecedent to fears of slave mobilization. Using Kilson's (1964) list of 65 major slave revolts or conspiracies (see also Apthekar 1943), I calculated the total number of slave rebellions by county between the start of

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Racial Segregation and Explanatory Variables for Counties, 1850 Census

Variable	Mean	Standard deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Sequence Index of Segregation (SIS)	0.29	0.17	-0.16	1.00
Total Population (1,000s)	24.42	33.32	0.10	515.55
% Urbanized	8.25	18.48	0.00	100.00
% Farming	50.84	18.80	0.16	89.78
% Free Blacks	2.96	4.63	0.06	68.04
% Slaves	19.20	23.36	0.00	88.41
White-Black Difference in Property Ownership (%)	28.55	14.86	-18.03	63.15
White-Black SES Difference ($1,000s)	0.37	0.17	-0.29	0.82
Slave Rebellions[a]	0.09	0.36	0.00	3.00
In Southern State	0.53	0.50	0.00	1.00
In Western State/Territory[b]	0.21	0.41	0.00	1.00

Note: $N = 647$ counties; sample limited to counties with more than 10 Black households.
[a]Major slave revolts between 1775 and 1861 (based on Kilson 1964).
[b]Includes states formerly in the Northwest Territory.

the Revolutionary War (1775) and beginning of the Civil War (1861). Table 1 provides descriptive statistics for all dependent and explanatory variables at the county level, with demographics based on the 1850 Census.

Data Quality

Shortcomings in early census classifications of race are well-known (e.g., Emigh et al. 2015) and do not receive extended discussion here. Early census takers did a notoriously poor job in collecting data on Native Americans and residents of Asian ancestry, with racialized categories that emphasized distinctions among "Whites," "free Blacks," and "slaves." As a result, the identification of racial minorities during this period is necessarily limited to the Black and mixed-race population. Owing to the belated recognition of mixed-race individuals, the study also groups individuals whose phenotypical and cultural characteristics led census enumerators to classify them as "Black" together with those who were identified as "mulatto."

Another issue of data quality pertains to the analysis of residential segregation among slaves. Since the surveys of the built environment included in the HABS collection did not begin until the 1930s, it is unclear how representative the sites of slave quarters are relative to those that would have been observed throughout the antebellum period. The explicit goal of the HABS initiative was to extend preservation beyond "the comparatively few structures which c[ould] be …

Table 2. Number of Slave Quarters by Slaveholding in Historic American Building Survey (HABS) Sample and 1860 Census

Number of slave quarters	HABS sample	1860 Census (5% sample)	Weight
1–2	64.1%	70.4%	1.10
3–5	18.7	19.4	1.04
6–10	8.6	6.8	0.79
11+	8.6	3.4	0.40
Sample size	128[a]	14,332	

[a]Number of slave quarters is unknown for 33 other sites in HABS.

presented as exhibition houses or museums" (quote in Lavoie 2006: 15), yet it is probable that structures and documentation survived when they were regarded as architecturally notable or located on sites of historical significance. These sites were also the most likely to have reasonably complete plans, elevations, and photographs, which are required to produce detailed evidence of residential segregation. Moreover, small slaveholdings without archival or archaeological evidence of slave inhabitants (e.g., those without written documentation of slave residence or photographs of slave quarters) are effectively omitted from the sample.

To help account for this potential bias, the analysis of segregation was supplemented in two respects. In one approach, the study applied post-stratification weights to address the possibility that the properties of large slaveholders were more likely to be included in HABS. Drawing on the IPUMS 5% sample of the slave population in 1860 (Menard et al. 2004), Table 2 lists the size of slaveholdings at the end of the antebellum era. The census instructed enumerators to count every dwelling containing a slave household or every tenement, in the case of buildings occupied by multiple slave households. As the size distribution of slave quarters indicates, the HABS collection includes an overrepresentation of large slaveholdings from that period.[6] The weights in the right column are used to obtain estimates of segregation where the size distribution of sites in the HABS sample mirrors that found in the 1860 Census.

A second approach to sampling bias draws on information in HABS itself. Although the sample includes 161 site surveys of slave quarters, only 66 of those surveys contain exact information on the distance between slave residences and entrances to the slaveholder's property (gate or front street entry), while another 45 surveys reveal the approximate location of the slave residence relative to the main house of the slaveholder. In other instances, sites had partially fallen into ruin when architects surveyed them, or documentation is incomplete.

The incomplete information was addressed with two methods. First, D2G distance was imputed for the sites with partial location information, using joint multiple imputations with 100 replications based on the relative location of quarters (back, front, side, or inside the main house), lot dimensions, and other

variables in the predictive equation (McNeish 2017). This procedure yielded a baseline sample of 111 sites. For the remaining surveys, I applied a Heckman correction to model selection bias, resulting from the potential neglect of sites of slavery that were considered to be of lesser historical importance compared to others. The instruments for the selection equation are the year when each survey occurred and whether a site is included in the National Register of Historic Places, variables that are clearly linked to preservation efforts.[7]

Results

Segregation of Free Blacks

The sequence index suggests that free people of color were subject to considerable variation in residential segregation within U.S. counties (Table 1). In 1850, some counties hovered at or near levels of complete racial segregation. For instance, New Hanover, North Carolina, had an SIS of 0.99. Writing about this period, the historian Franklin (1945, 166) noted that New Hanover's main city, Wilmington, "with its peculiar hostility to Free negroes ... was no place for [a Black artisan]" (i.e., a free person of color working as a tradesman). Conversely, residential patterns in other counties approximated or exceeded the level of racial integration observed under random mixing. Sussex County in New Jersey (SIS = 0.07) was settled with the assistance of free Blacks, as well as slaves who were subsequently freed. Scattered communities of free people of color emerged in various pockets of the county, including Walpack, Sussex, Green, and the mountains (Sweetman 2018).

How does this level of antebellum racial segregation compare with the postbellum era? The most widely studied postbellum estimates are available for the 1880 complete count census and have likewise been computed using household sequences (Grigoryeva and Ruef 2015; Logan and Parman 2017). Across 213 cities in the United States, Logan and Parman found that the mean level of residential segregation in 1880 was 0.405, weighting each city by the number of Black households. By comparison, the weighted SIS for cities in 1850 had a mean of 0.578, using a population threshold of 10,000 inhabitants ($N = 58$), and 0.568, using a threshold of 5,000 inhabitants ($N = 111$). The level of Black-White segregation in U.S. urban areas was therefore generally *higher* in the antebellum era than it was in the postbellum era, with the notable exception of the American South, where the emancipation of slaves was not associated with a substantial change in segregated urban neighborhoods (from SIS = 0.524 in 1850 to SIS = 0.536 in 1880).[8]

The SIS has a roughly normal distribution and can be modeled with OLS regression (Table 3). As predicted by racial threat theory, segregation was significantly higher in antebellum counties where there were more free Blacks or enslaved people of color. Treating all counties as equivalent units (i.e., as an unweighted sample), the SIS increased dramatically with the prevalence of the free Black population, from a marginal mean of 0.18 for counties with a negligible percentage of free Black residents to 0.42 for counties where 10% of

Table 3. Regression of Sequence Index of Segregation (SIS) for Free Blacks on County Characteristics (1850 Census)

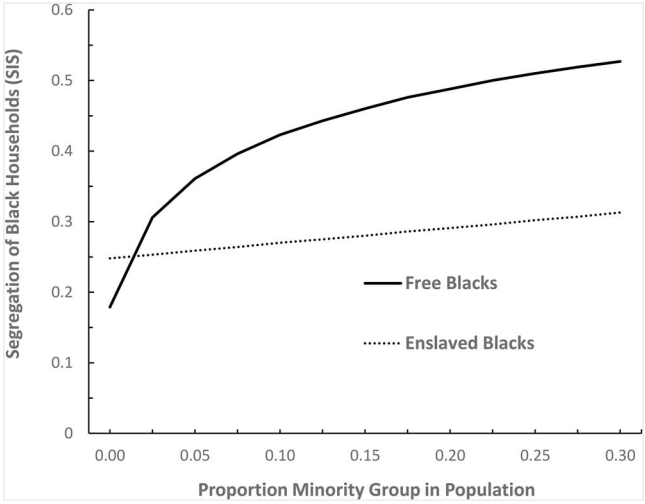
	All counties (unweighted)		All counties (weighted)[a]	Southern/ border county	Outside south
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Total county population (10,000s)	0.004 + (0.002)	0.004 + (0.002)	0.004*** (0.000)	0.003 (0.007)	0.003 (0.002)
Proportion urbanized	0.242*** (0.048)	0.212*** (0.047)	0.220*** (0.038)	0.136 + (0.077)	0.278*** (0.061)
Proportion in farming	0.151** (0.047)	0.181*** (0.046)	0.117* (0.048)	0.128 + (0.067)	0.229*** (0.064)
Proportion slaves	0.172*** (0.042)	0.215*** (0.042)	0.257*** (0.042)	0.198*** (0.045)	
Percent free Blacks (logged)	0.097*** (0.010)	0.101*** (0.010)	0.115*** (0.009)	0.088*** (0.013)	0.123*** (0.016)
White-Black difference in property ownership (proportion)		−0.224*** (0.048)	−0.157*** (0.047)	−0.241*** (0.067)	−0.202** (0.069)
White-Black SES difference ($1,000s)		−0.057 (0.039)	−0.058 (0.039)	−0.032 (0.054)	−0.079 (0.058)
Northern state	0.091*** (0.024)	0.103*** (0.023)	0.126*** (0.021)		
Western state or territory	0.128*** (0.022)	0.117*** (0.022)	0.148*** (0.022)		0.005 (0.021)
R^2	0.199	0.240	0.541	0.189	0.304
Sample size	647	647	647	342	305

Note: Samples limited to counties with more than 10 Black households.
$^{+}p < .10$; $^{*}p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$; $^{***}p < .001$ (two-tailed tests).
[a]Weighted by total county population in 1850 Census.

the population included free people of color (Model 2 and figure 2). As predicted by the slave mobilization hypothesis, the proportion of slaves also increased the segregation of free people of color. Both coefficients are significant when models are estimated separately for rural and non-rural counties, albeit with a larger slope ($b = 0.142$) for the effect of the free Black population on segregation in or near urban centers.

Urbanization itself factored into segregation. In the 1850 Census, free Black households were twice as likely as White households to be located in towns or cities. Free Blacks also had a low likelihood of involvement in farm occupations, given barriers to land ownership and a desire to avoid the work of slaves. This added to residential segregation, with White households concentrated in parts

Figure 2. Relationship of county racial demographics to marginal means of segregation for free Blacks*



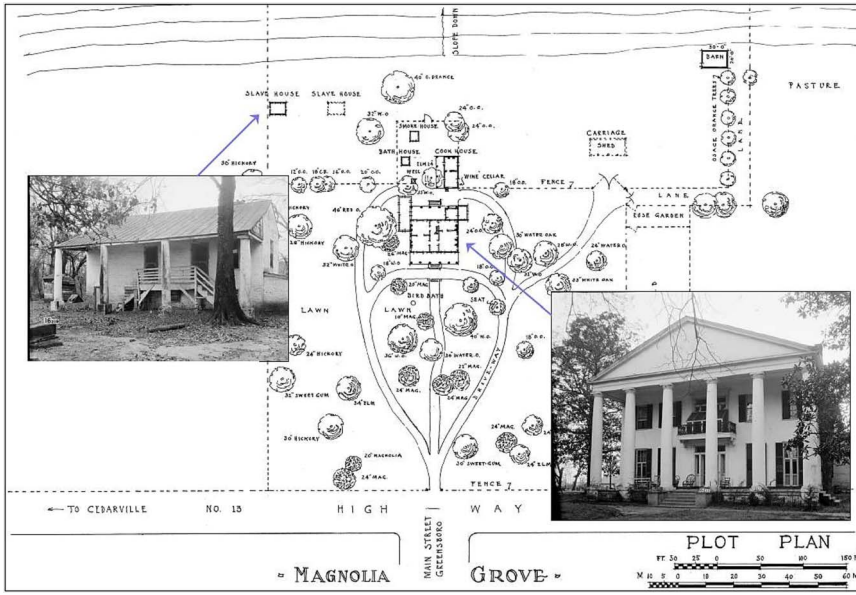
*Based on estimates shown in Table 3, Model 2 (unweighted results).

of counties that were devoted to agriculture and Black households concentrated outside of them.

The economic competition hypothesis proposes that minority group prevalence will drive racial segregation, even after controlling for indicators of White economic precarity. A comparison of Models 1 and 2 (Table 3) provides support for this intuition. There was less segregation of residences when free people of color had less property than Whites and, to a limited extent, when free Blacks did work that conveyed less occupational status. But the inclusion of these factors does not mediate the baseline effect of minority group prevalence on racial segregation. The remaining models provide additional robustness checks. The estimates for the effects of the free Black and slave populations remain consistent when the counties in the sample are weighted by their total population (Model 3), when they are restricted to southern or border counties (Model 4), and when they are restricted to counties outside the south (Model 5). None of the coefficients differ significantly by region. Contrary to Wade's (1964) hypothesis, the segregation of free Blacks in Southern cities was only marginally higher than in the countryside during the late antebellum era.

Examining the estimates, the question arises whether the economic competition and slave mobilization hypotheses offer distinct implications from a model of racial threat that pools free and enslaved people of color together. In the full model for the unweighted estimates (Figure 2), the effect size of the free Black population on segregation is significantly greater than that of the slave population. The adjusted R^2 for that model is 0.240, whereas the adjusted R^2 is only 0.129 for the same model with a combined measure of racial threat (proportion of county population that is Black). These findings highlight the

Figure 3. Slave quarters at Magnolia Grove (Greensboro, Alabama), HABS Survey AL-219



empirical utility of evaluating the competitive threat and slave mobilization hypotheses separately.

Segregation of Slaves

The general pattern of segregation for slave quarters can be illustrated with three examples from the HABS surveys. Figure 3 shows the plot plan and images for Magnolia Grove, a Greek revival mansion originally owned by Colonel Isaac Croom and built by slave labor in the town of Greensboro, AL around 1830. Figure 4 displays an urban compound in Charleston, SC, an antebellum city house that was originally erected by John Robinson between 1817 and 1825 and subsequently owned by Governor William Aiken. Figure 5 illustrates a more rural plantation site, the so-called Hermitage that was designed and built by Scotch architect Henry McAlpin along the Savannah River in 1820. While the Hermitage was sacked by General Sherman's soldiers and then demolished after being documented in the 1930s, Magnolia Grove and the Robinson-Aiken house are still standing.

One feature that immediately stands out for all three sites is the effort to inject physical distance between the front entrance of the property and the quarters of enslaved residents. At Magnolia Grove, the slave quarters are pushed back toward a downward slope and stream that marks the rear of the property, placing the two structures more than 450 feet away from the gate on the main street.

Figure 4. Slave quarters at Robinson-Aiken House (Charleston, South Carolina), HABS Survey SC-269

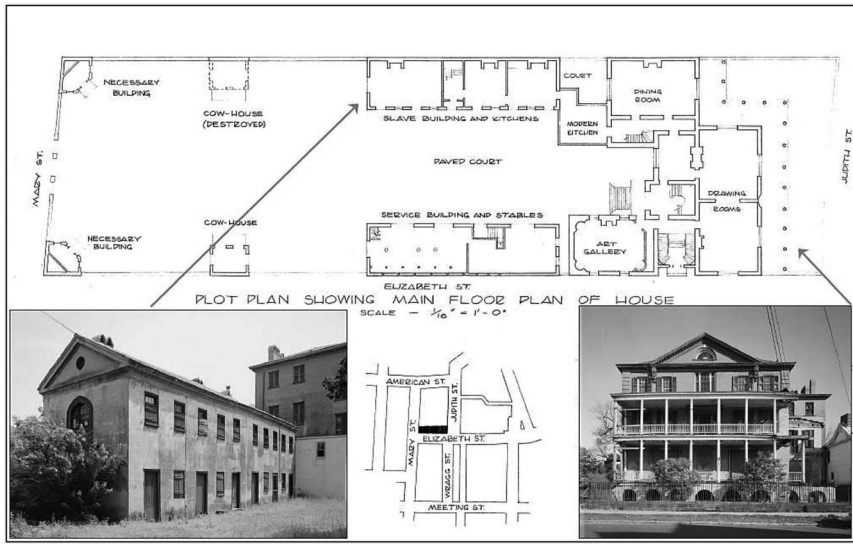
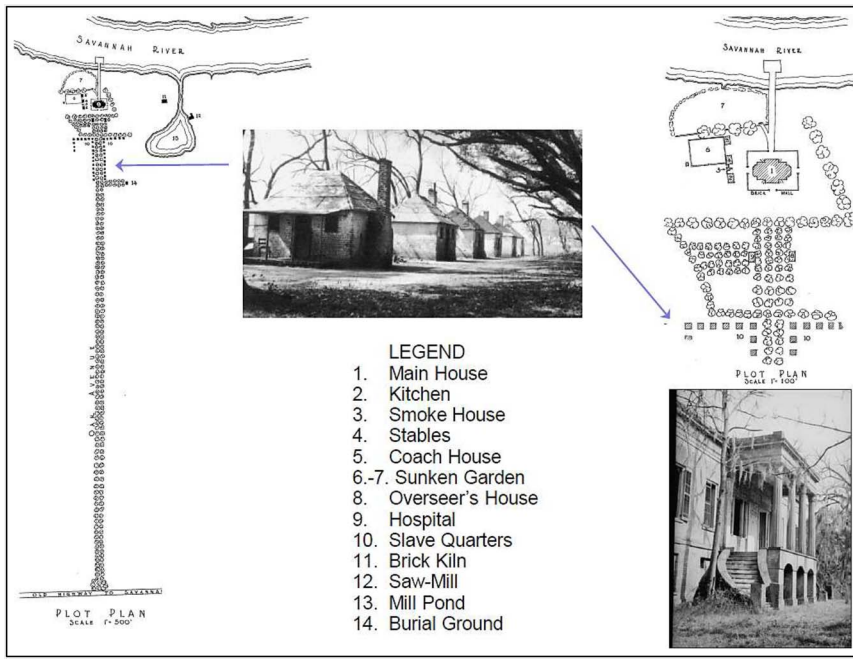


Figure 5. Slave quarters at Hermitage (near Savannah, Georgia), HABS Survey GA-225



At the Hermitage plantation, a visitor would need to walk nearly a mile on private property from the old road to Savannah before reaching the plantation's

thirty-seven slave cabins. Even in urban settings, slave owners managed to distance the quarters of their bondsmen and women from front streets. The Robinson-Aiken compound positioned the slave building close to the kitchens and dining room, where slaves were needed as domestic servants. But the monumental entranceway, where White guests would be received into the elegant drawing rooms, was a world apart from the rear courtyard, where slaves would prepare meals, tend to livestock, and enter their quarters. The exterior walking path from the slave building leads 480 feet, away from various service buildings, out of the compound, down Mary and Elizabeth streets, and, finally, past heavy Doric columns to Judith Street.

By this standard, the three examples are not unusual for the HABS data: the mean door-to-gate distance between slave quarters and front streets in the sample is 661 feet (595 after adjusting for the size bias in the slaveholdings). The examples are also fairly typical in their use of physical and social buffers, consisting of slave owner residences, outbuildings, and other structures, between slave housing and public thoroughfares. Magnolia Grove placed bath, cook, and smokehouses around a work yard in the back of the property. A kitchen for the property was integrated directly into one of the slave quarters, occupying the two rooms in the upper level of that building (Vlach 1993). At the Robinson-Aiken House, the back of the urban compound was enclosed by walls and included a stockyard between the slave quarters and closest exit.

Table 4 summarizes spatial features of slave housing across the HABS sites. The most frequent position for slave quarters was in the back of the main house, typically hidden from the view of anyone who might pass these properties on a publicly accessible road. When quarters were placed in front of the main house, like those displayed along the entrance road to the Hermitage, they could be recessed from the road and disguised among trees or structures. Few sites in the HABS sample located slave quarters inside the residences of slave owners, although this pattern was more common in an earlier phase of slavery in the northern and border states (e.g., Fitts 1996).

Estimates from multivariate models of the spatial segregation of slave housing are shown in Table 5, with standardized door-to-gate distance as the outcome variable. Given the small size of the HABS sample and potential sensitivity to model specification, the table displays results from five models. The first three models limit analysis to cases with available information on the D2G measure or approximate location of slave quarters. The other models employ the full sample, along with auxiliary variables linked to the missingness of spatial data (year of survey and inclusion of a site in the National Register of Historic Places). The fourth model treats empty values on slave quarter location as a missing data problem, imputing them based on a multivariate normal distribution and one-hundred imputations. The fifth model treats the empty values as a selection problem (i.e., with some sites selected for more intensive documentation than others) and generates estimates using Heckman's (1979) two-step selection process.[9] In addition to variables shown in Table 4, the models include controls for county characteristics as assessed in 1860, the last U.S. Census conducted prior to emancipation.

Table 4. Patterns of Segregation of Slave Quarters based on Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS)

Variable	Mean/proportion		Number of observations
	Unweighted	Weighted[a]	
Door-to-Gate (D2G) Distance (feet)	661.06	594.55	66
Lot Size (square feet, 1000s)	839.93	637.16	66
Lot in Town or City (in 1860)	0.20	0.20	161
Position (vis-à-vis Owner's House)			110
Back	0.69	0.68	
Front	0.05	0.04	
Inside	0.06	0.06	
Side	0.19	0.21	
National Register of Historic Places (Yes = 1)	0.33	0.37	161
Region (North or Border State = 1)	0.28	0.31	161
Slave Quarters (Number)	4.30	3.15	128
Year Built	1817	1818	152
Year of Survey	1956	1955	161

Note: $N = 161$ sites; cases available for each variable shown in right-hand column.
[a]Weighted to correspond to size of slaveholdings in 1860 Census.

The estimates are similar across the five models. The spatial segregation between slave quarters and property entrances rose predictably with the size of the lot containing structures on the slaveholding, with one standard deviation (SD) increase in lot size associated with a 0.81 to 0.84 SD increase in distance. Controlling for property scale, the crowding of more slave quarters within a fixed area tended to push some of those quarters toward the gates or entrance of a slaveholder's property. As a result, D2G distance declined by roughly 0.025 SD with the addition of each slave tenement on a site. When slave quarters were located in antebellum towns or cities, there were slight declines in D2G distance due to space constraints, but proximity to urban areas (e.g., in urbanized counties) tended to increase racial segregation. As Wade (1964: 242) has argued, this was not necessarily based on objective conditions for slave mobilization, but in the "rumors of plots and imminent uprising [that] marked the ordinary routine of every city."

Consistent with the slave mobilization hypothesis, segregation was greater in sites located within counties that had a prevalent slave population. Moving from counties where there were very few slaves in the population to those where nearly all of the population was enslaved is associated with more than an SD increase in the D2G distance. This relationship is not affected by the inclusion of other antecedents of slave segregation, particularly past slave rebellions in a county.

Table 5. Regression of Standardized Door-to-Gate (D2G) Distance for Slave Quarters on County and Site Characteristics

	Available cases		Available cases	All cases	
	(Unweighted)		(Weighted)[a]	(Imputation)	(Heckman)
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Total county population (10,000 s)	−0.013 (0.017)	−0.015 (0.018)	−0.007 (0.017)	−0.014 (0.020)	−0.014 (0.025)
Proportion urbanized	1.013* (0.411)	0.995* (0.414)	0.801 + (0.418)	1.027* (0.452)	1.003* (0.443)
Proportion slaves	1.344** (0.457)	1.270* (0.476)	1.233* (0.483)	1.335** (0.470)	1.264** (0.479)
Percent free Blacks (logged)	−0.142 (0.096)	−0.161 (0.109)	−0.132 (0.108)	−0.152 (0.119)	−0.160 (0.104)
Slave rebellions in county		0.056 (0.126)	0.050 (0.125)	0.038 (0.119)	0.056 (0.130)
Lot size (Z-score)	0.810*** (0.127)	0.814*** (0.128)	0.840*** (0.149)	0.806*** (0.110)	0.814*** (0.089)
Lot in town or city (in 1860)	−0.387 + (0.211)	−0.398 + (0.214)	−0.314 (0.208)	−0.392 + (0.218)	−0.404 + (0.230)
Number of slave quarters	−0.027* (0.013)	−0.028* (0.013)	−0.025 + (0.015)	−0.027* (0.012)	−0.028* (0.011)
Year built	−0.003 (0.003)	−0.003 (0.003)	−0.002 (0.003)	−0.003 (0.003)	−0.003 (0.002)
Northern/border state[b]	0.218 (0.211)	0.213 (0.212)	0.220 (0.207)	0.234 (0.215)	0.205 (0.211)
R^2	0.738	0.740	0.725	0.737	—
Sample size	111	111	111	161	161

$^{+}p < .10$; $^{*}p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$; $^{***}p < .001$ (two-tailed tests, robust SE's).
[a]Weighted by size of slaveholdings in 1860 Census.
[b]Border includes DC, KY, MD, and MO.

Rural and urban locales appear to have been equally susceptible, as there is no significant difference in the coefficient for the slave population when models are run separately for sites in the countryside and sites located in or near towns.

There is also no significant time trend in the estimate of segregation in the models. For slave quarters built before the German Coast rebellion in 1811, the largest slave uprising in the United States, the mean D2G distance in the HABS sample is 657 feet. For those quarters built subsequently in the nineteenth century, the mean D2G is almost identical at 662 feet. The residential segregation of the non-White population appears to have been a persistent feature of life under slavery.

Discussion

Even today, a journey through rural America suggests the imprint of racial segregation under slavery. A southward trip to Charleston on country roads begins near the town of Latta, South Carolina, where an old cotton press, built-in 1798, still stands on the side of Highway 38. After driving a few miles, the traveler passes fields of cotton and enters Marion County. The county itself is majority African-American (56% in the 2010 Census) and some of the communities along Highway 501 consist almost entirely of African-American residents. Further south, the ground becomes marshy and the road leads into Georgetown County. While cotton cultivation here is untenable, the riverfronts were once a site of antebellum rice plantations and the county continues to have a large Black population (34% of all residents in 2010). Toward the end of the trip, one passes through the Francis Marion National Forest and enters Mount Pleasant, a suburb of Charleston. Before the Civil War, Mount Pleasant was the first municipality to pass a resolution in favor of secession from the United States and its population is now 90% White. Nevertheless, a close examination on the outskirts of Mount Pleasant reveals Scanlonville, a hidden and quiet neighborhood that is one of the oldest African-American communities in the Charleston area.

Conventional wisdom holds that the uneven distribution of the Black population along such routes is not a legacy of slavery. At a macro-level, an active domestic slave trade ensured that people of African ancestry were sent to all corners of the antebellum South (Tadman 1996; Schermerhorn 2015). At a micro-level, "residential segregation waned quickly" during the Colonial era and subsequently "it was slavery that killed it outright" (Nightingale 2012: 52). Within this perspective, the separation of races occurred in defiance of systems of slavery in the Americas, emerging from autonomous communities of free Blacks or the clandestine activities of slaves, who instigated invisible "slave neighborhoods" through their social bonds across plantations and households (Kaye 2007). A system of segregation emerged in cities late in the antebellum era (Wade 1964), the argument goes, but it was not relevant to the majority of free Blacks and slaves who lived in the countryside.

The findings in this study revisit this thesis and insert segregation as a central feature of slavery. In counties that collocated White and non-White workers, segregation operated systemically to separate the residences of free people of color from White residents and slaves. Split labor market theory posits that such separation could occur as a direct result of economic competition (Bonacich 1975), involving contestation over jobs or land, while racial threat theory underscores the perceived economic threat arising from the prevalence of the minority group (Blalock 1967). The evidence in antebellum counties provides support for the latter interpretation, with a positive (though marginally decreasing) relationship between the proportion of free Blacks and their level of segregation. The relationship is not mediated by variables related to economic differentiation, particularly interracial differences in property ownership and occupational status. The pattern accords with qualitative evidence from the

historical period. White tradesmen protested the proximity of free people of color as "unfair" competition, arguing that the minority workers were "never governed in fixing the prices for their labor by consideration of a fair compensation for the services rendered" (Franklin 1943/1995: 138). Such protest occurred even though most free Blacks were relegated to occupations that few Whites wanted.

The analysis also shows that segregation was evident at a more exacting spatial scale in the quarters of slaves themselves. The quarters were separated from public thoroughfares by physical distance and frequently hidden behind slave owner houses. This residential pattern suggests a second mechanism of racial threat during the antebellum era, resulting from White concerns about slave mobilization. Free Blacks were segregated from slaveholders and other Whites as a function of the proportion of slaves in a county, thereby restricting contact between enslaved and free people of color. Slave quarters were placed at a greater distance from property gates and thoroughfares with the increasing prevalence of the local slave population. Meanwhile, slaveholders maintained control over slaves through coresidence on plantations and within urban compounds, though relatively few slave quarters were integrated into the homes of their owners.

Further research is required to determine if and when these antebellum patterns of racial segregation persisted beyond the end of slavery. A simple assessment of path-dependence considers published estimates of segregation levels in postbellum cities and correlates them with urban racial segregation in 1850. There were 78 U.S. cities that had a population of 2,500 or more in 1850, were settled by 20 or more Black households in 1850, and are included in the Logan and Martinez (2018) or Grigoryeva and Ruef (2015) studies of urban racial segregation. The zero-order correlation between the SIS for these cities in 1850 and in 1880 is 0.572 (significant at $p < 0.0001$). On its own, the level of segregation in 1850 explains 33% of the variance in urban segregation in 1880, while regional distinctions between the South, Northeast, and West or Midwest only explain an additional 9%. Although such evidence must be considered preliminary, it suggests that there was path-dependence in residential segregation by race beyond the end of slavery. Political historians have found that twentieth-century segregation reinforced or mediated the effects of slavery (Acharya et al. 2018), but the patterns of racial separation observed under slavery could have legacies of their own.

Apart from path-dependence in racial segregation, this study contributes to our understanding of racial inequalities that have their roots in the time of slavery. Demographers who study health and childbearing, for instance, have developed spatial explanations of Black-White gaps, with plantation counties emerging as a culprit in twentieth-century patterns of low fertility, child mortality, and exposure to disease (Elman et al. 2019). These risk factors were initiated in the antebellum period through the concentration of enslaved people of color near waterways in rural parts of the South. Similarly, studies of educational disparities identify large Black-White differences in public school enrollment in counties that once relied extensively on slave labor (Reece and O'Connell 2016). The disparities occur net of contemporary racial threat processes and

suggest an independent imprint from the legacy of slavery. Unpacking that legacy into different components—e.g., the historical effect of racial segregation versus the intergenerational transmission of economic advantage or disadvantage—represents an important topic for future studies.

A broader contribution of this study has been to show that slavery in the United States was already associated with the effects of racial threat and segregating devices that would become widespread in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Local increases in the African American population now drive punitive attitudes among Whites, largely as a function of perceptions of economic threat and threats to public safety (King and Wheelock 2007). In the antebellum era, these perceptions had parallels in White fears of competition from poorly paid (or unpaid) people of color and insurrection among slaves. As a response to the racial threat, the antebellum system blocked Black people's access to White spaces, except in their capacity as servants; sought to curb the fear of competition from free people of color among White workers; and prevented slaves from associating with free Blacks, poor Whites, and other slaves in public places. Engagement with slavery's legacy of racial segregation may therefore be critical to understanding the racial tensions that continue to confront American society.

Notes

1. Another disadvantage of the Census slave schedules is that they emphasize slave ownership rather than housing. As a result, they do not identify the location of slaves who were hired out, a practice that became more prevalent in the late antebellum era (Ruef 2012).
2. Among the minority heads of household, roughly 69 percent were identified by census enumerators as Black and the remaining 31 percent were identified as mixed race. This study does not differentiate between these phenotypical depictions. Only 257 heads of household were identified as belonging to another race in the 1850 Census and are excluded from the analysis altogether.
3. Almost all households in the 1850 Census were enumerated as being racially homogeneous with respect to coresident kin, although enumerators may have imposed such uniformity as a result of anti-miscegenation laws.
4. Even enslaved domestic servants were often housed in separate slave quarters, particularly in the South (Vlach 1993). In those instances where domestic slaves lived within the house of the slaveholder (seven cases in the HABS sample), interior walls or other barriers could block direct access to parlors, bedrooms, and other "White spaces." For those cases, the database recorded the distance within the house based on the shortest interior walk from the rooms of slaves to the front entrance.
5. Starting in the colonial era, Southern governors wrote about the need to "leave a proper number of soldiers in each county to protect it from the combinations of the negro slaves," with risk assessed via the ratio of slaves to total population (Apthekar 1943: 20). Antebellum politicians, such as James

Monroe, continued to point to the possibility of slave insurrection in the South as a function of where the number of slaves "exceeds that of the White population" (ibid: 35).

6. This impression is confirmed by the presence of homes of prominent slaveowners in HABS, including Robert E. Lee and Thomas Jefferson, alongside other historical figures that are not well-known.
7. Conventional wisdom might suggest that documentation is more likely to be incomplete for sites that were surveyed later, owing to site deterioration. However, efforts and methods to preserve sites of slavery have improved in recent decades, especially outside the American South (Ross 2018).
8. For the sake of comparability, these descriptive statistics are weighted by the number of Black households following Logan and Parman (2017: Table 2). Unweighted estimates for the postbellum era are almost identical.
9. The predictors for the selection equation include whether a site is registered as a historic place, when it was surveyed, whether it is located outside the South, how populous the surrounding county was in the late antebellum period, and what percentage of the population at the time was enslaved or free.

About the Author

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